

**HOLDING CAMPUS LEADERS ACCOUNTABLE
AND CONFRONTING ANTISEMITISM**

HEARING
BEFORE THE
**COMMITTEE ON EDUCATION AND THE
WORKFORCE**
U.S. HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
ONE HUNDRED EIGHTEENTH CONGRESS
FIRST SESSION

HEARING HELD IN WASHINGTON, DC, DECEMBER 5, 2023

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HOLDING CAMPUS LEADERS ACCOUNTABLE AND CONFRONTING ANTISEMITISM

Tuesday, December 5, 2023

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
COMMITTEE ON EDUCATION AND THE WORKFORCE,
Washington, DC.

The committee met, pursuant to notice, at 10:19 a.m., 2124 Rayburn Building, Hon. Virginia A. Foxx [Chairwoman of the Committee] presiding.

Present: Representatives Foxx, Wilson, Thompson, Walberg, Grothman, Stefanik, Allen, Banks, Comer, Owens, Good, McClain, Miller, Steel, Letlow, Kiley, Bean, Burlison, Moran, James, Chavez-DeRemer, Williams Houchin, Scott, Courtney, Wilson, Bonamici, Takano, Adams, DeSaulnier, Norcross, Jayapal, Wild, McBath, Hayes, Stevens, Leger Fernandez, Manning, and Bowman.

Staff present: Cyrus Artz, Staff Director; Nick Barley, Deputy Communications Director, Mindy Barry, General Counsel; Hans Bjontegard, Legislative Assistant; Christina Delmont-Small, Investigator; Isabel Foster, Press Assistant; Sheila Havenner, Director of Information Technology; Amy Raaf Jones, Director of Education and Human Services Policy; Georgie Littlefair, Clerk; Hannah Matesic, Deputy Staff Director; Audra McGeorge, Communications Director; Gabriella Pistone, Oversight Legislative Assistant; Rebecca Powell, Staff Assistant; Mary Christina Riley, Professional Staff Member; Chance Russell, Economist and Policy Advisor; David Samberg, Associate Investigative Counsel; Brad Thomas, Deputy Director of Education and Human Services Policy; Maura Williams, Director of Operations; Savoy Adams, Minority Intern; Amaris Benavidez, Minority Professional Staff; Nekea Brown, Minority Director of Operations; Ilana Brunner, Minority General Counsel; Kadia Diakite, Minority CBCF Fellow; Rashage Green, Minority Director of Education Policy; Christian Haines, Minority General Counsel; Eric Hale, Minority Grad Intern; Emanuel Kimble, Minority Professional Staff; Stephanie Lalle, Minority Communications Director; Kristen Lemus, Minority Intern; Raiyana Malone, Minority Press Secretary; Olivia McDonald, Minority Staff Assistant; Kota Mizutani, Minority Deputy Communication Director; Veronique Pluiose, Minority Staff Director; Clinton Spencer IV, Minority Staff Assistant; and Banyon Vassar, Minority IT Administrator.

Chairwoman FOXX. Good morning. The Committee on Education and the Workforce will come to order. I note that a quorum is present. Without objection, the Chair is authorized to call a recess at any time. Before we begin, I would like to begin with a moment

of silence to recognize all the Israelis and others who have been killed, injured or taken hostage by Hamas terrorists.

Thank you. Today, each of you will have a chance to answer to and atone for the many specific instances of vitriolic hate-filled antisemitism on your respective campuses that have denied students the safe learning environment they are due.

As you confront our questions in this hearing remember that you are not speaking to us, but to the students on your campus who have been threatened and assaulted and who look to you to protect them.

Several of those students are with us in this room, including Jonathan Frieden, who is the President of Alliance for Israel and a Harvard law student, Eyal Yakoby who is a student at UPenn, Talia Khan, who is the President of MIT Israel Alliance, and an MIT graduate student, Bella Ingber, who is Co-President of NYU Students Supporting Israel and a junior at New York University.

Israel Ingber who is expected to start at the University of Chicago in the fall after taking a gap year to study in Israel, after being sent home right before the atrocities of October 7th. Mya Cufer who is a freshman at UPenn and Liam Crez who is an American Israeli sophomore at UPenn.

We have a short video that we will play now that shows what these students are facing.

[Playing video.]

Chairwoman FOXX. I want to do something which I rarely do, quote the Senate Majority Leader from New York, Chuck Schumer. On Wednesday, he took to the Senate floor to deliver an address on antisemitism stating, "Many of the people who express these sentiments in America are not neo-Nazi's or card-carrying clan members, or Islamist extremists.

There are many cases of people that most Liberal Jewish Americans felt previously were their ideological fellow travelers. Not long ago many of us marched together for black and brown lives."

You see this speech by the most powerful elected Jewish politician in America was addressed to many on his left flank. He questioned how these elements of the left, which pride themselves on diversity and inclusion, could be responsible for fomenting such hatred for liberal Jewish Americans.

I quote Majority Leader Schumer to you, Presidents Gay, Magill and Kornbluth because I understand this speech to be a sort of reckoning for the Jewish identity with the radical left. For 40 minutes he fails to use the word university a single time. However, after the events of the past 2 months it is clear that rabid antisemitism in the university are two ideas that cannot be cleaved from one another.

A prime example of this ideology at work is at Harvard, where classes are taught such as DP385, Race and Racism in the Making of the United States as a Global Power. The Harvard Global Health Institute hosts seminars such as "Scientific Racism and Anti-Racism History and Recent Perspectives." Even the Harvard Divinity School has a page devoted to "Social and Racial Justice."

Harvard also, not coincidentally but causally, was ground zero for antisemitism following October 7th, and is the single least toler-

ant school in the Nation according to the Foundation for Individual Rights and Expressions, 2024 College Free Speech Rankings.

UPenn is right behind them at 247 of 248. MIT is in the middle of the pack. What I am describing is a grave danger inherent in assenting to the race-based ideology of the radical left. Senator Schumer has not put the pieces together, but the picture is far too clear now to American Jews.

Institutional antisemitism and hate are among the poisoned fruits of your institutions' cultures. The buck for what has happened must stop on the President's desk, along with the responsibility for making it never again true on campus. Do you have the courage to truly confront and condemn the ideology driving antisemitism?

Or will you offer weak, blame-shifting excuses in yet another responsibility dodging taskforce? That is ultimately the most important question for you to confront in this hearing. I will close with this. I appreciate your appearances today on behalf of Harvard, UPenn and MIT respectively. It proves your universities have at minimum, a sense of accountability to the American people.

My praise for postsecondary education is very limited these days. Harvard, UPenn and MIT, you have a very big role to play in shaping the future for all of academia. This moment is an inflection point. It demands leaders of moral clarity, with the courage to delineate good from evil and right from wrong.

With that, I look forward to each of your testimonies. I yield to the Ranking member for an opening statement.

[The prepared statement of Chairwoman Foxx follows:]



COMMITTEE
STATEMENT

**Opening Statement of Rep. Virginia Foxx (R-NC), Chairwoman
Committee on Education and the Workforce
Hearing: “Holding Campus Leaders Accountable and Confronting Antisemitism”
December 5, 2023**

(As prepared for delivery)

Before we begin, I’d like to begin with a moment of silence to recognize all the Israelis and others who have been killed, injured, or taken hostage by Hamas terrorists.

Thank you.

Today, each of you will have a chance to answer to and atone for the many specific instances of vitriolic, hate-filled antisemitism on your respective campuses that have denied students the safe learning environment they are due. As you confront our questions in this hearing, remember that you are not speaking to us, but to the students on your campus who have been threatened and assaulted and who look to you to protect them.

As one of the hardest working committees in Congress, the Committee on Education and the Workforce is an effective audience and advocate for Members’ concerns. We’ve reported 23 bills and resolutions from this Committee so far this year, and eleven have passed the full House.

Several of those students are with us in the room, including: Jonathan Frieden, President of Alliance for Israel and Harvard Law Student; Eyal Yakoby, Senior at University of Pennsylvania; Talia Khan, President of MIT Israel Alliance and MIT Graduate Student; and Bella Ingber, Co-President of NYU’s Students Supporting Israel and Junior at New York University.

I want to do something which I rarely do—quote the Senate Majority Leader from New York, Chuck Schumer. On Wednesday he took to the Senate floor to deliver an address on antisemitism, stating:

“Many of the people who express these sentiments in America aren’t neo-Nazis or card-carrying Klan members or Islamist extremists. They’re in many cases people that most liberal Jewish Americans felt previously were their ideological fellow travelers. Not long ago, many of us marched together for black and brown lives.”

You see, this speech by the most powerful elected Jewish politician in America was addressed to many on his Left flank. He questioned how those elements of the Left, which pride themselves on diversity and inclusion, could be responsible for fomenting such hatred towards liberal Jewish Americans.

I quote Majority Leader Schumer to you, Presidents Gay, Magill, and Kornbluth, because I understand that speech to be a sort of reckoning for the Jewish identity with the radical Left, yet for 40 minutes he fails to use the word university a single time.

However, after the events of the past two months, it is clear that rabid antisemitism and the university are two ideas that cannot be cleaved from one another.

We must be clear on the ideological dimension of this problem.

For years, universities have stoked the flames of an ideology which goes by many names—anti-racism, anti-colonialism, critical race theory, DEI, intersectionality, the list goes on.

This value system taught in universities is absolutely foreign to 99 percent of Americans. It centers the identity on immutable racial and sexual characteristics. It presents a delusion that the color of one’s skin and expression of one’s chromosomes sort society into classes of oppressed and oppressors.

And now it is clear that Jews are at the bottom of the totem pole and without protection under this critical theory framework.

A prime example of this ideology at work is at Harvard where classes are taught such as “DPI-385: Race and Racism in the Making of the United States as a Global Power.” The Harvard Global Health Institute hosts seminars such as “Scientific Racism and Anti-Racism: History and Recent Perspectives.” Even the Harvard Divinity School has a page devoted to “Social and Racial Justice.”

Harvard also, not coincidentally but causally, was ground zero for antisemitism following October 7th and is the single least tolerant school in the nation according to the Foundation for Individual Rights and Expression’s 2024 College Free Speech Rankings. UPenn is right behind them at 247th of 248. MIT is in the middle of the pack.

What I am describing is a grave danger inherent in assenting to the race-based ideology of the radical Left. Senator Schumer hasn’t put the pieces together, but the picture is far too clear now to American Jews.

Institutional antisemitism and hate are among the poisoned fruits of your institutions’ cultures. The buck for what has happened must stop on the President’s desk, along with the responsibility for making never again true on campus.

Do you have the courage to truly confront and condemn the ideology driving antisemitism? Or will you offer weak, blame-shifting excuses and yet another responsibility dodging taskforce? That’s ultimately the most important question for you to confront in this hearing.

I will close with this. I appreciate your appearances today on behalf of Harvard, UPenn, and MIT, respectively. It proves your universities have at minimum a sense of accountability to the American people.

But my praise for postsecondary education is very limited these days. Harvard, UPenn, and MIT, you have a very big role to play in shaping the future for all of academia.

This moment is an inflection point. It demands leaders of moral clarity with the courage to delineate good from evil and right from wrong.

Mr. SCOTT. Thank you, Dr. Foxx, and thank our witnesses for appearing today. Historically college campuses have been hubs for students and faculty to foster intellectual thought and expression. Regrettably, following Hamas's October 7th attack on innocent civilians in Israel, with the ongoing conflict in Gaza, college campuses have become polarized, and we have been witnessing a disturbing rise in incidents of antisemitism and Islamophobia.

To be clear, this discrimination is nothing new on college campuses. Indeed, nothing new in society generally. Any student of history knows that it did not start with the October 7th attacks, or any one new event, and it did not start with diversity, equity and inclusion initiatives.

My colleagues would do well to recall this country as a century's long history of racism and white supremacy. At the same time, free speech is a Constitutional right, the bedrock of our democracy in colleges and universities are often on the front lines of defending this right. Schools are also responsible for fostering campus environments that promote understanding, respectful dialog and above all else, student safety.

Today we will hear from representatives at the universities on their efforts to protect students and address discrimination on campus. Of note, this is an opportunity that my republican colleagues denied us in 2017 when Committee democrats called for a hearing 6 years ago on campus discrimination when white supremacists marched through the University of Virginia grounds shouting, "Jews will not replace us."

We could not get a hearing back then. While my colleagues to be committed to combating discrimination on campus, they are also contradictorily and simultaneously stoking culture wars that can be divisive and discriminatory. Moreover, House republicans are proposing significant cuts to the Department of Education's Office of Civil Rights, the very office responsible for upholding students' civil rights and investigating discrimination claims.

You cannot have it both ways. You cannot call for action and then hamstring the agency charged with taking that action to protect student's civil rights. In stark contrast, the Biden administration has taken an active role in helping institutions, protect students as part of the White House's national strategy to combat antisemitism. Under President Biden's direction, the Department of Education has provided additional guidance to colleges and universities on how to uphold their obligation under Title VI of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, and better address antisemitism, Islamophobia, and all forms of discrimination on campus.

They have also opened investigations into recent incidents on many campuses including Harvard, Columbia, Cornell, Wesley, University of Pennsylvania, University of Tampa, just to name a few. In closing, I want to echo my colleague, and I will quote Senator Schumer again.

"All Americans share a responsibility and an obligation to fight back whenever we see the rise of prejudice of any type in our midst." Today I hope my republican colleagues will denounce the culture wars that have distracted us from protecting many vulnerable students, and I hope we can stand behind the Biden's administration's critical work to ensure that every student and educator

has access to a campus free of discrimination, harassment and violence. To that end, I yield back.

[The prepared statement of Ranking Member Scott follows:]



OPENING STATEMENT

House Committee on Education and the Workforce
Ranking Member Robert C. "Bobby" Scott

Opening Statement of Ranking Member Scott (VA-03)
Full Committee Hearing
Holding Campus Leaders Accountable and Confronting Antisemitism
2175 RHOB
Tuesday, December 5, 2023 | 10:15 a.m.

Thank you, Dr. Foxx. And thank our witnesses for appearing today.

Historically, college campuses have been hubs for students and faculty to foster intellectual thought and expression. Regrettably, following Hamas' October 7th attack on innocent civilians in Israel and the ongoing conflict in Gaza, college campuses have become polarized, and we have been witnessing a disturbing rise in incidents of antisemitism and Islamophobia.

To be clear, this discrimination is nothing new on college campuses, indeed nothing new in society generally. Any student of history knows that it did not start with the October 7th attacks; or any one new event; and it didn't start with diversity, equity, and inclusion initiatives. My colleagues would do well to recall this country has a centuries-long history of racism and white supremacy.

At the same time, free speech is a constitutional right, and the bedrock of our democracy. And colleges and universities are often on the front lines defending this right.

But schools are also responsible for fostering campus environments that promote understanding, respectful dialogue, and, above all else, student safety.

So today, we'll hear from representatives of universities on their efforts to protect students and address discrimination on campus. Of note, this is an opportunity that my Republican colleagues denied us in 2017 when Committee Democrats called for a hearing six years ago on campus discrimination when white supremacists marched through the University of Virginia grounds shouting, "Jews will not replace us!"

We couldn't get a hearing back then.

And while my colleagues claim to be committed to combating discrimination on campus, they are also contradictorily and simultaneously stoking culture wars that can be divisive and discriminatory. Moreover, House Republicans are proposing significant cuts to the Department of Education's Office of Civil Rights— the very

office responsible for upholding students' civil rights and investigating discrimination claims.

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In stark contrast, the Biden Administration has taken an active role in helping institutions protect students as part of the White House's [National Strategy to Combat Antisemitism](#). Under President Biden's direction, the Department of Education has provided additional guidance to colleges and universities on how to uphold their obligation under Title VI of the *Civil Rights Act of 1964* and better address antisemitism, Islamophobia, and all forms of discrimination on campus. They have also opened investigations into recent incidents on many campuses, including Harvard, Columbia, Cornell, Wellesley, University of Pennsylvania, University of Tampa, just to name a few.

In closing, I want to echo my colleague, and I'll quote Senator Schumer again: "All Americans share a responsibility and an obligation to fight back whenever we see the rise of prejudice of any type in our midst."

So, today, I hope my Republican colleagues will denounce the culture wars that have distracted us from protecting many vulnerable students. And I hope we can stand behind the Biden Administration's critical work to ensure that every student and educator has access to a campus free of discrimination, harassment, and violence.

To that end, I yield back.

Chairwoman FOXX. Thank you, Mr. Scott. Pursuant to Rule 8-C, all members who wish to insert written statements into the record may do so by submitting them to the Committee Clerk electronically in Microsoft Word format by 5 p.m., 14 days after the date of this hearing, which is December 19, 2023.

Without objection, the hearing record will remain open for 14 days to allow such statements and other extraneous material referenced during the hearing to be submitted for the official hearing record.

I now turn to the introduction of our witnesses. Our first witness is Dr. Claudine Gay who is the President of Harvard University in Cambridge, Massachusetts. Our second witness is Ms. Liz Magill, who is the President of the University of Pennsylvania in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania.

Our next witness is Dr. Pamela Nadell, who is a Professor of History and Jewish Studies at American University in Washington, DC. Our final witness is Dr. Sally Kornbluth, who is President of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology in Cambridge, Massachusetts.

I note Dr. Kornbluth will monitor her diabetes during the hearing. We thank you all for being here today and look forward to your testimony. I would like to remind the witnesses that we have read your written statements, which will appear in full in the hearing record.

Pursuant to Committee Rule 8-D, and Committee practice, I ask that each of you limit your oral presentations to a 5-minute summary of your written statement. I also would like to remind the witnesses to be aware of their responsibility to provide accurate information to the Committee.

If we have a demonstration that gets unruly, we will ask the campus police to take people out immediately. I now recognize Dr. Gay for 5 minutes.

STATEMENT OF DR. CLAUDINE GAY, PRESIDENT, HARVARD UNIVERSITY, CAMBRIDGE, MASSACHUSETTS

Ms. GAY. Chairwoman Foxx, Ranking Member Scott, and distinguished members of the Committee. My name is Claudine Gay, and I am the President of Harvard University. It is an honor to be here today representing a community of more than 25,000 undergraduate and graduate students, more than 19,000 faculty and staff, and more than 400,000 alumni, including multiple members of this Committee.

Thank you for calling this hearing on the critical topic of antisemitism. Our community still mourns those brutally murdered during the Hamas terrorist attack in Israel on October 7th. Words fail in the face of such depravity. The deadliest, single day for the Jewish community since the horrors of the Holocaust.

In the 2 months since the atrocities of October 7th, and the subsequent armed conflict and humanitarian crisis in Gaza, we have seen a dramatic and deeply concerning rise in antisemitism around the world, in the United States, and on our campuses, including my own.

I know many in our Harvard Jewish community are hurting, and experiencing grief, fear, and trauma. I have heard from faculty,

students, staff and alumni of incidents of intimidation and harassment. I have seen reckless and thoughtless rhetoric shared in person and online on campus and off. I have listened to leaders in our Jewish community who are scared and disillusioned.

At the same time, I know members of Harvard's Muslim and Arab communities are also hurting. During these past months the world, our Nation and our campuses have also seen a rise of incidents of Islamophobia. During these difficult days I have felt the bonds of our community strain.

In response I have sought to confront hate while preserving free expression. This is difficult work, and I know that I have not always gotten it right. The free exchange of ideas is the foundation upon which Harvard is built. Safety and well-being are the pre-requisites for engagement in our community.

Without both of these things our teaching and research mission flounder. In the past 2 months our bedrock commitments have guided our efforts. We have increased security measures, expanded reporting channels, and augmented counseling, mental health and support services.

We have reiterated that speech that incites violence, threatens safety, or violates Harvard's policies against bullying and harassment is unacceptable. We have made it clear that any behaviors that disrupt our teaching and research efforts will not be tolerated. Where these lines have been crossed, we have taken action.

