

TESTIMONY OF
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FOR THE HEARING ENTITLED:

“ANTISEMITIC DISRUPTIONS ON CAMPUS:
ENSURING SAFE LEARNING ENVIRONMENTS FOR ALL STUDENTS”

BEFORE THE
SENATE COMMITTEE ON HEALTH, EDUCATION, LABOR AND PENSIONS

MARCH 27, 2025

CHAIRMAN CASSIDY, RANKING MEMBER SANDERS, and DISTINGUISHED
MEMBERS OF THE COMMITTEE:

Thank you for convening this critical hearing on the alarming rise of antisemitism on college campuses.

I serve as the Executive Director of the Institute for the Study of Global Antisemitism and Policy (ISGAP), and as the Director of the ISGAP-Woolf Institute Fellowship Training Program in Critical Contemporary Antisemitism Studies, Discrimination, and Human Rights at the Woolf Institute at St. Edmonds College at the University of Cambridge. Additionally, I am the Director of the Fellowship Training Program in Critical Contemporary Antisemitism Studies at the Institute for National Security Studies (INSS), Tel Aviv University.

In 2004, together with Nobel Peace Prize laureate Elie Wiesel, I established ISGAP as North America’s first international interdisciplinary research center dedicated to studying contemporary antisemitism. Since then, ISGAP has been at the forefront of researching, teaching, and publishing scholarly work on this critical issue. Today, we operate as the only global research institute specifically focused on identifying and countering antisemitic narratives in academia, with operations across the United States, United Kingdom, Israel, Italy, and Canada. We are based at top universities and consult and advise governments and security agencies of allied countries.

The Mainstreaming of Antisemitism on College Campuses

ISGAP’s extensive research demonstrates that antisemitism has transcended fringe extremist groups and infiltrated mainstream discourse across political, educational, ideological, and

social spheres. Jewish individuals and institutions now face unprecedented levels of harassment, intimidation, and violence fueled by converging radical ideologies.

On our most prestigious college campuses, in the United States and in other democratic nations, we have witnessed hundreds of protests, demonstrations, and antisemitic resolutions. Some have turned violent, while others have resulted in the social ostracism, harassment, intimidation, and exclusion of Jewish students, faculty, and staff.

It is essential to understand, as Elie Weisel always taught us, that antisemitism is not a parochial problem for the Jewish community, or for Israel. Antisemitism always begins with the Jews but never ends with the Jewish people. Once unleashed, this deadly form of hate knows no boundaries. It attacks our democratic principles and institutions, and basic human decency.

The weaponization of intellectual frameworks against Jewish people has a dangerous historical reference that we can see today. Academia in pre-Nazi Germany helped legitimize antisemitism by developing “scientific” racial theories that classified Jews as inferior, creating intellectual foundations that the Nazi regime later exploited to justify persecution. Today, some critics of Israel have shifted from legitimate criticism of government policies to more extreme rhetoric that denies Israel’s right to exist and justifies violence against Israelis (including civilians), which crosses the line from political critique to harmful discourse. The disturbing parallels between historical academic antisemitism and certain modern campus movements cannot be ignored, as both employ intellectual frameworks to dehumanize and threaten Jews and justify their exclusion or harm.

The Aftermath of October 7th

Antisemitism is the world’s oldest hatred, and the tragic implications of this discrimination are still very much with us today. Hamas—the Palestinian chapter of the Muslim Brotherhood—carried out a horrific attack against Israel on October 7, 2023, that triggered—and even seemed to justify—immediate, coordinated, and well-funded attacks *globally* against Jews, Jewish institutions, and organizations supporting Israel. This weaponized hatred initially emerged at universities and on college campuses before rapidly spreading to our streets and communities. And most troubling, the protests willfully ignored key facts on the ground – including that it was Hamas who initiated the attack against Israel; that Hamas staged a monstrous and brutal attack targeting Israelis, especially innocent civilians, including torture, mutilation and sexual violence against women; and that the ultimate goal of the attack was to completely destroy the Jewish state of Israel and to murder Jews around the world.

Further, those who took to the streets in so-called “anti-Israel” protests following the attack on October 7th effectively aligned themselves with Hamas and Hezbollah, both of which are longstanding designated foreign terrorist organizations in the United States and by countries

around the world. The protesters' rhetoric and symbolism revealed hostility not just toward Israel but also toward Jewish communities writ large, as well as a fundamental rejection of democratic principles and American values that protect pluralism and religious freedom. Their demonstrations, draped in the language of resistance but fueled by antisemitism, represented an assault on the very constitutional foundations that guarantee equal protection and dignity for all citizens, regardless of faith or ethnicity.

