

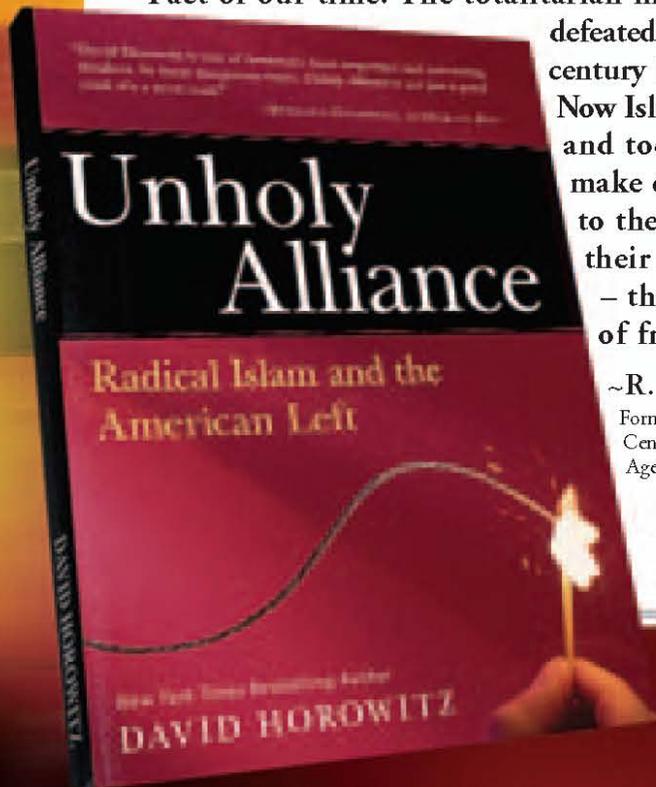
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# CAMPUS SUPPORT FOR TERRORISM



EDITED BY: DAVID HOROWITZ AND BEN JOHNSON

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Cover: Left to right: Lynne Stewart, Sami al-Arian, Joel Beinin, Rachel Corrie

# INTRODUCTION

by David Horowitz and Ben Johnson

In the 1930s, the universities were the first German institutions to capitulate to Adolf Hitler. Martin Heidegger, Germany's greatest 20th century philosopher and the intellectual idol of American academics, hailed the advent of the Third Reich from the rectorship of Freiburg University. Fascism was an idea so messianic in its conception, so elitist in its attitudes, and so anti-capitalist in its social philosophy, that intellectuals found it irresistible.

In England in the 1930s, while Germany rearmed and began annexing territory in the heart of Europe, the Oxford Union resolved "not to defend King and country" against the growing fascist threat. The pacifism of the progressive left and the Tory right added up to an appeasement of Hitler that protected him when he was still weak and testing the limits of Western resolve. The consequence was World War II and 70 million deaths before he was stopped.

The lessons of history are not readily learned and the past, as a result, is slated for an endless revival. *Plus ca change plus c'est la meme chose*. The seeds of the contemporary opposition to the War on Terror were sown in the 1960s in the movement to oppose the Communist aggression in Vietnam. Once again the universities and the intellectual culture provided the most dependable support in the West for the totalitarian agendas of the Communist bloc. The withdrawal of American aid from the anti-Communist forces in Cambodia and Vietnam in 1975 (long after American forces had been removed) resulted in the slaughter of two and a half million peasants in Indo-China at the hands of the Communist victors. The blood of these innocents would not have been shed without the aid the Communists received from their supporters and appeasers in the anti-Vietnam movement in the West.

Now we are engaged in a new war with a totalitarian enemy. Radical Islam despises capitalism and its democracies in the West. And once again, totalitarianism finds its most dependable allies on college faculties.

This time, the enemy does not offer lofty visions of utopia, nor rallying cries of “self-determination”, nor a promise to revenge past national grievances. The *jihadists* of Radical Islam simply offer unmitigated hatred of the “Great Satan”, the United States. For the academic left, that is enough. “The enemy of my enemy is my friend” is sufficient logic to cement the alliance.

On university campuses across the country, tenured radicals teach their students that “one man’s terrorist is another man’s freedom fighter”, and that America is “the world’s greatest terrorist state”. The Middle Eastern Studies Association and more than 200 “Peace Studies” programs share the view that our terrorist enemies, however regrettable their public relations sense, are in fact the voice of the world’s “oppressed”, and that by challenging the United States they are advancing the cause of “social justice”.<sup>1</sup> Nor is the activity of these faculty radicals confined to academic theory. On every major American campus, radical professors are busily organizing anti-American “teach-ins” and demonstrations against the war, and providing their students with academic credit for joining the radical cause.

September 11, 2001, is burned into the nation’s memory as a day of infamy and terror. Yet within weeks of this horror, protests were organized on more than 150 American college campuses opposing an American military response in advance. Columbia University Marxist Eric Foner, a past president of both the American Historical Association and the Organization of American Historians, declared, “I’m not sure which is more frightening: the horror that engulfed New York City or the apocalyptic rhetoric emanating daily from the White House.” As President Bush vowed to depose the totalitarian theocracy that had given al-Qaeda a military base of operations and bring the terrorists to justice, professors denounced America as “the greatest terrorist state”; lecturers at the City University of New York condemned “American imperialism” as the root cause of the attack; and Brown University academics chanted,

1 For the views of one influential radical professor see Peter Collier and David Horowitz, *The Anti-Chomsky Reader*, Encounter Books 2004

“one, two, three, four, we don’t want a racist war!”<sup>2</sup> Thus, before the final death count had been tallied in the worst act of terrorism in American history, the campus Left had already launched a pre-emptive strike against America’s effort to defend itself.

A year and a half later, American forces entered Iraq to enforce UN resolution 1441 against Saddam Hussein’s brutal dictatorship, a sponsor of terror, a deployer of chemical weapons, an aggressor in two recent wars, and an outlaw regime in open defiance of 16 previous UN resolutions and international law. Demonstrations were organized on nearly 1,000 campuses to prevent America and Britain from taking down Saddam’s regime. At one “antiwar” teach-in at Columbia University, conducted by 30 faculty and attended by 3,000 students, Professor Nicholas De Genova declared: “Peace is subversive, because peace anticipates a very different world than the one in which we live – a world where the U.S. would have no place. The only true heroes are those who find ways that help defeat the U.S. military. I personally would like to see a million Mogadishus”.<sup>3</sup>

This was a reference to the site in Somalia where an al-Qaeda warlord ambushed and killed 18 American troops, then dragged their bodies through the streets. According to reports, the crowd “applauded loudly” when De Genova continued, “If we really [believe] that this war is criminal...then we have to believe in the victory of the Iraqi people and the defeat of the U.S. war machine”. The “Iraqi people” the Columbia teach-in cheered to victory are the same terrorist forces that carried out the torture and rape of Saddam’s political opponents and their families as a matter of course, and have since killed more than 1,000 U.S. servicemen.

This speech was a moment of truth for the campus antiwar Left, revealing how a significant segment of academia had formed an unholy alliance with terrorists and their enablers. From sponsoring pro-terrorist symposia, to funding and defending pro-terrorist campus organizations,

2 For these citations see David Horowitz, *Unholy Alliance: Radical Islam and the American Left*, Regnery 2004

3 Cited in Horowitz, op. cit. p. 34

to teaching students that America is an imperialistic oppressor and the terrorists are no threat, America's universities are playing a sinister and dangerous role in the war on the terror. It is a role that deserves more attention than it has been given, and the present booklet, *Campus Support for Terrorism*, is an attempt to remedy the deficiency.

Perhaps the most notorious example of a professor's active role in the terrorist *jihād* is that of Osama "Sami" al-Arian, a University of South Florida professor who, before his arrest, was the North American head of Palestinian Islamic Jihad, an organization that has murdered more than 100 people in suicide bombings in the Middle East, including two young Americans.

Al-Arian operated his terrorist network using the University of South Florida as a base of operations. Under university auspices, he created two "think tanks", the World Islamic Studies Enterprise (WISE) and the Islamic Committee for Palestine, from which he leveraged campus authorities to invite, sponsor, and employ his fellow terrorists. WISE board member Tarik Hamdi delivered a satellite phone to Osama bin Laden in May 1998. Ramadan Abdullah Shallah also worked at WISE, and al-Arian proposed USF hire him as a professor before Shallah became Secretary-General of Palestinian Islamic Jihad (replacing the assassinated brother of another WISE board member). Sheikh Omar Abdel Rahman, the blind sheikh responsible for the 1993 bombing of the World Trade Center, was one of al-Arian's invited speakers.

Al-Arian is also a pioneer in organizing a national "civil liberties" lobby against the Patriot Act. In 1997 he founded the National Coalition to Protect Political Freedom whose goal was to oppose the Anti-Terrorism and Effective Death Penalty act of 1996, a precursor of the Patriot Act. The bill declared "material support" for terrorism a crime and allowed investigators to use secret evidence in trials against terrorists. Federal authorities had arrested al-Arian's brother-in-law and cohort in Palestinian Islamic Jihad, Mazen al-Najjar, for providing material support to terrorists under its terms. He was subsequently deported.

Al-Arian's "civil liberties" movement drew a toxic mixture of

terrorists and leftwing activists into its ranks. Among its member groups were:

- The Committee for Imad Hamad and the Committee for Justice for the "L.A. Eight," both of which sought to free convicted terrorist members of the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine, a Palestinian Marxist terror organization;
- The American Muslim Council, headed by Abdurahman Alamoudi. Authorities arrested Alamoudi, a former Clinton administration adviser on Islamic affairs, for acting as a conduit for Mohammar Qaddafi. Alamoudi stands accused of smuggling Libyan money to terrorist groups including al-Qaeda, Hamas, and Hezbollah.
- The Center for Constitutional Rights, founded by William Kunstler and Arthur Kinoy for the purpose of, in Kunstler's words, "keeping people on the street who will forever alter the character of this society: the revolutionaries."

Although authorities hold Sami al-Arian under tight surveillance, the National Coalition for the Protection of Political Freedom keeps his work alive. His replacement as head of the coalition is Kit Gates, a longtime executive with the National Lawyers Guild, a radical organization prominent in every law school in the United States.

Al-Arian has solicited donations for Palestinian "martyrs" and publicly lauded violent acts of barbarism. He told one crowd, "We assemble today to pay respects to the march of the martyrs and to the river of blood that gushes forth and does not extinguish, from butchery to butchery, and from martyrdom to martyrdom, from jihad to jihad." In a letter he wrote in the 1990s, al-Arian pleaded, "I call upon you to try to extend true support to the jihad effort in Palestine so that operations such as these can continue."<sup>4</sup>

4 *Unholy Alliance*, op. cit. pp. 188-192. Thomas Ryan, "Lobby for Terror," FrontPage Magazine, April 28, 2004.  
<http://www.frontpagemag.com/Articles/ReadArticle.asp?ID=13158>.

Although the *Miami-Herald* and others exposed al-Arian's terrorist agenda in 1994, the president of the University of South Florida, Betty Castor, steadfastly refused to fire al-Arian. Al-Arian subsequently appeared on an episode of *The O'Reilly Factor* in 2002, which produced an embarrassing flood of protesting emails and phone calls to his university. As a result, President Castor suspended al-Arian, with pay, while he was under FBI investigation, then reinstated him to the USF faculty when the American Association of University Professors and other leftist organizations protested on his account. When Castor stepped down from the USF presidency, the new USF President, Judy Genshaft, fired al-Arian, but not for engaging in terrorist activity. He was fired because his presence on campus had become disruptive.<sup>5</sup>

Throughout these events, al-Arian and his leftwing supporters claimed that he was a political victim of prejudice. "I'm a minority. I'm an Arab. I'm a Palestinian. I'm a Muslim. That's not a popular thing to be these days. Do I have rights, or don't I have rights?" Al-Arian's professional colleagues immediately sprang to his defense. USF professor Dr. Roy Weatherford filed a grievance on his behalf. The American Association of University Professors "condemned" USF in 2002<sup>6</sup> and filed a report the following year in its monthly magazine, *Academe*, stating al-Arian had not acted improperly.<sup>6</sup> Other academic heavyweights testified to al-Arian's impeccable character.

In a *FrontPage Magazine* article, Jonathan Schanzer noted the depth of sympathy al-Arian elicited in the academic community: "Georgetown's John Esposito stressed al-Arian's 'professional competence and stellar teaching record.' Anthony Sullivan of the University of Michigan declared that al-Arian 'is a quintessential political moderate.' Louis Cantori, professor of political science at the University of Baltimore,

5 Ronald Radosh, "The Case of Sami al-Arian,"

<http://www.frontpagemag.com/articles/Readarticle.asp?ID=1473>

6 David Tell, "Professors for Sami," *Weekly Standard*, June 17, 2003.

<http://www.weeklystandard.com/Content/Public/Articles/000/000/002/814mevxi.asp>

Nathan Giller, "American Association of University Professors: Lobby for the Left," <http://www.frontpagemag.com/Articles/ReadArticle.asp?ID=8160>

insisted that al-Arian is not 'a political radical...Period.'" McCarthy expert Ellen Schrecker said al-Arian's was a case of "political repression." Indeed, just before his arrest, Duke University asked al-Arian to speak at a symposium on "National Security and Civil Liberties".<sup>7</sup>

After USF President Judy Genshaft, who is Jewish, made the decision to let the terrorist al-Arian go, she endured backlash from such national outlets as the Council for American-Islamic Relations (CAIR), the American Muslim Council, the National Lawyers Guild, *The Nation* magazine, the ACLU, the Center for Constitutional Rights, and the *New York Times*. Former Democratic Michigan Congressman David Bonior also defended al-Arian.<sup>8</sup>

The Justice Department arrested Sami al-Arian in February 2003, issuing a 120-page indictment that charged him with 200 instances of supporting terror. The indictment specified that al-Arian used "the structure, facilities and academic environment of USF to conceal the activities of the Palestinian Islamic Jihad."

The threat that embedded terrorist professors and their faculty supporters pose is real. Rachel Corrie, who was recruited into the radical movement as a student, is a case in point. A 23-year-old college senior at Evergreen State in Olympia, Washington, Corrie became passionately attached to the political causes championed by her left-wing university. In the spring of 2003, she joined a campus crusade on behalf of terrorists that would lead her to an early death.

The campus environment of Evergreen has long proven amenable to terrorists. "To gain a sense of Evergreen's ideological orientation," wrote *FrontPage Magazine* columnist Myles Kantor, "its main area is called Red Square and cop killer Mumia Abu-Jamal has been a commencement speaker" (via audiotape from prison).<sup>9</sup> At Evergreen, Corrie joined the

7 Jonathan Schanzer, "Professors for Terrorist Al-Arian," <http://www.frontpagemag.com/articles/readarticle.asp?ID=6307>. Horowitz, *Unholy Alliance*, p. 191

8 Robert Spencer, "Al-Arian: Terrorist Professor and His Campus Allies," <http://www.frontpagemag.com/Articles/Printable.asp?ID=6306>

9 Myles B. Kantor, "Terrorist Martyr, American Style," <http://www.frontpagemag.com/Articles/ReadArticle.asp?ID=6966>.

Olympia Movement for Justice and Peace, a group formed to oppose President Bush's military response to the Taliban. Its anti-capitalist, anti-Western views are summed up in one of its trademark slogans: "Corporate Globalization Equals Imperialist Domination."