We have drawn on our academic expertise to create learning opportunities for our campus community. We have begun examinations of the ways in which antisemitism and other forms of hate manifest at Harvard, and in American society. We have also repeatedly made clear that we at Harvard reject antisemitism and denounce any trace of it on our campus or within our community.

Antisemitism is a symptom of ignorance, and the cure for ignorance is knowledge. Harvard must model what it means to preserve free expression while combating prejudice and preserving the security of our community. We are undertaking that hard, long-term work with the attention and intensity it requires.

Once again, I thank the Committee for the opportunity to discuss this important work. I have faith today that through thoughtful, focused and determined effort, we will once again meet adversity and grow. Thank you.

[The prepared statement of Dr. Gay follows:]

Hearing before the House Committee on Education and the Workforce

Testimony of Claudine Gay
President of Harvard University

December 5, 2023

Chairwoman Foxx, Ranking Member Scott, and distinguished Members of the Committee, I appreciate your leadership on this important issue and welcome the opportunity to discuss it today.

My name is Claudine Gay, and I am honored to serve as the 30th President of Harvard University. My parents immigrated to America from Haiti with very little, but they believed in this country and in the transformative power of education. With their support, I pursued my own education passionately, eventually earning my doctorate at Harvard. I have since dedicated my career to educating today's students and building upon Harvard's tradition of excellence.

I am privileged to appear before this Committee representing the full Harvard community. Founded more than a century before the Declaration of Independence was signed, Harvard is America's first institution of higher learning. Today, the Harvard community includes more than 25,000 undergraduate and graduate students, 19,000 faculty and staff, and more than 400,000 alumni worldwide, including multiple Members of this Committee.

On October 7, Hamas brutally attacked and murdered over a thousand civilians in Israel, including American citizens. I condemn that attack unequivocally. That terrorist attack, the humanitarian crisis in Gaza that followed, and reactions to these events in the United States and across the world have shone a spotlight on ancient forms of hate that continue to fester in our societies and, unfortunately, persist on college campuses.

We at Harvard reject antisemitism and denounce any trace of it on our campus or within our community. Harvard must provide firm leadership in the fight against antisemitism and hate speech even while preserving room for free expression and dissent. This is difficult work, and I admit that we have not always gotten it right. As Harvard's President, I am personally responsible for confronting antisemitism with the urgency it demands.

I am grateful for the chance to share the meaningful steps that we are taking to address this challenge.

I. OCTOBER 7 ATTACKS AND THEIR AFTERMATH

Words cannot express the horror and monstrosity of the atrocities committed by the Hamas terrorist group on October 7 or the disgust I, and all of us, feel in response to them. Hamas's premeditated murder, torture, and hostage-taking of civilians reflects unimaginable cruelty and contempt for human dignity.

The pain in the wake of October 7 has been compounded by reports of rising incidences of antisemitic and Islamophobic hate crimes and attacks in the United States and elsewhere. The

combination of violence in the Middle East and prejudiced speech and hateful actions at home have left many fearful and distraught.

That is true at Harvard as well. Many, including myself, feel a profound sense of loss and sadness. Some are angry. Others are frightened. These feelings are being exacerbated by the rise in antisemitism, including on our campus.

In the immediate aftermath of the attack, my colleagues and I focused on determining whether any Harvard community members, or their families, were in Israel or the larger region and in need of assistance. The following night, I visited Harvard Hillel to share in our Jewish students' grief and shock. On Monday, October 9, I led a joint statement with all the Deans of Harvard's schools expressing sorrow and compassion for the victims of this attack, including their friends, families, and loved ones. The next morning, I added a personal statement underscoring my condemnation of the inhumane and abhorrent atrocities perpetrated by Hamas.

In the days and weeks that followed, I met with members of our Jewish community to offer my administration's full and unwavering support. I shared Shabbat dinner at Harvard Chabad and Hillel on October 13 and 27, respectively, and I met separately with Harvard's rabbis at both Hillel and Chabad. At these events, we mourned together, and many shared their fears and concerns with me. At Hillel, I announced steps my administration would take to combat antisemitism.

Over the last several weeks, I have continued speaking with students, faculty, and alumni in our community about how the events of October 7 and its aftermath were affecting them, with a focus on those who were feeling vulnerable or isolated. I have attended Friday Prayers with our Muslim community, met with Harvard's Muslim chaplains, and met with multiple groups of Muslim undergraduate and graduate students.

Over the last two months, there have been numerous demonstrations on campus protesting the violence in the Middle East and showing support for those affected. Impassioned reactions to these events are understandable. But there is no excuse for hate or harassment within our community.

I am deeply troubled by instances of inflammatory rhetoric and division on campus. Individuals are reporting feeling threatened by others in our community. The chilling effect created by these tactics threatens to turn our community of learning and trust into an environment of alienation and fear. Reckless and thoughtless rhetoric—in person and online, on campus and off—is undermining feelings of belonging among members of the Harvard community.

Efforts to threaten or intimidate members of our community betray Harvard's core values. Harvard's mission stretches back centuries, has endured wars and depressions, and has outlasted difficulties and strife across eras because we upheld foundational principles. Chief among them are freedom of speech and open academic inquiry. They are fundamental to our ability to foster curiosity, creativity, and academic discovery.

We believe the best path to uncover truth is through open inquiry and robust debate. Harvard understands that hatred is a symptom of ignorance. The cure for ignorance is knowledge. But the pursuit of truth is possible only when freedom of expression is protected and exercised. At

Harvard, we will not allow discomfort or disagreement with opinions fairly expressed to impede this pursuit.

At the same time, true open discourse requires respect for our community, and we must do more to ensure such respect is shown. We encourage the vigorous exchange of ideas, but we will not, under any circumstances, permit speech that incites violence, threatens safety, or violates Harvard's policies against bullying and harassment. My administration has repeatedly made crystal clear that antisemitism and other forms of hate have no place at Harvard. Threats and intimidation have no place at Harvard.

Nor will Harvard allow actions that interfere with its core teaching and research mission. The vital work of the University—educating leaders for the future and pursuing knowledge for the benefit of humanity—continues. And it will continue even as we face these challenges. There is a time and place for protests, but it is not in the classroom. Let there be no confusion: Harvard's top priority is to protect every student's physical safety and their right to learn without disruption. Respect, compassion, and freedom of expression are mutually reinforcing values that must all be present for Harvard to carry out its educational mandate.

Harvard's strength comes from its diversity of ideas and identities. The open exchange of views is essential to our work and to building a community of leaders, something we have been working to perfect over four hundred years. But these successes can occur only when our community feels safe and heard. Betrayal of our core values of free expression and mutual respect serves only to sow division, stoke fears, and undermine a sense of belonging in our community.

II. HARVARD'S RESPONSE TO THE EVENTS OF OCTOBER 7 AND THEIR AFTERMATH

The past two months have shown that Harvard must always strive to do more to facilitate productive, civil discourse in moments of crisis. We must actively teach our community how to engage constructively on complex and divisive issues, and to do so in a way where all our students feel safe and welcome in our community. We must accelerate efforts to make our community a model for how to talk and listen, to educate and learn across lines of difference.

With these principles in mind, my administration has been mobilizing and engaging stakeholders in our community to combat antisemitism, as well as ensuring the safety and security of all members of our community. Here are just a few examples of actions we have taken over the past two months:

- **Increased Security:** We have increased campus security in important and potentially vulnerable University spaces like student residences. When necessary, we have been closing the gates to Harvard Yard to limit the ability of outside actors and groups to use our campus as a platform. We and our University Police have also engaged in close coordination with local, state, and federal law enforcement to assess and respond to any threats to our community. Our University Police have likewise been monitoring a hotline 24/7 to address online harassment.

- **Policies For On-Campus Events:** We have provided clear requirements for on-campus events, including engaging in broad efforts to remind our students and community about the University's policies and requirements for demonstrations and protests, and the disciplinary implications for violating those policies.
- **Increased Reporting Mechanisms:** We have increased outreach to our community regarding ways to report discrimination, harassment, and abusive behavior, and we have widely disseminated these tools to the Harvard community. This includes increased monitoring of online harassment by our information security department. We also have a hotline for community members to report incidents anonymously.
- **Enhanced Counseling Resources:** We have robust mental health and counseling resources, including a 24/7 care line, and a dedicated team specifically prepared to help our undergraduates navigate these resources. We have also added additional trauma-informed counseling resources through our Counseling and Mental Health Services.
- **Religious Community Support:** We have organized community support sessions through our counseling team and Harvard's chaplains, which comprise more than thirty faith leaders representing many of the world's religions, including Judaism and Islam.

Harvard's efforts to combat antisemitism on campus, which is the focus of today's hearing, do not prevent Harvard from fighting other forms of hate within our community. It is possible to feel deeply concerned for all students affected by recent events and to balance free expression on campus with the right of all our students to feel safe and included. Compassion is not a finite resource.

III. HARVARD'S COMMITMENT TO COMBATING ANTISEMITISM AND HATE ON CAMPUS

While we are proud of the initial steps Harvard has taken in the immediate aftermath of October 7, much work remains. Antisemitism has deep roots that grew long before Hamas's attack. It will take time and focused efforts by my administration and our community to heal the divides on campus, and build the solidarity and collective action necessary to counter this hatred. But we are in it for the duration, and we will not cease our work until all members of our community feel safe and respected so they can learn and thrive.

In addition to the steps outlined above, we will take the following steps to combat religious hate in all its forms:

- **Antisemitism and Islamophobia Education:** Harvard will implement a robust program of education and training for students, faculty, and staff on antisemitism and Islamophobia broadly and at Harvard specifically. These educational programs will provide history and context about the roots of certain rhetoric that has been heard on our campus in recent weeks, and its impact on Jewish and Muslim members of our community. The goal is to identify antisemitism and Islamophobia in daily life and interrupt its harmful influence.
- **Efforts from Individual Schools:** Several of our Schools have announced their own efforts and commitments. Last month Harvard Business School launched four working

groups—on (1) Antisemitism, (2) Islamophobia and Anti-Arabism, (3) Classroom Culture, and (4) Free Expression—tasked with proposing both short and long-term actions to address these issues. Harvard’s Business School and Kennedy School likewise recently hosted a panel discussion on the history of the Israel-Palestine conflict and possible paths forward. Later this month, the Harvard Radcliffe Institute will host a panel discussion regarding universities’ responses to conflict and protest, including efforts to address concerns about antisemitism and Islamophobia.

- **External Partnerships:** Harvard is actively working to identify and build partnerships with outside organizations, especially those with well-established track records of fighting antisemitism. For instance, we are discussing a collaboration with the Foundation to Combat Antisemitism, and Deans of Harvard’s Schools recently met with the Foundation President to further discuss partnership opportunities. A team from Harvard visited the Foundation last week to plan for specific collaborations.

I will continue to mobilize my full authority as President to confront antisemitism, Islamophobia, and other forms of hate. It is my top priority to foster a community that exercises free speech with tolerance, respect, and compassion.

Harvard’s strength is its engaged community. I want to thank our alumni—including those on this Committee—and other valued members of the Harvard community who have spoken out and offered suggestions or encouragement during this difficult time. Harvard values that input and will continue to work with, and listen to, members of the community to ensure that its approach to these issues is as robust as possible.

IV. CONCLUSION

I’d like to again thank the Committee for the chance to discuss this important work at this critical moment. I have no illusions that these challenges will resolve quickly or easily, just as no one is under any illusions that antisemitism will be extinguished within mere months or with a few focused actions. But that is precisely why we must commit to this work, both in our universities and throughout the country.

I began my tenure as Harvard’s President with an address in which I encouraged our community to ask “Why not?” when imagining Harvard’s future. “Why not?” is a call to act courageously and to take on difficult, entrenched problems with energy, creativity, and resolve. It is a call to put one’s resources and unique talents to their highest possible use. So, I now ask again: “Why not?” Why not show how a campus can take on antisemitism and also preserve freedom of speech? Why not be a model for the world on how to engage across difference, how to embrace both open inquiry and inclusion as community values?

I know Harvard has the tools it needs to achieve these goals, and I am proud to lead this effort. We have the resolve to be a force for good in the world. We have faced moments of divisiveness in the past and have emerged stronger. Through determined effort and guided by our shared values, I have faith we can face adversity as a community to learn, grow, and heal together.

Chairwoman FOXX. Thank you, Dr. Gay. Ms. Magill, you are recognized for 5 minutes.

STATEMENT OF MS. LIZ MAGILL, PRESIDENT, UNIVERSITY OF PENNSYLVANIA, PHILADELPHIA, PENNSYLVANIA

Ms. MAGILL. Thank you, Chairwoman Foxx, Ranking Member Scott and distinguished members of this Committee for the opportunity to be here today. My name is Elizabeth Magill, and I am the President of the University of Pennsylvania. Let me begin by saying that I, and the University of Pennsylvania are horrified by, and condemn Hamas's abhorrent and brutal terror attack on Israel on October 7th.

There is no justification, none, for those heinous attacks. The loss of life and suffering that are occurring in Israel and Gaza during the ensuing war are heartbreaking.

This pain, sorrow and fear extends to our campus and to our city of Philadelphia. This hearing this morning takes place just 2 days after the Philadelphia community witnessed in horror the hateful words of protestors who marched the city and then near our campus.

These protestors directly targeted a center city business that is Jewish and Israeli owned, a troubling and shameful act of antisemitism. Philadelphia Police and Penn Public Safety were present, and thankfully no one was injured, but these events have understandably left many in our community upset and afraid.

Antisemitism, an old, viral and pernicious evil has been steadily rising in our society, and these world events have dramatically accelerated that surge. Few places have proven immune, including Philadelphia and campuses like ours. This is unacceptable. We are combating this hate on our campus with both immediate and comprehensive action.

I have condemned antisemitism publicly, regularly, and in the strongest possible terms. Today, let me reiterate my and Penn's unyielding commitment to combating it. We immediately investigate any hateful act, cooperating with both law enforcement and the FBI where we have identified individuals who have committed these acts in violation of either policy or law.

We initiate disciplinary proceedings and engage law enforcement. We have acted decisively to ensure safety throughout and near our campus, expanding the presence of public safety officers at our religious life centers and all across campus. On November 1st, just over a month ago, I announced Penn's action plan to combat antisemitism.

This builds on our antihate efforts to date, and it is anchored firmly in the United States' national strategy to counter antisemitism. The plan centers on three key areas and has many elements. Those areas are safety and security, engagement and education.

As part of this plan, I have convened and charged a task force to identify concrete actionable recommendations, directing them to provide me with the recommendations both in real time, and then a final report in a couple of months. To ensure that our Jewish students have a direct channel to share their experiences with me, I have created a Student Advisory Group on the student experience.

Today's hearing is focused on antisemitism, and its direct impact on the Jewish community, but history teaches us that where antisemitism goes unchecked, other forms of hate spread and ultimately can threaten democracy. We are seeing a rise in our society in harassment, intimidation and threats toward individuals based on their identity as Muslim, Palestinian or Arab.

At Penn, we are investigating all these allegations for members of our community, and providing resources to support individuals experiencing threats, online harassment and doxing, we will continue to deploy all the necessary resources to support any member of the community experiencing hate. As president, I am committed to a safe, secure, and supportive educational environment so that our academic mission can thrive. It is crucial that ideas are exchanged, and diverse viewpoints are debated. As a student of constitutional democracy, I know that we need both safety and free expression for universities and ultimately democracy to thrive. In these times these competing principles can be difficult to balance, but I am determined to get it right.

We must get this right. The stakes are too high. Penn would not be what it is without its strong Jewish community past, present and future. I am proud of this tradition and deeply troubled when members of our Jewish community share that their sense of belonging has been shaken. Under my leadership we will never, ever shrink from our moral responsibility to combat antisemitism and educate all to recognize and reject hate.

We will remain vigilant. I look forward to your questions.

[The prepared statement of Ms. Magill follows:]

President M. Elizabeth Magill, University of Pennsylvania

Testimony before the

United States House of Representatives

Committee on Education and the Workforce

December 5, 2023

Thank you, Chairwoman Foxx, Ranking Member Scott, and distinguished members of this Committee, for the opportunity to discuss the important issue of rising antisemitism in our society and the actions we are taking in response at the University of Pennsylvania (Penn).

My name is Elizabeth Magill. For just over a year, I have had the honor of serving as the 9th President of the University of Pennsylvania, a 283-year-old institution founded by Benjamin Franklin. Prior to joining Penn, I was Executive Vice President and Provost of the University of Virginia, the Dean of the Stanford Law School, and for many years a professor of law at the University of Virginia. Early in my career, I worked as a law clerk for J. Harvie Wilkinson of the U.S. Court of Appeals for the Fourth Circuit and U.S. Supreme Court Justice Ruth Bader Ginsburg.

Let me begin by saying that I, and the University of Pennsylvania, are horrified by and condemn Hamas's abhorrent terrorist attack on Israel on October 7th. There is no justification—none—for those heinous attacks. The loss of life and suffering that are occurring in Israel and Gaza during the ensuing war are heartbreaking. The pain extends to our campus. I know it from my daily conversations with our students, faculty, and staff, as well as parents and alumni.

This hearing was called to discuss antisemitism on college campuses. I value this opportunity to reaffirm my and Penn's unyielding opposition to antisemitism and to outline the urgent, university-wide actions we are taking to combat this centuries-old and resurgent threat.

As President, my first priority is to members of the Penn community and, above all, to their safety and support. I must also ensure that our academic mission thrives; that academic freedom and the free exchange of ideas endure; and that we swiftly address any violation of the law or our University's policies. These are the priorities Penn is seeking to achieve in the actions I will discuss today.

Penn's Relationship with the Jewish Community

The vibrant engagement of Jewish faculty, students, staff, and alumni has long been an integral part of Penn. To see this sense of belonging shaken by recent events is deeply troubling. We trace our history back to 1772 with the enrollment of Penn's first Jewish student, Moses Levy, who later became the first Jewish Trustee of the University. The Jewish Students' Association at Penn was established in 1924. In 1970, Martin Meyerson became the first Jewish Ivy League

President. Since 2012, we have partnered with the USC Shoah Foundation Institute's [Visual History Archive](#) to make available to students and researchers more than 50,000 video testimonials of Holocaust survivors and other witnesses.

We—and I—are proud of our history and the prominent role our Jewish community plays in campus life and, broadly, in Penn's academic excellence. Under my leadership, we will never shrink from our moral responsibility to combat antisemitism and educate others to recognize and reject hate.

Addressing Antisemitism

Prior to October 7th, antisemitism—a pernicious, viral evil—was already rising in our society, and global events have dramatically accelerated the surge. No place is immune, and campuses, including ours, have recently experienced an unacceptable number of antisemitic incidents. We are combatting this evil head on with immediate action.

I have condemned antisemitism publicly, regularly, and in the strongest terms possible and today want to reiterate my and Penn's commitment to combatting it. For decades our Division of Public Safety has learned from and worked with the Anti-Defamation League office in Philadelphia, and we are working closely with them, as well as local, state, and federal law enforcement to promptly report and investigate antisemitic acts against any member of the Penn community. Where we have been able to identify individuals who committed these acts in violation of existing University policy or law, we have initiated disciplinary proceedings and referred these matters to law enforcement where appropriate.

We have also acted decisively to ensure safety throughout and near campus. We have expanded the presence of Penn Public Safety and Allied Security at our religious life centers including Penn Hillel, the Herbert D. Katz Center for Advanced Judaic Studies, and the Lubavitch House. We also enhanced security at every event, rally, protest, and vigil on campus. Penn Public Safety works in close collaboration with law enforcement, including the Philadelphia Police Department.

