

The Radicalism of Graduate Student Unions Affiliated with the Teacher Unions

By Jay P. Greene

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Introduction

Radical political activism fueled by foreign governments and international movements was largely driven out of organized labor by the [1947 Taft-Hartley Act](#). That act required private sector unions to certify that the leaders of “[any national or international labor organization of which it is an affiliate or constituent unit](#)” were not members of the Communist Party if they wished to bring issues before the National Labor Relations Board. This empowered the anti-communist factions that had been struggling against external communist efforts to control their unions to purge the communists from leadership. The triumph of the anti-communists in private sector unions produced a political change that spilled over to public sector unions as well. As a result, unions in both sectors were able to focus on pay, benefits, and working conditions for their members rather than be hijacked to pursue the extraneous political agendas of foreign radicals.

But the removal of radical foreign influence from organized labor has not endured. To illustrate the increasing political extremism of organized labor, this report presents an analysis of graduate student unions organized by the American Federation of Teachers (AFT) or the National Education Association (NEA). This analysis shows that the higher education affiliates organized by teachers unions obsessively pursue political activism that is tightly connected to the agendas of foreign governments and movements. America is entering a new kind of cold war, but this time it has allowed organized labor to be used as a fifth column for foreign interests. It should come as no surprise that the rising anti-Americanism in the teacher unions is connected with an alarming increase in antisemitism.

Background

There are currently [166 graduate student labor organizations](#), of which 26 are affiliated with the AFT or NEA. The others are affiliated with the United Auto Workers, the Communication Workers of America, the Service Employees International Union, the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees, or the American Association of University Professors, or operate independently.

The reason to focus on graduate student unions is that they are some of the rare instances in which a large percentage of the labor force that unions can organize actually consists of foreigners who have legal permission to be working in the United States. Among larger universities that are more likely to have graduate students working as teaching or research assistants, [27 percent of graduate enrollment consists of international students](#). If organized labor is willing to serve as a vehicle for foreign interests, these graduate student unions would most clearly display it.

The reason to focus on graduate student labor organizations affiliated with teachers unions is that historically they had forcefully opposed communism and embraced American patriotism. In particular, Al Shanker, who built and led the American Federation of Teachers, [drew support](#) from some conservatives for his anti-communism, favoring policies that were “unerringly colorblind,” and taking tough positions on foreign policy as a “Scoop Jackson Democrat.” [Richard Kahlenberg](#) has described these policy positions as appealing to “the radical center.” If the AFT, which is affiliated with 23 of the graduate student unions, now appeals to the radical left rather than the radical center, it would mark a dramatic change in the political orientation of teacher unions.

In addition, it is important to note that Al Shanker was a Jew. [As Daniel Treiman noted in the Forward](#): “Al Shanker was not an observant Jew. He was in his childhood, and then essentially became nonreligious. But his Judaism was very important to him at the same time. In part, it was the horrific

experiences of antisemitism that he faced as a child that I think made him such a strong advocate of nondiscrimination throughout his life.” When Shanker fought in 1968 to protect largely Jewish teachers from being fired by black power activists in Ocean Hill-Brownsville, he was the recipient of numerous antisemitic slurs. It would also mark a dramatic change in the political orientation of the teacher unions if they went from receiving antisemitic attacks to launching them.

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While graduate student unions are still a small part of teacher unions, they are rapidly growing. The number of students enrolled in K-12 schools is dropping rapidly with declining birthrates, putting pressure on teacher unions to find new areas into which they can expand. Higher education in general and graduate students in particular are a promising new set of workers for teacher unions to organize.

In addition, these graduate student unions can have an outsized influence on the organizational culture and political direction of the teacher unions as well as higher education as a whole. Graduate students effectively run universities by teaching introductory classes and operating research laboratories.

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Lastly, both teacher unions and their graduate student affiliates are key parts of the Democratic Party. In addition to contributing campaign money, they help provide the shock troops to get out the vote, organize rallies, and hound opponents. Graduate student unions may be relatively small at present, but their political potential is becoming obvious.

Research Design

To examine the political orientation of graduate student labor organizations affiliated with the teacher unions, we searched the internet in early February 2026 for any positions they had taken with respect to the conflict between Palestinians and Israel, the Russian invasion of Ukraine, and unrest in Iran.