From there, Rachel moved deeper into the circles of the Left. In early 2003, she joined the International Solidarity Movement (ISM), a group of Western "human shields" who operate under the aegis of the Palestine Liberation Organization. ISM's mission is to obstruct Israeli security officials attempting to protect Israelis and Palestinians from terrorist outrages. Corrie accompanied a contingent of ISM activists to the West Bank and hoped to do her part for "the movement." After terrorists killed two IDF troops, Corrie wrote, "more Martyrs [sic.] are ready to defend the honor of Palestine". That February, she donned a burqa, sat amidst a group of Palestinian children, and violently ripped apart a paper American flag she had set ablaze.

Soon, she and her ISM colleagues got to fulfill their actual agenda. On March 16, 2003, an Israeli bulldozer set to work removing shrubs in the Gaza Strip town of Rafah. These shrubs obscured the tunnels terrorists were using to smuggle weapons from Egypt to the West Bank. As Rachel Corrie knelt in front of the terrorists' supply lines, the bulldozer's driver, who could not see her, ran over her. Corrie's fellow ISM members – whom she considered her closest friends as she sojourned half a world away from her family – snapped propaganda photos of her broken, bleeding body before even attempting to help her. "My back is broken," she whimpered as she died at the age of 23.

The terrorists saw Corrie's death as a propaganda coup. The PLO organized a wake for Corrie attended by members of Hamas, Islamic Jihad, and the Al-Aqsa Martyrs Brigade. Corrie has since become a celebrated martyr of the Palestinian cause.<sup>10</sup>

The articles collected in this booklet describe several of the key players in this growing collaboration between Islamic terrorists and their supporters on American campuses. David Horowitz dissects a *Peace*

*Studies* course and textbook at Ball State University in Indiana that is a veritable model of the leftwing attitudes in which students are being indoctrinated on American campuses. Lee Kaplan demonstrates how Duke University has lent its prestige to the International Solidarity Movement, the very organization that shepherded Rachel Corrie to her death. Duke hosted a "Palestine Solidarity Conference" whose purpose was to recruit students on its campus to follow Corrie's path. Radical attorney Lynne Stewart is an indicted terrorist but also a campus celebrity, as Erick Stakelbeck's article "Lynne Stewart's College Tour" amply documents. The Muslim Students Association, as Stakelbeck reports in a second article, is a Saudi funded support group for Muslim radicals and terrorists that operates on 150 college campuses. The Middle East Studies Association is the primary professional organization of American academics whose expertise is the terrorist heartland and who, as Leslie Carbone documents, is the chief western apologist for Islamic radicalism.

It is our hope that these reports will alert others to the dangers this campus juggernaut represents. It is time for the rest of the academic world to take its head out of the sand and join the rest of the nation in fighting the war on terror."

10 Ibid.

# 1. "ONE MAN'S TERRORIST ..."

*by David Horowitz*

On September 13, 2004, – as it happens just two days after the third anniversary of 9/11 – FrontPage Magazine published student Brett Mock's account of a class he took in "Peace Studies" at Ball State University in Indiana. The class was billed as a course in the causes of war and peace ("the study of methods of achieving peace within communities and among nations; history of peace movements and the causes of conflict; and analysis of principles to resolve conflict using case studies").

After enrolling in the course, Mock discovered, to his dismay, that far from being an academic examination of these issues, the class was a recruitment and training course in left-wing politics and anti-American attitudes. Its lectures and texts without exception guided him and his classmates to view America as an enemy of global peace, and to a sympathetic understanding of the terrorists who have attacked us. Among the "methods of achieving peace" recommended by the course was a menu of radical organizations that students were encouraged to join, including PeaceWorkers, which is part of a coalition that includes the pro-terrorist Muslim Students Association and the Young Communist League. Students who lobbied against America's war to topple the Iraqi dictatorship were given academic credit.

To add insult to these injuries, the head of the Peace Studies program at Ball State and Brett Mock's teacher, Professor Gregory Wolfe, was academically incompetent to teach the subject, with its broad-ranging forays into all of human history, geopolitics, and global economics. Gregory Wolfe is a professor in the Music Department at Ball State whose expertise is the saxophone.

The National Director of Students for Academic Freedom followed-up Mock's FrontPage article by sending a letter to the president of Ball State, expressing concern about the nature of the course and its failure to observe basic educational standards. Ten days later, the Ball State administration replied through its Provost and Vice President for Academic Affairs,

Beverly Pitts. In her letter, Pitts announced that she had investigated Brett Mock's claims (without interviewing Mock himself) and concluded that they were mistaken – that the course met academic standards and was not one-sided. Addressing the issue of how a professor of the saxophone was academically qualified to discuss the social, economic, and cultural causes of war and peace, the Provost wrote: “Dr. Wolfe has a doctorate in higher education from Indiana University; has received mediator training; is on the advisory board of the Toda Institute for Peace, Policy, and Global Research at the University of Hawaii; and has taught and published in the area of peace studies.”

A doctorate in higher education, however, covers none of the subjects that would form the basis of a course in the causes of war and peace, while a training session in mediation would only do marginally better. The Toda Institute, on whose board Professor Wolfe serves as an advisor, is run by the Soka Gokkai, a Zen Buddhist cult that believes world peace can be achieved by persuading the world's inhabitants to chant “Nam Myoho Renge Kyo.”

As to Mock's complaint that the course involved indoctrination rather than a disinterested examination of the subject matter, Provost Pitts asserted: “Dr. Wolfe's class emphasizes critical thinking with respect to peace issues. The primary text for the class is Barash and Webel, *Peace and Conflict Studies* (Sage Publications, 2002), which presented various sides of peace-and war-related issues.”

This view of *Peace and Conflict Studies* would come as a surprise to the authors of this widely used text in the field of peace studies. In the preface to their book, Barash and Webel write: “The field [of Peace Studies] differs from most other human sciences in that it is value-oriented, and unabashedly so. Accordingly we wish to be up front about our own values, which are frankly anti-war, anti-violence, anti-nuclear, anti-authoritarian, anti-establishment, pro-environment, pro-human rights, pro-social justice, pro-peace and politically progressive.”<sup>11</sup>

In other words, *Peace and Conflict Studies* makes no pretense of being

an academic exploration of the complex issues of war and peace. It does not explore the many possible views of world problems that might lead to conflict, or the various assessments that might be made of the history of peace movements. It is, in fact, a left-wing screed whose clear purpose is to indoctrinate students in the radical view of the world shared by “progressives” like Noam Chomsky, Howard Zinn, and Michael Moore. On the other hand, no indication is provided to the uninformed student that these might be extreme views, or that there might be other reasonable ways to look at these issues and events.

*Peace and Conflict Studies* discusses the problems of poverty and hunger as causes of human conflict, but it approaches these issues exclusively through the eyes of Marxists (and obscure ones at that) such as Andre Gunder Frank and Frances Moore Lappe. The only academic credentials the authors themselves possess are in the fields of psychology and philosophy. Nonetheless, their text is bold – not to say reckless – in its pronouncements on these complex issues.

On the problem of global hunger, for example, the text's theme is socialist: “To a very large extent, the problem of world hunger is not so much a production problem, so much as it is a *distribution* problem.”<sup>12</sup> This would be news to North Koreans, where recent famine caused by their government's socialist policies has killed more than a million people. It would be equally surprising to citizens of the former Soviet Union, whose Marxist leaders attempted to make equitable distribution the center of their economic policy and wound up turning a country that had been the breadbasket of Europe into a nation of chronic food shortages until their system collapsed.

The *Peace and Conflict Studies* text relentlessly condemns the economic inequalities that characterize market systems, even though these systems are responsible for prodigious agricultural surpluses and for raising billions of people out of poverty, facts the authors systematically ignore. The authors identify the culprits responsible for world poverty (and thus for the conflicts this suffering causes) in terms that would have

pleased Lenin: “The greed of agribusiness shippers and brokers, plus control of land by a small elite leaves hundreds of millions of people hungry every day.”<sup>13</sup> No wonder terrorists hate rich countries like the United States.

Since the authors believe that the greed of the ruling class is responsible for world hunger, *Peace and Conflict Studies* does actually endorse one kind of violence, and one kind alone; not surprisingly, this is the revolutionary kind. Here is Barash and Webel’s example of revolutionary violence that has led to good results:

Consider the case of Cuba. In the aftermath of the Cuban Revolution of 1959, despite more than 40 years of an American embargo of Cuban imports and exports, infant mortality in Cuba has declined to the lowest in Latin America; life expectancy increased from 55 years in 1959 to 73 years in 1984; health care was nationalized and made available to all Cuban citizens at no or little cost; literacy exceeded 95%; and although prostitution, begging, and homelessness returned to Cuba in the 1990s (almost entirely for economic reasons due to the embargo and to the loss of support from the former Soviet Union), Cuba still has far fewer of these problems than virtually all other countries in Latin America. *While Cuba is far from an earthly paradise, and certain individual rights and civil liberties are not yet widely practiced, the case of Cuba indicates that violent revolutions can sometimes result in generally improved living conditions for many people.*<sup>14</sup> (Emphasis added.)

This is the entire portrait provided by the authors of Cuba’s Communist dictatorship. No mention is made that Cuba is a totalitarian dictatorship in which every citizen is a prisoner in his own country, spied on by the ruler’s secret police. No indication is given that Castro is the longest surviving dictator in the world with a legendary record of sadism against his own supporters. Cuba’s wretched medical system is not

13 p. 499

14 pp. 14-15

evaluated; nor is the fact that while literacy is impressive, Cubans can now read only materials approved by government censors. In 1959, when Castro seized power, Cuba was the second richest nation per capita in Latin America. After nearly fifty years of socialism it ranks near the bottom of Latin America’s 22 nations, above Haiti, but below Honduras and Belize. When the authors feel compelled to mention a deficiency in Cuba’s achievement – whether political or economic – it is invariably blamed on the United States and its embargo, even though Cuba trades with every other nation in the world, and its economic woes are attributable to the crackpot economic policies of its dictator. This one-sided promotion of a Communist dictatorship is typical of the text and an accurate sampling of the authors’ ideological point of view.

Throughout *Peace and Conflict Studies*, the authors’ justify Communist policies and actions and portray those of America and western democracies in a negative light. This one-sided tilting towards America’s totalitarian enemies is evident, for example, in its treatment of the Cuban Missile Crisis. In 1962, the Soviet dictator Nikita Khrushchev precipitated an international crisis and brought the world to the brink of nuclear war by secretly placing nuclear missiles in Cuba and lying to President Kennedy when confronted about them. Yet in the *Peace and Conflict Studies* textbook (which Ball State Provost Beverley Pitts assures us presents “various sides of peace-and war-related issues”), the authors discuss the Cuban Missile Crisis without ever mentioning the cause of the crisis: the Soviet missiles. Instead, the crisis is described as having been caused by the American president’s alleged psychological insecurity and his consequent desire to act tough. This created a dilemma from which the world was rescued by the Soviet dictator. Here is the entire account of the missile crisis in this college text:

The Cuban Missile Crisis – the closest humanity has apparently come to general nuclear war – was brought about in part because John F. Kennedy had felt browbeaten by Soviet Premier Khrushchev at their 1961 summit meeting in Vienna and felt humiliated by the debacle of the failed American-supported

invasion of Cuba at the Bay of Pigs. The following year, Kennedy was determined that he wouldn't be pushed around again by the Soviet leader; fortunately for the world, Khrushchev was able (perhaps due largely to insufficient military strength) to be willing to back down.<sup>15</sup>

Nor is this instance of positioning of the Soviet Union on the side of peace, when it was in fact the aggressor, unique. In its account of the Cold War generally, *Peace and Conflict Studies* treats the Soviet Union as a sponsor of peace movements and the United States as the militaristic and imperialist power that peace movements – and thus the students of peace in the Peace Studies program – are supposed to keep in check.

A brief section of *Peace and Conflict Studies*, which was written in 2001, is devoted to the terrorist attack on the United States on September 11 of that year. It provides troubling insight into the impact courses such as this have on American college students as their country faces a continuing terrorist threat. The authors begin by telling students, “Terrorism is a vexing term.” This is because, from the “peace studies” perspective, the moral aspects of the term are purely relative: “Any actual or threatened attack against civilian noncombatants may be considered an act of ‘terrorism.’ In this sense, terrorism is as old as human history.”<sup>16</sup> Far from being criminal or evil, terror (according to Barash and Webel) is a last resort of the weak as a means of self-defense: “‘Terrorists’ are people who may feel militarily unable to confront their perceived enemies directly and who accordingly use violence, or the threat of violence, against noncombatants to achieve their political aims.” If you’re weak, then apparently it’s all right to murder women and children if it advances your cause. Terrorism, according to the authors, is also “a contemporary variant of what has been described as guerrilla warfare, dating back at least to the anti-colonialist and anti-imperialist struggles for national liberation conducted in North America and Western Europe during the late 18<sup>th</sup> and early 19<sup>th</sup> centuries against the British and French Empires.”<sup>17</sup> In other

15 p. 211

16 p. 80

17 pp. 80-81

words, the American Founders were terrorists, and the terrorists in Iraq can be viewed as patriots (as Michael Moore has described them).

So that no one will miss the point, the progressive authors of *Peace and Conflict Studies* explain: “Placing ‘terrorist’ in quotation marks may be jarring for some readers, who consider the designation self-evident. We do so, however, not to minimize the horror of such acts but to emphasize the value of qualifying righteous indignation by the recognition that often one person’s ‘terrorist’ is another’s ‘freedom fighter.’”<sup>18</sup> Thus, the terrorists who killed 3,000 innocent civilians from 80 countries in the heinous attacks of 9/11 can thus be viewed as “freedom fighters” striking the oppressor.

*Peace and Conflict Studies* continues: “After the attacks on the World Trade Center in New York City and the Pentagon in Washington, D.C. many Americans evidently agreed with pronouncements by many senior politicians that the United States was ‘at war’ with ‘terrorism.’ Yet, to many disemboweled [sic.] people in other regions, ‘Americans are the worst terrorists in the world’ (according to Osama bin Laden in a 1998 TV interview with the American Broadcasting Company). Following the attacks, President George W. Bush announced that the United States ‘would make no distinction between terrorists and the countries that harbor them.’ For many frustrated, impoverished, infuriated people-who view the United States as a terrorist country-attacks on American civilians were justified in precisely this way: making no distinction between a ‘terrorist state’ and the citizens who aid and abet the state.”<sup>19</sup> In other words, America is a terrorist state and the terrorists are liberators of the world’s oppressed.

There are 250 “Peace Studies” programs in America like the one at Ball State. They teach students to identify with America’s terrorist enemies and to identify America as a “Great Satan” oppressing the world’s poor and causing them to go hungry. There are equally many Provost Pittses, defending the fraudulent academic credentials of the political activists

18 p. 81

19 Ibid.

who conduct these indoctrinations and who are academically illiterate in their subject matter. The question is: how long can a nation at war with ruthless enemies like bin Laden and al Zaraqawi survive if its educational institutions continue to be suborned in this way?

## 2. LYNNE STEWART'S COLLEGE TOUR

by Erick Stakelbeck

Lynne Stewart is a lawyer who has been indicted by the Justice Department for aiding and abetting the terrorist author of the first World Trade Center attack. She is also a hero to campus law students and a sought-after academic speaker. While out on bail, she has become a favorite of law school audiences across the country, who relish her hatred of John Ashcroft, whom she describes as the “fascist” Attorney General of her “racist, imperialist” country. Nothing better illustrates how far law schools and their faculties have sunk in post-9/11 America.