Jewish Americans and their friends and allies now face threats to their physical security and dignity at levels not seen in generations, and the statistics are deeply concerning. Antisemitic incidents have surged 360 percent since October 7th, according to the Anti-Defamation League (ADL); and a survey conducted by Hillel, ADL, and College Pulse found that 83 percent of Jewish college students have witnessed or experienced antisemitism on campus. Many Jewish students report feeling unsafe on campuses that should be bastions of tolerance and intellectual freedom. And we have seen that what often begins as "criticism of Israel" frequently crosses into antisemitism by denying Jewish self-determination, applying double standards, or employing antisemitic tropes.

ISGAP's Mission and the "Follow the Money" Project

ISGAP's core mission involves mapping and decoding contemporary antisemitism, its root causes and the antidemocratic forces operating at the highest levels of scholarship and developing evidence-based strategies to assist policymakers in combating this pernicious hatred. Our extensive research has documented a troubling increase in antisemitic activity throughout academia and analyzed the role of different agents in nurturing this hostile atmosphere.

Our groundbreaking "Follow the Money" project specifically examines the relationship between foreign funding to American universities and the alarming rise of antisemitism on college campuses. This research initiative has meticulously documented disturbing patterns of foreign influence through financial contributions that consistently coincide with increased antisemitic activity; compromised academic freedom; and distorted campus discourse on issues related to Israel, Jews, and the Middle East.

Key Findings from the "Follow the Money" Project

In July 2019, I presented initial findings from our research (begun in 2012) to the Department of Justice, the Department of Education, the Department of Homeland Security, and numerous other federal officials. The project revealed, for the first time, \$3 billion in undisclosed Middle Eastern funding—primarily from Qatar—to U.S. universities, triggering a federal investigation. The Trump Administration then undertook its own investigation, led

by the Department of Education, and found \$6.5 billion in undocumented foreign funding at our colleges and universities.¹

ISGAP’s ongoing research has established that foreign donations from Qatar, in particular, have had a substantial impact on fomenting antisemitic discourse and campus politics at U.S. universities, while also promoting anti-democratic values within these institutions of higher education. Following the Hamas attack on Israel on October 7, 2023, these influences have raised serious security concerns with potential domestic and global implications.

It should be noted that Qatar maintains documented political and ideological ties to the Muslim Brotherhood, the transnational antisemitic and antidemocratic movement that calls for the destruction of Israel and the killing of Jews and gave rise to Hamas and other violent extremist affiliates.

Since October 7, 2023, ISGAP has published twelve comprehensive reports² revealing tens of billions of dollars in foreign funding to U.S. universities—again, primarily from Qatar—unreported to the Department of Education.³ Our statistical analysis demonstrates a direct correlation: from 2015-2020, institutions that accepted funding from authoritarian regimes—including from the Middle East—experienced, on average, 300 percent more antisemitic incidents than institutions that did not.

Systematic Evasion of Transparency Requirements

Our investigation also has uncovered systematic efforts to circumvent existing transparency requirements under Section 117 of the Higher Education Act. We found that universities have chronically underreported or entirely omitted foreign gifts and contracts from mandatory federal disclosures. Our research also has revealed the strategic use of third-party foundations, institutes, and businesses to shield the identities of foreign donors, and that universities systematically fail to disclose conditions attached to foreign donations that may compromise academic independence and integrity.

Significant Qatari funding has been provided to numerous institutions, including Texas A&M, Georgetown, Cornell, Carnegie Mellon, Northwestern, Virginia Commonwealth, University College London and HEC Paris—all of which maintain campuses in Doha subsidized by the Qatar Foundation, which is fully funded by the Government of Qatar.⁴ In addition, Qatar has provided billions of dollars in direct funding to other myriad universities in the United States.

1 See <https://www.ed.gov/sites/ed/files/policy/highered/leg/institutional-compliance-section-117.pdf> for the full report.

2 For a full list of reports, see [Follow the Money: Qatar and the Muslim Brotherhood Funding of Higher Education in the United States » ISGAP](#)

3 Our most recent report—the 12th installment in the “Follow the Money” series—examines the Choices Program, a national education initiative for K-12 social studies curriculum housed at Brown University. The program, which combines licensed curriculum units, free online content, and professional education workshops, is used by 8,000 schools nationwide, reaching over one million students. Our investigation uncovered extensive foreign influence and anti-Israel bias within the Choices curriculum, including undisclosed foreign funding and systematic distortion of historical facts aimed at delegitimizing Israel.