If these unions were focused on the wages, benefits, and working conditions of their members, we might expect that they would have little to say about any foreign conflicts. If they wished to stray from their core responsibilities to opine on foreign matters, there should be no reason why they should pay significantly more attention to one of these current issues over another. All three raise potential concerns about human rights and the protection of innocent civilians.

If, on the other hand, graduate student unions devote significant energy to foreign issues, we might reasonably suspect that they are being diverted from their primary mission to advance foreign agendas. In addition, if those unions are grossly disproportionate in their criticism of Israel relative to other countries currently involved in conflicts, we could reasonably conclude that they are motivated

by a particular animus toward the Jewish state. The application of double standards to judge Jews and Jewish institutions more harshly than non-Jewish ones is a [defining feature of antisemitism](#).

To gauge the extent to which these graduate student unions may be motivated by radical causes with foreign connections, we also noted instances in which they employed Marxist or socialist language and imagery and the extent to which they actively courted international students. While it is difficult to prove how organizations are influenced, a pattern of referencing radical and foreign concerns can be suggestive of what those influences are.

Overall Results

Of the 26 graduate student labor organizations affiliated with the teachers' unions, 21 had an active presence on the internet. The other five either had no website or social media accounts or had sites that had been inactive for several years. Of those 21 graduate student unions with current information on the internet, 16 (76 percent) had taken public positions critical of Israel and/or in support of Palestinians. Only two (10 percent) had taken a public position with regard to the war in Ukraine. And five (31 percent) had publicly commented on the situation in Iran, although only three of those statements were in support of anti-regime protesters while the other two were critical of the possibility of military action against the Iranian regime without expressing any support for the protestors.

The fact that these graduate student unions were at least three times more likely to comment on the war in Gaza than on other current conflicts and at least five times more likely to be critical of Israel than Russia or Iran does not fully capture how imbalanced these organizations are. None of the graduate student unions that commented on Ukraine or Iran had more than two statements on these issues and most only had one. With respect to Israel, however, most of these unions had dozens and sometimes hundreds of public comments critical of the Jewish state.

The lopsided critical attention paid to Israel is even more obvious when examining the tone and wording found in statements about Israel relative to those about Russia or Iran. The statements regarding Israel regularly contain inflammatory language, such as “genocide,” “settler-colonialism,” and “oligarchs,” while the statements regarding Russia and Iran at most denounce repression but do not attribute broadly evil motives to countries other than Israel.

Two other common features stand out when examining the websites and social media accounts of graduate student labor organizations. Almost all of them make repeated appeals of assistance to foreign graduate students, offering them legal and financial assistance and urging their anonymous participation in union activities. And the social media accounts of most of these unions frequently display Marxist iconography and language. If the AFT of AI Shanker was patriotically American and anti-communist, these new AFT affiliates have fully embraced their internationalism and socialist influences.

The case studies described below help illustrate these overall results.

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Summary of Whether Graduate Student Unions Have Taken Positions on International Conflicts

University	Union Name	Affiliation	Currently Active	Israel/ Gaza	Ukraine	Iran
Brown University	Graduate Labor Organization	AFT 6516	Yes	Yes	No	Yes
Central Michigan University	Graduate Student Union	AFT 6522	No	No	No	No
City University of New York (CUNY)	Graduate Center Chapter of the Professional Staff Congress	AFT 2334	Yes	Yes	No	No
Florida A&M University	Graduate Assistants United	NEA/AFT	Yes	No	No	No
Florida State University	Graduate Assistants United	NEA/AFT	Yes	Yes	No	No
Georgetown University	Georgetown Alliance of Graduate Employees	AFT 6440	Yes	Yes	No	No
Michigan State University	Graduate Employees Union	AFT 6196	Yes	Yes	No	No
Montana State University	Graduate Employee Organization	AFT 7756	Yes	No	No	No
New Jersey Institute of Technology	Graduate Student & Research Employee Unit	AFT/AAUP 6323	No	No	No	No
Northern Arizona University	University Union of Northern Arizona	AFT 5196	No	No	No	No
Oregon State University	Coalition of Graduate Employees	AFT 6069	Yes	Yes	No	No
Portland State University	Graduate Employees Union	AFT/AAUP 6666	Yes	Yes	No	No
Rutgers University	Rutgers AAUP-AFT Academic Worker Union	AFT/AAUP 6323	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Temple University	Temple University Graduate Students' Association	AFT 6290	Yes	No	No	No
University of Florida	Graduate Assistants United	NEA/AFT	Yes	Yes	No	No
University of Illinois Chicago	Graduate Employees Organization	AFT 6297	Yes	Yes	No	Yes
University of Illinois Springfield	Association of Graduate Employees	AFT 4100	No	No	No	No