Over the past 25 years, Lynne Stewart has defended Weather Underground bomber and Nyack bank robber Kathy Boudin, Black Panther criminal Willie Holder, Mafia turncoat Sammy “The Bull” Gravano, cop killers, murderers, attempted murderers, so-called “political prisoners,” and left-wing extremists of every persuasion. Stewart has even gone on record saying that she would defend Osama bin Laden if asked. “My politics are those of inclusion,” Stewart said in an interview last year with the *WW3 Report* website, “and I hope that my politics are represented in the people I actually represent.”

Stewart made national headlines in April 2002, when she was arrested for providing material support to the Islamic Jihad, an Egypt-based terrorist organization with close links to Osama bin Laden’s al-Qaeda network. Its goal is replacing Hosni Mubarak’s government in Egypt with a militant Islamic regime, spreading terrorism to “infidel” countries like the United States, and of course, destroying Israel.

Stewart’s connections to the Islamic Group date back to 1995, when she represented the group’s spiritual leader, the notorious “Blind Sheikh” Omar Abdel Rahman, during his federal grand jury trial in New York City. Rahman was convicted of helping engineer the 1993 World Trade Center bombing, which killed six people and injured 1,000. He was also convicted of plotting “The Day of Terror,” a failed Islamic Jihad plan to

destroy other Manhattan landmarks including the Holland and Lincoln tunnels, the United Nations building, and the George Washington Bridge. Rahman was also found guilty of trying to arrange Mubarak's assassination, a follow up to his *fatwah* against then-Egyptian President Anwar Sadat, who was assassinated in 1981.

Although Sadat was murdered by Islamic terrorists soon after Rahman's order, the Sheikh was acquitted of complicity in the plot. But after the World Trade Center bombings, and thanks in part to Stewart's bizarre defense strategy (in which she argued that issuing a *fatwah* to blow up the Twin Towers was merely part of the Sheikh's religious duties as a Muslim cleric), Rahman was sentenced in October 1995 to life imprisonment plus 65 years.

The verdict left Stewart in tears, not only because of her shoddy courtroom performance – she was unprepared on several occasions during the proceedings – but also due to the close personal relationship she had developed with Rahman during their time together.

As a September 2002 piece in the *New York Times Magazine* by George Packer showed, Stewart's affection for the Sheikh often reached profound depths: "As Stewart got to know her new client, she came to see him as a fighter for national liberation on behalf of a people oppressed by dictatorship and American imperialism. She came to admire him personally too, for his honesty, his strength of character, his teasing humor. 'I've made up my mind,' the sheik would say. 'I'm going to marry you, and that will solve everything.' 'And what do women get if they fight in *jihad*?' [Stewart] would ask."

Their friendship and professional relationship continued after Rahman was imprisoned at the Federal Medical Center in Rochester, Minnesota. That is where Stewart, the self-proclaimed "radical activist attorney" whom supporters portray as a kindly 62-year-old grandmother, crossed the line into criminality. Throughout 2000, FBI agents, working under the Foreign Intelligence Surveillance Act (FISA), secretly videotaped Stewart's visits with Rahman and wiretapped telephone conversations between the two. Due to federal authorities' concerns over Rahman's

attempts to issue *fatwahs* and direct further Islamic Jihad activities from prison, Stewart had to agree to a Special Administrative Measure (SAM) in order to gain access to him. The SAM meant that Stewart could only talk to Rahman about legal matters and barred her from conveying messages from the Sheikh to anyone in the outside world, including his family, friends, and the media. The SAM did, however, allow an Arabic translator, Mohammed Yousry, to accompany Stewart on her visits with the Sheikh.

According to a 19-page indictment issued by federal agents, it was through Yousry that Rahman delivered messages in Arabic to a Staten Island-based postal worker named Ahmed Abdel Sattar. While Yousry was a go-between for Rahman and Sattar, Sattar facilitated communication between Rahman and Islamic Jihad representatives in the Middle East. Through faxes and telephone conversations, Sattar informed Islamic Jihad members abroad of the Sheikh's directives and desires; they in turn carried them out.

Despite the Sheikh's incarceration, Islamic Jihad still considers him its sole spiritual leader, a fact made brutally clear in 1997 when six assassins shot and stabbed four Egyptians and 58 tourists to death in Luxor, Egypt. Members of the Islamic Jihad later claimed responsibility for this murderous rampage, saying it was done to force authorities to release Rahman from prison in the United States. Not to be outdone, Osama bin Laden and a few of his fellow al-Qaeda operatives appeared on *Al-Jazeera* television in September 2000, vowing to wage a *jihad* to end Rahman's incarceration. (One of the men extolled viewers to "avenge your Sheikh" and "go to the spilling of blood.") It is no coincidence that the suicide bombing of the American Navy destroyer U.S.S. Cole occurred just one month after this broadcast. That attack, which took place in Yemen and killed 17 U.S. sailors, was explained by Sattar's Mideast contacts as a warning to the U.S. government to free Rahman.

Yousry and Sattar's work as messengers played a vital role in Islamic Jihad's militant mission. But without Stewart, correspondence with the Sheikh would have been impossible. Stewart encouraged and actively

supported Yousry's efforts to communicate privately with the Sheikh in Arabic. An FBI affidavit prepared by agent Kimberley Whittle detailed the cunning measures Stewart resorted to during her prison visits in order to protect Rahman and assist Islamic Jihad's homicidal agenda. According to the affidavit, Stewart "made random comments out loud for the [prison] guards to hear in order to conceal the real conversation" between Rahman and Yousry. During one such exchange, Stewart – all the while pretending to take notes in her legal pad – misled nearby guards by loudly inserting the nonsensical phrase, "Yes, the um...I am talking to you about...him going out on a, uh, chocolate eh...heart attack here" into a discussion between Rahman and Yousry. A wiretap captured Stewart, Rahman, and Yousry joking afterwards about Stewart's deception, with the aging leftist lawyer saying she could "get an award for it." The Sheikh added, "As long as the government is using secret evidence, we will use secret doves."

Stewart solidified her status as a terror-friendly "dove" with her most flagrant defiance of the signed Special Administrative Measure: releasing an Islamic Jihad press release. The indictment handed down by federal authorities states, "On or about June 14, 2000, Stewart released Sheikh Abdul Rahman's statement to the press and quoted the Sheikh as saying he is 'withdrawing his support for the cease-fire that currently exists.'"

In direct violation of the SAM, the statement signaled Islamic Jihad members that they should resume violence against the Egyptian government and end a ceasefire that had been in effect since 1998. Yet Stewart, showing no regard for the Luxor-like carnage that would ensue, released the Sheikh's decree to the international media. This was her final and most costly mistake, the one that ultimately led to her arrest by federal agents outside her Brooklyn apartment in April 2002. Although Stewart blamed then-Attorney General John Ashcroft for her incarceration, it was Janet Reno who tracked her pro-terror activities. (Always the epitome of class and grace, Stewart led a large crowd of antiwar protestors in chants of "Ashcroft sucks" in October 2002.) Currently free on \$500,000 bond, Stewart faces up to 40 years in prison.

An unsavory cast of fringe groups has also joined the "Free Lynne

Stewart" coalition. Refuse and Resist, a group headed by Revolutionary Communist Party activist C. Clark Kissinger (also a leader of the antiwar group Not In Our Name), promotes Stewart. Other fringe Communist groups supporting Stewart include *Pravda*; the World Socialist Website; the Committee to Support Revolution in Peru, an arm of Peru's bloodthirsty "Shining Path" rebels; and International ANSWER (Act Now to Stop War and End Racism), the Stalinist front at the helm of many recent antiwar protests.

In the wake of 9/11, Stewart's complicity in aiding a U.S.-hating Islamic terrorist group with clear links to Osama bin Laden should make her a pariah. Instead, American leftists have fallen all over themselves inviting Stewart to their events -- including the "antiwar" demonstration in October 2002, the Socialist Scholars Conference that December, and campus after campus across the nation.

There was the December 2002 speech Stewart delivered at William Mitchell College of Law in St. Paul, entitled, "Representing Muslim and Arab Clients After 9/11: Can the Sixth Amendment Right to Counsel Survive?" This event was sponsored by the Minnesota chapter of the National Lawyer's Guild as part of the group's 2002 Social Justice Dinner. Stewart was keynote speaker at the event. The National Lawyers' Guild press release for Stewart's appearance at William Mitchell read in part: "The witch hunt against Stewart, and the intended chilling effect on other defense attorneys, is yet another attempt by the government to dismantle the Constitution and deprive fundamental rights in furtherance of the War on Terrorism. The government is using fear to destroy the principles that define our democracy."

Stewart's campus tours also led her to the Pacific Northwest where she made back-to-back appearances in April 2003, at Portland State University and Seattle University. Both speeches focused on her favorite target: John Ashcroft. In fact, Stewart's website ([www.lynnestewart.org](http://www.lynnestewart.org)) dubbed the Portland event, "Lynne Stewart vs. John Ashcroft."

The Portland State fiasco was sponsored by the usual medley of radical Stewart-affiliated interest groups, including the Association of

African Students, Americans United for Palestinian Human Rights, the Palestine Arab-American Association, the Portland chapter of the National Lawyers Guild, and Socialist Action.

Seattle University is a 112-year-old Jesuit college, which, according to its mission statement, is “inspired by the Catholic intellectual tradition...we encourage and assist all students to explore their relationship with humanity, nature, and God; we provide all members of the university community the means to deepen the understanding of their faith.” Are we to believe that Catholic intellectual tradition would endorse the terrorist activities and sympathies of Lynne Stewart? In truth, Stewart’s terrorist-hugging antics represent the antithesis of Catholic teachings. Yet Seattle University, with help from the Seattle chapter of the National Lawyers Guild, hosted Stewart for two speeches, and held a special reception in her honor. An e-mail circulated to the school’s law students called Stewart “courageous” and portrayed her as a champion of human rights.

Stewart has been an immensely popular draw at small liberal arts colleges, but she has also enjoyed the lucrative embrace of large state universities like Arizona State. Her March 2003 appearance at ASU was dubbed “Emphatically Not Guilty,” referencing her initial statement following her 2002 arrest. An ASU Law School press release described Stewart’s indictment in these terms:

Last April, FBI agents arrested Lynne Stewart at her Brooklyn home. As they took her away in handcuffs, the FBI invaded and searched her Manhattan office. Her crime? Doing her job for the past 27 years as an outspoken criminal defense lawyer. Prior to September 11th and the hastily enacted “Patriot Act,” Lynne Stewart never would have been indicted.

While American university audiences have made Lynne Stewart a poster child for civil liberties, the rest of us should not forget who she is. “I don’t have any problem with Mao or Stalin or the Vietnamese leaders or certainly Fidel locking up people they see as dangerous,” she told

*Monthly Review’s* Susie Day in a November 2002 interview. “Because so often, dissidence has been used by the greater powers to undermine a people’s revolution.” Indeed, while giving the keynote address at the National Lawyers Guild’s annual convention in October 2003, Stewart said she was motivated by many historical figures:

And modern heroes, dare I mention? Ho and Mao and Lenin, Fidel and Nelson Mandela and John Brown, Che Guevara who reminds us, “At the risk of seeming ridiculous, let me say that the true revolutionary is guided by a great feeling of love.” Our quests like theirs are to shake the very foundations of the continents.

Stewart had already described how her revolutionary groupies would shake those continents: “I don’t believe in anarchist violence but in directed violence,” she told the *New York Times* in 1995. “That would be violence directed at the institutions which perpetuate capitalism, racism, sexism, and at the people who are the appointed guardians of those institutions and accompanied by popular support.”

Accordingly, Stewart held a positive view of the events of 9/11, as recounted by George Packer in the *New York Times Magazine*:

This warmhearted woman took the slaughter of innocents with a certain cold-bloodedness. The U.S. is constantly at war around the world and shouldn’t expect its acts to go unanswered, she says. The Pentagon was “a better target”; the people in the towers “never knew what hit them. They had no idea that they could ever be a target for somebody’s wrath, just by virtue of being American. They took it personally. And actually, it wasn’t a personal thing.” As for civilian deaths in general: “I’m pretty inured to the notion that in a war or in an armed struggle, people die. They’re in the wrong place, they’re in a nightclub in Israel, they’re at a stock market in London, they’re in the Algerian outback – whatever it is, people die.” She mentions Hiroshima and Dresden. “So I have a lot of trouble figuring out why that is wrong, especially when people are sort of placed in a position of having no

other way.”

As for the Islamic fanatics who have declared war on America, Stewart told Susie Day, “They are basically forces of national liberation...” About the “Blind Sheikh,” who helped to mastermind the first attempt to blow up the World Trade Center and the Lincoln and Holland tunnels, and hoped to kill hundreds of thousands of Americans, she says:

Now, certainly somebody like Sheikh Omar, who was a world figure, someone who was listened to by the entire Muslim population for being a very learned scholar, deserved to have a platform, deserved not to be entombed in the middle of America and not able to speak. They said the Sheikh was responsible for, I dunno, everything except flat feet. They made it sound like a worldwide conspiracy...He’s a blind, elderly, sick man. He may be a spiritual head, he may be intellectually involved in [Islamic Jihad’s] struggle [in Egypt]. But he’s certainly not a combatant in any sense whatsoever.

Not only does Stewart have no remorse for what she did, she positively enjoys the martyr’s role she has adopted: “(D)on’t ask me what I was doing! Ask what the government was doing listening in!” she told *WW3 Report*. “They suckered me...I really see it all as part of the right-wing parade orchestrated by Bush and Ashcroft, which really masks their economic goals, to exploit the Third World and divert Americans’ attention from the fact that our economy seems to be tanking right now. If I am the poster-child now for the anti-Ashcroft forces, I’m happy to be that.”

These kinds of sentiments encouraged leftist law students at the City University of New York to present her with the school’s 2003 Public Interest Lawyer of the Year award at graduation ceremonies that year. A group of students presented administrators with a petition containing 73 names – more than half of the graduating class – in an effort to reward Stewart for her betrayal of her country and its citizens. But this turned out to be too much. After the award proposal was leaked to the press and created an uproar, CUNY Law School Dean Kristin Booth Glen informed

students via e-mail that Stewart would not be honored, because that “could lead to consequences that could be damaging.”

This became the occasion for additional breast-beating about political repression. Kathryn Hudson, the CUNY law student who spearheaded the effort to fete Stewart, fumed, “If you can’t have free speech at a law school, where can you have it?” Graduate student Kavita Pawria added, “There is an irrational fear being used to suppress civil liberties.” Stewart herself got into the act, saying, “The students seem to carry on a long tradition of reminding institutions of their responsibilities. They are willing to take the risk, but Dean Glen apparently is not.”

Despite the setback, CUNY’s Criminal Law Society honored her at a private ceremony prior to graduation. Considering CUNY law students’ abysmal 50 percent passage rate on the bar exam, engineering this small victory was quite resourceful.