Like many communities around the world, Penn has also experienced protests, rallies, and vigils related to the terrorist attack and the subsequent war. Protest—and all it entails—has long been a feature of university life. Penn's approach to protest is guided by the U.S. Constitution, outlined in decades-old open expression policies, and supported and upheld by trained Open Expression Observers. We recognize the right of peaceful protest and assembly, and we give broad protection to free expression—even expression that is offensive. At the same time, we have zero tolerance for violence or speech intended to incite it. Our public safety officers are present at every protest, rally, or vigil, trained in de-escalation techniques, and, if necessary, they are ready to act.

Protests playing out on campuses and in cities worldwide demonstrate the challenges of fostering robust debate during difficult times. In addition to respecting the right of protest, Penn is offering many ways for students to come together in classrooms and in small groups to discuss these issues. Making space for this sort of debate is in keeping with the best traditions and educational

missions of institutions like Penn. Educating citizens requires engagement with real-world challenges and hard topics—topics that often inspire passionate responses. University leadership must provide guardrails that encourage free and open expression while also ensuring a secure environment, and that is what I am seeking to do.

These immediate actions are only the first step. I am also committed to lasting change and laying the foundation for a Penn that leads on these issues. On November 1, 2023, I announced Penn’s [Action Plan to Combat Antisemitism](#), which builds on our anti-hate efforts to date and is anchored in the *U.S. National Strategy to Counter Antisemitism*. Developed in collaboration with faculty, staff, students, campus leaders, alumni, and national organizations like the American Jewish Committee, our Action Plan centers on three key areas: (1) Safety and Security, (2) Engagement, and (3) Education. In each of these areas, we announced both immediate and medium-term actions.

As part of that Action Plan, I have convened and charged an Antisemitism Task Force, with membership across Penn’s schools and communities, to identify concrete, actionable recommendations. I have directed the Task Force to provide me with their recommendations in real time and to deliver their final report by this spring.

We are making certain that all our educational efforts aimed at addressing bigotry include antisemitism and other forms of hate.

To ensure our Jewish students have a direct channel to share their experiences with me, I have invited and received over 80 applications for membership to a new Student Advisory Group on the Jewish Student Experience.

I also sent a delegation of university leaders to attend the Brandeis Leadership Symposium on Antisemitism in Higher Education. They have reported back to me and are already contributing best practices and lessons learned toward our efforts.

As these efforts progress, I know we will have more to report.

The Rise of Other Forms of Hate

While I know this hearing is focused on antisemitism, we, and society broadly, are facing another significant challenge in this moment as well. We are seeing rising harassment, intimidation, doxing, and threats toward students, faculty, and staff based on their identity or perceived identity as Muslim, Palestinian, or Arab. Some have lost family members in this war, and many are worried about the safety of their loved ones in the region. Many are also afraid for their own safety, and the horrifying shooting of three Palestinian students in Vermont has only deepened their fears.

I am appalled by and have publicly condemned these acts of harassment, threats, and intimidation. We are investigating all allegations, even when threats have come from outside our campus. We are providing resources and advice to assist individuals with online doxing, harassment, and threats. Safety and security for individuals and places of worship has been

increased across the board, and we are deploying all necessary resources to support any member of our community who is the target of hate.

In addition to these immediate steps, I have created a Presidential Commission on Countering Hate and Building Community to empower our campus leaders to address antisemitism, Islamophobia, and hate in all forms, and to lay the groundwork for a stronger, more connected community. I will direct the Commission to provide me their recommended actions by spring.

Changing Penn for the Better

In challenging times, leaders must make many choices. The most important choice is to take the full measure of what we face, act decisively, communicate clearly, and lay the foundation for a stronger institution in the years to come. Our immediate actions—safety and support of our community, investigation and enforcement of policies and laws, and condemnation of hate—are essential. We will remain vigilant. We are also setting the stage for long-term change. I am committed to ensuring that Penn not only takes immediate action to combat antisemitism, but also creates lasting change and emerges as a higher education leader in this regard. Penn’s all-in efforts today, I believe, will bring about that better tomorrow.

Closing

Higher education institutions create knowledge, share it for good, and educate the next generation—missions that have never been more essential. Leading Penn is the honor of a lifetime because, even in these challenging times, we have never been stronger than we are today. Penn has attracted and is home to more-talented faculty, students, and staff than ever before. Each day, our faculty educate students while producing life-changing and award-winning insights and discoveries. Our health system provides world-class clinical care. Our students grow in their respective fields and go on to lead.

If you visited Penn’s campus today, you would see vibrant university life. Students are walking to class and preparing for exams. Faculty are teaching seminars and undertaking research. Doctors, nurses, and health care providers are tending to thousands of patients. Dedicated staff are enabling the work of the University. You would also see many people engaged in serious and respectful conversation—despite disagreement—about difficult topics, including those related to the Israel-Hamas war.

Thank you for the opportunity to discuss the topic of this hearing, the disturbing rise of antisemitism. As the President of Penn, I join you—emphatically—in addressing these concerns and fostering solutions. That is why we are urgently taking both immediate and lasting action to make Penn an even better, stronger institution now and for the future. We must and we will stand together in unyielding opposition to antisemitism, hate in all its forms, and all forces that would seek to divide us.

I look forward to your questions.

Chairwoman FOXX. Thank you, Ms. Magill. Dr. Nadell, you are recognized for 5 minutes.

STATEMENT OF DR. PAMELA NADELL, PROFESSOR OF HISTORY AND JEWISH STUDIES, AMERICAN UNIVERSITY, WASHINGTON, D.C.

Ms. NADELL. Thank you, Chairwoman Foxx and Ranking Member Scott for inviting me today. I am Pamela Nadell, I am a Professor of Jewish History at American University, and I am currently writing the book, *Antisemitism, an American Tradition*, supported by a National Endowment for the Humanities Public Scholar Award, and I am delighted to be here today because this gives me an opportunity to thank Congress for sustaining through the NEH scholarship essential to understanding our Nation's past.

This is the third time I have testified about this topic before Congress. The first was in 2017, just 3 months after white supremacists chanting "Jews will not replace us," paraded through the University of Virginia, brandishing torch lights, echoing Nazi storm troopers strutting through Germany in the 1930's.

I emphasize this because the antisemitism igniting on campuses today is not new. It is part of a long history of American antisemitism. While antisemitism is difficult to define, historical examples convey some of its contours. Antisemites believe that Jews have been corrupted by money since Judas betrayed Jesus for 30 pieces of silver, and they've employed code names for avaricious Jews, Shylock, Rothschild, and in the 21st Century George Soros.

Antisemites believe Jews conspired to destroy Christian western civilization. These conspiracy theories gained currency in the 1920's when Henry Ford's newspaper ran the series, *The International Jew, the World's Foremost Problem*. Today, the charge that the Jews are internationalists, have been replaced by the dog whistle globalist, implying that Jews are the puppet masters of the worldwide order.

Across American history people from all walks of life have conveyed antisemitic ideas since 1654, when New Amsterdam Governor Peter Stuyvesant tried to expel, and I quote, "This deceitful race, such hateful enemies and blasphemers of the name of Christ."

Now, more than 350 years later we have just marked the fifth anniversary of the murders at Pittsburgh's Tree of Life Synagogue. On city streets abuse is hurled at orthodox Jews, and Swastikas are graffitied on dorm doors, and also at the State Department. The long history of American antisemitism left its mark in higher education. Quotas on the admission of Jewish students began in the Ivy League in the 1920's and spread to more than 700 private colleges and universities.

The campuses also wrestled with the challenge of antisemitic speech before this fall. In the early 1990's Holocaust deniers took out full page ads in college newspapers. Those ads launched furious debates about free speech on campus, and also helped propel Holocaust courses into the university to respond to the disinformation.

Anti-Israel invective has been flaring on campus well before this fall. I could look back more than 20 years. In October 2000, 200 students at the University of Michigan yelled, "Israel is a fascist

state”, and protested a Hillel teaching. The barbarity of the Hamas terror of October 7th adds a terrible new chapter to Jewish history.

Anyone who claims to care about human rights should denounce these horrors. That so many on campus not only did not, but that they justified the savagery in name of opposition to Israel has caused Jews around the world deep anguish. While I deplore all hateful speech, antisemitic speech remains in America protected. Free speech stands at the core of the liberal arts education, an education which almost every Member of Congress benefited from when they were students.

Free speech does not permit harassment, discrimination, bias, threats, or violence in any form. When they occur our institutions, and not just the campus, but our Nation, they have in place mechanisms to respond. The American Jewish community has long strategized about how to reduce antisemitism.

Their efforts received a stunning confirmation when the U.S. national strategy to counter antisemitism was published. I believe this is the first time any nation has developed such a document. I urge Congress to do everything in its power to support the national strategy, and also the forthcoming national strategy to counter Islamophobia. Thank you.

[The prepared statement of Ms. Nadell follows:]

Pamela S. Nadell

Professor of History and Jewish Studies
Patrick Clendenen Chair in Women's & Gender History
Director, Jewish Studies Program
American University

Written Testimony
before the
United States House of Representatives
Committee on Education and the Workforce

December 5, 2023

Written Testimony of Pamela S. Nadell

Before the

**United States House of Representatives
Committee on Education and the Workforce**

December 5, 2023

Introduction

Thank you, Chairwoman Foxx and Ranking Member Scott, for inviting me to discuss confronting antisemitism on our nation's campuses.

I am Pamela Nadell, a professor of history and Jewish Studies at American University. I am currently writing a book titled *Antisemitism, an American Tradition*, under contract with W. W. Norton, a project supported, in part, by a National Endowment for the Humanities Public Scholars Award. I am delighted that this hearing gives me the opportunity to thank Congress publicly for supporting, through the National Endowment for the Humanities, scholarship, exhibitions, and documentaries essential to informing our citizens about our nation's past and for recognizing my scholarship with this prestigious award.

This is the third time that I have testified about this topic before Congress. The first was in 2017, just three months after white supremacists chanting "Jews will not replace us" paraded in the Unite the Right rally through the University of Virginia, brandishing torchlights, echoing Nazi storm troopers strutting through the streets of Germany in the 1930s.

I emphasize this because the antisemitism igniting on college campuses today is not new. It is part of a long history of antisemitism in our nation's colleges, just one manifestation of the trajectory of antisemitism in American life.

Understanding Antisemitism

Before turning to the questions of free speech and antisemitism on campuses today, we need to begin to understand just what antisemitism is. While it is difficult to define antisemitism, we can look to examples from history to illustrate the contours of this prejudice.

The term "antisemitism" is a relatively recent invention. The word was coined in Germany in the late 1870s to distinguish between the modern racial basis of Jew hatred and historic religious antipathy. Today, the word antisemitism is commonly used to signify any of the ancient, medieval, and modern expressions of animosity towards Judaism and the Jewish people.

Here are just some of antisemitism's historic canards.

- Antisemitism blames Jews for Jesus's death and posits that Jews, the historical witnesses to Jesus's life, must be punished across eternity until they recognize the truth of Christianity.
- Antisemitism charges that Jews murder Christian children to use their blood for religious purposes.

Pamela S. Nadell, Written Testimony
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- Antisemites believe Jews have been corrupted by money since Judas betrayed Jesus for thirty pieces of silver. Ideas about nefarious, avaricious Jews have been repeated across the ages with different shorthand code names—Shylock, Rothschild, and more recently George Soros—signaling covetous Jews.
- Antisemites believe Jews are more loyal to their people than to the lands where they live and that, since medieval times, Jews have conspired across borders to destroy Christianity and seize power.
- These conspiracy theories gained new currency early in the twentieth century with the publication of *The Protocols of the Elders of Zion* and the series *The International Jew—The World's Foremost Problem*, which first appeared in the *Dearborn Independent*, a newspaper owned by Henry Ford.¹
- More recently, the canard charging that that the Jews are internationalists, more loyal to their people around the world than to their nations, has been replaced by the dog whistle, “globalist,” a coded word for the old antisemitic conspiracy theory that Jews’ stand behind a worldwide order that will bring them control over banks, governments, and media.²

Antisemitism in America: The Past

Across American history, people from all walks of life have conveyed these antisemitic ideas about the Jews as enemies, as financially unscrupulous, as standing by their people rather than by their nation, and as a cabal exercising power over the nation. Here are just a few examples:

- In 1654 when twenty-three Jews landed in New Amsterdam, before it became New York, Governor Peter Stuyvesant sought to expel this “deceitful race, — such hateful enemies and blasphemers of the name of Christ,” for their “customary usury and deceitful trading with the Christians.”³
- In 1780, when John Quincy Adams, the future president, was just thirteen years old, he said of the Jews he saw in an Amsterdam synagogue: “I am sure they are all wretched creatures for I think I never saw in my life such a set of miserable looking people, and they would steal your eyes out of your head if they possibly could.”⁴
- On December 17, 1862, from Holly Springs, Mississippi where General Ulysses S. Grant had his headquarters in the Department of Tennessee, he issued his infamous General Orders No. 11. It declared: “The Jews, as a class violating every regulation of trade established by the Treasury Department and also department orders, are hereby expelled from the department within twenty-

¹ For somewhat fuller discussions of these themes, see the resource guide American University’s Jewish Program developed. [Understanding Antisemitism: A Guide for the AU Community](#) (April 2023).

² American Jewish Committee, [Translate Hate: Stopping Antisemitism Starts with Understanding It](#).

³ Quoted in Samuel Oppenheim, “The Early History of the Jews of New York, 1654-1664: Some New Matter on the Subject,” *Publications of the American Jewish Historical Society*, 18 (1909), p.4-5.

⁴ [Diary of John Quincy Adams, vol. 1, August 25, 1780](#)

four hours from the receipt of this order.”⁵

- In February 1924 Congressman Albert Johnson, a chief architect of the 1924 National Origins Act which established immigration quotas based on the pseudoscience of racial hierarchy, told a Jewish Telegraphic Agency reporter: “If the Jewish people combine to defeat the immigration bill as reported by the Committee, their children will regret it.”⁶
- In April 1941, Congressman John E. Rankin called the journalist Walter Lippmann an “international Jew,” a mouthpiece for the international Jewish financiers who “have controlled the world through the gold standard ever since Rothchilds [sic] got financial control of England during the Napoleonic war. They are now crucifying civilization on a cross of gold.”⁷

Antisemitism in America: The Present

The antisemitism visible on colleges and universities today is just part of the toxic stew of antisemitism Jews in the U.S. now face.

I want to convey how dramatic a change this is. In 2012, the historian Leonard Dinnerstein, who had published the fine history *Antisemitism in America* in 1994, looked at what had happened since that book appeared. He concluded then, and repeated this in 2016, that of the “the plague of antisemitism: *most American Jews don’t see it, feel it, or fear it.*” He continued, “antisemitism is too minor an issue to disturb the daily lives of American Jews.”⁸

The change in just a decade is chilling. We have just passed the fifth anniversary of the deadliest antisemitic attack on American soil when a gunman murdered eleven Jews at prayer in Pittsburgh’s Tree of Life Synagogue. Since then, Jews were murdered at a synagogue in Poway, California,⁹ and at a kosher supermarket in Jersey City,¹⁰ and a rabbi and three congregants were taken hostage at a synagogue in Colleyville, Texas.¹¹

American Jews now have a new litany: Charlottesville, Poway, Jersey City, Colleyville. The fear evoked by Charlottesville’s “Unite the Right” rally now sits at the bedrock of Jewish identity in the United States of America.

Those violent attacks are just the tip of the iceberg. On city streets, visibly Orthodox Jews are physically attacked. In 2022, a woman in Brooklyn spit at some children playing in New York and yelled “Hitler

⁵ [General Orders No. 11](#)

⁶ “Johnson Piqued at Opposition to Immigration Bill,” *JTA.org*, February 14 1924.

⁷ Quoted in Edward S. Shapiro, “The Approach of War: Congressional Isolationism and Anti-Semitism, 1939-1941,” *American Jewish History* 74, 1 (September 1984), p. 59.

⁸ Leonard Dinnerstein, “*Antisemitism in America: An Update 1995-2012.*” *Journal for the Study of Antisemitism*, 4 (2012), p. 565. Leonard Dinnerstein, “My Assessment of American Antisemitism Today,” in *Antisemitism in North America: New World, Old Hate*, eds. Steven K. Baum, Neil J. Kressel, Florette Cohen, Steven Leonard Jacobs. (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2016), ch. 3. [emphasis in original].

⁹ Chabad of Poway, April 27, 2019.

¹⁰ December 10, 2019.

¹¹ Congregation Beth Israel, January 15, 2022.

should have killed you all.”¹² A swastika was etched into the wall of an elevator at the U.S. State Department, not far from the office of the special envoy to combat antisemitism.¹³

On the Bethesda Trolley Trail, not far from where I live, vandals scrawled swastikas and “White Power 1488.”¹⁴ The 14 stands for the final words of a white supremacist manifesto: “We must secure the existence of our people and a future for white children.” The number 88 stands for “Heil Hitler,” since H is the 8th letter of the alphabet.

Antisemitism and the Campus

The long history of antisemitism extended to our nation’s colleges and universities.¹⁵

- American Jews have long recorded slights and exclusions they faced in college. In 1947, Laura Z. Hobson exposed American antisemitism in the popular novel and film *Gentleman’s Agreement*. But when she was in her eighties, she wrote about “great wound of her youth” how a “Jew clean-up” kept her and other Jewish students out of Phi Beta Kappa at Cornell University in 1921.¹⁶
- Personal affronts paled before the systemic effort to limit Jewish enrollments derailing Jews’ access to careers and professions for decades. The quotas began in the Ivy League in the 1920s, spread to the women’s colleges called the Seven Sisters, and from there to some 700 private colleges and universities.¹⁷
- Colleges and universities were also challenged by antisemitic speech before the twenty-first century. Perhaps the best remembered example is that in the early 1990s, a small group of Holocaust deniers began taking out full page ads in student newspapers with titles like “The Holocaust Story: How Much is False?” Those ads launched furious campus debates about free speech and also helped propel Holocaust courses into university curricula to respond to the disinformation.¹⁸

As we all recognize, when antisemitism flares on campus today, the issue is students’ support for or opposition to the state of Israel. But this has been evident on campuses well before the horror of the attack on Israel of October 7, 2023.

- In October 2000, when the First Intifada was underway, 200 Arab students protested a Hillel teach-in and yelled “Israel is a fascist state” at the University of Michigan, while at Rutgers

¹² Timothy Bella, “Woman 21, arrested after Jewish Boy was spat on outside synagogue.” *Washington Post*, January 22, 2022.

¹³ Astead W. Herndon, “The State Department Finds a Swastika in One of its Elevators,” *New York Times*, July 27, 2021.

¹⁴ Chioma-Emilia Ahaghotu, “Antisemitic Graffiti Discovered on Bethesda Trolley Trail,” *WUSA9*, August 8, 2022.

¹⁵ Valerie Strauss, “A brief history of antisemitism in U.S. higher education,” *Washington Post*, November 13, 2023.

¹⁶ Laura Z. Hobson, *Laura Z: A Life* (New York: Arbor House, 1983), 55-56.

¹⁷ Marcia Graham Synnott, “Anti-Semitism and American Universities: Did Quotas Follow the Jews?,” in *Anti-Semitism in American History*, ed. David A. Gerber (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1986), 250.

¹⁸ Deborah E. Lipstadt, *Denying the Holocaust: The Growing Assault on Truth and Memory* (New York: Free Press, 1993), 183-84, 90ff..

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University, Jewish students saw placards calling for the “liquidation of the Jewish state.”¹⁹

- In 2015, a University of California at Los Angeles student judicial board originally rejected a candidate for membership because she was Jewish and involved with Jewish groups.²⁰
- In November 2015, when a pro-Palestinian student group disrupted an academic event organized by the University of Texas’s Institute for Israel Studies, police had to intervene.²¹
- In April 2018, when a pro-Israel New York University student club held a rave in Washington Square Park, pro-Palestinian student protestors set an Israeli flag on fire, and one, shouting “Free Palestine, end the occupation,” wrestled the microphone away from a student singing Israel’s national anthem.”²²

These events and a myriad of others preceded October 7, 2023.