University of Illinois Urbana-Champaign	Graduate Employees' Organization	AFT 6300	Yes	Yes	No	Yes
University of Kansas	Graduate Teaching Assistants Coalition	AFT 6403	Yes	Yes	No	No
University of Massachusetts Dartmouth	Graduate Student Union	AFT 6350	No	No	No	No
University of Michigan	Graduate Employees' Organization	AFT 3550	Yes	Yes	Yes	No
University of Oregon	Graduate Teaching Fellows Federation	AFT 3544	Yes	Yes	No	No
University of South Florida	Graduate Assistants United	NEA/AFT	Yes	No	No	No
University of Wisconsin-Madison	Teaching Assistants' Association	AFT 3220	Yes	Yes	No	No
Wayne State University	Graduate Employees Organizing Committee	AFT 6123	Yes	Yes	No	Yes
Western Michigan University	Teaching Assistants Union	AFT 1729	Yes	No	No	No
Total			21	16	2	5

Brown University Graduate Labor Organization (GLO) (AFT Local 6516)

Brown's GLO has made well over 100 statements critical of Israel over the last two years. A fairly typical comment is a [Facebook post from October 16, 2024](#), (see Figure 1) that urges students to join a march calling for divestment of university funds from any company with ties to Israel. The post accuses Brown of being "complicit in Israeli apartheid, occupation of Palestine, and the escalating genocide in Gaza."

GLO's support of divestment from Israel was adopted as an official position in 2021 following a poll of its members. But at the start of the spring semester in 2024, following the October 7, 2023, attack, GLO leaders decided to make their campaign for divestment a priority. Sherena Razek, who [describes herself](#)



Figure 1

as “a diasporic Palestinian feminist educator, scholar, activist, and labor organizer,” was the president of GLO at that time and explained “the union’s decision to focus on divestment” to [The Brown Daily Herald](#): “we cannot sit idly by while we watch an entire people face an extermination campaign and the total obliteration of the rights to education of Palestinian students and higher ed workers.”

GLO created a Palestine Solidarity Caucus whose [Instagram account](#) contained much more inflammatory language and images. That account only had 14 posts in the two years preceding October 7, 2023. In the following two years the GLO Palestine Solidarity Caucus had 163 posts.

As early as October 26, 2023, just days after Israel had eliminated invading Hamas forces and before any significant military operations had begun to retrieve hostages and defeat Hamas, GLO’s Palestine Solidarity Caucus [posted on Instagram](#): “Joining student groups from over 100 universities across Turtle Island (so-called ‘United States’ and ‘Canada’), Brown Students for Justice in Palestine and the Brown University Palestine Solidarity Caucus organized a walkout to protest Israel’s ongoing genocide of Palestinians in Gaza.”

GLO’s Palestine Solidarity Caucus was not an advocate for academic free speech. When the Brown Students for Israel [invited](#) a reserve Israeli soldier to speak on November 7, 2023, about the conflict, [the Caucus posted](#): “having an Israeli soldier speak on campus is unacceptable. . . . Brown allowed a military agent involved in an ongoing genocide to speak on campus, fostering a dangerous environment for students, especially Palestinian students.”

While GLO’s Palestine Solidarity Caucus did not champion free speech for an event organized by Brown Students for Israel, they did [invoke “free speech” when calling for charges to be dropped](#) against student protestors who had violated university rules when advocating for divestment. To influence the disciplinary proceedings, they called upon their members to “pack the room” and to “remember to wear your keffiyehs and GLO shirts!”

GLO’s Palestine Solidarity Caucus has also reposted Instagram messages from the Party for Socialism and Liberation, including [a post](#) that urges followers “to end all US aid to Israel, remove AIPAC from politics, and defeat the zionist [sic] occupation once and for all!”

A message from the Party for Socialism and Liberation [reposted](#) by GLO’s Palestine Solidarity Caucus called upon people “to honor the more than 70,000 martyrs whose lives were stolen” and urged them “to continue this wave of resistance to victory, until Palestine is free.”

In addition to endorsing calls for “resistance” from a socialist political party, GLO embraced other Marxist language and iconography. For example, [one Facebook post](#) praised the success of their May Day gathering, including a photo of a banner that read “Workers of the World Unite.” The image of a raised, clenched fist, [which has origins](#) among leftist labor and communist movements, is featured in GLO’s official seal and appears in numerous social media posts (see Figure 2).