The same can’t be said for the leftist students at Stanford Law School, which the previous November had invited Stewart to serve a two-day stint as a “Public Interest Mentor” for students. The offer was extended – reportedly without full consent from faculty and administrators – by Eduardo Capulong, the Director of Public Interest and Public Policy Programs at Stanford Law School. Capulong is a member of the International Socialist Organization and a regular contributor to *Socialist Worker Online*, so his reasons for wanting to host an anti-capitalist like Stewart were predictable.

But the plan was short-circuited when opponents of Stewart brought her statements about “armed struggle” to the attention of Stanford Law School Dean Kathleen Sullivan. Sullivan abruptly rescinded the terrorist lawyer’s invitation just two days before the mentoring program was scheduled to begin. Stewart, who had just arrived in Palo Alto after a cross-country flight from New York, received a fax at her hotel from Sullivan saying, “It has recently come to my attention that in public statements you have expressly supported the use of violence to achieve social change. In light of these statements, I unfortunately cannot allow the Law School to confer upon you the title of David W. Mills Public Interest

Visiting Mentor.”

For once, sanity prevailed...to an extent. Stewart still hung around the Stanford campus for a few days and spoke at a student-run conference. As for her official snub by Stanford’s administration, Stewart told the *San Francisco Daily Journal*, “I’m pugnacious. This is a further chilling of the atmosphere for civil rights in this country. It does seem to be outrageous. Republicans certainly manifest a belief in violence toward Iraq, and I don’t see them being barred from anywhere.”

*Wall Street Journal Online* columnist James Taranto observed, “Stanford’s action [of inviting Stewart to mentor] is the equivalent of an American university in 1943 inviting someone who’s a Nazi sympathizer and alleged Nazi collaborator to be a ‘mentor’ for its students. One wonders how long it will be before some university invites Osama bin Laden himself to be a guest speaker.”

If Lynne Stewart and her campus supporters have their way, it won’t be long at all.

### 3. SOLIDARITY AT DUKE

by Lee Kaplan <sup>20</sup>

On October 15-17, 2004, in sunny North Carolina, a strategy session for radicals, anarchists, anti-Semites, and communists took place in the halls of an elite institution of higher learning, under the benevolent gaze of university administrators. Billed as an “open dialogue” on Middle East issues, the Palestinian Solidarity Movement Conference proved to be an indoctrination and tactical training session for activists dedicated to the support of Palestinian terrorists engaged in the effort to liberate the Holy Land “from the Jordan River to the sea.”

In previous PSM gatherings at Berkeley and the University of Michigan, the organizers of these conferences have featured known (and subsequently jailed) Islamic terrorists, and led participants in chants of “Kill the Jews!” Duke’s Conservative Union ran an ad detailing the organization’s violent history and agenda in an effort to dissuade the university from disgracing itself by defending the charade that this event had anything to do with an academic curriculum. But despite the clear evidence as to who the solidarity movement represents and what its violent agenda consists of, the Duke administration (represented by its Vice President for Governmental Affairs, John Burness) ran interference for the radicals and went out of its way to make sure the event would take place exactly as the organizers intended.

Several Jewish organizations mounted a campaign to alert the Duke administration to the conference’s destructive agendas. But presented with a petition of 92,000 signatures, the Duke administration not only refused to turn away the PSM activists but whitewashed what went on during their gathering on Duke’s campus. Thus Students for Academic Freedom, a 135-chapter national campus organization, appealed to Duke President Richard Brodhead to insist that all sessions of the conference be open to the public and to the press – to no avail.

<sup>20</sup> StandWithUsCampus also contributed to this report.

While presenting their events as “open dialogue” forums, the solidarity organizers have a consistent history of barring critics and media observers from their workshops and training sessions. At last year’s conference, hosted by Ohio State University,<sup>21</sup> the organizers used metal detectors to prevent attendees from bringing tape recorders or cameras. This practice allowed them to deny the promotion of violence at previous conferences and to win the support of administrators like Burness, who claimed that there was no evidence that the Michigan conference had featured chants of “Kill the Jews” (at least, until he was presented with documentary evidence by critics who had secretly infiltrated and taped the event). Burness allowed the Duke organizers to screen participants at this year’s event, making a mockery of its claim to be academic or “open.” Duke University allowed the organizers to use metal detectors and confiscate tape recorders, while providing \$60,000 in Duke funds (according to a Duke administrator I interviewed) for added event security.

When FrontPage Magazine assigned me to cover the previous Solidarity Conference at Ohio State, I witnessed first hand how the organizers presented one face to the press – as a movement interested in Palestinian rights – and quite another in its closed sessions, counseling its student attendees on how to infiltrate Israel by lying to immigration officials and discussing how to justify violence when confronted by critics. When I covered the Ohio State conference, I was not known to the organizers. Since then, because of an article for FrontPage in which I filed an undercover report on a training session of the Palestine Solidarity Movement<sup>22</sup> – held for activists to infiltrate Israel and obstruct Israeli security officials – I have become their enemy. Therefore, when Vice President Burness refused all appeals to open the Duke conference to public scrutiny, I resolved to go undercover again. Disguised as a Pakistani, carrying a fake ID and a hidden recorder, I attended both the

21 See Lee Kaplan's report, "Campus Rally for Terror," FrontPage Magazine, Nov. 26, 2003. <http://www.frontpagemag.com/Articles/ReadArticle.asp?ID=11010>.

221 Lee Kaplan, "Solidarity with Terror," FrontPage Magazine, July 2, 2004. <http://www.frontpagemag.com/Articles/ReadArticle.asp?ID=14063>.

open-press events and the meetings the organizers – abetted by Duke administrators – had declared “closed” to the press.

## DAY ONE: FRIDAY NIGHT

“We've come a long way in four years,” boasted Fayyad Sbaihath on the first night of the PSM Conference. Sbaihath, the event's chief organizer, is a chemical engineering major from the University of Wisconsin at Madison and a Palestinian radical. Sbaihath headed a panel that included Dianna Buttu, a Canadian lawyer who represents the Palestine Liberation Organization, and the Reverend Mark Davidson of the Presbyterian Church USA, whose leaders recently met with the Middle Eastern terrorist group Hezbollah. This opening panel was titled “Divestment: The Weapon of the Global Fight for Justice,” although the weapon was directed solely at the democratic State of Israel. It attracted about 250 people – about a third of whom were Jews who had come to this open session of the conference to oppose the conference’s mission. “Only in the fourth year of the divestment campaign has [this] idea been endorsed by a mainstream institution,” Sbaihath said as he announced news that the Presbyterian Church USA had joined the movement to divest from Israel.

Until the announcement by the PCUSA, the divestment movement’s success had been limited. It had been denounced as a not-so-veiled form of anti-Semitism by the president of Harvard. Only a few small stocks of companies doing business in Israel had been removed from the portfolios of the University of Wisconsin (Sbaihath's base of operations) and Michigan's Wayne State University, which has a large Palestinian population. These were disappointing results for an anti-Israel campaign heavily supported with Saudi money and funneled through chapters of the Saudi-funded, pro-terrorist Muslim Student Association.

That is, until now.

Sbaihath was thrilled that the Presbyterian Church USA was in the process of divesting its \$70-billion portfolio from investments in Israel. Pro-Palestinians were now preparing to agitate for divestment within the very liberal Episcopal Church USA. Davidson suggested that leaders of his church will exert pressure on local businesses and corporations that do

business with Israel, in addition to the church's own financial divestment. Although he doubted the boycott would bring peace, Davidson said that cutting off funds to Jews in the Middle East was nevertheless crucial to bringing “social justice” to the Palestinian people.

Reverend Mark Davidson holds a degree in Peace and Conflict Studies, an academic field devoted to anti-American, anti-Israel, and anti-military agendas – that is, if the military in question is not part of a revolutionary guerrilla movement. Davidson belongs to a progressive Presbyterian Church USA faction that has met with Hezbollah,<sup>23</sup> the Islamic terrorist organization that murdered 241 U.S. marines in Lebanon in 1983 and is today the second largest terrorist army in the world. On the panel, Davidson stated that he objected to the biblical interpretation by “Christian Zionism” that “awards Jews exclusive rights to the land.” In the course of the evening, Davidson never explained his belief in Muslims' exclusive rights to most of the Middle East and North Africa, nor did he mention the persecution of his fellow Christians in the region under their control.

The PLO representative, Ms. Buttu, a Stanford-educated attorney and Canadian resident of Arab descent, also attacked Israel. Buttu insisted Israel is “grabbing Palestinian land and resources.” Equipped with graphs and posters, she dimmed the lights and wove a circuitous trail implying that Israel was dividing up the indigenous population into “bantusans,” as in the formerly apartheid South Africa. Ms. Buttu never addressed the reason for Israel's security fence (the terrorist campaign against Israeli civilians), nor the temporary nature of the security fence, which will stand until final borders negotiations are complete. The Palestinian Authority, which Ms. Buttu represents, arms the suicide bombers who attack Israeli civilians and lavishly rewards these Islamic “martyrs.”

Specious comparisons of Israel to apartheid South Africa became a running theme of the conference. If Americans can be persuaded to think that Israel needs to be dismantled as a human rights impediment, as was

23 Erick Stakelbeck, "America's Duty," Oct. 25, 2004.  
<http://www.frontpagemag.com/Articles/ReadArticle.asp?ID=15643>.

done justifiably in South Africa, this myth will preclude the possibility of a two-state solution. In fact, 21 percent of Israel's population consists of Arabs who live peacefully in Israel. If their Palestinian brethren would stop murdering Jews, Israel would have no need for physical security barriers. Moreover, it is the Arab states that have been made *Judenrein* – ethnically cleansed of their indigenous Jewish populations – without a peep of protest from the rest of the world.

In accord with the most recent Palestinian demand for a “right of return” for 5 million Arabs (the number of Arab refugees created by the 1948 Arab war against Israel has been estimated at 600,000), Buttu claimed there was plenty of room in Israel to accommodate any Arab seeking to move across the 1948 ceasefire line. An influx of 5 million hostile Arabs would spell the end of the Jewish state, which has always been the PLO's goal. Buttu didn't mention that 76 percent of the West Bank, which is under PLO control, is still undeveloped and would easily accommodate the Palestinian population if the PLO had spent its billions on internal development instead of on war against Israeli women and children, or toys for its late billionaire leader.

Before the conference, I had enlisted as many pro-Israeli Jews as possible to join me in attendance, specifically to counter such lies and misinformation. One such audience member asked Ms. Buttu why – given that human rights violations were so much worse in the Sudan, in China and elsewhere in the world – she considered it fair to single out only a tiny democratic state whose actual human rights record has been exemplary, and target it for divestment. In reply, Buttu said that while human rights abuses anywhere are deplorable (except presumably by the Palestinian Authority), Israel is “the greatest human rights abuser in the world.” Israel is a civilized democratic state. The Palestinian Authority that Ms. Buttu represents holds public executions, murders its women for losing their virginity – even if raped – and promotes a death cult that teaches schoolchildren to martyr themselves in the act of killing Jews.

Buttu lied, not only by omission, but through her outrageous characterizations of Israeli culture. According to Buttu, Israeli schoolbooks incite violence against the Arabs; in fact, exactly the opposite is true. Jew hatred

and incitements to destroy the state of Israel are pervasive in Palestinian textbooks down to the elementary school level. The maps of the Middle East provided of Israel falsely erase Israel from a territory called “Palestine,” which never existed. (The “Palestine Mandate” carved out of the Ottoman Empire includes the British-created state of Jordan, the West Bank, and the present state of Israel and was never occupied by a people calling itself “Palestinians.”) The role models offered to Palestinian schoolchildren are Islamic “martyrs” and suicide bombers.

At the previous Solidarity Conference at Ohio State, which I attended, an open-mike forum set the stage for a lengthy Israel-bashing session. The same happened at Duke, with speakers rambling at length about the evils of the Jewish state. One or two supporters of Israel did manage to voice questions and comments that challenged the dogma of the panel. A speaker from California told Rev. Davidson that his local Presbyterian minister in Los Angeles was ashamed of the actions of its leadership.

Opponents of the Palestine Solidarity Movement’s anti-Israel agenda came prepared to challenge key tenets of the conference, which was framed by a set of “Guiding Principles.” Principle #5 appeared to be an indirect endorsement of suicide bombing and other acts of terror. It reads, “As a solidarity movement, it is not our place to dictate the strategies or tactics adopted by the Palestinian people in their struggle for liberation.” When one pro-Israel advocate asked Ms. Buttú if the conference would clearly renounce suicide bombing, she employed the movement’s standard doublespeak, skirting the question and characterizing the Palestine Solidarity Movement as a “grassroots” operation. It wasn’t her place, said Buttú, to dictate policy. Such reticence was not evident concerning the actions of any other movement, state or individual; only Palestinian terrorists were immune from criticism.

Addressing questions about Palestinian corruption and Arafat’s diversion of millions of foreign aid dollars from his impoverished people, Buttú conceded that such abuses might take place, but she blamed them on *Israel*. One attendee asked why Arafat abandoned the Oslo and Taba peace agreements in favor of terrorism. Buttú skipped over Israel’s offer of virtually all of the West Bank and Gaza and outrageously dismissed these

plans as attempts to take “Palestinian land.” Of course, this made sense only if “Palestinian land” included the whole of Israel.

Faced with direct questions, the speakers avoided responding when they feared the truth would damage their credibility. Stephen Miller, a Duke student who leads the campus chapter of Students for Academic Freedom, asked Fayyad Sbaihāt whether he was a member of the terrorist Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine (PFLP), as claimed by Israeli intelligence officials. Sbaihāt denied the charge curtly, in six words, then cut Miller short and moved to the next question.

Many in the audience laughed at Miller’s question. To Sbaihāt’s fellow travelers in terrorism, such an affiliation would be something praiseworthy. Sbaihāt, a Palestinian refugee from the West Bank, has apparently unlimited funds to jet all over the U.S. and Canada, organizing conferences such as Duke’s from his base at the University of Wisconsin-Madison. Other major players in the Palestine Solidarity Movement, Mohammed Abed and Nasser Abufarha, also operate from Madison as part of the “Alternative Palestinian Agenda.” These two were present at the Duke conference, leading and lecturing at sessions on the need to destroy Israel.

Finally, I decided to approach the microphone to expand on the question for Mr. Sbaihāt, after he had blown off Stephen Miller. Seeing me approach the mike, Sbaihāt hurriedly ended the question-and-answer period.

As I was leaving the panel session, a fellow reporter from the *New York Sun* asked me how he could get into the workshops over the weekend. He had been informed that the press would not be allowed in. I gave him some advice: “Get a disguise.”

## DAY TWO: THE WORKSHOPS

The Palestine Solidarity Movement (which is the same as the International Solidarity Movement) knows me well due to my earlier infiltrations of their events and training sessions as a member of the press. I gained access to the workshops at Duke by putting on my disguise as a Pakistani

Muslim. (I am a former actor by profession.) My costume afforded me access to unscripted remarks and interviews I could never have otherwise obtained. I was equipped with a hidden camera and tape recorders. I smuggled these past the conference's metal detectors with surprising ease, given that Duke had spent nearly \$60,000 to aid the PSM organizers in keeping out inquiring reporters like me. (One wonders what else could have been slipped past the metal detectors.)