4 “Education City in Qatar.” <https://www.qf.org.qa/education/education-city>

Despite its close ties to the United States and other Western countries, Qatar has built an extensive network of Islamist partners. It endorsed, hosts, supports, and represents the Muslim Brotherhood and its global agenda; maintains ties with Iran and the Taliban; and supports and hosts Hamas and its exiled leadership.⁵

Case Studies from Our Research

We published two detailed reports on Texas A&M University, which operates a satellite campus in Doha, Qatar. These reports reveal that the agreement between Qatar and Texas A&M involves more than \$1 billion in Qatari funding and more than 500 research projects, some with potential dual-use applications at the military and nuclear levels. Our research also revealed that their contractual agreement granted the Qatar Foundation ownership of all intellectual property for research projects conducted at the Doha campus, which is particularly concerning given the potential military applications of some of these projects.⁶

After our first report on Texas A&M was published in November 2023, the university announced that it would wind down its Doha campus by 2028. Nevertheless, we believe there should be an investigation into the sensitive research activities undertaken at the campus and that the terms of the agreement between the university and the Qatari regime should be fully disclosed.

Our comprehensive analysis of Cornell University revealed that Qatar provided nearly \$10 billion to the university between 2001 and 2023, making it the largest direct foreign donor—approximately 30 times larger than Cornell’s next largest donor. This massive financial involvement, directly and indirectly, in funds and in kind raises serious questions about potential influence over academic priorities and campus discourse.

Our investigation into Columbia University uncovered that it has failed to report any of the Qatar funding it has received—estimated to be at least \$7.17 million—to the U.S. Department of Education, despite being legally required to do so. This non-compliance exemplifies the systemic transparency problems that plague foreign funding relationships across American higher education.

In addition, we have published two reports on Students for Justice in Palestine (SJP), a student-led organization that serves as the ground troops spreading Hamas’s deadly ideology and disrupting classrooms and campuses nationwide. SJP denies the right of Jewish self-determination (in other words, the right of Israel to exist in any form), diminishes and, at times, denies the Holocaust, and supports a global intifada (violent resistance) against Jews and Israel.⁷ Since October 7, more SJP rallies and rhetoric actually call for and justify the violence, mutilation, and rape of so-called “colonialist settlers” of Palestinian land, and

⁵ David B. Roberts, “Reflecting on Qatar’s ‘Islamist’ Soft Power,” Policy Brief (2019): https://www.brookings.edu/wp-content/uploads/2019/04/FP_20190408_qatar_roberts.pdf

⁶ See https://isgap.org/wp-content/uploads/2023/11/Texas_AM_Qatar.pdf and https://isgap.org/wp-content/uploads/2024/02/TAMUQ_Report_Volume_Two-1.pdf for the full reports.

⁷ “Students for Justice in Palestine,” ADL, October 19, 2023, <https://www.adl.org/resources/backgrounders/students-justice-palestine-sjp>

blame the violence on their presence, which necessitates “resistance” by any means necessary. Some SJP chapters have declared their support for terrorist groups such as Hamas and openly call for the dismantling of Israel as the homeland of the Jewish people. In fact, the SJP Toolkit, released after October 7, 2023, openly declared themselves to be part of the “movement” (which refers to Hamas’ October 7 attacks), and not just supporters.⁸

A Tipping Point and Opportunity for Change

We stand at a critical juncture. Students, faculty, and staff face intimidation at universities worldwide, particularly in the United States. The demonization of Israel in academia has spilled from classrooms into campus encampments, and from there onto subways, streets, airports, and even to the homes of Jewish leaders and journalists.

The tipping point is the normalization of antisemitism within intellectual circles and campus culture, where young Americans are shaped into citizens and future leaders. When hatred toward Jewish people becomes acceptable in these formative environments, we risk poisoning generations of minds at their most impressionable stage, threatening not just Jewish communities but the very foundations of a tolerant, democratic society.

Within this crisis lies a tremendous opportunity for change. With that in mind, I respectfully offer the following recommendations:

- **Congressional Oversight**: Convene additional hearings in relevant committees to understand Qatar’s aggressive investment strategies and assess its influence on Western democratic values and security.
- **University Investigation**: Examine institutions receiving Qatari funding to assess impacts on education, curriculum, scholarship, and campus discourse, particularly regarding antisemitism.
- **Financial Accountability**: Investigate systematic underreporting of foreign donations to U.S. universities and pursue appropriate action against non-compliance, including examining correlations between funding and increasing antisemitism. ISGAP strongly supports the DETERRENT Act as a balanced approach to strengthening transparency while preserving legitimate international collaboration at our colleges and universities.
- **Enhanced Transparency**: Enact stronger laws requiring comprehensive public disclosure of any foreign contracts, grants, and donations received by U.S. universities, including collaborative projects, travel sponsorships, endowed faculty

⁸ Day of Resistance Toolkit,” <https://isgap.org/wp-content/uploads/2023/10/DAY-OF-RESISTANCETOOLKIT.pdf>

positions, and any attached conditions.