Figure 2

GLO also devotes an entire section of website to answering [frequently asked questions for international students](#). The website provides assurances that “every international graduate student, regardless of national origin or type of visa, has the right to join a union” and that “political activities such as picketing, rallies, leafleting, demonstrations, etc., are forms of expression and free association, which are protected for foreigners in the U.S. (including foreign students with visas) as they are for U.S. nationals.” It is important for GLO to appeal to foreign students with visas because [they constitute more than 40 percent of graduate enrollment](#). Given that GLO represents graduate students and international students are such a large portion of graduate enrollment, offering foreign students protection and the opportunity to advance political agendas is an important way for the union to attract members.

GLO has no statement on the Ukrainian conflict, but it has at least a tangential connection to a statement regarding Iran. On the GLO’s Palestine Solidarity Caucus [linktree website](#), they link to the “Labor for Palestine” website, which features [a post highly critical of U.S. military involvement in Iran](#) (see Figure 3). It demands, “Hands off Venezuela, Iran, and Cuba” and warns the reader, “Do not work for war, settler colonialism, and genocide.” It also wants readers to “shut down the imperialist war machine.” And to maintain the obsession with Israel, it also says, “Free Palestine!”

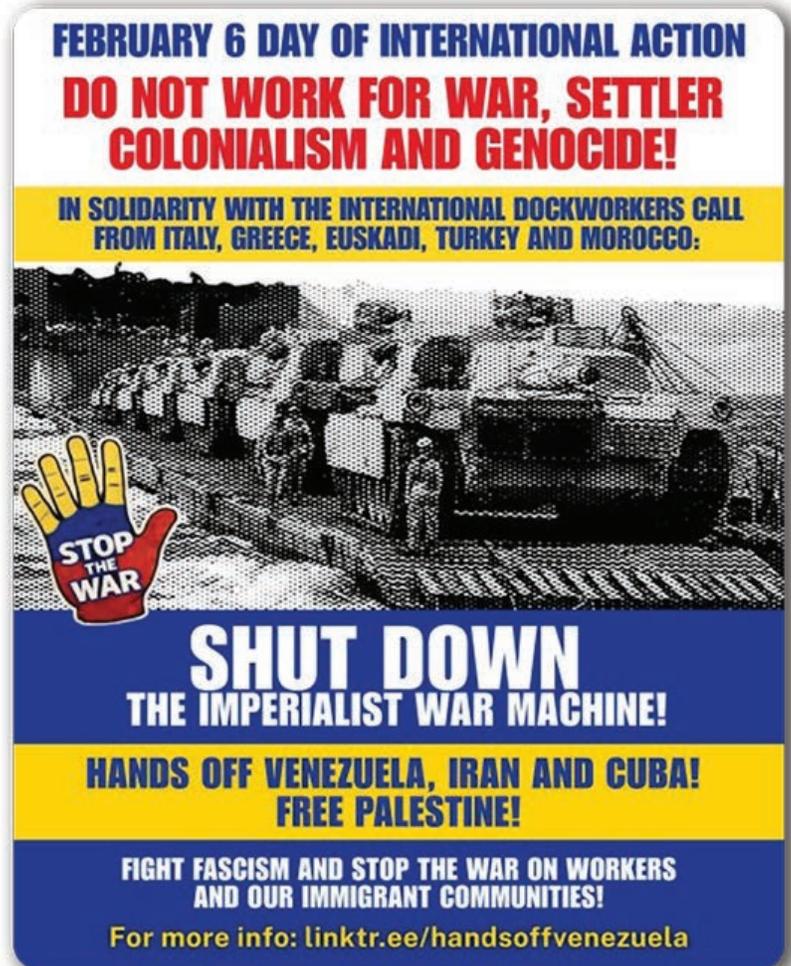


Figure 3

It is a little unclear whether this statement is fully endorsed by GLO’s Palestine Solidarity Caucus since they only link to it and do not repost it. But to avoid the impression that GLO was silent on the mass slaughter of protesters by the Iranian regime, it is important to note that they have endorsed an organization that has taken a stand on Iran, even if it is to denounce the use of force to stop that slaughter.