This year's guest of honor, Mazin Qumsiyeh, gave the first workshop I attended on Saturday morning. (A previous guest of honor at the Michigan conference, Sami al-Arian, sits in jail today.) Qumsiyeh is the head of Al Awda ("the Return"), a division of the International Solidarity Movement, with cells across the U.S. and Canada. Al Awda promotes the destruction of Israel through the "right of return" agenda. Qumsiyeh, a professor of biology at Yale, created a stir last year when he published a list of Jewish students on campus and attacked them as "pro-war" pawns of the Bush administration. (In fact, many of these Jewish students at Yale are prominent opponents of both the President and the Iraq war.)

Qumsiyeh co-hosted the first session with Mohammed Abed, who is part of Sbaihat's cohort at the University of Wisconsin-Madison, organized as the "Alternative Palestinian Agenda." Last year, Abed also gave a workshop lecture at Ohio State, denouncing two-state solutions for the Middle East conflict and advocating the Palestinian "right of return." At Duke he repeated these points. Handsome, with a dignified English accent, Abed sounded educated and rational as he spoke about the impossibility of allowing Israel to exist. Neither he nor Qumsiyeh addressed the irony of their support for a "right of return" for displaced refugees while advocating the removal of Jewish communities in the West Bank, Gaza, and East Jerusalem. However, Qumsiyeh declared, "Zionism is a disease," which would preclude those labeled Zionists from having any rights. Qumsiyeh denounced the Jewish state's existence and cited texts that he claimed proved "Nazi-Zionist collaboration" during the Holocaust. His intention was to undermine any justification for the creation of a Jewish state.

Qumsiyeh's perverse reconstruction of historical events included the claim that Ehud Barak offered the Palestinians nothing in the Oslo accords. In fact, Barak offered not only the entire West Bank and Gaza, but half of Jerusalem – with authority over the Temple Mount, Israel's holiest shrine, which the Arabs immediately closed off to Jewish worshippers. Barak's dovish predecessor, Yitzhak Rabin, had vowed to never give up any of Jerusalem before he was assassinated. But because the Clinton-Barak plan would ratify the existence of the state of Israel, Arafat left the offer on the table, broke off the talks, and launched a wave of suicide bombings in the second "Intifada" to destroy the Jewish state.

Qumsiyeh, a Christian Arab, played his collegiate audience by claiming that, "All movements of ethnic nationalism are a disease. I'd say the same about an Islamic state." On the other hand he had nothing negative or critical to say of the Palestinian Constitution, which clearly states that Palestine is an Islamic theocracy, like Iran, after which it was modeled.

Next, Qumsiyeh lamented the high population density in Gaza, although its density is no greater than that of San Francisco. "In the West Bank," he complained, "there simply isn't enough room" for the Palestinian population. But, as noted, 76 percent of the West Bank is unoccupied and open for development, a fact no one mentioned. "The UN never intended there to be a two-state solution" in 1948, Qumsiyeh preposterously claimed. "There is a peace process, but not peace. Colonization should be prevented until [the Jews] all leave."

In this view, which pervaded the conference, Israel is an illegitimate colony, which must be destroyed and its population of colonizers removed. This conception is completely ahistorical, Israel was created in exactly the same way as Lebanon, Syria, Jordan, and Iraq, out of the ruins of the Ottoman Empire, which had been ruled by the Turks for 400 years. In my best Pakistani accent, I posed a question to Qumsiyeh: Did the Jews not have a legitimate fear of such a one-state solution, given Palestinian terror attacks on their children? I also asked why the Palestinians could not first create a viable democracy and forswear terrorism for five years, as in the original Oslo plan, before proposing a one-state solution, while exalting

suicide bombers of innocent civilians as heroes in their media.

Qumsiyeh responded by ending the session. So much for “open dialogue.”

I left the classroom and went upstairs where another workshop, “Divestment 101: Getting You Started,” was being led by Wendy Ake and Eyad Khalaf. I caught the tail end of the lecture and managed to get an interview with Khalaf by telling him I was writing a book. Khalaf first told me that pro-Palestinian activists on campuses should always try to link Israel to South Africa. I asked Khalaf if Palestinians who are Israeli citizens have the right to vote. He said they did not. In fact not only do they vote, but the Palestinian Arabs who are *elected members of Israel's parliament* openly call for the dismantling of Israel's democracy.

Khalaf also told me that Israeli Arabs are not allowed to own businesses. This too was a bald falsehood. He claimed that Israeli settlers in the West Bank were given Arab land for free. This was also untrue. After the 1967 war, in which the West Bank came under Israeli control (it had been used to launch the Arab attack), Jews bought their homes on Jordanian “crown lands” which had no individual owners. When I challenged him with these facts, he persisted with the fiction that any land owned by Arabs was simply taken by Israelis without compensation. Even when the government of Israel confiscates land under eminent domain, the owner is compensated at real value. Some Palestinians have even sued in Israeli courts and overturned Israeli government appropriations.

Khalaf volunteered another complaint: that Arabs in the West Bank are given different colored license plates than those of Israelis. This is true, but it is only because the Palestinian Authority requested the distinction to reflect separate sovereignty. As another example of Arab dispossession, Khalaf said that the West Bank features special roads accessible only to Jews. It is true that there are security roads for settlers who have been attacked and killed on main roads, but Arabs in the Palestinian Authority can apply for permits to use them.

I asked him if the Jews in Israel had any claim to live in the Holy Land at all. He replied that the Jews were all settlers from Europe. This is

another blatant untruth. Jews have lived continuously in the region for 3,000 years and a majority of Israel's population – fifty-five percent – is made up of Jewish refugees from other Middle Eastern lands (from which they were expelled by Arabs, who do not offer these displaced persons the “right of return”). He claimed that only Jews were allowed to immigrate to Israel and become citizens. This was also false. Khalaf claimed that there were special Jewish Arab Palestinians who reside in the northern West Bank (there are none) comprising one percent of the Palestinian population. Only these special (and imaginary) Jews, who live under the Palestinian Authority, had a right to remain. All other Jews would have to go, including the Jewish refugees from Arab lands and their progeny born in the Jewish state.

Edward Said, the late anti-Israel professor at Columbia University, once said, “Truth doesn't matter; only emotions matter.” Said urged Palestinians to “write your own history.” Palestinians like Khalaf apparently believe that as long as an historical claim justifies the dismantling of Israel, it's worth repeating. Khalaf, an ideological disciple of Said, now recruits the next generation of creative historians on American campuses.

To test the range of his fabrications, I asked Khalaf if the Palestinian Authority has a law condemning to death any Arab who sells land to a Jew, which it does. He denied such a law existed. By now, Wendy Ake, who had co-lectured earlier with Khalaf, had approached the place where we were standing and began to eye me suspiciously. Ake seemed to think I was asking too many questions, and she became wary after I asked for her name and e-mail address. After snapping a few photos with my hidden camera, I decided it was time to move on.

Another Saturday session was devoted to the “Palestine Education Project (PEP): Bringing the Palestinian Struggle to School.” It was led by Ora Wise, an anti-Israeli Jewess who had said at the previous solidarity conference at Ohio State that, “Zionism is racism.” Ora is a Hebrew teacher at the Kolot Chayeinu synagogue in Brooklyn. The daughter of a Cincinnati rabbi, she now advocates the destruction of the Jewish state. Nothing is more valued by the Palestinian radicals than a Jewish

schoolteacher dedicated to furthering their destructive agenda.

This year, Ora led a workshop on how to induce young Americans, particularly minorities in inner-city schools, to hate Israel. She instructed the attendees to contact teachers all over the country with the goal of convincing children that Israel is a threat to the peoples of the Middle East. She advised them to avoid going through the principal's office in these schools but to contact teachers directly. "Here is how you teach Israeli oppression," she began. "Give a kid some water, but give other kids a lot of water. Give some kids toys, and other kids no toys. Talk about the comparisons. Tell them the Israeli kids have the toys, the water. The Palestinians have nothing – and it is the fault of the Israelis." Wise reminded attendees to make sure they blamed the Israelis in front of the children.

"Get children to draw photos of their families in their homes," said Wise. "Then, show them all the photos of what a Palestinian child would draw, reflecting oppression." She explained, "You can order these special pictures" from various Palestinian activist sources. Another handy tip she offered: "Get a hula hoop. Get the classroom of kids to stand close together around the hula hoop. Then put a child in the middle of the hula hoop. The child in the hula hoop is the Israeli. He has lots of space. He has all the water. Everyone else is crowded and uncomfortable."

Another strategy session closed to the public and the press was, "From Birthright to the ISM: The Struggle against Roots and Walls." This session provided information on how to exploit institutions and individuals that supported Israel to further the International Solidarity Movement's goals. Vicki Kaplan (a Duke alumna), Rann Bar-On (a conference organizer), and Jessica Rutter described how to get free plane tickets to Israel. The plans boiled to deceiving Jewish philanthropists, who provide money to send young Jews to the Jewish homeland on "Birthright" trips. Activists should apply for "Birthright" grants, then proceed to the West Bank to disrupt construction of Israel's security fence, which is the Palestine Solidarity Movement's latest project.

Rutter, the leader of Duke's anti-Israel divestment group, boasted that she herself had recently manipulated the "Birthright" grants with ease. She

was able to do this because of the general lack of awareness of the sophisticated cynicism of Israel's enemies. Had the "Birthright" program's planners searched for Jessica Rutter's name on the Internet, they would have discovered that she is an anti-Israel activist.

I had written about this manipulation of Jewish philanthropies and programs in my article on last year's Palestine Solidarity Movement conference at Ohio State. This movement was planning to infiltrate Jewish youth chapters, specifically Hillel groups, on college campuses, to gain access to their funding and subvert them from within. This year, I got an intimate look at how the plan to use Hillel against Israel is supposed to work.

Radicals of Jewish descent in this strategy session (closed to all but committed anti-Israel militants) were told that Hillel is a democratic organization, operating under a "big tent" to encompass all points of view. The conference speakers advised young attendees to enter Hillel posing as Jewish progressives. Once inside, they should encourage divestment and weaken Israel "by any means necessary." It is an instance of what David Horowitz has called the "unholy alliance" between radical Islam and the American Left. The Hillel infiltrators could also monitor pro-Israel activities on campus in order to disrupt them. When scholar Daniel Pipes came to speak at UC-Berkeley, some students from the campus Hillel sought to disrupt his speech and had organized events critical of Israel. I joined some pro-Israel students who were concerned about these activities and expressed their concern on the Internet program Israel National News. Instead of addressing the problem, Hillel's director ejected the pro-Israel students who had gone on the air to expose the radicals in their midst. On campuses like Berkeley, Hillel has created a monster – a vehicle for anti-Israel activists funded by the Jewish state's most ardent supporters.

Another closed panel I attended was called "The One-State Solution and Bi-nationalist Politics' Impact on Activist Discourse." It featured Fadi Kiblawi, who has publicly expressed his wish to become a suicide bomber. Kiblawi advocates killing Jews in all countries to hasten the creation of a Palestinian state. He spoke to a full, eager audience; the room was so crowded I had to sit on the floor behind the panelists.

At one point a husky young man from the audience raised his hand to propose a topic shift. “One thing we need to discuss,” he said, “is Jewish control of the media. The Jews are everywhere. Look at the governor of New Jersey. He even has a homosexual Jew, an Israeli, for his lover.” Kiblawi agreed. “Yeah, isn’t it disgusting?”

At no time during the conference were suicide bombings or terrorist attacks mentioned, let alone condemned, by the panelists. Nor were critical views of Palestinian tactics tolerated. In one of the public sessions, Duke student Stephen Miller asked whether the Jewish minority within a new Palestinian state will be treated equitably, given that an Arab who sells land to a Jew is put to death for his “crime.” From her seat in the audience, Ora Wise shouted him down, calling his presence “sexist.” Women were being excluded from a male-dominated conversation, she claimed. When she had gained control of the floor, she shrieked, “The land doesn’t belong to them!”

A session titled, “A Palestinian Presence On Campus: How to Start an Organization,” was hosted by Aseel Elborno, President of the Middle East North African Student Association at nearby North Carolina State University. Elborno began by encouraging everyone to start pro-Palestinian campus groups. Once the schools’ paperwork procedures were met, she assured us, radical groups would have financial resources to promote the PLO’s agenda. In other words, the good intentions of U.S. taxpayers in funding education could be exploited to underwrite their political message. “The universities have tons of money [that] you can get by requesting funds from student government allocations,” Elborno said. “They never say ‘no.’” Well, actually they do say no – to conservative students – but never to “Third World” leftists.

The conference was running half an hour behind schedule, so I rushed to the next meeting, an “Anarchist Caucus” given by Abe Greenhouse, the Rutgers student who smashed a pie in Natan Sharansky’s face when the Israeli Minister of the Diaspora spoke on campus. Greenhouse told us he became an anarchist at age 15. When I asked him to define what being an anarchist meant, he said that it was a form of Communism that rejected

social hierarchy. Greenhouse described the International Socialist Movement as the “field operation for the anarchist movement based on its structure of using affinity groups” in the Holy Land. In other words, the Palestinian Authority has used U.S. anarchists and their tactics as another weapon against the Jewish state, rallying unaffiliated people to their cause and giving them something mainstream to oppose. The PLO uses young American anarchists as recruiters and activists in the West Bank and Gaza as defenders and human shields for Arafat. One such anarchist was Rachel Corrie.

A young Chicano spoke of his association with MECHA and the Azatlan Movement, a Latino organization that advocates carving an independent Latino nation out of the western United States – by force, if necessary. Azatlan members call themselves “America’s Palestinians.” He identified himself as homosexual and pointed out that Greenhouse was, too; this seemed relevant to their alliance with the Palestinian cause. Neither acknowledged let alone addressed the fact that gays are brutally persecuted under the Palestinian Authority – in contrast to Israel, where they enjoy full civil rights. Many gay Palestinians have actually sought refugee status in Israel, fearing for their lives under the Arafat regime.

An Israeli girl in her early twenties praised Greenhouse for his pie assault on Sharansky. “It was brilliant,” she said. “They talked about it all over Israel when it happened. You really got your message out.” Greenhouse then left to conduct another workshop upstairs. This was “The Anatomy of the Organized Zionist Community in the United States,” led by Greenhouse and Rachel Roberts of Jews Against the Occupation. These two Jews lectured on the history, leadership, operational methods, and finances of the major Jewish organizations in the United States, characterizing them as “the enemy” and always referring to them as “the Zionists.” Greenhouse discussed Zionist Organization of America, Theodore Herzl, the Anti-Defamation League, AIPAC (America’s Israel lobby), the Jewish National Fund, Hillel, B’nai B’rith, and all other Jewish groups in America as if they were part of a dangerous and powerful conspiracy.

With gravity bordering on paranoia, Greenhouse identified philan-

thropists like Ron Lauder, who has restored synagogues and Jewish schools in Eastern Europe obliterated in the Holocaust, as a sinister force. “Don't buy Estee Lauder,” Greenhouse admonished. Greenhouse concluded by discussing Hillel, which he said welcomes a diversity of opinion. Campus chapters are less interested in Zionism than in social and religious Judaism, he said pointedly. The acknowledgment of Hillel's liberalism was not a concession that his demonic picture of Jewish organizations might be flawed, though; it was a tactical instruction. Hillel's openness meant that solidarity activists intent on Israel's destruction could rise easily in Hillel's ranks.

The relentless reference to Jews as Zionists at the conference – indeed the interchangeability of the words “Jew” and “Zionist” – was an unintentional confirmation that the anti-Zionism of the solidarity activists was in fact anti-Semitism, just as critics have charged, despite the presence of deracinated Jews like Greenhouse and Wise.