October 7, 2023: A Dividing Line

The barbarity of the Hamas invasion has entered Jewish memory and will stand for all eternity alongside the massacres of the Crusades, the Jews burned at the stake during the Inquisition, the 1903 Kishinev Pogrom, when the world was outraged over the murder of “only” 49 Jews, and the massacre at Babi Yar, when over the course of two days, the Nazis and their collaborators murdered 33,000 Jews at the ravine outside Kiev. The atrocities of October 7, 2023—the murdering of babies, the rapes, the burning of people alive, and the taking of more than 200 hostages—add a terrible new chapter to Jewish history.

Anyone who claims to care about human rights should denounce these horrors. That so many students on college campuses not only did not but that they celebrated the violence or blamed Israel for spurring it has caused their Jewish peers, faculty, staff, and administrators deep anguish.

For Jews what happened on October 7th was not anti-Zionism, opposition to the policies of Israel, it was antisemitism.

Zionism was a nineteenth-century European nationalist movement, a response not only to discrimination Jews faced in their nation states but also to the pogroms, the anti-Jewish riots in the Russian Empire. These attacks persisted well into the twentieth century before the rise of the Nazis, with an estimated 100,000 Jews murdered in the Ukraine between 1918 and 1921.²³ The political movement of Zionism rests on the traditional Jewish hope that one day the Jewish people would return to their historic homeland.

Criticism of the government of Israel, a state brought into existence through the United Nations, is not antisemitism. We watched in recent months as hundreds of thousands of Israelis turned out weekly to protest their government’s policies.

¹⁹ Toni L. Kamins, “Focus on Issues: Anti-Israel Rallies Give College Jews Their First Lesson in Mideast Rhetoric,” *Jewish Telegraphic Agency*, October 18, 2000.

²⁰ “Jews Need Not Apply?” *Inside Higher Ed*, March 2, 2015.

²¹ “Statement on University Review of Nov. 13 Incident,” *UT News*, March 19, 2016.

²² Sarah Jackson, “Two Student Protestors Arrested at Rave for Israel’s 70th Birthday,” *Washington Square News*, April 27, 2018.

²³ Jeffrey Veidlinger, *In the Midst of Civilized Europe* (New York: Metropolitan Books, 2021).

But when bigoted symbols and tropes about the Israel-Palestine conflict cross the line into hateful speech, when Palestinians proclaiming “From the river to the sea, Palestine will be free” intend that as a call to destroy the Jewish state, a democracy and strong ally of the United States, then these symbols and rhetoric become antisemitic.

Yet, antisemitic speech is protected speech. It may be abhorrent, but abhorrent speech remains protected.²⁴

Free speech not only upholds the First Amendment, it is also essential to educating the future generations of our nation’s leaders. This was stated eloquently at the University of Chicago when Dean of Students John Jay Ellison welcomed the Class of 2020. He wrote: “Our commitment to academic freedom means that we do not support so-called ‘trigger warnings,’ we do not cancel invited speakers because their topics might prove controversial, and we do not condone the creation of intellectual ‘safe spaces’ where individuals can retreat from ideas and perspectives at odds with their own. Fostering the free exchange of ideas reinforces a related University priority—building a campus that welcomes people of all backgrounds. Diversity of opinion and background is a fundamental strength of our community. The members of our community must have the freedom to espouse and explore a wide range of ideas.”²⁵

This wide-ranging exploration remains the essence of a liberal arts education, educations almost every member of Congress benefitted from, as undergraduate, graduate, and professional students in this country’s outstanding private and public universities and colleges. You have an obligation to ensure that college students today will benefit from the same opportunities to learn and to be challenged that you had when you were in college.

What is absolutely not protected is discrimination, violence, harassment, intimidation and bullying, and that is what we have seen on some campuses recently when Jewish and Israeli students have been physically assaulted, when they have been threatened with murder, and when confrontations between pro-Palestinian and pro-Israel students have led to menacing encounters that have no place in the academy or anywhere else in the United States.

What is to be done?

Voicing antisemitism is not illegal. We cannot censor antisemitic speech, nor can we command everyone in our university community to support human rights.

What we must do is make certain that everyone on the campus—students, faculty, and staff, no matter their religious, racial, ethnic, or national background—feels safe and does not encounter discrimination in any form, whether in the classroom from faculty members who single out Jewish students or from student organizations that use litmus tests requiring Jewish students to distance themselves from Israel if they wish to be members. These are forms of discrimination, which along with intimidation, threats of violence, and violence will not be tolerated. We have legal and institutional mechanisms to deal with these.

The American Jewish community has long employed various strategies to reduce antisemitism. They led to the creation of legacy Jewish organizations committed to fighting it at home and abroad. These

²⁴ In *Nazis in Copley Square*, the author Charles Gallagher claims that *Terminiello v. Chicago* 337 U.S. 1 (1949) upholds the right to engage in public antisemitic speech; (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2021), p. 246.

²⁵ John Jay Ellison, University of Chicago, to the Class of 2020 student, (undated)
https://news.uchicago.edu/sites/default/files/attachments/Dear_Class_of_2020_Students.pdf

organizations refuted antisemitic canards in the press and in the halls of Congress. They pioneered educational and cultural programs to expose antisemitism. They sought redress through our legislative and judicial bodies. Most importantly, convinced that antisemitism is not just a Jewish problem but that, like all forms of bigotry, antisemitism threatens our democracy, they sought out allies across religious and ethnic lines to address with them this hate and all forms of hate.²⁶

So what are the colleges doing now. Universities are responding in multiple ways to the rise of antisemitism on campus and beyond.

- Campus public safety officers are working with law enforcement over threats that demand their intervention.
- Universities are using their student conduct codes, which prohibit misconduct—including “physical assault,” actions threatening the safety of anyone, and “harassment”²⁷—to hold students accountable for violations
- Professors, deans, and university presidents are working overtime to listen to students and their parents’ concerns and are seeking ways to support them.
- Task forces charged with understanding antisemitism on the campus and with integrating the Jewish experience into diversity, equity, and inclusion initiatives are emerging around the country.
- Legacy Jewish organizations, like the American Jewish Committee and Anti-Defamation League, are offering their expertise to colleges and universities.²⁸

I also want to emphasize what Jewish Studies faculty around the country have been doing. In 1950, only two tenured faculty in the nation taught Jewish Studies. This interdisciplinary field began to grow in the 1960s. Today, the Association for Jewish Studies, the learned society of these scholars, has approximately 1,800 members.²⁹

Many of us have been responding to antisemitism not since October 7th but since August 2017. We began adding courses on this enduring hatred to our curriculum. We have published resource guides to explain its manifestations to our campuses.³⁰ We have run webinar series about antisemitism from the Holocaust to today.³¹

Then October 7 came, and we Jewish Studies faculty found ourselves on the front lines. We responded personally. The director of the Schusterman Center for Jewish Studies at the University of Texas at Austin reached out individually in the days after October 7th to every undergraduate student in its programs,

²⁶ See, e.g., Stuart Svonkin, *Jews against prejudice: American Jews and the fight for civil liberties* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1997).

²⁷ American University, *Student Conduct Code 2023-2024*, 8-9.

²⁸ See, e.g. American Jewish Committee, *AJC Action Plan for Confronting Campus Antisemitism: A Toolkit for University Students*

²⁹ *Association for Jewish Studies*

³⁰ See, e.g., Michigan State University, The Serling Institute for Jewish Studies and Modern Israel, *Guide on Antisemitism for the MSU Community, 2023*; American University Jewish Studies Program, *Understanding Antisemitism: A Guide for the AU Community* (April 2023).

³¹ See e.g., American University’s Jewish Studies Program’s series “Antisemitism since the Holocaust: Europe, Israel, America.” (Fall 2020). <https://www.american.edu/cas/js/>

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every graduate student affiliate, and every faculty affiliate to check in and offer support.³² We have mounted public programs to do what we do best—to teach, to inform, to provide opportunity to reflect. At Dartmouth College, the first faculty public forum on the crisis drew 100 people in person and 600 people online; the second had an audience of 300 in the room, and 5,000 online.³³ The coming semester will continue these initiatives.

Two self-identified “Jewish-Israeli scholars,” teaching at universities where protests over the conflict have made national headlines,³⁴ understand that these responses—lectures, panel discussions, roundtables, teach-ins, and the publication of academic essays and articles informed by scholarship—rarely make the news. But these responses are happening on campuses around the nation, even as the media highlights the “newsworthy”—the demonstrations, provocations, threats, and violence. These professors do not downplay these shocking events, but they do ask us to look at the campus as a whole. There they see, as do others, far more often “students and colleagues... curious and open-minded to learn more about the Israel-Hamas War.”³⁵

The U.S. National Strategy to Counter Antisemitism

Among the most important tools for fighting antisemitism today, on campus and across America, is the May 2023 *The U.S. National Strategy to Counter Antisemitism*, the first outcome of the president’s new initiative to counter antisemitism, Islamophobia, and other forms of bias and discrimination in our nation. Its “Strategic Goal 3.4—Address Antisemitism in K-12 Schools and on College Campuses” contains concrete steps which our leaders have begun implementing and must continue to do so. These recommendations include educating not only about the alarming rise of antisemitism but also about the protections Title VI of the 1964 Civil Rights Act offers as well as sharing with students, educators, and communities notable efforts that aim to prevent and address antisemitism.³⁶

The U.S. National Strategy’s “Whole-of-Society Calls to Action” are already advancing widely at colleges and universities. The many statements university presidents around the country have issued since October 7th have called out antisemitism as “reprehensible” and announced that “hate speech will not be tolerated.”³⁷ They have directed Jewish, Israeli, Muslim, and Palestinian members of their communities and their families to resources for reporting incidents of hate. They have created advisory groups and task forces to help university leaders develop responses to antisemitism and create educational programming, including integrating antisemitism studies into diversity, equity, and inclusion initiatives.

The history of efforts to minimize antisemitism in the past demonstrates that positive results take time and that there is no magic bullet, no vaccine to inoculate against antisemitism.

³² Jonathan Kaplan, email to jewishstudiesdirectors@googlegroups.com, October 31, 2023.

³³ “This Ivy League school took a novel approach to easing tensions sparked by the Israel-Hamas war. Did it work?” *NBCNews.com*, November 25, 2023, <https://www.nbcnews.com/news/us-news/dartmouth-easing-tensions-sparked-israel-hamas-war-rcna126594>

³⁴ Johanna Alonso, “U of Michigan Shuts Down Student Vote on Israeli, Palestinian Resolutions,” *Inside Higher Ed*, December 1, 2023; Cade McAllister and Hannah Marr, “Students project anti-Israel, anti-GW messages onto library, sparking outcry,” *GW Hatchet*, October 25, 2023.

³⁵ Shachar Pinsky and Arie M. Dubnov, “Toxicity Doesn’t Rule the Hamas-Israel Debate on U.S. College Campuses,” *Haaretz*, November 26, 2023.

³⁶ *The U.S. National Strategy to Counter Antisemitism* (May 2023).

³⁷ For one example, see [American University President Sylvia Burwell, October 20, 2023](#).

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But it would not only be utterly unfair, it would be a deliberate distortion of the evidence, to imply or misread the current situation to suggest that the leaders of our nations' universities are not responding to the current crisis.

Conclusion

As a proud American and a proud Jew, the daughter of a soldier who served in the occupation army in Germany who was a typist at the Nuremberg trials, I grew up in a country where I was never afraid to say that I was a Jew. Since 2017, that has changed. Surely, *The U.S. National Strategy to Counter Antisemitism*, the first time, I believe, that any nation has issued such a strategy, with its concrete steps to address rising antisemitism on college campuses and across the nation, merits bipartisan support.

Chairwoman FOXX. Thank you. Dr. Kornbluth, you are recognized for 5 minutes.

STATEMENT OF DR. SALLY KORNBLUTH, PRESIDENT, MASSACHUSETTS INSTITUTE OF TECHNOLOGY, CAMBRIDGE, MASSACHUSETTS

Ms. KORNBLUTH. Thank you. Chairwoman Foxx, Ranking Member Scott, and distinguished members of the Committee. Thank you for this opportunity to describe how MIT is fighting the scourge of antisemitism. My name is Sally Kornbluth. I have been president of MIT since January of this year.

As an American, as a Jew, and as a human being, I abhor antisemitism. My administration is combating it actively. Since October 7th my campus communications have been crystal clear about the dangers of antisemitism, and about the atrocity of the Hamas terror attack.

Let me repeat what I said in my very first message to campus. In that video I said, "The brutality perpetrated on innocent civilians in Israel by terrorists from Hamas is horrifying. In my opinion, such a deliberate attack on civilians can never be justified."

I also made clear that students were feeling unsafe because of their Jewish faith, or their ties to Israel and said, "That should trouble every one of us deeply." I have reinforced this message, including in a November 14th campus video, as I said then, "Antisemitism is real and it is rising in the world. We cannot let it poison our community."

I have been direct and unequivocal, and such leadership statements are important, but they must be paired with action. This is just what we are doing at MIT. Months before October 7th, MIT joined the International Hillel Climate Campus Initiative which helps universities build awareness of and actions against antisemitism.

We have launched an MIT wide effort called Standing Together Against Hate. It will emphasize both education and community building, especially in our residence halls. In addition to fighting antisemitism, it will address Islamophobia, also on the rise and also under reported. MIT will take on both, not lumped together, but with equal energy and in parallel.

Importantly, as is clearly visible on campus, we have increased the police presence. Safety has been our primary concern. Nonetheless, I know some Israeli and Jewish students feel unsafe on campus. As they bear the horror of the Hamas attacks, and the history of antisemitism. These students have been pained by chance in recent demonstrations.

I strongly believe that there is a difference between what we can say to each other, that is what we have a right to say, and what we should say, as members of one community. As President of MIT, in addition to my duties to keep the campus safe, and to maintain the functioning of this national asset, I must at the same time ensure that we protect speech and viewpoint diversity for everyone.

This is in keeping with the institute's principles on free expression. Meeting those three goals is challenging, and the results can be terribly uncomfortable, but it is essential to how we operate in the United States. Those who want us to shut down protest lan-

guage are in effect arguing for a speech code, but in practice, speech codes do not work.

Problematic speech needs to be countered with other speech, and with education. We are doing that. However, the right to free speech does not extend to harassment, discrimination, or incitement to violence in our community. MIT policies are clear on this. To keep the campus functioning we also have policies to regulate the time, manner and place of demonstrations. Reports of student conduct that may violate our policies are handled through our faculty led Committee on Discipline.

Our campus actions today have protected student's safety, minimized disruptions to campus activities, and protected the right to free expression. We are intensifying our central efforts to combat antisemitism, the vital subject of this hearing. I note that I am also deeply concerned about the rise in prejudice against Arabs, Muslims and Palestinians, nationally and in our community.

We are determined to combat that as well. We are also supporting faculty, staff and student initiatives to counter hate. Thanks to an inspiring group of faculty members, we are seeing more discussion among students with conflicting views. We know there is further work to do, but we are seeing progress, and MIT's vital mission continues. Thank you. I am happy to answer questions.

[The prepared statement of Ms. Kornbluth follows:]

Dr. Sally Kornbluth
President, Massachusetts Institute of Technology

Testimony Before the House Committee on Education and the Workforce
Hearing on “Holding Campus Leaders Accountable and Confronting Antisemitism”
December 5, 2023

OPENING STATEMENT

Chairwoman Foxx, Ranking Member Scott and Members of the Committee,

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I have reinforced this message, including in a November 14th campus video. As I said then, “Antisemitism is real, and it is rising in the world. We cannot let it poison our community.”

I have been direct and unequivocal – and such leadership statements are important. But they must be paired with action. This is just what we’re doing at MIT.

- Months before October 7th, MIT joined the International Hillel Campus Climate Initiative, which helps universities build awareness of and action against antisemitism.
- We have launched an MIT-wide effort called “Standing Together Against Hate.” It will emphasize both education and community building, especially in our residence halls. In addition to fighting antisemitism, it will address Islamophobia – also on the rise, and also underreported. MIT will take on both, not lumped together, but with equal energy and in parallel.
- Importantly, as is clearly visible on campus, we have increased the MIT police presence. Safety has been our primary concern.

Nonetheless, I know some Israeli and Jewish students feel unsafe on campus. As they bear the horror of the Hamas attacks and the history of antisemitism, these students have been pained by chants in recent demonstrations.

I strongly believe there's a difference between what we *can* say to each other – that is, what we have a *right* to say – and what we *should* say, as members of one community.

Yet as president of MIT – in addition to my duties to keep the campus safe, and to maintain the functioning of this national asset – I must, at the same time, ensure that we protect speech and viewpoint diversity, for everyone, in keeping with the Institute's principles on freedom of expression.

Meeting those three goals is challenging, and the results can be terribly uncomfortable. But it is essential to how we operate in the United States.

Those who want us to shut down protest language are, in effect, arguing for a speech code. But in practice, speech codes do not work. Problematic speech needs to be countered with other speech and with education, and we are doing that.

However, the right to free speech certainly does not extend to harassment, discrimination or incitement to violence in our community. MIT policies are clear on this. To keep the campus functioning, we also have policies to regulate the time, place and manner of demonstrations. Reports of student conduct that may violate our policies are handled through our faculty-led Committee on Discipline.

Our campus actions to date have protected student safety, minimized disruption to campus activities and protected the right to free expression. We are intensifying our central efforts to combat antisemitism – the vital subject of this hearing. I note that I am also deeply concerned about the rise in prejudice and hatred against Arabs, Muslims and Palestinians, nationally and in our community, and we are determined to combat that as well. We are also supporting faculty, staff and student initiatives to counter hate. And thanks to an inspiring group of faculty members, we are seeing more discussion among students with conflicting views.

We know there is further work to do. But we are seeing progress. And MIT's vital mission continues.

Thank you. I'm happy to answer your questions.

Chairwoman FOXX. Thank you, Dr. Kornbluth. I will begin the questioning of our witnesses. I am going to ask members—before I ask my questions, let me do some housekeeping. Under Committee Rule 9, we will now question witnesses under the 5-minute rule. I remind members that I will strictly enforce the 5-minute rule, so members are advised to keep your questions succinct, so the witnesses have time to answer.

Please do not talk for 4 minutes and then ask the witness a question. That—we have heard from many students that they do not feel safe. You have talked about that in your statements. The antisemitism we have seen on your campuses did not come out of nowhere. There are cultures at your institutions that foster it because you have faculty and students who hate Jews, hate Israel, and are comfortable apologizing for terror.

How did your campuses get this way? What is it about the way that you hire faculty and approve curriculum that is allowing your campuses to be infected by this intellectual and moral rot? President Gay, I am going to ask you to give me a brief answer. I also would invite you to followup with more in writing, and we will followup with you, so I will go down the line, President Gay, then President Magill and President Kornbluth.

Ms. GAY. Thank you, Chairwoman Foxx. Again, antisemitism has no place at Harvard. When we recruit faculty, we do so with the understanding that they are joining a community where we—we honor, celebrate and nurture open discourse, both on the campus and in the classroom. To be a successful teacher and educator at Harvard, requires the ability to draw out all of the viewpoints and voices in your classroom, irrespective of one's political views.

We devote significant resources to training our faculty in that pedagogical skill and to prioritizing that in our recruiting and hiring.

Chairwoman FOXX. Thank you.

Ms. Magill.

Ms. MAGILL. Thank you for the opportunity to address the question. I am troubled by what you are reporting about the culture of the institutions that we are leading, very contrary to the values that I hold as a leader of Pennsylvania—University of Pennsylvania, as well as the institution where any form of hate is very contrary to our values.

I would venture and answer, Chairwoman Foxx, that anti-semitism has a role in the broader society, and that is what we are seeing happening in the society and on our campuses, and I am committed to combating it in immediate term and the long-term.