University of Michigan Graduate Employees’ Organization (GEO) (AFT Local 3550)

The GEO at the University of Michigan has also issued far more than 100 statements critical of Israel over the last two years. As early as October 17, 2023, just days after Hamas launched its attack and before Israel was able to counter with any significant military action to retrieve hostages and defeat Hamas, a [GEO post on Instagram](#) urged people “to call on Congress to stop the genocide in Gaza.”

GEO called upon its members to turn out for [protests](#), [teach-ins](#), [die-ins](#), and ultimately [encampments](#). GEO also began to repost communications from other organizations, often containing increasingly inflammatory language. For example, the GEO Instagram account frequently reposted messages from the [TAHRIR Coalition](#), which describes itself as “a movement dedicated to the liberation of all people. We advocate for resistance against systems of domination and struggle to destroy their manifestations at the University of Michigan, throughout Turtle Island, and across the globe. We act in solidarity with freedom fighters in Palestine and revolutionaries everywhere working to dismantle global imperialism, capitalism, white supremacy, and patriarchy.”

In particular, [GEO reposted a call](#) for “an end to the University of Michigan’s complicity in genocide. POWER TO OUR FREEDOM FIGHTERS, GLORY TO OUR MARTYRS.” [Caps in original] GEO also reposted a [TAHRIR Coalition message](#) declaring, “Revolution until victory.”

GEO also called upon their faculty to join in violent struggle against Israel. The GEO X account [quote-posted a photo](#) of Columbia University professor [Edward Said](#) [throwing rocks at Israel](#) that had the message: “if you have tenure what’s stopping you.” To emphasize the point, GEO added: “Paging @UMich faculty ••” (see Figure 4).

GEO also criticized the punishment of protesters who broke university rules, but they are not principled defenders of free speech on campus. For example, GEO [posted demands](#) directed at the state of Michigan’s attorney general: “AG Dana Nessel must drop the charges against anti-genocide protestors. Protest is not a crime!” But a year earlier [GEO reposted](#) a message calling upon people to prevent a former Israeli leader from speaking on campus: “Former Israeli Prime Minister Naftali Bennett reportedly will be speaking at Rackham TOMORROW. Spread the word and show up tomorrow outside Rackham at 2

to SHUT IT DOWN!!!” [GEO has attacked members of the Board of Regents](#) for “hypocrisy in relation to free speech and human rights,” but it seems that GEO is the organization guilty of hypocrisy about free speech.

While GEO has issued more than 100 statements denouncing Israel, it has nothing to say about the situation in Iran and has only made [one comment](#) in 2022 about the war in Ukraine. That single comment’s sober tone on Ukraine differs dramatically from what GEO has had to say about Israel in its sober tone: “GEO stands in solidarity with the people of Ukraine in their struggle to defeat the Russian invasion. We also salute the courage of the brave anti-war protesters in Russia. We affirm our support



Figure 4

for our Ukrainian and Russian friends, colleagues, and comrades here at the University of Michigan, and we call upon our community to lead with compassion and consideration for those among us who are personally affected by this tragedy. To our Ukrainian colleagues: we stand with you in your hour of need. We call upon the US to accept all Ukrainian refugees and dedicate resources to humanitarian aid.” By contrast, GEO repeatedly [accuses Israel of genocide](#), [engaging in apartheid](#), and [being protected in the U.S. by “oligarchs,”](#) and demands at a minimum that the [university divest from Israel](#).

GEO regularly employs Marxist images and language in its communications. For example, a [GEO post on Instagram](#) urged people to join the union with an image of Karl Marx driving a car and the message, “Get in loser. . . . Beep beep, time to unionize!” (see Figure 5).