### DAY THREE: STRATEGY SESSIONS

On Sunday morning, I spent two hours disguising myself as a Pakistani again before I set off for the final day of the Duke conference. I was able to get through the metal detectors with my concealed camera and recorder and sat down in front of the morning panel, “What Palestinians Are Up Against: Oppression and Discrimination.” The program identified the panelists as Brian Avery, a “human rights advocate”; Rauda Marcos, a Palestinian poet and leader of a lesbian group; and Rania Masri, a local Palestinian writer and filmmaker also listed as a “human rights advocate.”

Avery's face was disfigured, the result of some ricocheting bullets that struck him one night when he violated curfew in a combat zone around Jenin. The program guide and Avery himself both blamed the Israeli army, but the Israeli army maintains the bullets came from Palestinian terrorists firing carelessly in the area. After the shooting, Avery received expert medical care in Israel – free of charge. He dismissed Israel's charity to a

dedicated enemy describing the treatment he received as a public relations stunt because he was a foreign national. Avery never detailed the work he allegedly did as a “human rights advocate.” And it was clear from his remarks that Jews did not qualify for such protections. “Bush's signing of the Global Anti-Semitism Bill was special payback to the Jewish folk,” he informed his audience. In a later outburst he told them, “Zionists control all the media.”

One of the speakers who followed Avery, Rania Masri, urged “people of color” to boycott Jewish products and businesses. Like other panelists who harped on racial issues, she ignored the fact that most Israelis have the same skin pigmentation as Arabs. Rauda Marcos said, “I would vote for a revolution. When is our revolution going to happen? The Palestinians still have the same problem no matter who they deal with – Barak, Sharon, it was all the same.” She drew sweeping parallels between the Iraqi occupation and the conflict in Israel, blaming both on America. “Israel is a place for the U.S. to land in,” Marcos declared. “Palestine? Iraq? What's next? What country will be invaded by the U.S. army and Israel?”

Gays are “not free” in the U.S. and Israel, said Marcos, a self-declared lesbian. A moment later she was complaining about the International Gay Pride Festival, which is scheduled to be held in Jerusalem in 2006. She urged everyone to “boycott” the festival. “We cannot be free as gays at the same time other people are being jailed, killed!” she cried.

This was the end of the panel. Wendy Ake came on the dais to announce a litany of resolutions passed by committees of the conference. Many of them dealt with new ways to promote divestment plans against Israel. A proposal to arrange a wider boycott against the Caterpillar Corporation also was adopted. Surprisingly, two resolutions had been introduced to condemn suicide bombings and terrorism. The resolutions proposed amending Principle #5 of the conference principles, which currently fails to reject such attacks. An organizer announced that these anti-terrorist resolutions were the only ones that failed to gain approval. On hearing this, the audience erupted into wild cheers and applause. Some people stood up, screaming for joy.

Rann Bar-On, an organizer of the conference, was later quoted in the local *Herald Sun*, which provided an entirely positive review of the conference covering most of its front page. Said Bar-on, “We don't see it as very useful for us as a solidarity movement to condemn violence.”

The final resolution designated the University of Wisconsin-Madison as the venue for next year's Palestine Solidarity Conference. Madison is the home turf of the Duke conference's organizer, Fayyad Sbaihat.

The resolutions over, the room cleared at once for “strategy sessions” in which radical groups that had come to Duke from around the U.S. met to plan campus activities for the coming year. Members of the press were barred.

As I picked up my belongings to move, I was approached by Dovid Weiss, a rabbi from the Neteuri Karta, who commented he noticed I was taking notes and asked me if I'd like to interview him. The Neteuri Karta is an obscure sect of ultra-Orthodox Chasidic Jews who believe the state of Israel should be destroyed because it came into being before the arrival of the Messiah as foretold in scripture. Arafat has made good use of the Neteuri Karta; he pays their leader, Moshe Hirsch, \$50,000 a year to be his “Minister of Jewish Affairs,” which is a job in name only. For this payment, Hirsch lends the Neteuri Karta name to the Palestinian cause.

At Duke the previous day, on Saturday, I had seen Weiss and a Netueri Karta colleague participating in the conference workshops. A truly Orthodox Jew would never engage in such activities on the Sabbath. Dovid Weiss, I concluded, was little more than a terrorist fellow-traveler in rabbinical clothing.

As the room cleared, chairs were rearranged for the “strategy planning session.” Representatives from radical groups and self-styled revolutionaries from all over the U.S. introduced themselves and began discussing their activities from the previous year and what they were planning to do in the coming year. Most were from chapters at American colleges. When my turn came, I said I was from Georgetown and working on a new project.

As I said this I noticed that John Burness, Duke's Vice President for Governmental Affairs, had joined the strategy session. Burness had had

several run-ins with the faculty, students and alumni at Duke because of the interference he ran for the organizers of this event. Even after receiving a petition signed by 92,000 people asking Duke not to host the event, even after proof was submitted demonstrating that the terrorist supporting International Solidarity Movement and the Palestine Solidarity Movement were in fact the same entity – something he had denied – Burness continued to defend the conference, claiming that it was a matter of “freedom of speech.” Burness also ensured that the organizers would be allowed to close their strategy sessions so as not to reveal many of their most destructive agendas to the general public and the press. After the conference, organizers were quoted by the local press as saying the event cost them less than \$10,000 to put on. Another report claimed they spent less than \$2,000. But Duke University officials conceded they had spent \$60,000 to make the hate-fest possible. This was the price of Burness' “free speech.”

Throughout the disputes leading up to the conference, Burness seemed personally invested in seeing that the conference would take place. He presented the affair in a positive light on Duke's website, and obstinately dismissed the negative information passed on to him by its opponents. In addition to denying that there were any links between the Palestine Solidarity Movement and the International Solidarity Movement, even after organizer Ran Bar-On admitted he was a member-organizer from the latter, Burness also denied that “Kill the Jews!” had been chanted at the Michigan Palestine Solidarity Conference. He did make a partial and half-hearted correction after I sent him a legal affidavit and other evidence to prove it was true. Burness claimed on the Duke website that a major Jewish organization had endorsed the Michigan conference, which was a blatant fabrication, which he refused to correct until the Jewish organization itself corrected him.

While I was reflecting on the presence of Burness in the inner sanctum of these strategy sessions, my cell phone rang and I went to the back of the room to answer it. Burness followed me and said he knew who I was, and threatened to call the police. So that's why he was there. As an enforcer for the conference organizers, to protect the secrecy of their

planning sessions. Burness said I was a member of the press and that I had to leave or I would be arrested. I had noted that organizations like the International Socialist Organization, which openly advocates the violent overthrow of the American government, were attending. I defended my presence at the session, but elected to leave. Once outside, I asked Burness whether he was aware that the agenda of the International Socialist Organization attending the event was the violent overthrow of the U.S. government. Apparently the question struck a sensitive nerve. His answer was, “You lying f—k!”

Before I was able to file this report, David Horowitz, my editor at FrontPagemagazine.com and the man who had sent me to report on the conference at Duke, received this email from John Burness:

**From: “John F Burness”**

**To: “David Horowitz”**

**Subject: Lee Kaplan**

**Date: Monday, October 18, 2004 1:27 PM**

Hello Mr. Horowitz:

We have communicated several times in the past and while we have disagreed on a number of issues, I have always felt we did so with respect for each others’ [sic.] views. That is why I write you now.

I enclose an e-mail I have just sent to Lee Kaplan, a reporter for your publication FrontpageMag.com. Several weeks ago, Mr. Kaplan wrote to ask if I would assure him that he could attend the meeting of the PSM conference on campus since he reported that he had been denied entry to a similar event in California, the previous weekend. I sent him the enclosed email confirming that he could do so. You will note that his participation in the event was conditional---as it was for all other attendees from the media or the general public---that he agree to honor the code of civility required of all registrants and that should he come as a representative of your publication, he agrees to respect the decisions of the student sponsors

concerning media participation including restrictions on the use of cameras and recording devices at specifically designated events.

...Mr. Kaplan ... had the option available to anyone who wished to attend the conference to be there as a private citizen. That would have permitted him to attend all sessions of the conference including those which the sponsors had declared off limits to the media. Mr. Kaplan chose to register as a member of the media representing FrontpageMag.com, which absolutely was his choice to make.

At one of the sessions that was closed to the media, Mr. Kaplan attended in a Clouseau-like disguise with make up, dyed hair and a fake beard, wearing a Kaffiyeh. (At an earlier workshop, I realized that he also was in disguise and represented himself as a Muslim from Pakistan.) When the attendance sheet went around he signed it as Michael Dost and listed an email address as Kuwaitikwiki@yahoo.com. When one of the students asked him if he was Lee Kaplan, he told her his name was Michael Dost and showed her a fake drivers license from Rhode Island (which I believe to be illegal). After I checked kuwaitikwiki@yahoo.com (he at least showed a sense of humor with this email address) to determine if it was valid and of course it wasn't. I approached Mr. Kaplan and told him he needed to leave since the event, as he knew, was not open to the media. He showed me the same driver's license he had showed the student. I told him that he nonetheless would have to leave and he did so not happily but without incident. In a subsequent conversation with him outside of the building, he acknowledged that he was carrying a taping device in his pocket. And shortly thereafter he had removed the fake beard and make up.

I have worked with many journalists over the years but never have I experienced one whose behavior has been so outside the norms of recognized ethical and journalistic standards as Mr. Kaplan. Since Mr. Kaplan was at this conference as your reporter, were you or anyone associated with your publication aware of his deliberate decision to lie in agreeing to respect and comply with the rules of attendance that the student organizers of the conference had stipulated and to which all other reporters complied? I hope you agree with me that his behavior violates just about every

appropriate standard of journalistic integrity that I assume you require of reporters for FrontpageMag.com.

I look forward to hearing from you.

John F. Burness  
Senior Vice President for Public Affairs  
and Government Relations  
Duke University

**This is David Horowitz's reply:**

Hello Mr. Burness,

As a preface to my reply to the concern you express (about journalistic ethics that may or may not have been involved in Lee Kaplan's report on what transpired at Duke), allow me to put your letter in a more appropriate context. I, too, have concerns, and these are not only ethical but also practical, involving issues that affect the lives of innocent human beings. I am frankly amazed and appalled at the lengths you are prepared to go to deny the obvious and to defend the indefensible in this case. After all, we are not discussing an academic conference at Duke concerned with intellectual matters of inquiry and interpretation. We are not discussing a medical convention dedicated to the development of practical techniques for improving human lives, where issues of patient privacy would be a legitimate concern. We are discussing a convention of radical and violent groups, practiced in the art of hate, who have been brought together for the purpose of dismantling and destroying a democratic state that was created as a refuge for the pitifully few survivors of one of the great crimes against humanity in recorded history.

In this matter, you and the Duke administration have gone out of your way to make possible and to defend at every turn a conference organized by individuals who are driven by a hatred of Jews and who are dedicated to the destruction of the state of Israel by any means necessary – including the murder of innocent civilians, which the attendees went on record

refusing to condemn. In the report by Lee Kaplan, which can be verified by reference to the tapes he was able to make, the organizers of the Duke conference reveal themselves to be cynical liars about matters of life and death for the Jewish citizens of Israel – which are not matters of reasonable dispute. These people are committed to manipulation and deceit for the sole purpose of subverting campus organizations in order to further a destructive agenda contrary to the intent of the members of these organizations. They are adept practitioners of slander for the purpose of demonizing Jews in general, whom conference organizers ritually referred to agents of a “disease” – Zionism – and the state of Israel in particular as an institution worthy of destruction.

In viewing these matters, I cannot be unmindful that the fate of six million Jews was sealed while German universities, not all that different from Duke, maintained their civilities while sponsoring “open dialogues” with the very anti-Semites who were preparing the slaughter. What is ethical in pretending that Jew-hatred did not have a field day at Duke in the sessions of the Palestine Solidarity Conference? Or that the conference itself was not defined by anti-Israel agendas? I'm curious, too: Would you have expended the kind of effort you did or the sizeable Duke resources you made available to these radicals if they had been members of the Ku Klux Klan and their targets had been African Americans rather than Jews? The *Duke Chronicle*, for which you are not directly responsible but which also bears the Duke name, censored an ad I placed in its pages and forced me to remove factual data about these conferences to protect the sensibilities of supporters of terrorism and the destruction of Israel. On the other hand, following the event, the *Chronicle* published – unedited – an anti-Semitic article by a Duke student who happened to be African American. Can you detect the pattern here?

As you were reminded in advance of the conference, the organizers of this event were members of an International Solidarity Movement whose purpose – documented in the pages of FrontPage Magazine and elsewhere – was to aid and abet terrorists in Israel by obstructing the work of Israeli security forces while hiding under the cloak of “human rights” activism

and the immunity they enjoy as citizens of the democratic West. There is no mystery about who these people are. Their conference at Michigan not only featured chants of “Kill the Jews,” a fact you continue to remain agnostic about (whose agendas does *that* serve?), but also featured as its honored keynoter the North American head of Palestine Islamic Jihad: Sami al-Arian, whose organization is responsible for the murder of more than 100 innocent people in Israel. Sami al-Arian is no stranger to you and Duke, as we have discussed in previous exchanges. In 2002, he was the keynote speaker at a faculty-sponsored conference at Duke on “Terrorism and Civil Liberties.” Al-Arian was presented as a spokesman for civil liberties. This was more than seven years after al-Arian was exposed by the *Miami Herald* as terrorist who had ranted “Death to Israel” at terrorist rallies the FBI taped and a year after Judy Genshaft had removed al-Arian from his position as a professor on her campus pending the results of the FBI’s investigation. (Al-Arian was indicted and is now in jail.)

Now to your point. Lee Kaplan attended these sessions and revealed that their attendees are training students to deceive others, Jews mostly, such as the students and administrators and benefactors of campus Hillel organizations. You were present at these closed sessions and know this. Yet this was no more your concern than the wall of lies that the organizers put out in the first place about the nature of their agendas in holding the conference (“open dialogue” etc.), which you worked so hard to protect. If you had been successful in policing those who came to attend the conference, Lee Kaplan would never have been allowed to take his tape recorder in to these sessions and the organizers would be able to present their next conference – to be held on the unsuspecting campus of the University of Wisconsin – in the same deceptive way they presented this one. And administrators like you would be able to claim that there was no evidence that would be anything but an “open dialogue” and academic discussion of issues in the Middle East. They would then be able to repeat the same deceptions and perhaps secure the same assistance from the administrators in Madison.

Now, however, thanks to the ingenuity and dedication of our

journalist Lee Kaplan, we have tape recordings and copious notes of these proceedings precluding all but the hopelessly credulous from doubting his report. No administrator at the University of Wisconsin will be able to pretend, as you did, that statements made were not made and that agendas pursued were not pursued, and that the conference organizers were anything but deceptive in their treatment of the public. Kaplan’s report will alert the university community in Madison that their university’s name and resources would not be used for an academic conference which intends “open dialogue” but for a conference whose agenda is to recruit and organize support for anti-Israeli, terrorist agendas. This was not a conference “For Palestinians” as the Raleigh *Sun-Herald* falsely proclaimed, but against Israelis and Jews.