Chairwoman FOXX. Thank you.

Dr. Kornbluth.

Ms. KORNBLUTH. Yes. MIT is a majority STEM education and research institution, and we are devoted to solving the problems that face society. Our faculty hired for their brilliance, now we allow them to say what they would like in the classroom in the name of free expression, but we are committed to having them know that this is—that our campus must be a welcoming and inclusive environment.

Although they may say what they like in the classroom academically, targeting any individual student, harassing, or discriminating is strictly forbidden in our classrooms and on campus.

Chairwoman FOXX. Thank you. We will be following up with asking for specific plans for disciplining student and faculty who assault or harass students, or prevent them from accessing uninterrupted classes, or campus spaces. We will be asking for your plan for preventing this rot from perpetuating how you're going to hire and assess instructors, how will you change and how you govern students, and what are the practical steps you will plan to take.

I want to ask you one more question. It seems, as I have said, and Ms. Magill, I appreciate the fact that you feel concerned about my feeling about the fundamental culture on the campuses is foundational to this issue. Denial of the right of Israel to exist. I want to ask each one of you, President Gay, do you believe that Israel has a right to exist as a Jewish nation?

Ms. GAY. I agree that the State of Israel has the right to exist.

Chairwoman FOXX. Ms. Magill, same question.

Ms. MAGILL. I agree Chairwoman Foxx the State of Israel has the right to exist.

Chairwoman FOXX. Dr. Kornbluth.

Ms. KORNBLUTH. Absolutely, Israel has the right to exist.

Chairwoman FOXX. I want to thank our witnesses again for being here, and to say we will followup, and to tell you that while we have talked about a larger culture out there, it is the universities who should be examples of what this Nation is all about. I yield back, and I recognize the distinguished Ranking Member who is wanting me to recognize Mr. Courtney.

Mr. COURTNEY. Thank you, Chairwoman Foxx, and I want to thank you for the moment of silence for the 137 hostages who are still being held to this day. We had a hearing a couple weeks ago on antisemitism where I shared with my colleagues and the witnesses that a dual US Israeli citizen with family in Waterford, Connecticut was one of those being held at the time, along—and we thought her husband—her name was Liat Beinin and Aviv Beinin. The good news is a week ago Liat was released, and unfortunately, a day later the Israeli military shared with the family that human remains which were found at the Kibbutz where the violent attack took place unfortunately matched up to Aviv.

Again, Hamas never shared the information about whether or not they had him or not, which is just another example of their treachery. Dr. Nadell, in your testimony on page 8 you talked about President Biden's U.S. National Strategy to Counter Antisemitism, and particularly you talked about the use of Title VI of the U.S. Civil Rights Act in terms of being an effective tool on campuses to combat antisemitism. I was wondering whether you could talk about that a little bit.

Ms. NADELL. Title VI allows for responding to some of the issues that the Presidents of these universities, but also frankly, of most universities around the Nation it seems at the moment have been dealing with in terms of when antisemitism moves into—moves beyond free speech, moves beyond rhetoric, and involves harassment or intimidation.

The issue is that the Office of Civil Rights and the Department of Education needs to be fully funded in order to implement the U.S. Strategy to Counter Antisemitism. I just want to comment about the strategy because it is an extraordinary document. It has actions for the White House to carry out, or that division.

It has issues for Congress to carry out, which I have a sense Congress has not been carrying out, and it also has major charges to hold society to respond to antisemitism, some of which we are hearing is already happening on the campuses. The problem is they do not make headlines because they are not a bunch of protestors.

Mr. COURTNEY. Thank you, and again it is important to note that document was released back in May 2023. Certainly, before this committee, and the outrageous events of October 7th. The Ranking Member mentioned in his opening remarks that you know, at the same time that we are holding this hearing, we are also now still trying to get a budget passed for Fiscal Year 2024.

The majority in the House reported out their budget, which as you mentioned, carried a cut for the Office of Civil Rights, to be more specific it is a 25 percent cut, 35 million dollars out of their rather small budget. 72 million dollars lower than what the President had asked for.

I mean we had a witness here again 2 weeks ago who worked for almost 20 plus years at ADL, the Anti-Defamation League. They have been around for 110 years, fighting antisemitism in this country. Again, she talked about the fact that you know that type of cut is just going to cripple the ability of the antisemitism police, if you want to sort of look at it that way, in terms of trying to stop this type of activity on campuses.

Again, I was just wondering if you had sort of what your view is of a cut in terms of the impact of the Office of Civil Rights to do its job.

Ms. NADELL. I think the cut is absolutely devastating. What I would also remind everyone is that the Office of Civil Rights and the Department of Education does not only focus on antisemitism. It focuses on all forms of hate, and I would guess, I actually tried to find this information, but was unable to do so.

I would guess that the majority of complaints are not coming from Jewish students, although maybe now since what happened on October 7th. I would guess the majority of the complaints are actually coming from people of color, and from others who have faced terrible bias. It is unthinkable, unconscionable to make that cut.

Mr. COURTNEY. Talk is cheap. I mean I have been around here a while. Budgets are what really, I think show the true willingness to act in situations like this. I would just like to close by mentioning that in Connecticut a young, transfer student, international student from the West Bank, Tahseen Aliahmad, a sophomore at Trinity College, is a math major who was up visiting friends in Burlington, Vermont. They were walking from going bowling.

This coward came out of this house with a firearm and at point blank range shot all three students who were absolutely—they were going to their relative's house at the time. It shows again that the civil rights effort of the Department of Justice, which also is

being subjected to a potential cut needs to get full funding in the Office of Civil Rights. With that, I would yield back.

Chairwoman FOXX. Thank you, Mr. Courtney. I now recognize Congressman Wilson from South Carolina for 5 minutes.

Mr. WILSON. Thank you. Thank you, Chairwoman Virginia Foxx. Chairwoman Virginia Foxx, I believe, appropriately began this hearing about how serious this is that the Iran puppets of Hamas have victimized the world, including here in the United States, and shockingly as we include people that have been affected, it should be Paul Kessler of California, who was murdered by a professor.

A professor supporting Hamas as he was demonstrating peacefully on behalf of the people of Israel. We have victims right in our country of murder in California. With that in mind, I would say this respectfully to each of the university professors here today. Without any inclination, I would like the answer, and it should be a percentage of conservatives.

That is you each rightfully promote diversity and inclusion of race and gender with percentages available. That is available at your universities. What is the percentage of conservative professors in your institutions? I only want to know the percent of conservatives. What is the number, President Gay?

Ms. GAY. Thank you, Congressman. I cannot provide you that statistic because it is not data that we collect, but I will say that we—we try to draw our talent to Harvard from—

Mr. WILSON. Okay. We have got to race ahead please. I do not want more. I just want to know what is the percentage of conservative professors at Harvard?

Ms. GAY. I do not have that statistic. We do not collect that data.

Mr. WILSON. That concerns me. President Magill, what is the percentage of conservative professors allowed to teach at your institution?

Ms. MAGILL. Representative, I strongly believe in a wide variety of perspectives. We do not track that information, so I cannot give that to you.

Mr. WILSON. Okay, no. None. I got the message. President Kornbluth, what is the percentage of conservative professors at MIT?

Ms. KORNBLUTH. We do not document people's political views, but conservatives are welcome to teach on our campus.

Mr. WILSON. I think this is so sadly and shamefully revealing that there is no diversity inclusion of intellectual thought. The result of that is antisemitism, and you can study with government money all you want to, Doctor, but it is due to illiberalism that has taken over the country, and you might look into that when you get your next government grant.

With that in mind, the barbaric mass murder on October 7th by Iran puppets, Hamas, invading Israel trained by war criminal Putin, has shockingly revealed that many college campuses are sickeningly antisemitic. This is defending the maniacal Hamas agenda. The Hamas agenda is in their covenant of August 1988.

I hope you read it because it says in Article VII, I will take you, you do not have to read the whole thing—"Kill the Jews." What that means is death to Israel, death to America. To have that percentage is disgusting. Sadly, college campuses have descended from

coveted citadels intellectual freedom to illiberal sewers of intolerance and bigotry.

Diversity and inclusion are a George Orwell 1984 implementation as we see in excluding conservative thought. The solution for closed minded intolerance on campuses is obvious. To liberate academia from denial of free speech, respecting the First Amendment.

There should be diversity inclusion of more conservative academics overcoming today's blatant discrimination. With that in mind, Dr. Magill, I have received questions from really wonderful students at the University of Pennsylvania who were in a State of shock about the State of the university.

You say the university has introduced a plan to combat anti-semitism, yet we hear of more incitement and intimidation of Jewish students at Penn. Do you understand that having policies means nothing if you don't implement them? How many students or faculty have been removed or disciplined under your policies?

What is the average time for action on student conduct, or other policies to conclude and you can get this back to me later. What are you enforcing? At a pro-Hamas Penn protest President Huda Fakhreddine and faculty member Ahmad Almallah was seen enthusiastically clapping in support of the speaker as they shouted, "Go back to Moscow, Brooklyn, blanking Berlin where you came from."

Has any action been taken to address Professor Fakhreddine and Professor Ahmad Almallah's support of this inciteful and intimidating speech? How are Jewish students in Fakhreddine's classes supposed to receive fair treatment when she endorses hatred? I should have said, and also, I am going to conclude by another question. How in the world can you all now have a class on resistance literature from pre-Islamic Arabia featuring a person who is with the terrorist organization PFLF? We will present this to you. Thank you.

Chairwoman FOXX. We go from Mr. Wilson from South Carolina to Ms. Wilson from Florida.

Mrs. WILSON. Thank you. Thank you, Chairman Foxx, and Ranking Member Scott. Thank you to the witnesses for your testimonies today. As the witnesses have shared, antisemitism anywhere is abhorrent and unacceptable, and must be condemned.

I am privileged to represent a strong united Jewish community in South Florida. My next-door neighbor is a Rabbi. My Jewish constituents have experienced everything from bomb threats on Jewish centers, schools, to harassment of Jewish community members.

I stand with them. We talk often. We commiserate and we pray. We must take a stand against all forms of hate, whether that be antisemitism, Islamophobia, racism, xenophobia and terrorism. This must stop. In Congress, for 7 years I led the fight against Boko Haram, a terrorist group that kidnapped over 300 schoolgirls in Nigeria.

Gang rapes, beheadings, killing whole families, so I am particularly sensitive to this issue of terrorists and what they do. Disagreements about the conflict in the Middle East should never escalate to threats of violence against any community. We are a civilized society. We must draw a line and condemn hate. Please know that in May the Biden administration, Biden Harris administra-

tion, introduced the U.S. National Strategy to Counter Antisemitism. A comprehensive approach addressing antisemitism in diverse environments, including college campuses.

With that, I have a few questions. Ms. Nadell, based on your knowledge from 2016 to 2020, what has been the United States response to antisemitic events? Specifically thinking about Charlottesville, Unite the Right, and what the Trump Pence administration did compared to this administration.

Ms. Nadell.

Ms. NADELL. The Unite the Right Rally at the University of Virginia and in Charlottesville, Virginia in August 2017 was for me, and I believe actually for the majority of American Jews, a major turning point. It signaled that the long history of antisemitism in the United States that it was about to burst out again.

For the first time ever that I know of, Jews who were worshipping in their synagogue on Saturday morning, and they watched some of those United the Right rally'ers parade past the synagogue armed, and they had to sneak out of the back of the synagogue because they were afraid that violence would break out.

What we are seeing in terms of the antisemitism in this moment in time is that it has been rising, and rising since 2016, and although President Trump called the people who were the protestors and counter protestors said there were very good people on both sides, I disagree. I do not think there were very good people on both sides in Charlottesville in August 2017.

Mrs. WILSON. Okay. As I reflected, Professor Nadell, on the horrific events in the Middle east and the subsequent fallout on college campuses. I have been in contact with my friend and former congressional colleague Ted Deutch, who now heads the American Jewish Committee. The committee is the author of the AJC Action Plan and Toolkit for University Administrators.

One of the recommendations that the university administrators recenter the conversation about the Middle East back to a place of fact-based exchange. Could you comment on why this suggestion is important, and I would like to, Madam Chair, enter this report into the record.

Chairwoman FOXX. Without objection.

[The information of Mrs. Wilson follows:]

AJC ACTION PLAN FOR
Confronting Campus Antisemitism

A Toolkit for University Administrators

AJC ACTION PLAN FOR Confronting Campus Antisemitism

A Toolkit for University Administrators

University leadership has a uniquely important role to play in addressing antisemitism on college campuses and ensuring the safety and wellbeing of Jewish students, faculty, and staff. [American Jewish Committee](#)¹ (AJC), the global advocacy organization for the Jewish people, maintains that in addition to meeting pressing immediate needs of Jewish campus citizens, real change requires a sustained commitment to improving the learning and living environment for Jewish community members. Therefore, AJC has created this concise action plan containing **immediate**, **near-term**, and **long-term** action steps to improve the campus atmosphere.

This action plan closely follows the [U.S. National Strategy to Counter Antisemitism](#)², which charts a broad and ambitious series of action steps spanning sectors and communities, in response to the threat posed by antisemitism to the integrity of our shared institutions, including higher education. AJC experts are available to work in partnership with university administrators to help build an atmosphere more resilient against rising Jew-hatred. We look forward to working with you. Please be in touch with Dr. Sara Coodin, AJC Director of Academic Affairs, at ccoodins@ajc.org, for more information about anything in this action plan or to set up a meeting.

¹[AJC.org](https://www.ajc.org)

²www.whitehouse.gov/wp-content/uploads/2023/05/U.S.-National-Strategy-to-Counter-Antisemitism.pdf

What administrators can do right now:

□ **Prioritize campus physical security.** Ensure that policies are in place to protect Jewish students, faculty, and staff, with clear, appropriate enforcement protocols. The Hamas terror attack on October 7, 2023, has resulted in anti-Israel campus protests escalating in intensity and scope, and threats to Jewish student safety have risen dramatically at many schools. It is the university's responsibility to anticipate these new security needs so that Jewish students, faculty, and staff are safe and feel safe on campus, and Jewish programming and facilities are protected. If your school requires additional security reinforcements, AJC can help by connecting you with the DOJ's [Community Relations Service](#)³.

□ **Reassert and enforce university codes of conduct.** Anti-Israel campus protests have become increasingly unruly and even violent in recent weeks. Message boards and social media are being weaponized to threaten and intimidate Jewish students. Administrators need to take this moment to communicate publicly and clearly the rules that govern protests on campus, and underscore the consequences of threatening and intimidating Jewish students online or through other forums, and be prepared to enforce rules without equivocation.

□ **Make clear that students and faculty will be held to account.** When the university's guidelines and professional standards are violated, including harassment, intimidation, threats, and unprotected hate speech, ensure that the proper disciplinary measures are enforced. Now is the time to publicly announce the process for filing discrimination and harassment complaints, and ensure that complaints will be taken seriously and addressed promptly. Issue a statement reaffirming the university's commitment to countering antisemitism when students or faculty express points of view that devolve into hate speech.

□ **Connect directly with Jewish students.** Jewish students need to know that their concerns are heard and addressed. Work with AJC and campus organizations like Hillel and Chabad to engage with a diverse group of Jewish students to understand how situations like the Hamas-Israel war, and increased anti-Zionist/Israel rhetoric on campus, is impacting their sense of safety, belonging, and overall experience on campus.

□ **Show up in support of Jewish students on campus.** AJC is helping organize and sponsor Shabbat dinners both on and off campus. Make an effort to attend a local Shabbat dinner to demonstrate concern and care for the Jewish campus community.

What administrators can do in the coming year (2023/24 and 2024/25 academic cycles):

□ **Adopt and use the [International Holocaust Remembrance Alliance \(IHRA\) Working Definition of Antisemitism](#)**⁴. Adoption of the IHRA Working Definition of Antisemitism will provide a clear framework for understanding the many manifestations of antisemitism on college campuses nationwide, including debates about Israel's right to exist and Zionism. Only by identifying antisemitism in its most potent forms can universities effectively combat it. The IHRA Working Definition offers contemporary, practical examples of anti-Zionist forms of antisemitism, and explicitly notes that criticism of Israeli policy is not antisemitic. Commit to incorporating the IHRA Working Definition, adopted by 43 countries (including the United States), into your campus' diversity and inclusion programming, and take steps to ensure that it shapes the research and educational priorities on your campus.

□ **Recenter the conversation about the Middle East back to a place of fact-based exchange.** It is essential that universities foster dialogue about the histories of Israel and Zionism and their relationship to the Jewish people's self-determination, to counter the misinformation that abounds on social media, percolates at protests, and can be heard in heated campus exchanges. In addition to serving as a resource for up-to-date information on the war between Israel and Hamas, AJC offers education and training opportunities to help administrators re-center campus conversations that include:

□ [Project Interchange](#)⁵ delegations to Israel for academic administrators.

□ [AJC/Hillel International's Second University Presidents Summit](#)⁶ in 2024.

□ Training within the Diversity, Equity, and Inclusion (DEI) space that educates about Jewish history, Jewish identity, and antisemitism.

□ Reliable educational resources about Israel, Zionism, and antisemitism, like AJC's [Translate Hate](#)⁷ glossary, to unpack antisemitic rhetoric and address areas of cognitive dissonance.

□ Academic exchange programs with Israeli universities, which AJC would be happy to discuss with your institution.

□ **Convene a task force to combat antisemitism.** Create a task force comprised of Jewish students, faculty, and campus leaders, that reports directly to senior university leadership, with an actionable list of initiatives and a clear timeline for implementation.

³www.justice.gov/crs

⁴AJC.org/WorkingDefinition

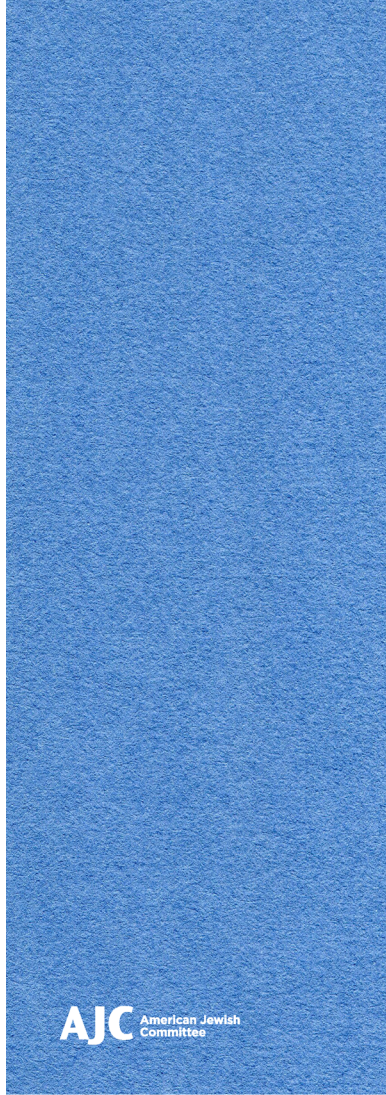
⁵AJC.org/ProjectInterchange

⁶AJC.org/UniversityLeadershipLearnNewTools

⁷AJC.org/TranslateHate

Long-term action items (within the next 5 academic years):

- Commit to disrupting anti-Zionist echo chambers on campus** by fostering intellectual diversity in academic programs and departments. Universities have a vital role to play in ensuring that multiple perspectives about Israel and Zionism are represented on campus to discuss the complex realities of the Middle East.
- Adopt innovative hiring practices to ensure viewpoint diversity** in university departments, schools, and programs. Universities should also be willing to engage directly with departments and programs that are resistant to fostering academic exchange that includes diverse, fact-based perspectives about Israel and Zionism.
- Support research that is committed to understanding the historical sources of antisemitism** and its relationship to other forms of extremism and hate. The U.S. National Strategy to Counter Antisemitism makes clear that there is no combating antisemitism in a vacuum. One of the most important ways to confront antisemitism is to incentivize and elevate scholarship that examines the interlocking histories of various hatreds, including antisemitism, anti-Black racism, homophobia, and Islamophobia. University leaders have a vital role to play in ensuring that research directors address antisemitism as part of a focused and broad coalition effort to address hate.
- Elevate the voices of Jewish, Israeli, Arab, and Palestinian** students, faculty, and community members who are actively pursuing sustained dialogue and mutual understanding. Often, the voices that are quieter and less extreme have little visibility on campus compared to those who actively seek attention through inflammatory rhetoric. Find ways to include voices that seek to engage in constructive dialogue, and support their efforts.
- Work with interfaith and intergroup specialists**, including chaplains, to create pathways towards engaging together on challenging topics. Create forums for students to engage in ways that move conversations towards cultivating empathy and building bridges that support living together in community.
- Elevate role models from the Jewish campus community**, including strong student leaders, outstanding cultural life directors, and innovative faculty. As with any minoritized community, Jewish role models foster a sense of belonging and purpose for Jews on campus. Emphasize the importance of actively recruiting scholars who exemplify leadership and mentorship in their intellectual and pedagogical work. Find ways to elevate the work of outstanding Jewish student leaders, and ensure they have a place within campus initiatives designed to support marginalized communities.