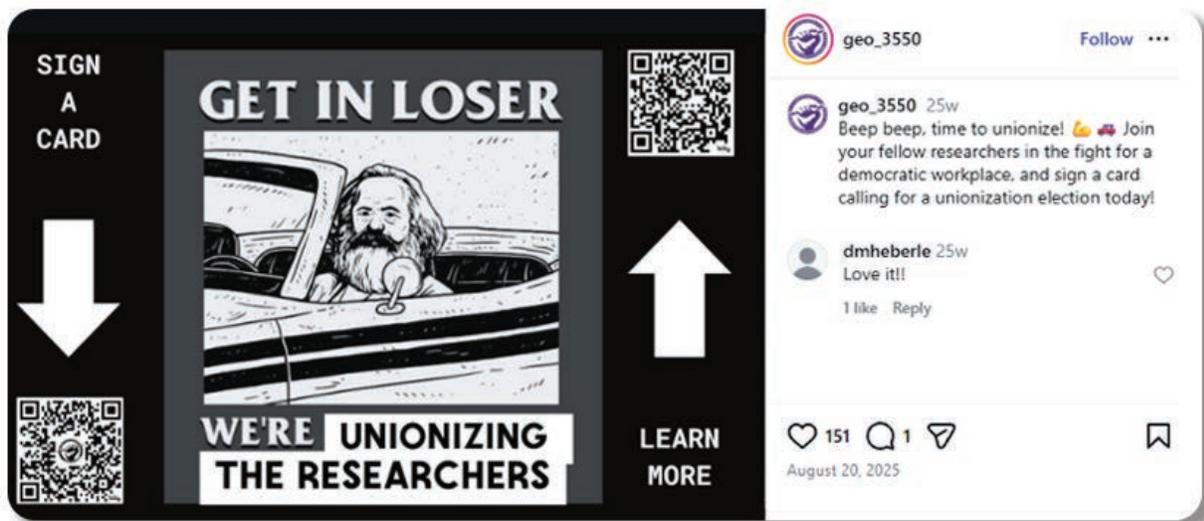


Figure 5

The seal for the union is also a raised, clenched fist holding a pen (see Figure 6). And GEO has a habit of referring to [members of other unions](#) as “[comrades](#).”

GEO also recently co-sponsored “[a Cuba solidarity event](#)” with the All-African Peoples’ Revolutionary Party and other organizations that declared “¡Siempre con Cuba!”

In addition to the Marxist themes, GEO devotes significant attention to the concerns of international students. For example, GEO reposted a [message](#) that featured a photo of women holding a sign that

read, “Hands off international students,” and called upon “universities to reject the weaponization of ‘national security’ to target Chinese academics.” GEO also issued a [statement](#) imploring the University of Michigan “to proactively protect the livelihoods of over 4,200 international graduate students and workers.” This appeal to the interests of international



Figure 6

students is sensible given that [32 percent](#) of graduate and professional students at the University of Michigan are foreigners in the U.S. with student visas.

Policy Solutions

From its earliest days, international radical movements sought to hijack organized labor in the U.S. to advance their agendas. The Soviet Union invested heavily with people and resources to gain control over American unions but faced opposition from workers who wanted their organizations to focus on wages, benefits, and working conditions rather than radical international priorities.

From its earliest days, international radical movements sought to hijack organized labor in the U.S. to advance their agendas.

Congress recognized the danger of a foreign and radical takeover of U.S. labor organizations and adopted the Taft-Hartley Act in 1947 to strengthen the anti-communist factions by requiring union leaders to submit affidavits regarding their membership in the Communist Party. These measures tipped the scales and allowed anti-communist leaders to gain control over the unions and largely purge radical and foreign influences. Following adoption of Taft-Hartley, unions developed a reputation for being patriotic American organizations that avoided radical and foreign influences while focusing their energies on the economic concerns of their members.

This patriotic reputation was particularly true of the American Federation of Teachers, built and led by Al Shanker until his death in 1997. But in the last quarter century it is clear that the AFT has changed dramatically. The change did not occur when union leaders ceased having to file affidavits attesting that they were not affiliated with the Communist Party, which occurred with passage of the [Landrum-Griffin Act in 1959](#). Even though the Supreme Court had [upheld](#) the constitutionality of the affidavits, policymakers dropped that requirement as part of broader reforms meant to address the rise of organized crime's influence over unions.

These graduate student unions have fully embraced communist and other radical movements, are obsessively hostile to Israel in a way that strongly suggests antisemitism, and are far more focused on international than American concerns.

It is difficult to identify the exact moment or set of causes that changed the AFT so dramatically over the last few decades, but it is clear from this analysis of graduate student unions that the AFT no longer resembles the organization that Shanker built. These graduate student unions have fully embraced communist and other radical movements, are obsessively hostile to Israel in a way that strongly suggests antisemitism, and are far more focused on international than American concerns.