I think this pretty well sums up the importance and value of a free press, and we at FrontPageMag.com are proud to have been able to carry on and further this noble tradition. And that is how we see the issues of ethics and integrity as they were involved in the shameful conference you helped to facilitate and promote at Duke.

Respectfully,

David Horowitz

## 4. ISLAMIC RADICALS ON CAMPUS

by Erick Stakelbeck

Although the Muslim Student Association of the U.S. and Canada presents itself as a benevolent, faith-based campus organization, the MSA actually serves as a North American base for Saudi-funded Islamic extremism. Created by the Saudi Arabian government in 1963 (with its first chapter at the University of Illinois), the MSA uses blatant anti-American and anti-Israeli propaganda in its quest to mold Muslims on U.S. college campuses into steadfast supporters of Islamic *jihad*. Whether providing support for terrorist organizations like Hamas, playing a prominent role in the antiwar protests, encouraging divestment from Israel or defending convicted cop-killers like Imam Jamil al-Amin (formerly known as H. Rap Brown), the MSA promotes an anti-American agenda and a fundamentalist Islamic dogma that seems inappropriate to academic life.

Despite its espousal of hard-line Wahhabi (fundamentalist) Islam, the northern Virginia-based MSA has managed to establish chapters on more than 150 colleges across North America, from densely populated areas like New York, California, and Texas to sleepy locales like Maine, Idaho, and Saskatchewan. The organization is broken into five zones (East Zone U.S., Central Zone U.S., West Zone U.S., East Zone Canada, and West Zone Canada) that encompass virtually every inch of North America. So what are the young Muslims in this far-reaching and self-described “patriotic” group up to? Consider this firsthand account, filed by Aaron Klein for WorldNetDaily.com, of an MSA meeting held at tiny Queensborough Community College in Queens, New York.<sup>24</sup> Writes Klein:

The event featured a speech about Iraq by two American-based leaders of Al-Muhajiroun, a well-known Islamic fundamentalist organization that supports the ideology of Osama bin Laden, and whose worldwide leader, Sheikh Omar Bakri Muhammed, has long been suspected of ties with al-Qaeda.

<sup>24</sup> Aaron Klein, "Soda, pizza and the destruction of America," WorldNetDaily. March 18, 2003. [http://www.worldnetdaily.com/news/article.asp?ARTICLE\\_ID=31571](http://www.worldnetdaily.com/news/article.asp?ARTICLE_ID=31571)

Klein goes on to describe the anti-American vitriol of the event's two featured speakers, "Yousef" and "Faheed":

(Yousef) argued that President Bush is starting a "Christian crusade to rid the world of Islam." He said that war with Iraq will cause a major humanitarian crisis in which American soldiers "starve, rape and murder our brothers and sisters" and that something must be done if that happens. "Because there is no way to justify this war," Yousef said, "we must find a solution."

Enter Brother Faheed.

Faheed, immediately declared that there is an outright conspiracy against Islam by Christians and Jews, and that as Muslims, "we must not recognize any government authority, or any authority at all besides Allah. We are not Americans!" (Faheed) shouted. "We are Muslims! (The U.S.) is going to deport and attack us! It is us vs. them! Truth against falsehood! The colonizers and masters against the oppressed, and we will burn down the master's house...we reject the UN, reject America, reject all law and order. Don't lobby Congress or protest because we don't recognize Congress! The only relationship you should have with America is to topple it!"

This speech took place in America when the nation was under attack by radical Islamists, a fact that didn't phase Faheed. He continued:

"The so-called terrorists are the only people who truly fear Allah. We must join these organizations. They are the only worthy causes, and the mighty superpower only fears them...(the U.S.) is not strong. Vietnam, they lost. Somalia, they ran away from. America hasn't won anything since World War II. We can defeat America...Eventually there will be a Muslim in the White House dictating the laws of the *Shari'a*."

Given this vitriolic anti-American rhetoric, how has an organization like the MSA managed to thrive on American college campuses? All roads

lead back to two parties: the group's Saudi benefactors and accommodating college administrators. In a comprehensive essay for the Center for Security Policy entitled "The Missing Link in the War on Terror: Confronting Saudi Subversion," Alex Alexiev describes the disturbing role played by Saudi Arabia in the MSA and several other Wahhabi front groups scattered throughout North America:

The Saudi state religion, Wahhabist Islam, would have been of no geopolitical consequence had it remained tucked in a corner of the Arabian desert. The Saudis over the years set up a number of large front organizations, such as the World Muslim League, the World Assembly of Muslim Youth, the Al Haramain Foundation, and a great number of Islamic "charities." While invariably claiming that they were private, all of these groups were tightly controlled and financed by the Saudi government and the Wahhabi clergy, and – more often than not – run by (Saudi) government officials...In the U.S. and Canada, an estimated 80 percent of all Islamic establishments are said to be supported financially by the Saudis. The majority of Muslim Student Associations at U.S. colleges are dominated by Islamist and anti-American agendas, as are most of the numerous Islamic centers and schools financed by the Saudis....<sup>25</sup>

Perhaps the most glaring example of Saudi influence in American universities is the Sultan Bin Abdulaziz Arab and Islamic Studies Program at the University of California-Berkeley. This \$5 million endowment, "generously" donated by the Saudi royal family each year since 1998, funds a significant portion of UC-Berkeley's Center for Middle Eastern Studies' programs in the form of scholarships, professorships, research grants, and even construction of new quarters on campus (all bearing the name of Saudi Crown Prince Bandar bin Sultan bin Abdulaziz al-Saud). Considering this pervasive Wahhabi influence, it comes as no surprise that

25 Alex Alexiev, "The missing link in the war on terror: Confronting Saudi subversion," <http://www.centerforsecuritypolicy.org/index.jsp?section=static&page=alexiev>

UC-Berkeley is home to one of the most radical MSA chapters in the United States.

According to Alexiev, such seamless infiltration is all part of the Saudis' master plan

This is the largest worldwide propaganda campaign ever mounted. Official Saudi sources indicate that between 1975 and 1987, Riyadh's "overseas development aid" averaged \$4 billion per year, and there is evidence that this level was maintained in the 1990s. While some of this aid did go to legitimate development-assistance activities, Saudi data show that at least half (\$50 billion over two and a half decades) and perhaps as much as two-thirds financed strictly "Islamic activities." Compared to these numbers, the massive Soviet external-propaganda budget (estimated at \$1 billion annually) at the peak of Moscow's power looks modest indeed.

The Saudis' goal is simple: promote worldwide Wahhabism. In the Muslim Students Association, a group that disingenuously portrays its members as moderate victims of racial and religious bias, they've created the perfect mainstream front for their militant Islamist agenda. Witness this sanitized version of the MSA's birth and subsequent growth from the organization's official website ([www.msa-natl.org](http://www.msa-natl.org)):

It was in January 1963 that some of the most respected personalities in the Islamic movement came together at the University of Illinois Champaign-Urbana, and formed the MSA of the United States and Canada. Over seventy people from across the country, including Ahmad Sakr, Mahdi Bhadori, Ahmad Totonji, Ilyas Ba-Yunus, and others, then all students, met in what would be the first of a number of historic gatherings to discuss the state of Muslims in North America...In 1983, MSA National gave birth to the Islamic Society of North America (ISNA), the umbrella of Islamic organizations that sprang from MSA in North America.

This statement neglects to mention that MSA co-founder Ahmad Sakr was also an original member of the World Council of Mosques, whose headquarters is in Makkah, Saudi Arabia. The Council is affiliated with the Muslim World League (MWL), which was created by the Saudi government in 1962. As for Sakr's fellow MSA founding member, Ahmad Totonji, he's served as Vice-President of the Saudi-funded International Institute for Islamic Thought and is also closely linked to the notorious SAAR Foundation (created by Suleiman Abdul Al-Aziz al-Rajhi, a scion of one of the richest Saudi families). Federal agents raided both of these northern Virginia-based organizations in December 2001, under suspicion that they were supporting Islamic terrorist groups. Totonji, in turn, was named a defendant in a \$1 trillion lawsuit filed by more than 600 relatives of people who died in the 9/11 attacks. Totonji and his co-defendants were labeled "enablers of terrorism" in the suit, which also states, "the financial resources and support networks of these defendants – charities, banks and individual financiers – are what allowed Sept. 11, 2001, to occur."

MSA's umbrella organization, the Islamic Society of North America (ISNA), vehemently opposed the U.S. wars in Afghanistan and Iraq and talks openly about the destruction of Israel. ISNA's President, Muslim cleric Muzammil Siddiqui, was somehow selected to represent the Muslim community at the President's National Day of Prayer after 9/11. Yet Siddiqui's views are in sync with those of the terrorist enemy.

- Siddiqui on Muslims in the U.S military: "Islam will not allow a Muslim to be drafted by non-Muslims to defend concepts, ideologies and values other than those of Islam. A Muslim shall defend non-Muslim lands not by bullets, chemical rockets or nuclear warheads."
- On *jihad* and martyrdom: "Those who die on the part of justice are alive, and their place is with the Lord, and they receive the highest position, because this is the highest honor."
- On the future of Israel: "I can see there is already some impact of *jihad* in Afghanistan, in the Intifada movement in Palestine... We will be celebrating, in *sha'allah*, the coming victory of Islam in

Palestine. We will be celebrating, in *sha'allah*, the coming of Jerusalem and the whole land of Palestine in *sha'allah*, and the establishment of the Islamic state throughout that area.”

- On U.S support of Israel: “We want the U.S. government to stop feeding the Israeli war machinery. Because if you remain on the side of injustice, the wrath of God will come.”
- On eventually establishing an Islamic government in the U.S.: “I believe that as Muslims we should participate in the (American) system to safeguard our interests and try to bring gradual change...We must not forget that Allah’s rules have to be established in all lands, and all our efforts should lead to that direction.”<sup>26</sup>

Siddiqui’s organization hosts an annual convention, which is now the largest single Islamic gathering in the Western world, bringing together more than 25,000 Muslims every year. Its parent, the Muslim Student Association, maintains continuous affiliation with its creation, even holding its Annual Continental Conference alongside ISNA’s. The partnership with ISNA is merely one of many unholy alliances that the MSA has cultivated to further its Wahhabist mission in North America. There are also MSA links to the aforementioned SAAR Foundation and World Muslim League, the World Assembly of Muslim Youth (whose U.S. operation was headed by one of Osama bin Laden’s brothers), the Benevolence International Foundation, the Global Relief Foundation, the Holy Land Relief and Development Foundation, and many others.

Over the past two years, many of these affiliated organizations have been either raided, closed down, or had their assets frozen by federal agents for receiving Saudi funds and supporting terrorist activities. The Holy Land, Benevolence International and Global Relief Foundations – all recipients of MSA funds – provided significant aid to al-Qaeda and Hamas terrorists. The evidence provided by federal agents in these cases was irrefutable. Yet the MSA, along with nine other Muslim organizations,

26 Tim Timmons, "Terrorists Under the Radar Screen in the USA," ASSIST News Service. December 7, 2001. <http://www.assistnews.net/strategic/s0112019.htm>

issued a joint statement in December 2001, asking President Bush to reconsider the government’s freeze on the Holy Land Foundation. Worse yet, in an interview with Associated Press writer Don Thompson, MSA national president Atlatf Husain called the federal probes “hype,” falsely claiming that “any group raising money for Muslims is funneling money to terrorists.” He also said the MSA had no plans to stop raising money for groups unless federal authorities cracked down.<sup>27</sup> “We are as American as anyone else,” said Husain. “Why should we be the ones looking for all these so-called ‘sleeper cells’ or whatever? There are oversight authorities who should be following these dollars to the end.”

Husain later claimed he was quoted out of context. But a 2002 article in *Al-Talib*, the official magazine of the UCLA’s MSA chapter, treated the demise of the Holy Land Foundation and the other terrorist fronts like a death in the family: “Immediately after the closures, the Muslim American community was stunned. How three of the nation’s largest Muslim charities could be made inoperable at the peak of the giving season of Ramadan seemed unbelievable.”

In addition to supporting *jihad*, the Muslim Student Association is unwavering in its support of convicted cop-killer and Imam, Jamil al-Amin (H. Rap Brown). Al-Amin is presently serving a life sentence for the murder of Atlanta police officer Ricky Kinchen, who, like Imam Jamil, is black. In March 2000, Kinchen and his partner went to an Atlanta grocery store owned by al-Amin to arrest him for theft. Imam Jamil reacted by shooting both police officers with an assault rifle. As Kinchen bled on the ground, Jamil produced a nine-millimeter handgun and shot him three times, murdering the 35-year-old officer in cold blood. Jamil was arrested, tried and convicted in a city whose mayor, police chief, and judges are black. The murdered police officer was the father of two children. What was the MSA’s reaction to this crime?

“Today the Muslim presence in America can begin to rally behind one of its own,” said MSA national president Atlatf Husain in a 2000 issue of

27 "Some U.S University Students Supporting Terrorism Affiliates," Don Thompson. Associated Press story. December 21, 2001.

*Al-Talib*. “Each of us needs to show our unwavering support for (al-Amin), his family, and his community because Imam Jamil is not the only one on trial. The Muslim presence in America is on trial.” The MSA is a member of the National Support Committee for Imam Jamil al-Amin and maintains a tribute to Jamil on its website, insisting on his innocence.

Another MSA *cause celebre* is Sami al-Arian, the former University of South Florida professor arrested for his role in directing the U.S. operations of Palestinian Islamic Jihad – a terrorist group that was responsible, just during the time al-Arian served as its North American leader and funder, for the suicide bombings of 99 individuals, including two Americans. Al-Arian’s indictment accused him, along with seven other men, of operating a criminal racketeering enterprise supporting Palestinian Islamic Jihad. He was also charged with conspiracy to kill and maim people abroad, extortion, visa fraud, perjury, and a litany of additional charges. The University of South Florida MSA held a press conference following al-Arian’s arrest that included the following statement:

We come before you today on behalf of the Muslim Student Association at USF as well as the National Muslim Student Association of the U.S. and Canada to express our shock, deep concern, and plea for justice regarding the recent arrests of two USF Professors, Dr. Sami al-Arian and Sameeh Hammoudeh...We are concerned that the USF Professors were arrested for their political views.

The MSA’s allegiance lies not with the hated United States government, which it hopes to topple, but with Islam. MSA national president Atlaf Husain made this clear during the recent U.S war in Afghanistan, as the 2002 article “Enemies Within, Part II” by Gerald Atkinson of [newtotalitarians.com](http://newtotalitarians.com) showed:

“Most Muslim students hold widespread grievances about America’s role in the Middle East conflict, its sanctions against Iraq and the stationing of troops in Saudi Arabia,” (Husain) says. Mr. Husain insists that this does not mean such students feel any

less patriotic about being Americans, but he concedes he would not be willing to fight against other Muslims. “Not under these circumstances and not for this war,” says Mr. Hassain [sic].

The limits of the MSA’s devotion to Islamic criminals was further tested with the emergence of Asan Akbar, the black Muslim Army sergeant who hurled a grenade into a tent in Kuwait during Operation Iraqi Freedom, killing two of his fellow U.S. soldiers and wounding 14 more. Akbar grew up attending a Saudi-funded mosque in South Central Los Angeles. He later moved on to the University of California-Davis, where he spent much of his time at the Davis Islamic Center, home to (surprise!) the UC-Davis chapter of the MSA. When Akbar wailed, “You guys are coming into our countries and you’re going to rape our women and kill our children,” he summarized the MSA’s feelings on the war in a nutshell.