[American Jewish Committee \(AJC\)](#)^{*} is the global advocacy organization for the Jewish people. With headquarters in New York, 25 offices across the United States, 14 overseas posts, as well as partnerships with 38 Jewish community organizations worldwide, AJC's mission is to enhance the well-being of the Jewish people and Israel, and to advance human rights and democratic values in the United States and around the world.

^{*}AJC.org

Ms. NADELL. This action is important because the campuses where faculty who come from Middle East studies, and faculty who come from Jewish studies have long been in conversation, not just since October 7th. Those are the places where the—what we do in the university has been manifested in the best way. I am thinking for example of Dartmouth University where they held a forum, and they had their second forum 300 people in the room and they had 5,000 people online. Our universities not only educate our students today, but we can educate the wider public, and so I very much agree, admire, Ted Deutch, and I admire the American Jewish community for what they are trying to do. This is not a magic bullet. It is not going to be fixed overnight, but we are in the process of working on it, and hopefully tamping down antisemitism in America once again.

Chairwoman FOXX. Your time has expired.

Mrs. WILSON. Thank you, and I yield back.

Chairwoman FOXX. Mr. Thompson, you are recognized for 5 minutes.

Mr. THOMPSON. Thank you, Madam Chair, for calling this important hearing. Thanks today to all of our folks that are testifying. As we have all seen recently there's been a sharp rise in antisemitic words, actions and attacks online, around the world, and unfortunately right here at home.

Nowhere in the United States have these hateful and divisive ideas been more prevalent or have found a safer home than on college campuses. It is up to all of us to call out these actions and protect Jewish faculty students, staff at these institutions. Unfortunately, many of our university leaders have not met this moment and have allowed antisemitism to continue to grow and to rear its ugly head.

President Magill, does the University of Pennsylvania have in place any policies to ensure that each student who has enrolled at the university, receives information on the history of antisemitism, how antisemitism presents itself, and actions students can take to prevent and report antisemitic behavior, and you know, why or why not?

Ms. MAGILL. Thank you for the opportunity to discuss that. We are in the midst of making certain that all anti-bigotry efforts ensure education about antisemitism. We committed to that in September, and we are working through that. We have added education, some parts of our program do, and some parts of our program need to be enhanced, so we are working on that right now. I assure you that we will make certain that is included in all of our anti-bigotry efforts, antisemitism.

Mr. THOMPSON. That is much appreciated. I wondered if that type of education would have been in place at all of our college campuses before this, whether we would have seen the massive reactions that we have that are just hard to describe and justify in terms of the demonstrations and just the hate.

As part of the recent protests on and around campus there have been dozens of arrests made by university police, including several related terroristic threats. Does university plan on requiring students, faculty or staff arrested as part of these protests to receive further education on antisemitic behavior?

Ms. MAGILL. Congressman, is that a question for me?

Mr. THOMPSON. It is. Yes, I am sorry. Please.

Ms. MAGILL. Well, we are very committed to making sure everyone understands history and antisemitism for sure. The description of the arrests I need to learn a little bit more about.

Mr. THOMPSON. Well, the requests that have occurred obviously related to protests involving faculty or staff, students—the question is, within the consequences when university police are the ones that are intervening, whether there are any thoughts to further education for those individuals on regarding antisemitic behavior and the impacts of it?

Ms. MAGILL. It is certainly consistent with my perspective and my values and the institution's values. I wonder if I can followup with your team about the specifics of these arrests because they are—I am not—I do not know exactly what you are speaking about, but I agree with you that anyone who was arrested for an activity that was antisemitic, some act or something else, harassment, intimidation, should certainly receive education in addition to other consequences in my opinion.

Mr. THOMPSON. Sure. Some criminal activity they were arrested for that was obviously driven by antisemitic beliefs and expressions. Several faculty members at Penn recently provided support for the boycott, divestment and sanctions for the BDS movement. The movement requires boycotting Israeli universities, and individuals who are complicit in what they consider Israeli government misconduct.

Therefore, it is impossible for a faculty member to support BDS and treat Israeli academics fairly. Can you tell this Committee unequivocally that no such discrimination has taken place?

Ms. MAGILL. I appreciate the opportunity to clarify a very clear position that the University of Pennsylvania has had for many years, which is we strongly oppose boycotting, divesting and sanctioning Israel. We have many flourishing academic—it is contrary to academic freedom among other things. It is singling out one State and treating it differently than others.

We have many academic collaborations with universities in Israel. We—they are terrific collaborations. We have absolutely—we are very clear on BDS. We are opposed to it, and our practices make that clear.

Mr. THOMPSON. As a part of that, and I am a strong supporter of the right to free speech, including on college campuses. Does University of Pennsylvania have any policies or procedures in place to ensure that BDS supporters cannot implement their boycott positions in their official capacities for not giving such individuals administrative powers to begin with?

Ms. MAGILL. Well, it is the position of the institution that we do not engage in boycotting, sanctioning or divesting, and I would think that would follow for any member of the organization who is acting in their official capacity. If you have specifics that I could followup on after this hearing, I would very much like to hear them.

Mr. THOMPSON. We do. We will do that, appreciate. Thank you, Madam Chair.

Chairwoman FOXX. Thank you. Ms. Bonamici, you are recognized for 5 minutes.

Ms. BONAMICI. Thank you, Madam Chair, and thank you to the witnesses. I appreciate the full Committee's focus on this issue. I want to reiterate, as I did in the other hearing we had recently, that antisemitism, as well as Islamophobia, and other forms of bigotry based on race, ethnicity and national origin or religion are abhorrent and must not be tolerated.

I am deeply troubled by recent antisemitic incidents at colleges and universities across the country, including those whose presidents are here today, and I stand with my colleagues on both sides of the aisle in calling for proactive steps from all of these universities and high institutions to root out discrimination, hatred and bigotry in all of its forms.

I also want to note that the main point of this hearing should be to identify bipartisan solutions to combat antisemitism, not an excuse to attack a higher education, liberal arts education, or important diversity, equity and inclusion work that's happening at colleges and universities across the country. There are legitimate concerns about antisemitism on college campuses, and that's what we should focus on today. Not doing so is a disservice to the students across the country who are looking to Congress for support, and the public for the institutions.

During the previous hearing, I highlighted my support for additional funding for the Department of Education's Office for Civil Rights, and I want to join Representative Courtney in repeating that request today. OCR will be better able to enforce Title VI violations and protect students' civil rights with adequate staff and investigatory capacities, so I want to make that clear. We must do that.

Dr. Nadell, thank you for being here and for your work over the years. Public colleges and universities as we know must uphold Constitutional free speech rights, and many private institutions also recognize the value of free speech and robust debate, and all of our Presidents recognize that today.

With the understanding that schools cannot allow their campuses to become places where antisemitic speech makes students unsafe or feel unsafe. I think that is recognized. Dr. Nadell, what are some of the best ways that colleges and universities can work to make their campuses welcome, safe and inclusive spaces for all students in light of incidents of hate speech and discrimination, while also adhering to First Amendment principles?

Ms. NADELL. Thank you for the question. I think there are different forms and different venues for expanding this discussion of the very difficult issue that has sparked and ignited the antisemitism, or the outbursts on college campuses that we have been seeing since October 7th.

One form obviously is the classroom. Although, I would remind the members of the Committee that the reality is that most students during their college career they take a handful of courses. Many of them are studying STEM and most of them are actually never in classrooms where they are hearing a discussion of issues like antisemitism, or the conflict in Israel and Palestine.

That is the first thing that I would point out. Academics, we academics can continue to foster those conversations. We need to take them outside of the classroom. I think the other place where there can really be a lot of work done where it is very successful is on the side of student life on campus.

Student organizations are they range broadly and widely on the campus, everything from a gardening club, to obviously some of the student organizations that have been involved in the protests against Israel. These are other places.

Ms. BONAMICI. Dr. Nadell, I do not want to cut you off, but I have to get another question in, and I am running out of time.

Ms. NADELL. Yes, oh sure.

Ms. BONAMICI. Thank you for your work, and I also want to recognize as well the AJC action plan for confronting campus antisemitism. President Gay, I understand that there is an ongoing investigation of your institution by OCR because of antisemitic incidents that occurred on campus.

I know we will be closely monitoring the outcome, but in the interim, and over the long-term, what can Congress do to support your institution and other colleges in preventing discrimination? If you could respond in the brief time. You mentioned that Harvard will not permit speech that incites violence or threatens safety, and I would like you also to address who decides that and how and in what timeframe.

Ms. GAY. Thank you, Congresswoman, for your questions. You are correct that there is an ongoing investigation and obviously I cannot comment on an active investigation other than to say we will work with the office to answer all of their questions. I will say the work of the office is vitally important for ensuring students have access to educational opportunities.

I fully support the work they do and hope that the office gets the resources that it needs to be effective. With respect to I believe the question was about student conduct. Again, we are deeply committed to free expression, but when speech crosses over into conduct that violates our policies, policies against bullying, harassment, intimidation, we do take action.

We do have faculty led student disciplinary processes that are quite robust. Even over the last couple of months as there have been incidents, we have been leaning into those processes, and we do have disciplinary actions underway.

Ms. BONAMICI. Thank you. My time has expired. I yield back.

Chairwoman FOXX. Thank you, Ms. Bonamici. I now recognize Mr. Walberg for 5 minutes.

Mr. WALBERG. Thank you, Madam Chair. Thanks to the panel for being here. These are difficult times and difficult subjects, but they need to be addressed because leadership matters, and you are leaders in academia at your institutions as well, and leadership matters.

President Gay, I was taken by some words in your opening statement where you said the cure for antisemitism is knowledge. I would go where angels fear to tread and suggest that it might be better going back to the original motto idea for Harvard, which was veritas. Truth. That the cure for antisemitism is not simply knowledge.

It is truth. Knowledge puffs up. Knowledge sometimes is based upon falsehoods. I think that is what we are facing right now. In the climate on campuses, is that we are missing the fact of truth, and allowing under the guise of free speech knowledge that is not true, to be exhibited in actions as well.

President Gay in the week since October 7th, and again in your testimony you have said that Harvard's commitment to free speech extends to views that are objectionable or outrageous. Are you aware that Harvard is ranked dead last on the 2024 Foundation of Individual Rights and Expressions Scorecard of Universities on freedom of speech?

Ms. GAY. Thank you, Congressman, for the question. Respectfully, I disagree with that perspective as represented in the report that you cited. I do not think it is an accurate representation of how Harvard treats speech on campus. We are committed to free expression, and to making space for a wide range of views and perspectives on our campus. This is—this is bedrock.

Mr. THOMPSON. With all due respect, let me move on a bit. I would expect that you would not agree with that. I understand that, and I would expect that the University of Penn the same would be true, that you would not agree that you are second to last on that same scorecard.

President Gay, did you know that 70 percent of Harvard students say that shouting down of speakers is acceptable?

Ms. GAY. That is not okay.

Mr. THOMPSON. I appreciate that. It seems that perhaps Harvard's commitment to free speech is pretty selective. As you are no doubt aware, prominent alumnus Bill Ackerman tweeted you a letter on Sunday, and in that letter and I have that tweet. I guess that is the beauty of social media, you can get those things.

In that letter he highlighted two cases of Harvard faculty members who are canceled because of views deemed too controversial for your campus. Tyler J. VanderWeele was deemed guilty for those crimes related to his views on marriage and abortion.

Then Carole Hooven, an evolutionary biologist was forced to resign because she stated that a person's sex is biological and binary. Mr. Ackerman's letter also included quotes from a number of faculty, highlighting the culture of fear that pervades Harvard's campus for those with views out of step with campus orthodoxy.

President Gay, in what world is a call for violence against Jews protected speech, but a belief that sex is biological, and binary is it not?

Ms. GAY. Thank you for your question. From the moment that our students arrive on campus, whether it is to begin their Harvard journey as an undergraduate, or at one of the professional schools, the message to them is clear. That we are an inclusive community, but one deeply committed to free expression.

That means that we have expectations that that right is exercised mindfully and with empathy toward others. We reinforce that during their time at Harvard by helping them build the skills that allow them to engage in constructive dialog, even on the most complex and divisive issues. What we seek is not simply free expression, but the reason dialog that leads to truth and discovery, and that does the work of moving us all forward.

We do not always get it right, and our students do not always get it right.

Mr. THOMPSON. You are professors.

Ms. GAY. When they transgress, they are held accountable.

Mr. THOMPSON. Your professors come under that as well do they not? Your professors come under that as well?

Ms. GAY. Absolutely.

Mr. THOMPSON. For Professor VanderWeele and Hooven, that did not work for them. The free expression of views at the very least, views, whether fact or truth, I guess we will leave that to understanding. Nonetheless, they were removed from their positions. I think that sends a message. A message in this case with Jewish students that they're of less importance. I yield back.

Chairwoman FOXX. Mr. Takano, you are recognized for 5 minutes.

Mr. TAKANO. Thank you, Madam Chair, and thank you to our witnesses for being here. I do wish we could meet under different circumstances. President Gay, many individuals hold that Harvard did not condemn the attack against Israel swiftly enough. I would like to give you an opportunity to briefly to react.

Can you tell us why the university did not react as quickly as other universities might have, or others might have hoped Harvard would have?

Ms. GAY. Thank you, Congressman, for the question. Respectfully, the notion that Harvard did not react is not correct. From the moment I learned of the attacks on October 7th, I was focused on action to ensure that our students were supported and safe. On that first day we were focused on identifying whether we had any students or faculty who were in Israel and needed our assistance, including in getting out.

On October 8th I joined students and other members of the community at Harvard Hillel, for a solidarity dinner to be there in support and also to learn more what their needs were. In the days after not only did I condemn the attacks, I have continued to condemn the attacks, and furthermore have continued to stay in conversation with our Jewish Community on Campus about their evolving needs, so that to ensure that the university is providing them with the support that they need during this very challenging time.

Mr. TAKANO. Thank you, President Gay. Do you consider yourself a subject matter expert on antisemitic behavior?

Ms. GAY. Excuse me, could you repeat that question? I did not hear.

Mr. TAKANO. Do you consider yourself an expert on antisemitic behavior, subject matter expert?

Ms. GAY. No. I do not. I know this, that antisemitism is hate or suspicion of Jews, and that is all I need to know to take action to address it on our campus.

Mr. TAKANO. Thank you. Real quickly, other than Professor Nadell, do the other witnesses consider themselves to be experts on antisemitism? Just a simple yes, or no?

Ms. KORNBLUTH. No, I do not.

Ms. MAGILL. No, I do not, but I learn.

Mr. TAKANO. Thank you. Well, my point is that this is the second legislative hearing on this topic in a month, and the majority has failed to bring forth any witnesses who can speak on how to address this issue, and how to take concrete steps to combat anti-semitism.

President Gay, it is my understanding that you have communicated to the Harvard community some of the specific steps you are implementing to combat antisemitism and continue to foster student and community engagement. You have already mentioned a few of the things that you have done since September 8th, but can you highlight some of these steps?

Ms. GAY. Thank you for the question. I had repeated communications with the campus community about the steps that we are taking, both immediate steps and longer-term action toward combating antisemitism. To begin, we have focused on enhancing the physical safety of the campus and the campus community.

That includes an increased police presence, both plain clothes and uniformed officers, 24/7 threat monitoring, both on campus and online, coordination on a daily basis with State, local and Federal law enforcement, and when necessary, we have taken the steps of closing the gates to Harvard Yard, to limit the ability of outside actors to use our campus as a platform.

We have also made it easier for students, or any community member to report concerns and any kind of conduct that is threatening. We have also enhanced counseling and mental health services, including trauma informed care. We have created community spaces so that students and faculty and staff can gather and to be together to process the tragedy. We are also working on—

Mr. TAKANO. Excuse me, President Gay. Thank you. Are these actions only intended to assist Jewish students?

Ms. GAY. These are resources that we are making broadly available to our community, but we are being particularly mindful to make sure that they are responsive to the needs of our Jewish community, as well as our Muslim, Arab and Palestinian students who are also experiencing tremendous grief and are also fearful and distraught during this time.

Mr. TAKANO. President Gay, universities stand as centers of thought, and it is of the utmost importance to strike a balance between First Amendment speech protections and the safety of students and faculty. When speech crosses into the line of conduct—crosses the line into conduct, it is essential that universities act swiftly.

Harvard is a private university and private IHEs have different parameters to operate under than public IHEs. Does this give Harvard a pass to avoid protecting free speech?

Ms. GAY. We are deeply committed to protecting free expression, even of views that we find objectionable and outrageous and offensive. When that expression crosses into conduct that violates our policies around bullying, harassment, intimidation, threats, we take action, and we do not hesitate to take action.

Mr. TAKANO. Thank you. My time is up, and I yield back to the Chair, thank you.

Chairwoman FOXX. Thank you, Mr. Takano. Mr. Grothman, you are recognized for 5 minutes.

Mr. GROTHMAN. Thank you. I am going to followup on some of the things Mr. Wilson had to say. Just playing around here a little bit on the internet, in 2016 they found about 2 percent of the faculty of Harvard were viewed—President Trump, I think, is okay or good.

I think in the 2020 election the Crimson, your local paper there, found 1 percent of the students voting for Donald Trump, which given the nationwide is about 50/50 was kind of shocking. Does it concern you at all that you apparently have a great deal, a lack of ideological diversity at Harvard, and do you think that atmosphere is maybe one of the reasons why there seems to be such an outbreak of antisemitism at your institution?

Ms. GAY. Is that—is that question for me?

Mr. GROTHMAN. It is a question for you, and I will ask what are you going to do about it? Do you think it is a concern?

Ms. GAY. We—so, we strive to have as diverse a faculty as we can because we want to make sure that we are sampling from the broadest pool of talent available in the world. That is how we ensure academic excellence. We then—

Mr. GROTHMAN. I—I, from what I have read here, maybe they are just making stuff up, but I do not think they are making it up. We said 2 percent of your faculty viewed Donald Trump as something rather poor in 2016, and after 4 years of working for diversity, 1 percent voted for him.

Now I know all sorts of good people who do not like President Trump. I am just saying when you compare the way people think at your campus compared to America as a whole, if there is one thing you are, it is not diverse, right? Do you consider that a problem, or to the numbers I gave you?

Ms. GAY. Congressman, I cannot speak to the specific data that you are referring to. What I can say is that at Harvard we try to create as much space as possible for a wide range of views and perspectives because we believe that allows for a thriving, academic community.

Mr. GROTHMAN. How in the world is that even possible that you are trying to do that? Do you really feel that your faculty are ideologically diverse? You came out of what was it, a political science background at Stanford?