Are there any policy solutions to restore unions to their post-World War II priorities? While broader cultural and political changes may prevent a full restoration of the status quo ante, there are measures that may help curb current union extremism:

1. Congress could once again require union leaders to submit affidavits as was done under Taft-Hartley. Perhaps this time the affidavits could include the requirement that union leaders not owe allegiance to other kinds of foreign, radical movements in addition to communism. Defining what these forbidden movements would be in a way that would pass Court muster would make the already challenging step of getting Congress to take action on anything even more difficult. But this effort is important enough and might have broad enough bipartisan appeal that it is worth pursuing. The issue is not whether Americans are free to associate and express their views, whatever those views may be, but whether those associations can receive the special legal status and privileges afforded to labor unions. There may be bipartisan agreement that unions should focus on worker concerns over wages, benefits, and working conditions rather than global, radical movements.
2. Graduate labor organizations are particularly strange in that a large portion of their members are non-citizens who are in the U.S. on temporary student visas. No other industry employs such a large number of foreigners legally entitled to work in the U.S. for a short period of time. Future legislation could preclude graduate students from forming labor unions given the strange composition of their workforce. Even without a change in legislation, executive action could restrict the granting of visas to limit the radicalism imported into American unions. While recognizing the skills that foreign students contribute, we can also recognize the political dangers they pose to universities and, through unions, to organized labor in the U.S.
3. Universities receive a significant amount of funding from the federal government, particularly in the form of research grants and the overhead funds those grants generate. It stands to reason that such federal taxpayer funding should not be available for institutions that welcome with open arms foreign radicals who use graduate student unions as vehicles to undermine America's national-security and foreign-policy interests. Thus, Congress could pass a law restricting access to Title IV funding under the Higher Education Act ("HEA")—including access to the federal student loan program—as well as to federal grant funding under programs with an international or national-security focus—such as funds for international studies and research centers under Title VI of the HEA and grants from the U.S. Departments of State, Defense,



and Homeland Security—for postsecondary institutions that harbor graduate student unions run by members of extremist international movements. Such a law could require each institution that applies for or currently receives federal aid under Title IV or an internationally or national security-focused federal grant to certify—just as it certifies that it will comply with federal civil rights law—that it will not recognize, bargain with, or provide any material or other benefit to a labor union whose leadership includes any individual who owes allegiance to the Communist Party or any foreign, radical movement to be defined by regulations issued by the appropriate federal agency.

Federal taxpayer funding should not be available for institutions that welcome with open arms foreign radicals who use graduate student unions as vehicles to undermine America’s national-security and foreign-policy interests.

4. A federal law addressing the risks of graduate student unions that serve radical international movements could further its civil-rights and national-security aims by imposing new transparency requirements on federally funded postsecondary institutions. Such a law could provide that postsecondary institutions receiving Title IV HEA funds or the international- and national-security-focused federal grants identified above must disclose to the federal agency Congress deems appropriate twice each year whether they recognize graduate student unions, the collective bargaining agreements with any such unions, the sources and amounts of funding each of these unions receives, the total number of members of each of these unions, the number of each union’s members who are on student visas, and such union members’ countries of origin. The federal agency that receives such disclosures could establish an online portal—similar to the Department of Education’s newly revamped [public portal](#) containing data about foreign gifts to and contracts with federally funded postsecondary institutions reported under Section 117 of the HEA—allowing the public to access the information on graduate student unions disclosed pursuant to the law. In light of the threats posed by international radical movements co-opting graduate student unions, as demonstrated in this report, such welcome transparency would serve as a crucial accountability measure educating Americans about how federal funds can be used to support hostile foreign interests at postsecondary institutions and, ultimately, pressuring universities to assure themselves that, if they engage in collective bargaining with a graduate student union, they are not merely legitimizing a front for a foreign organization that seeks to undermine America’s institutions, foreign policy, or national security.

About the Author

Jay P. Greene serves as Senior Fellow at the Defense of Freedom Institute. He focuses on combating antisemitism in K–12 education, higher education, and teacher unions.

Prior to joining DFI, Jay was a Senior Research Fellow at The Heritage Foundation where his research examined education’s role in character formation, civic values, and institutional governance. He

previously served for more than sixteen years at the University of Arkansas as Distinguished Professor and Chair of the Department of Education Reform, a department he founded and led. Earlier in his career, Jay held faculty appointments at the University of Texas at Austin and the University of Houston and was a Senior Fellow at the Manhattan Institute.

Jay has authored or co-authored hundreds of peer-reviewed articles, policy reports, and opinion pieces on education reform, school choice, higher education governance, and antisemitism in education. His work has appeared in leading academic journals and major national media outlets.

Jay earned his B.A. in History, *summa cum laude*, from Tufts University and received his Ph.D. in Government from Harvard University.

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