With the MSA comprising such a formidable fifth column, it was only a matter of time before it caught the attention of other America-bashing and Israel-hating groups. Consequently, the peace marches and antiwar protests that took place after 9/11 were a coming out party of sorts for the MSA. In forming partnerships with Communists, radical environmentalists, gay activists, and feminists, the MSA has compromised some of its most cherished Wahhabi beliefs. But co-existing with infidels is apparently permissible, as long as they share MSA’s goal of bringing the “Great Satan” to its knees.

The MSA presently serves on the Steering Committee of International ANSWER (Act Now to Stop War and End Racism), the Stalinist front group and antiwar mainstay that gained infamy when [FrontPageMagazine.com](http://FrontPageMagazine.com) revealed its ties to the North Korea-linked Workers World Party. Most have since written off ANSWER members as Communist kooks; the MSA, however, continues to serve on the group’s Steering Committee. It’s joined by such far-Left groups as the Free Palestine Alliance, Nicaragua Network, Kensington Welfare Rights Union, Mexico Solidarity Network, and the Korea Truth Commission (which considers Kim Jong Il’s North Korea a socialist utopia). From its

post on the Steering Committee, the MSA has helped engineer several large antiwar protests, including three International ANSWER marches on Washington, D.C., in early 2003.

For a sample of MSA's message to these protests, this excerpt from the speech by the MSA's Lina Hashem at International ANSWER's antiwar rally in Washington on March 15, 2003, will suffice:

The true patriots are those who are out here today, rallying against this unjust, unprovoked war...President Bush, you cannot justify your war for oil! President Bush, it is unpatriotic of you to propose a war against a country that has already been devastated by over 12 years of sanctions! President Bush, you cannot justify defying the UN...As a woman of color, I am also painfully aware of the fact that many of our brothers and sisters of color, those who are disproportionately represented in the armed forces and on the frontlines, will unfortunately be shedding their blood and the blood of others in a war that is not of their choosing...No blood for oil! No war on Iraq!<sup>28</sup>

MSA also participates in the leadership of the National Youth and Students Peace Coalition (NYSPC), along with a spectrum of homegrown revolutionaries, including the Young Communist League, Young Democratic Socialists, Young Peoples' Socialist League, United Students Against Sweatshops, Campus Greens, Students Transforming and Resisting Corporations, and the Black Radical Congress. "(The MSA chapters) are very active," NYSPC spokesman Andy Burns told the *Washington Times*.<sup>29</sup> "The way the student peace movement has worked since September 11 is we've formed coalitions on most campuses. The (MSA) is usually, if not most of the time, active because (Muslims) are a target population."

The MSA also tries to insert its own agenda into the antiwar proceedings. According to the same *Times* article: "At the University of Michigan,

<sup>28</sup> [http://new.msa-natl.org/dccouncil/task\\_force/political.htm](http://new.msa-natl.org/dccouncil/task_force/political.htm)

<sup>29</sup> Julia Duin, "Muslim students lead war protests," *The Washington Times*. March 5, 2003.

the MSA joined forces with the student group Antiwar Action...But during an organizing meeting for Antiwar Action in November, some students with the MSA were criticized by the *Michigan Daily*, a college newspaper, for 'injecting anti-Semitic/anti-Israel sentiment' into the gathering."

Much to the MSA's delight, the hard-Left faction with whom it is now aligned is just as obsessively anti-Semitic as the MSA. At the National Student Conference of the Palestinian Solidarity Movement at UC-Berkeley in February 2002, the MSA – which helped organize the event – joined groups such as Left Turn, A Jewish Voice for Peace, and Queers Undermining Israeli Terrorism in demanding that universities divest their holdings in companies that do business with Israel. UC-Berkeley's Students for Justice in Palestine (whose leader, the socialist demagogue Snehal Svengali, has publicly spoken out against Israel's right to exist) is particularly vocal in this effort. This call for divestment from Israel, spearheaded by the MSA, is catching on with other campus groups across the United States. To this end, nearly 60 students met during the MSA 2002 national convention in Washington, D.C., to discuss divestment strategies and encourage the U.S to stop aiding Israel.

The MSA not only opposes Israel; it actively encourages its terrorist enemies. As far back as 1995, the UC-Berkeley MSA sponsored a rally in support of Hamas. During the event, students carried a sign depicting an Israeli flag with a swastika through the middle and pledged to serve as future suicide bombers. A Jewish observer was subsequently spit on by one of the demonstrators.

Arizona State University also has an active MSA chapter. In April 2003, federal agents raided the homes of some of Arizona State University's leading MSA members, including the chapter's president and vice-president, under suspicion of the group's terrorist links. Although the agents didn't find any weapons, they did confiscate computers and several floppy disks. The raid included agents from the FBI and Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco, Firearms and Explosives, as well as immigration, all acting on solid leads. MSA national president Atlatf Husain was beside himself, saying the students "were humiliated by being handcuffed outside

their apartment for 45 minutes, and then by being questioned separately.”

Ohio State University’s MSA produces and distributes *MSA-NEWS*, which has included news releases from groups such as the Algerian Armed Islamic Group, which is on the State Department’s list of terrorist organizations, and the Islamic Salvation Front, an Islamist political party banned in Algeria. According to a December 20, 2001, Associated Press story:

During last year’s Ramadan fast, *MSA-NEWS* urged campus groups to purchase a videotape called “The Martyrs of Bosnia” and show it to Muslim-only gatherings. The video was sold by London-based Azzam Productions, which featured articles on its website like “Taliban: Allah’s Blessing on Afghanistan,” and solicited funds there for the Taliban rulers in Afghanistan. The site, and a related German site, were shut down by the British and German governments as part of their Sept. 11 response.

Yale, too, has been affected by MSA activism. In the December 6, 2002, issue of the *Yale Herald*, Saqqib Bhatti, who identified himself as a member of the Yale MSA, wrote:

More often than not, the mainstream American media define the Palestinian struggle as inherently terroristic... There is an increasing tendency among Zionists to claim that Muslims and Arabs are rarely subject to the kind of discrimination and harassment from which it now believes itself to be suffering... Zionism is itself a racist ideology.

The University of Michigan at Ann Arbor hosted the Second National Student Conference on the Palestine Solidarity Movement in October 2002. The MSA was one of the main organizers of this event, which called for divestment from Israel and featured Palestinian Islamic Jihad mastermind Sami al-Arian as a speaker.

The MSA has even managed to find trouble in some of the more serene areas of the United States. Last summer, the FBI began investigating charitable donations by the MSA at the University of Idaho and at

Washington State University for links to international terrorism. The omnipresent Holy Land Foundation was mentioned as part of the investigation.

Whether marching side-by-side with Communists to protest the U.S. government, supporting convicted murderers, preaching “Death to Israel,” funding terrorist activities, or worshiping at the feet of Osama bin Laden, the MSA and its many campus chapters pose an imminent threat not only to the schools they inhabit, but to the nation that has welcomed them inside its confines.

## 5. TERROR'S FACULTY SYMPATHIZERS

*by Leslie Carbone*

In one video message, Osama bin Laden tried to justify al-Qaeda's terrorist attacks on American citizens on the grounds that Americans pay taxes to our government:

The American people are the financiers of the attacks against us; they are watching – through their elected senators – the spending of taxes that pay for planes bombing us in Afghanistan, armies occupying our land in the Arabian Peninsula, tanks (used) against the Palestinians and fleets putting Iraqi children under siege.

Not all U.S. tax dollars go to defending our country from its would-be murderers and enslavers. Americans also pay to support professors in Middle East Studies programs who openly sympathize with al-Qaeda and oppose American values, American interests, and America's War on Terror in the Middle East. They have even launched a boycott of a federal program intended to boost national security by providing scholarships to students who want to study Arabic.

The Middle East Studies Association (MESA) was founded in 1966 as a self-described "international organization for those involved in the study of the Middle East" housed at the University of Arizona in Tucson. Today it boasts more than 2,600 members.

The strategic importance of the Middle East during the Cold War and the United States' growing dependence on its oil made the U.S. government take notice of the region. The government turned to the academy for analysis, offering millions of taxpayers' dollars to support studies of the region, thus a discipline was popularized.

Previously, studies of the Middle East had followed a European model that emphasized the humanities, including languages. This old-school model, redolent of dusty Oxford and Heidelberg scholars, could be stuffy and esoteric at times and presumed the superiority of the West, but it

grasped the importance of history, particularly ancient history, in this region. The old model did not varnish un-PC facts, e.g., that the Koran commands holy war. It did not suffer from the delusion that everyone is really an American under the skin.

The new model de-emphasized both history and languages. The move away from teaching Arabic had particularly dire implications for national security, leading to a shortage of people who could speak and understand Arabic in our intelligence agencies. The crisis that this shortage presented became clear during the 1991 Gulf War. In response, Congress under the leadership of then-U.S. Senator David Boren, D-OK, established the National Security Education Program (NSEP). NSEP provides grants to students studying the languages and cultures of regions critical to U.S. national security. In return, graduates are required to work for federal offices, or agencies involved in national security affairs, or in higher education.

Appalled by the idea of federal grant recipients having to work for their money, MESA flipped. MESA, along with the African Studies Association and the Latin American Studies Association, passed resolutions refusing to cooperate with NSEP. Not only did area studies professors refuse to apply for or accept funding from the program (not necessarily a move to be discouraged), they even refused to recommend the program to potentially interested students.

Fending off the competition in this manner, flush with government grants, Middle East scholars continued to shy away from humanities and emphasized instead the politics of the region, offering predictions on how the area would change. The problem was that they got almost everything wrong. Blinded by ideology and wishful thinking, and seduced by foundation money (much of it from the Saudi government), scholars of the Middle East consistently miscalculated the political climate of the region they claimed as their province of expertise.

Avoiding the politically incorrect topic of Islamic terrorism, Middle East scholars insisted that the United States could bring peace and democracy to the region by supporting Islamic fundamentalists. According to

John Esposito, a former MESA president and director of Georgetown University's Center for Christian-Muslim Understanding, Americans needed to "transcend their narrow, ethnocentric conceptualization of democracy" in order to embrace "Islamic democracy," which, "though unlike the Westminster model or the American system," could still prove capable of forging "effective systems of popular participation." In other words, Western bigots needed to get over thinking that democracy had to be democratic or pluralistic. (Of course, Westerners tend to understand democracy according to its Western conception because democracy is a Western concept. But that's not politically correct to admit.)

The 1990s, according to Esposito, promised "to be a decade of new alliances and alignments in which the Islamic movements would challenge rather than threaten their societies and the West." Most Middle East scholars shared Esposito's view that Islamist terror did not constitute a threat to the West. They assured us that most Islamic movements had realized that violence was counterproductive.

MESA member Fawaz Gerges, a Sarah Lawrence professor specializing in international relations of the Arab world, went further, condemning "the terrorist industry" that strikes "fear and horror in the American psyche." In March 2001, Gerges asked:

Should not observers and academics keep skeptical about the U.S. government's assessment of the terrorist threat? To what extent do terrorist "experts" indirectly perpetuate this irrational fear of terrorism by focusing too much on farfetched horrible scenarios? Does the terrorist industry, consciously or unconsciously, exaggerate the nature and degree of the terrorist threat to American citizens?

Six months later, refusing to play along with the academy's kinder and gentler presentation of Islamic extremism, Osama bin Laden "challenged" America. If September 11, 2001, were the first occasion on which bin Laden had issued such a challenge, comments like Gerges' would be an embarrassment. But terrorists had "challenged" the World Trade Center

once before in 1993, the U.S. embassies in Africa in 1998, and the U.S.S. Cole in 2000. Perhaps someone unfamiliar with the hubris and hypocrisy infecting the modern academy would have expected the flames of September 11th to burn the blinders off the eyes of Middle East scholars once and for all. He would be wrong.

Six days after September 11, Stanford University professor of Middle East History Joel Beinin delivered a speech entitled “Why do they hate us?” at a pacifist rally opposing the War on Terrorism. To answer his question, Beinin cited the “sight of American-supplied F-16 fighters and Apache helicopters bombing civilian targets” and U.S. sanctions against Iraq. The *big* problem, of course, was U.S. support of Israel, which has engaged in a 34-year “occupation of the West Bank, the Gaza Strip, and East Jerusalem” and employed “disproportionate...force in attempting to suppress the Palestinian uprising over the last year.” Beinin called for Americans to understand “something about the historical conditions that inflamed the rage of those who attacked us on September 11” before they “embark on a long campaign against a shadowy enemy.”

About ten weeks later, Beinin took office as president of MESA. This telling event transpired at the organization’s annual conference, held that November in San Francisco. If one didn’t look too deeply, the conference actually provided a glimmer of hope that MESA had seen its flawed analysis collapse with the Twin Towers. There was, however, a large omission on the program: There was no discussion scheduled on terrorism, owing to the discipline’s see-no-evil approach to its region of interest.

While rescue workers crawled through the rubble of the towers looking for victims, MESA conference organizers scrambled to throw a terrorism panel together, and it looked for a moment as though reality might be getting through. That illusion crumbled as soon as the panel began. According to *The New Republic*, presenter after presenter referred to September 11th as “so-called terrorism.” Picking up the cue from their newly minted president, the assembled academics criticized and condemned *America*. Blasting the War on (“so-called”) Terrorism, Georgetown’s Michael Hudson declared, “We have not shown that our

actions differentiate us from those who attacked us.”

Taking MESA’s reins at the conference, Beinin inherited the spectacular unveiling of his field’s blindness. Martin Kramer’s *Ivory Towers of Sand*, an analysis of the Middle Eastern studies field, hit the bookstores a month after 9/11. The book’s publication ignited a controversy over MESA and particularly over their continued presence on the federal dole. Hoover Institution fellow Stanley Kurtz questioned the wisdom of financing Middle East Studies scholars in view of their resounding and repeated failure to provide any useful analysis.

In a July 16, 2002, e-mail message to Middle East Studies Center and Program Directors, Beinin slurs Kurtz and Kramer for writing “mean-spirited, *ad hominem*, and spurious” articles about MESA. He then defines the threat: MESA stood to lose its government goodies. In the face of this dreadful threat, Beinin called upon his colleagues to write articles pointing out all the good things Middle East Studies provide, to advocate “lively discussion of Middle Eastern affairs,” and to “explain why our understandings of the Middle East are often at variance with popularly held views.”

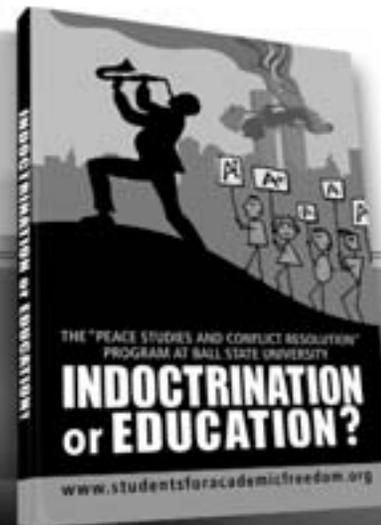
In other words, let’s not worry about improving our understanding of our subject matter or repeating the failures of the past; let’s just get the public relations machine in gear to make sure we keep our funding.

Meanwhile, the threat grows more perilous by the day.

Notes:

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