Ms. GAY. At Stanford, as an undergraduate, I was an economics major, and then for my Ph.D. was a Ph.D. in political science.

Mr. GROTHMAN. Political science. That is what I thought. Did you experience what you would say given America's divided now 50/50 about 50/50 or was it 75/25 or 90/10 regarding to more Constitutional conservative perspective, or more of a left-wing perspective? What is your experience both at Harvard and Stanford?

Ms. GAY. Here is what I can say on the topic that you are exploring. It is we want the most brilliant, talented faculty to come to Harvard, and to build their careers there. Then—

Mr. GROTHMAN. Okay. They are only giving me five—you are not going to answer the question—they are only giving me 5 minutes. Is it common at Harvard to ask faculty to submit a diversity statement?

Ms. GAY. That is a practice that varies across schools at Harvard.

Mr. GROTHMAN. Sometimes you do?

Ms. GAY. In some cases, there are schools that ask for that.

Mr. GROTHMAN. Okay. Could a scientist ever get cut from consideration from a job because they had the wrong view of diversity?

Ms. GAY. What I would say is that we aim to draw to our faculty the broadest pool of talent.

Mr. GROTHMAN. Okay, I will put it this way, when you hear that, and this is not the way I wanted this to go, but when you hear that 1 percent of your faculty voted for a Presidential candidate who got about 50 percent of the vote nationwide, does that concern you, or do you feel you are not as diverse as you should be?

Ms. GAY. What I am focused on is making sure that we are bringing the most academically talented faculty to our campus, and that they are effective in the classroom.

Mr. GROTHMAN. Okay. I will give you one more question because I want to go to the gal from Penn. Has Harvard ever made a faculty job contingent on a strong diversity statement?

Ms. GAY. We look at everything a faculty member will bring to our campus. Academic brilliance, and excitement and ability to teach a campus community and student community as diverse—

Mr. GROTHMAN. Okay. Now I want to go Ms. Magill. I have a friend whose son goes to University of Pennsylvania. Right now, he is physically afraid to go to the library at night, okay, just unbelievable. Could you—and I just cannot even conceive that it is going on in the United States of America, but that is what she tells me, and she does not make it up.

Could you give us your reasons as to why that is true in Pennsylvania? Why today a Jewish student is afraid to walk to the library at night?

Ms. MAGILL. Congressman, let me start by saying I am devastated to hear that, and the safety and security of our campus and our students in particular is my top concern. I would, if you would be willing, I would like to talk to your constituent and their Penn student. I am very troubled by what you are reporting. It is our top priority to keep our students safe and secure.

Chairwoman FOXX. I am going to have to ask you to followup on that with Mr. Grothman, and with the rest of the Committee. Ms. Adams, you are recognized for 5 minutes.

Ms. ADAMS. Thank you very much, Madam Chair, and thank you to the witnesses for coming today and to testify before the Committee. Before I get started, I want to just thank you for your service to students and to the university community. Dr. Nadell, this question is for you.

I am glad, first of all, to see another Buckeye here, Ohio State, but as a former professor at a small college in North Carolina, Bennett College for over 40 years I taught there, I am deeply disappointed by the rise of antisemitism rhetoric that is happening across the country.

Antisemitism has no place on our college campuses, or anywhere, and it has been my mission to combat instances of antisemitism and hate, and racism alike. There are Jewish students across this country that are afraid to leave their dorms, afraid to step on campus because of the hateful rhetoric that's infiltrated our schools.

This question is to actually all the Presidents, but I did want Dr. Nadell to answer first. Students should be able to express their views and opinions without fear of retaliation. How are you balancing the protection of free speech, academic freedom with the need to also oppose normalizing antisemitism attitudes that are radical and dangerous? If we could just briefly answer that I want to hear from the Presidents on this.

Ms. NADELL. Sure. Just briefly, obviously we need to protect free speech, but we also need to protect the safety of our students on campus, and you used the word normalizing antisemitism, and the problem is antisemitism has been normalized in the Nation, not just on campus.

Ms. ADAMS. Thank you.

Dr. Gay.

Ms. GAY. Thank you. I would say education is the key here. Making students, and frankly the entire campus community more aware of the insidiousness of antisemitism, so that they are in a position to be able to recognize antisemitic tropes when they see them, and confront them in the moment.

Ms. ADAMS. Thank you.

Ms. MAGILL. I appreciate the question. At Penn our policies are guided by the U.S. Constitution, so our long-standing open expression guidelines follow the Constitution. I think in addition to education, which I agree with, so that students are, and faculty and staff can identify and combat antisemitic tropes and speech. I think it is important to call out antisemitism in a very visible and public way, and a specific way, in order to make clear how it is contrary to the values of the institution where we are talking about speech alone.

Ms. ADAMS. Thank you. Title VI provisions set the standard for what should be done to address racism, hate crimes and violence on campuses. Do you think that your DEI departments are equipped with the tools to combat antisemitism or hate on your campus, and if not, what changes do you plan to make? This is for all of the Presidents.

Ms. KORNBLUTH. I can jump in here.

Ms. ADAMS. Yes.

Ms. KORNBLUTH. Yes. Our diversity equity and inclusion staff are absolutely charged with making the campus welcoming for all students, and that absolutely includes our Jewish and Israeli students. We absolutely see antisemitism as an inclusion issue.

We are making sure that our staff who are dedicated to diversity equity inclusion are being trained about antisemitism, but you know it goes well beyond that staff. It is important that our leadership understands antisemitism, that our students and faculty understand antisemitism. I will just say one thing about MIT. We can make as many top-down initiatives as we want, but the heartening thing is that the discussion of antisemitism, and indeed Islamophobia is now proceeding at a grass roots level at MIT.

Ms. ADAMS. Thank you very much. The next President?

Ms. MAGILL. Our anti-bigotry efforts are also informed by a desire to make certain every person at the university feels welcome and can thrive, and that includes communities of faith and eth-

nicity. That is the value we have, and we are making sure that is from the top of the organization all through the organization.

I believe over the longer term that is sort of an immediate action over the longer term, making sure the entire community is discussing understanding and capable of coming out and combating antisemitism when they see it.

Ms. ADAMS. Thank you. Madam President?

Ms. GAY. Our DEI office is a resource for the entire community, and the professionals in that office are committed to ensuring that everyone feels a sense of belonging. In building on an observation that President Kornbluth made, this is a shared responsibility that does not vest strictly in the hands of our DEI professionals, but it really is work that needs to be taken up by the entire community.

The leadership for sure, but also the faculty, and the students and also doing their work.

Ms. ADAMS. Thank you very much, and I am out of time. Madam Chair, I yield back.

Chairwoman FOXX. Thank you. Ms. Stefanik, you are recognized for 5 minutes.

Ms. STEFANIK. Dr. Gay, a Harvard student calling for the mass murder of African Americans is not protected free speech at Harvard, correct?

Ms. GAY. Our commitment to free speech—

Ms. STEFANIK. It is a yes or no question. Is that correct? Is that okay for students to call for the mass murder of African Americans at Harvard? Is that protected free speech?

Ms. GAY. Our commitment to free speech extends—

Ms. STEFANIK. It is a yes or no question. Let me ask you this. You are President of Harvard, so I assume you are familiar with the term intifada, correct?

Ms. GAY. I have heard that term, yes.

Ms. STEFANIK. You understand that the use of the term intifada in the context of the Israeli Arab conflict is indeed a call for violent armed resistance against the State of Israel, including violence against civilians and the genocide of Jews. Are you aware of that?

Ms. GAY. That type of hateful speech is personally abhorrent to me.

Ms. STEFANIK. There have been multiple marches at Harvard with students chanting, “There is only one solution, intifada revolution.” “Globalize the intifada.” Is that correct?

Ms. GAY. I have heard that thoughtless, reckless and hateful language on our campus, yes.

Ms. STEFANIK. Based upon your testimony, you understand that this call for intifada is to commit genocide against the Jewish people in Israel and globally, correct?

Ms. GAY. I will say again, that type of hateful speech is personally abhorrent to me.

Ms. STEFANIK. Do you believe that type of hateful speech is contrary to Harvard’s Code of Conduct, or is it allowed at Harvard?

Ms. GAY. It is at odds with the values of Harvard. Our values also—

Ms. STEFANIK. Can you not say here that it is against the Code of Conduct at Harvard?

Ms. GAY. We embrace a commitment to free expression, even of views that are objectionable, offensive, hateful. It is when that speech crosses into conduct that violates our policies against bullying, harassment, hate crimes.

Ms. STEFANIK. Does that speech not cross that barrier? Does that speech not call for the genocide of Jews, and the elimination of Israel? You testified that you understand that is the definition of intifada. Is that speech according to the Code of Conduct or not?

Ms. GAY. We embrace a commitment to free expression, and give a wide berth to free expression, even of views that are objectionable, outrageous and offensive.

Ms. STEFANIK. You and I both know that is not the case. You are aware that Harvard ranked dead last when it came to free speech, are you not aware of that report?

Ms. GAY. As I observed earlier, I reject that characterization.

Ms. STEFANIK. It is the data shows it is true. Is it true that Harvard previously rescinded multiple offers of admissions for applicants, and accepted freshmen for sharing offensive memes, racist statements, sometimes as young as 16 years old. Did Harvard not rescind those offers of admission?

Ms. GAY. That long predates my time as President so I cannot speak to—

Ms. STEFANIK. You understand that Harvard made that decision to rescind those offers of admission?

Ms. GAY. I have no reason to contradict the facts as you present them here.

Ms. STEFANIK. Correct, because it is a fact. You are also aware that a Winthrop House faculty dean was let go over who he chose to legally represent, correct? That was while you were dean.

Ms. GAY. That is an incorrect characterization of what transpired.

Ms. STEFANIK. What is the characterization?

Ms. GAY. I am not going to get into details about a personnel matter.

Ms. STEFANIK. Well, let me ask you this. Will admissions offers be rescinded, or any disciplinary action be taken against students or applicants who say from the river to the sea, or intifada advocating for the murder of Jews?

Ms. GAY. As I have said, that type of hateful, reckless, offensive speech is personally abhorrent to me.

Ms. STEFANIK. Are you testifying today that no action will be taken? What action will be taken?

Ms. GAY. When speech crosses into conduct that violates our policies, including policies against bullying, harassment or intimidation, we take action, and we have robust disciplinary processes that allow us to hold individuals accountable.

Ms. STEFANIK. What action has been taken against students who are harassing and calling for the genocide of Jews on Harvard's campus?

Ms. GAY. I can assure you we have robust disciplinary processes with actions underway.

Ms. STEFANIK. What actions have been taken? I am not asking—I am asking what actions have been taken against those students?

Ms. GAY. Given students' rights to privacy, and our obligations under FERPA, I will not say more about any specific cases, other than to reiterate that processes are ongoing.

Ms. STEFANIK. Do you know what the No. 1 hate crime in America is?

Ms. GAY. I know that over the last couple of months there has been an alarming rise of antisemitism, which I understand is the critical topic that we are here to discuss.

Ms. STEFANIK. That is correct. It is anti-Jewish hate crimes. Harvard ranks the lowest when it comes to protecting Jewish students. This is why I have called for your resignation, and your testimony today not being able to answer with moral clarity, speaks volumes. I yield back.

Chairwoman FOXX. The gentlewoman yields back. Mr. Norcross is not here. Ms. Jayapal, you are recognized for 5 minutes.

Ms. JAYAPAL. Thank you, Madam Chair. The Anti-Defamation League found that reports of antisemitism have nearly quadrupled since this point last year, and we are seeing that reflected on the college campuses with Jewish students reporting that they feel unsafe.

No student should feel unsafe. I think we all agree antisemitism and indeed, all forms of hate, have to be rejected everywhere. While all of you as college administrators have a responsibility to condemn hate and acts of hate in all its forms, including antisemitism, I know that you also face the challenge of, and the responsibility of ensuring that people can engage in healthy debates of ideas in a way that fosters safety and inclusion for everyone.

I want to thank you for your commitments to work to ensure continued diversity of perspectives on your campuses, a diversity of faculty, with varied lived experiences. I know that my republican colleagues have been trying to attack DEI initiatives, including the funding for those initiatives for some time, and I hope that that is clear in terms of some of the comments that have been made.

I want to just give Dr. Gay 30 seconds to respond to anything given the line of questioning that you had right before, in case you wanted to say anything before I go to my lines of question.

Ms. GAY. Thank you for the opportunity, but I am satisfied that I have conveyed our deep commitment to free expression, recognizing that it is uncomfortable.

Ms. JAYAPAL. Thank you, Dr. Gay. Dr. Kornbluth, your institution is one of many that have responded to incidents between pro-Israel and pro-Palestine groups. Many college campuses have been grappling with their responses to prevent antisemitism, to prevent Islamophobia, and other forms of hate, while also making sure that every student feels safe to express their thoughts in accordance with the principles of free speech, and to engage in the idea of critical thought on college campuses, which I think is what many of us appreciated about our college experiences.

Can you speak to the challenges that you have faced in condemning hate and acts of hate, while making sure that students were heard? Just want to appreciate the distinction that you made in one of your comments between what we can say and what we should say. Just say that frankly, I think there has been an explosion thanks to the previous President in part, that has shattered

the norms of what is acceptable to say, and we are dealing with some of the effects of that.

What challenges have you faced in condemning hate, and acts of hate, while making sure students were heard?

Ms. KORNBLUTH. Thank you so much. You know—

Ms. JAYAPAL. If you could just pull that microphone right up to you that would be great.

Ms. KORNBLUTH. Oh, I am sorry. I am sorry. Thank you. You know I have to say my absolute goal is to ensure the safety of students and the continuity of our research and educational missions. These recent events have troubled me deeply, and we have mobilized as a campus.

I think the most important thing is first knowledge to understand that, as I mentioned in a previous answer, that our leadership, our students and our faculty have to have knowledge, but way more importantly right now is these students are thrown together in classrooms and laboratories, and dormitories every day.

This is where the dialog is taking place. We have to ensure that they have the tools for constructive communication across differences. We are bringing these discussions to the dormitories. We have a center for constructive engagement where the students are going to be able to have small roundtable discussions with each other.

We have funded and mobilized, and I cannot tell you how wonderful our faculty have been. They just issued a statement from 300 faculty about unity and working together with the students. There have been lunches, there have been meetings for our Israeli and Jewish students with Jewish faculty, for our Arab and Muslim students, with Arab and Muslim faculty, but now they are working to figure out how to bring them together.

If we are all going to live and work together productively, we have to move beyond normal training, which we are committed to, but to actual real dialog and to actually model constructive and civil dialog for our students. That is what being in university is all about.

Ms. JAYAPAL. Very powerful. Professor Nadell, these challenges of protecting free speech while denouncing antisemitism, Islamophobia, all forms of hate, that is not unique to MIT or to the institutions that are here. Can you speak to the same question of the most effective ways to facilitate education and dialog to ease tensions at other colleges and in general?

Ms. NADELL. The most effective ways, and obviously I very much appreciate your question because this is happening across the United States on colleges and campuses, small and large. The most effective ways are to recognize the many different levels and mechanisms for facilitating these dialogs at the student level, at the faculty level, at the administrative level, and bringing—how to unite the campus.

Bringing the campus together. That is what we are all trying to do, and it does not happen overnight.

Ms. JAYAPAL. Thank you all so much for your work. I yield back, Madam Chair.

Chairwoman FOXX. Thank you. Mr. Allen you are recognized for 5 minutes.

Mr. ALLEN. Thank you, Madam Chair, and I want to thank each of you for being here today. First, and you know my colleague earlier asked the question, what is the truth? Of course, that question was asked 2000 years ago of Pilate, and of course you know, obviously knowledge is important, but what about wisdom?

In full disclosure, I am a student. I believe in the God of the bible and His Word. The House of Representatives, we are without excuse. We have above the American flag In God We Trust. Really? Then we have the full face of Moses looking down on the entire body who gave us the first five books of the bible.

Let me tell you how serious this issue is. In 1885 B.C. B.C., not A.D. B.C. The bible says Genesis 12:3, "I will bless," talking about Israel. "I will bless those who bless you, and whoever curses you I will curse. And all peoples of the earth would be blessed through you." That is a serious, serious promise.

In fact, we heard one of the panelists talk about the Jesus of the bible, and of course our church was founded by Jesus, who was a Jew. The American church. In fact the church throughout the world. You know, this is the Committee of Education and Workforce.

Illiteracy is the No. 1 problem in our workforce, but I think from a standpoint of truth, biblical illiteracy is the No. 1 problem in America. We are a biblically illiterate society. We have no idea about these promises that are ancient, and this book that the prophecies, every one of them has come to fruition. Every single one of them.

With that, Dr. Magill, like so many others I have been extremely disappointed—I am sorry, Dr. Kornbluth, is that correct? Okay.

Ms. KORNBLUTH. Dr. Kornbluth.

Mr. ALLEN. At MIT Israeli and Jewish students were blocked from attending class by pro-Palestinian protests at the school's main entrance. The protest violated campus rules when the school ordered all protestors to leave the area or face suspension. The contingent Jewish counter protestors left. The pro-Palestinians stayed.

Can you explain how that is fair to Jewish American citizens whose rights are being violated when you said because we later heard serious concerns about collateral consequences for students such as visas, and that sort of thing. Can you explain yourself there?

Ms. KORNBLUTH. Yes. Thank you very much for the opportunity. I have to say when we started this protest, when the protest rather was started, I ordered a police presence to ensure safety, and we de-escalated when it was prudent, in a very tense situation amongst students.

We avoided altercations and we kept everyone safe. We are now entering into a process of ensuring accountability. With respect to the consequences, we strive for outcomes that are proportional to the transgression. In this case, a violation of our time, place and manner rules for demonstration.

I want to make one comment though about people attending classes. First of all, at no time—

Mr. ALLEN. Well, I am limited on time here, so could you submit that to us in writing?

Ms. KORNBLUTH. Absolutely.

Mr. ALLEN. I have another question here. In fact, you know going back to talking about wisdom. Proverbs 9:10 says, "The fear of God is the beginning of wisdom." With that, President Gay and President Magill, do either of you plan to suspend foreign students who violate the law or school policies?

Ms. GAY. Thank you for your question. Our international students are a vibrant part of our community and contribute significantly to Harvard's strength and are a real source of pride. All of our students, irrespective of their citizenship, are held accountable to following our policies, including our policies around bullying, harassment and intimidation. We hold them accountable for that.

Mr. ALLEN. Okay. Well Dr. Magill, if you will submit those in writing, and I have a few other questions I would like for you all to answer. Thank you for being here, and Chair and I yield.

Chairwoman FOXX. Thank you, Mr. Allen. Ms. Wild, you are recognized for 5 minutes.

Ms. WILD. Thank you, Madam Chair. I so wish that this hearing was one where we were having a robust intellectual discussion, taking advantage of the brilliant minds that we have in front of us about free speech, the limits of free speech and so forth. I fear that we have gotten away from that.

I think the one thing that everybody in this room would agree on is that not all speech is protected or acceptable. For example, when elected officials lie, that is unacceptable. That sometimes means that they have to be removed from academic institutions where they may serve on boards, or in the case of Harvard, the senior advisory committee based on false claims of election fraud.

But moving on to the subject of this hearing, let me just say as a Jewish mother of two students who are now fully launched, and I had to send off to college not so many years ago, I am very, very sympathetic to the concerns of the students and the parents about their safety, emotionally, physically, and otherwise.

It is not just about antisemitism, it is about all forms of hate speech, whether it is anti-LGBT, Islamophobia, whatever it is, racist language, our students deserve a place of safety. Again, emotionally and physically. At the same time, I think of college as the place where we learn to think critically.

To me that is the most important part of going to college. Here we are in this strange balancing act, and believe me, I feel for all of you because it is a balancing act that you have to perform. At what point do we determine, or do you determine, that speech is such that it incites violence, or it constitutes hate speech?