- Definitional Clarity: Adopt the IHRA Working Definition of Antisemitism as an educational tool across government agencies, educational institutions, and civil society.
- Educational Initiatives: Develop comprehensive programs about critical study of contemporary antisemitism, the Holocaust, and Jewish contributions to American society for public schools.
- Civil Rights Enforcement: Ensure full funding and enforcement of Title VI of the Civil Rights Act to protect Jewish students from discrimination. In addition, colleges and universities must be more proactive in providing for the safety and security of Jewish students on their campuses, as well as for other students who are being affected by the toxic atmosphere on campuses.

Conclusion

Antisemitism threatens not only Jewish Americans but the pluralistic, democratic values that define our nation. Confronting this ancient hatred in its contemporary forms requires a coordinated approach across government, academia, and civil society, as the scourge now permeates American education, from the classroom to the encampments to our streets.

I commend this Committee for its attention to this crucial issue and stand ready to provide any additional information or assistance as you continue your important work.

I welcome any questions you may have about our research findings or recommendations.

Thank you.

APPENDIX: FULL LISTING OF ISGAP “FOLLOW THE MONEY” REPORTS

[“The Qatari Regime, Hamas, and the Muslim Brotherhood”](#) lays out the history and the ideological tenets of the Muslim Brotherhood as well as its relationship and connections to Hamas and Qatar.

[“Networks of Hate”](#) exposes the deceptive tactics and means with which Qatar, which is linked to the Muslim Brotherhood, funnel funds into academia and civil society, how universities are bypassing US government reporting requirements, and how companies such as Al Jazeera are averting FARA requirements.

[“The Corruption of the American Mind”](#) assesses the impact of foreign funding on antisemitism and anti-democratic politics on campus.

[“The Ongoing Failure to Report”](#) raises concerns about transparency and accountability within higher education (in this case Yale), particularly regarding financial dealings with foreign entities.

[“Hijacking Higher Education, Qatar, The Muslim Brotherhood, and Texas A&M, Volume I and Volume II”](#) reveal why unrestricted access of Qatar and its state-owned entities to Texas A&M University’s sensitive research might pose a potential national security risk.

[“Cornell University’s Ten Billion Dollar Sale”](#) exposes the scale of Qatari funding to Cornell, with over \$1.95 billion donated directly to the university from 2001 to 2023, making it the largest direct foreign donor to the university – some 30 times higher than the next largest donor.

[“National Students for Justice in Palestine: Antisemitism, Anti-Americanism, Violent Extremism and the Threat to American Universities”](#) delves into the roots of antisemitism within SJP, its connections to violence and terrorism, and its alarming rise in influence since the Hamas attack in Israel on October 7. The report also reveals “over \$3 million a year” of funding for the NSJP linked to organizations accused of funding Hamas. See ISGAP report on SJP from 2019 [here](#).

[“Columbia University From the Classroom to Campus Politics: The Normalization of Antisemitism, Anti-Democratic Politics, Marginalization, and Intimidation”](#) notes that despite being legally required to do so, Columbia University has not reported any of the Qatari funding (estimated to be at least \$7.17 million) it has received to the US Department of Education’s reporting system and makes no mention of any connections between Columbia University and Qatar or Qatari entities in its financial statements.

[“The Ongoing Failure to Report: Yale University, Qatar and Undisclosed Foreign Funding – Volume Two”](#) reveals substantial *unreported* collaboration between Yale and Qatar both at the institutional level and among university staff; for example, the report shows that since 2012, Yale has only declared one grant from Qatar in the amount of \$284,668 but is estimated to have received approximately \$15,925,711 from Qatar during that time.

[*“South Africa, Hamas, Iran, and Qatar: The Hijacking of the ANC and the International Court of Justice”*](#) sheds light on how the alliance of terror and radical Islam are using South Africa and the people’s valiant historical legacy of struggle, as a critical node in global terrorist financing networks. Crucially, the report connects South Africa’s political and financial alignment with Iran and Qatar—both leading supporters of global terrorism—with its campaign to bring a legal case against Israel at the International Court of Justice (ICJ).

[*“Foreign Influence and Anti-Israel Bias in K-12 Classrooms”*](#) examines the Choices Program, a national education initiative for K-12 social studies curriculum housed at Brown University that combines licensed curriculum units, free online content, and professional education workshops. Choices is used by 8,000 schools nationwide, reaching over one million students. Our investigation reveals extensive foreign influence and anti-Israel bias in the curriculum, and that it operates with undisclosed foreign funding and has been found to systematically distort historical facts to delegitimize Israel.