I am going to ask President Magill from my home State of Pennsylvania, you saw a video at the beginning of this. To the extent that the protests at hand were referenced, did you see that video as an example of hate speech, or speech that would incite violence?

Ms. MAGILL. I appreciate the question from the Representative from the great Commonwealth of Pennsylvania. I mean that video just as a human being, was very hard to watch. The chanting, I think calling for intifada global revolution very disturbing, and I can imagine many people's reaction to that would be one of fear.

I believe that at a minimum that is hateful speech that has been and should be condemned. Whether it rises to the level of incitement to violence under the policies that Penn and the city of Phila-

delphia follow, which are guided by the United States Constitution, I think is a much more difficult question. The incitement to violence is a very narrow category.

Ms. WILD. Let me just ask you there. If you became aware that a similar protest or rally, or whatever you call it, was going to be occurring on your campus tonight or tomorrow, how would you respond? What would your approach be?

Ms. MAGILL. Well, our approach with all rallies, vigils, and protests is that our public safety officers and something called the open expression observers are present at all of them. We have a longstanding expression policy that makes sure are open expression policies are followed, so I would make sure that those people were there.

Our public safety officers usually try to speak to the organizers of the conference and talk to them about what our rules are about protests, I am sorry, I think I said conference. About protests.

Ms. WILD. Could I just stop you because yes you know these are really short hearings. Were any actions taken to shut down the protest? I think it was Sunday night, Saturday night, whichever night it was?

Ms. MAGILL. The Philadelphia Police, they are what is called their civil action division was the lead on this, and no, I think they were there to make sure there was no incitement to violence and no violence. I do not think any actions were taken.

Ms. WILD. Would you agree that in this case, Jewish students, undoubtedly felt very uncomfortable following that?

Ms. MAGILL. I am sure that is true. Yes.

Ms. WILD. I am sure you have heard from many of them and their parents as well.

Ms. MAGILL. Yes. Yes. There were acts associated with that protest, which were defacing some buildings, which clearly would unquestionably be a criminal action, and the police are trying to determine who did that.

Ms. WILD. Thank you. Unfortunately, as usual, my time has expired, but I hope we can continue this conversation in another format. Thank you.

Chairwoman FOXX. I want to ask our members to be very careful about the words they use about our colleagues. We do not want to engage in personalities and so I am going to ask our members to hold themselves to a higher standard. I now recognize Mr. Banks.

Mr. BANKS. Ms. Magill, just weeks before the October 7 terror attacks against Israel, Penn hosted a Palestine Rights Literature Festival. The event featured Mark Lamont Hill, who was fired by CNN for calling for the destruction of Israel. It also hosted and included a member of the Palestinian youth movement, which has collaborated with the anti-Israel terrorist and maybe most notably, Roger Waters, the really whacky former Pink Floyd vocalist.

The same Roger Waters, by the way, who is publicly used anti-Jewish slurs, desecrated the memory of Anne Frank, and has dressed up as a Nazi and floated a pig balloon with the Star of David at many of his concerts. Why in the world would you host someone like that on your college campus to speak at the so-called Palestinian Rights Literature Festival?

Ms. MAGILL. I appreciate the opportunity to discuss this. Antisemitism has no place at Penn.

Mr. BANKS. Why would you invite—why did you invite Roger Waters? What did you think you would get out of him?

Ms. MAGILL. Antisemitism has no place at Penn, and our free speech policies are guided by the United States Constitution.

Mr. BANKS. Why did you invite Roger Waters?

Ms. MAGILL. Antisemitism does not have a place at Penn, and—

Mr. BANKS. Do you condemn what Roger Waters stands for?

Ms. MAGILL. Congressman, prior to the event, I issued a statement calling out these antisemitism of some of the speakers at that conference.

Mr. BANKS. Specifically, Roger Waters? Yes, or no?

Ms. MAGILL. Roger Waters was among them.

Mr. BANKS. You specifically called out a guy who floated pig balloons with a Star of David at his concerts?

Ms. MAGILL. I called out the anti—

Mr. BANKS. I have not seen the condemnation. I am going to go look for it after this hearing. I hope I can find that well recorded condemnation from you.

Ms. MAGILL. I did call out the antisemitism of some of the speakers at a conference that had more than 100 people.

Mr. BANKS. In the aftermath of the Palestinian Rights Festival, you and your Board Chairman wrote a memo outlining Penn's free speech policies. You said, "Penn does not regulate the content of speech or symbolic behavior." You wrote including speech, "Incompatible with the school's values."

You went on to say that Penn does not have a policy against hate speech because, "Defining and policing robust debate, even with respect to the most disturbing issues is unwise." That is what you wrote. In 2013, Penn canceled now Prime Minister Modi's scheduled keynote address at a Wharton hosted economic forum in the face of opposition from India and American professors.

For the past year your administration has sought to punish Amy Wax, a tenured law professor for her stance on DEI and identity issues. Then you canceled an event with former ICE Director Tom Homan due to disruptive student protest simply because he worked for former President Donald Trump.

Ms. Magill, the fact is that Penn regulates speech that it does not like. Everyone gets this. No one more than the faculty and students who know exactly where the lines are that they are okay to cross. Why did Penn let Professor Ahmad Almallah off the hook, who led hundreds of students in chanting, "There is only one solution intifada revolution." Why does that professor still have a job at your university.

Ms. MAGILL. Representative, our approach to speech is as I identified. It follows and is guided by the United States Constitution, which allows for robust perspectives. I disagree with the characterization that we treat speech differently, and I cannot discuss any individual disciplinary proceeding.

Mr. BANKS. The same goes for Penn Professor Ann Norton, who has repeatedly denied Hamas's worst atrocities on October 7. How about Huda Fakhreddine, who romanticized the murder of over

1,000 Israeli Jews as “Palestine inventing a new way of life,” and clapped as a speaker said Jews should go back to Berlin and Moscow. Why does that professor still have a job at your university?

Ms. MAGILL. I am very troubled by what you are describing, Congressman, that kind of, that is—

Mr. BANKS. You are speaking out of both sides of your mouth. You are defending it. You allowed these professors to teach at your college. You create a safe haven for this type of antisemitic behavior. You said something earlier about antisemitism being symbolic of the larger society. Your university is a hot bed of it.

One of the reasons that we are seeing a rise of antisemitism as an unsafe environment for Jewish college students all over this country, you are largely responsible for it. With that, Madam Chair, I yield back.

Chairwoman FOXX. Thank you. Mr. Norcross, you are recognized for 5 minutes.

Mr. NORCROSS. Thank you, Madam Chairwoman. Certainly for holding this hearing. What an incredibly important subject that has been thrust upon us, or should I say has been re-thrust. This is an issue that has been before our country and our world for quite some time.

The one thing I do want to State before I go into my questioning is the idea of making this a partisan issue. It is disgusting. This issue has nothing to do with being on a red or blue team. This is an American issue in terms of what we are facing on our campuses and should not be taken under the light of a partisan issue.

That being given, I do have some questions, particularly for the University of Pennsylvania and its President, who is within a couple thousand yards of my district. I will start with back during August Penn announced plans to host a Palestinian Rights Festival, that was going to be held in September.

Given that the ADL identified many of the speakers, I believe the number was 25 as antisemitic, this continued to happen. The idea of what happened during that event, after the event, and as much as last night, as I was traveling down here to see what is still happening in and around the campus is extremely disturbing given the atrocities that have happened in the Middle East.

Dr. Magill, did you have the power to stop this event?

Ms. MAGILL. Under our approach to academics and academic freedom and free expression, Congressman, we have probably thousands of speakers to campus every single year. Many of them I disagree with. I do not cancel or censor them in advance of their arrival to campus.

Mr. NORCROSS. Any time you use the word “censor.” Any event on your campus, you would never interfere for the fear of censoring somebody. Is that what you are suggesting.

Ms. MAGILL. Well, Congressman, there are—we are of course always concerned about safety and security, so that could be a constraint we would be worrying about and thinking about an event. It is a very rare occasion—

Mr. NORCROSS. There would be times that you would stop an event under the terms of censoring if you, under your opinion or those advising you, say there would be a security issue?

Ms. MAGILL. Well, our approach is not to censor based on the content, but to worry about things like safety, security, and the time, place and manner in which the event would occur.

Mr. NORCROSS. Given what happened in October, you could not see ahead that was going to happen. The idea that groups coming on that are clearly identified as antisemitic would be of grave concern?

Ms. MAGILL. I was concerned about the antisemitism of some of the speakers at that conference, and also the timing of that conference was particularly painful, because it occurred during the holiest time of the Jewish year. That is why, in advance of the conference, while saying that we are committed to academic freedom and free expression, the conference would go on. I specifically condemned the antisemitism of some of the speakers.

Mr. NORCROSS. Condemning. You would have the power to stop it if, in your opinion, there was a security issue?

Ms. MAGILL. Well, Congressman, whether there is a security issue is something that I leave to our Public Safety individuals, and I defer to their judgments on those matters.

Mr. NORCROSS. Did you ask them?

Ms. MAGILL. We discuss the security and safety of every large conference that happens on our campus and yes, we did talk about this one.

Mr. NORCROSS. They, in their opinion, along with you, decided that there were no security issues. By the nature, you would allow this to continue?

Ms. MAGILL. We did not believe—we believed we were ready for any security concerns that might arise. Yes, it went ahead.

Mr. NORCROSS. In hindsight, do you think that was a proper decision?

Ms. MAGILL. I think canceling that conference would have been very inconsistent with academic freedom and free expression, despite the fact that the views of some of the people who came to that conference I find very, very objectionable because of their antisemitism.

Mr. NORCROSS. Would you permit your academic departments to sponsor a conference with 25 speakers that the NAACP would identify as racist?

Ms. MAGILL. Congressman, we follow our policies always, and our policies are guided by the United States Constitution and the commitment to academic freedom and free expression.

Mr. NORCROSS. Is that a yes or a no answer?

Ms. MAGILL. The answer is that we follow our policies.

Mr. NORCROSS. I yield back.

Chairwoman FOXX. Mr. Owens, you are recognized for 5 minutes.

Mr. OWENS. Thank you. Let me just start off by saying being raised in the 60's, the days of segregation, this is truly *deja vu*. One thing that I did learn through my growth over the years is that hate is not passed on in our genes. It is taught or untaught.

What we are seeing here is hate being perpetuated. We keep people segregated, keep them from building bridges of trust, never allowing them to find commonality. Teach them that everything that is going wrong in life is because of somebody else's actions, and

teach them to look at our differences, our color, creed and culture, and then teach them to judge each other.

It is dehumanizing, it robs people of individuality, but the end game, if it is hate, it is very effective. We teach one race, all minorities, that they are oppressed. Through DEI, we then teach another race, whites and Jews, that they're oppressors. The result is hatred, segregation, the ability—inability for our children to see evil when it's present.

One of my Democratic colleagues was asked recently about the rape, the use of strategy by Hamas, to rape Jewish women and children, girls and women as terror. Her response was not to defend these women against these evil men, but to generally discuss hierarchical oppression.

That is DEI. It is a failure to protect Jewish communities across our country at your universities. Let me just say this also. October 7th was a very different day in our lifetime, and yet every single time we talk about antisemitism, we some kind of way drift off into every other sense of racism.

We are talking about 1,200 lives, babies being burned, beheaded, hostages and yet we cannot stay focused on antisemitism. I just remember a couple of years ago when we were dealing with Black Lives Matter, try to talk about Blue Lives Matter, Jew Lives Matter, Arab Lives Matter and you will be called a racist.

It is time to focus on what is happening on your campuses. It might sound flowery all the ideas of what your values might be, but those values are not being translated to our kids. You have seen them in the streets every single day.

MIT, there was a—we just—we heard from a university student here that a DEI official liked the most posts on their media, a post calling President Biden a liar for saying that Hamas beheaded babies. She also posted saying that Israel does not have the right to exist, it is an illegitimate, settler colony like the United States.

I have a question regarding this idea of segregation, Dr. Gay. Harvard is now having graduations for black-only graduates, Hispanic-only graduates and gay-only graduates. How does that bring us together as opposed to dividing us based on color, creed and all the other things?

By the way, is it okay for a white group to say we do not want other minorities to be part of our graduation?

Ms. GAY. Thank you for the question. There are few scenes that are more inspiring than being—

Mr. OWENS. I am sorry, I am sorry. I do not—I am going to ask you in a way that is going to be very quick, because I have little time. Is it okay to segregate people based on their color, yes, or no?

Ms. GAY. I oppose segregation.

Mr. OWENS. Okay, well I do too, but it is happening on your campus, okay. Dr. Kornbluth, Kornbluth, I am sorry. We have on your campus something called Chocolate City for blacks only—black only dorms, where whites are excluded. Is it okay also for whites to set up a white-only dorm where minorities are excluded?

Ms. KORNBLUTH. Actually, at MIT, our students affiliate voluntarily with whichever dorm they want to. It is not exclusionary; it is actually positive selection by students, which dormitory they want to live in.

Mr. OWENS. Okay. It is okay for blacks to note make whites feel included. Is it okay for whites not to let blacks feel included on your campus? We are talking about segregation, and it is obviously happening on your campuses.

Ms. KORNBLUTH. I think it is really important to say that there is a distinction between sending an exclusionary message and looking to other students for common experiences and support.

Mr. OWENS. Okay. Let me just—I am sorry. I am running out of time. What you are saying is very simply in the 1960's, it would have been okay for whites and blacks to segregate themselves, because they felt more like the people they are with.

I disagree very, very much. Let me just say this. If in case we discover, and this is for everybody here really quick in the last few minutes, that there is a direct link from DEI and CRT to the growth of Marxist centered groups like BLM, Antifa, and pro-Hamas on campuses, would you then end the DEI initiatives on your campus, if there is a link between what that is and what the result of hatred? Would that be a—would that be finished on your campus? Real quickly. We have—just yes or no. Dr. Gay let us start with you. Yes or no.

Ms. GAY. Our DEI efforts are about assuring that all of our community members welcomed—

Mr. OWENS. Okay. That is a yes or no. Okay, Doctor, I am sorry. Ms. Magill, yes or no. If it is found to be link between Marxist, BLM, Antifa and hate groups, yes or no.

Ms. MAGILL. Our DEI Office is committed to having everyone for life.

Mr. OWENS. Okay. So no, all right.

Ms. KORNBLUTH. Real quick. Just yes or no, sorry.

Ms. KORNBLUTH. I find it hard to understand how equity and inclusion as a concept, is a hatred inducer—

Mr. OWENS. Okay. That is no. Okay. Thank you so much. I think that says a lot. Thank you. I appreciate it.

Chairwoman FOXX. You can give an answer in writing, and I have to remind Members not to engage in personalities. Ms. McBath, you are recognized.

Ms. MCBATH. Thank you so much, Chairwoman Foxx, Ranking Member Scott, to our staff, and thank you so much to our witnesses today. It is not lost on me that the intellect, the intelligence that we have on this panel today. The most intelligent minds that are leading our highest institutions are women. Thank you so very much.

I had the privilege of attending a very similar hearing in the Higher Education Subcommittee just a few weeks ago, and I'm glad to see that we are continuing this conversation at a full Committee level. Active expressions of antisemitism have no place in our society, and definitely not on any college campus or institution here in the United States.

What we must all understand is that this is not just the Jewish community's struggle. This is all of our struggle, and the Jewish community does not get to bear this burden alone. It is up to all of us to learn more and stand in solidarity against hate in our daily lives, to ensure that the violence and the tragedies that follow unchecked hatred will never be allowed to repeat themselves.

I lost my son to that very hatred, so I understand it in my core. Similar to other expressions of racial and religious hatred, all freedom loving people, all those who truly believe in the ideals that this country was founded on and continues to strive toward, must stand together in the face of this disturbing increase in hate across the country and across the world.

An outpouring of support for the Jewish community and public condemnation of this heinous acts by interfaith and community leaders and elected officials of all backgrounds is the exact type of action that we need to take to confront this form of radical evil. Unity in the face of intimidation is how we are effectively going to resist hate in all of its forms.

These actions seek to divide and intimidate us. We must show that we will not be intimidated, that we will not falter when our neighbors need us the most, that we are united against hate and we choose to love instead, irregardless of our political ideologies or our ethnic differences.

As Dr. King once said, and I quote “Returning hate for hate multiplies hate, adding deeper darkness to a night already devoid of stars. Darkness cannot drive out darkness. Only light can do that. Hate cannot drive out hate, only love can do that.”

My community in metropolitan Atlanta is home to the largest community in the Deep South, the largest Jewish community in the Deep South, and it is no stranger to these incidents of anti-semitism. I recall participating in a press conference with interfaith leaders, our local law enforcement and elected officials.

The Antidefamation League and the Consul General of Israel came to the Southeast to condemn the appearance of antisemitic vandalism and white supremacist symbols that were definitely expressed in our neighborhoods and our communities. While the reason for our gathering was very somber, it was uplifting to see so many different people from so many different faiths and backgrounds all come together to make it clear that this is antithetical to what our community and our society stands for.

Dr. Nadell, I have had you before me before, and it is good to see you again. Can you please discuss some of the schools or the communities that have built strong interracial and interreligious connections and relationships in the aftermath of a racist or antisemitic incident, and what building those connections looks like, and why they are so critical and imperative to healing?

Ms. Nadell. What—first of all, thank you. It is wonderful to see you again. What really stands out is how at the personal level change can happen. For example, at the University of California at Berkeley, which is a campus that has been riled, as these campuses have also been riled, a professor of Israel Studies and a faculty member from Middle Eastern Studies sent out a joint letter pleading with the campus to speak in a civil tone.

These are two faculty members who do not agree politically on what has been going on, but they got together to write this, and then it was sent out to the entire community. It is those kinds of actions that we need to be applauding, and we need to be elevating and uplifting, and as I said before, they just do not tend to make headlines.

Chairwoman FOXX. Thank you.

Ms. MCBATH. Thank you so very much, and I yield back.

Chairwoman FOXX. Thank you, Ms. McBath. Mr. Good, you are recognized for 5 minutes.

Mr. GOOD. Thank you, Madam Chairman. Ms. Magill, September 21, a Penn student was taken in custody after bursting into a Jewish organization's morning prayer service shouting antisemitic comments, disrupting property and so forth.

On November 10, after the October 7 Hamas attack, Penn issues an apology for a display of light projected on the campus buildings with anti-Israel messages, including phrases such as "From the river to the sea, Palestine will be free," and "Zionism is racism."

On November 15, the Department of Ed announces that Penn is under investigation for possible civil rights violations of Title VI, and then just 2 days ago, another pro-Palestinian march happened on the edge of campus with Penn property being graffitied with offensive messages such as "F the IDF, Intifada," the Arab word for uprising and so much—and more.

There is a deeply troubling tendency by many on the Left, as has already been expressed in this hearing, in media, academia, among elected officials and even some on this Committee, who try to somehow conflate or equate antisemitism with so-called Islamophobia.

It is troubling that it seems that it is only Jews or Israelis who when they are attacked or victimized, somehow become the oppressors or instigators of those attacks in the eyes of leftists or some on Penn's campus specifically.

It is wrong to suggest antisemitism and Islamophobia are equivalent problems in this country, as noted already in this hearing. Jewish hate crime is the most predominant hate crime in this country today.

Ms. Magill specifically, again just this past Sunday night, there was another march on the edge of UPenn campus, an anti-Israeli march. Has there at any time since October 7, been an equivalent large scale gathering of crowds in support of the slaughter of Muslims or the elimination of an Arab or predominantly State. Has that happened on your campus or anywhere near your campus that you're aware of since October 7th?

Ms. MAGILL. Congressman, any act of hate, I find abhorrent—

Mr. GOOD. I asked a specific question. Has there been any large gathering, you know, in support of the slaughter of Muslims or the elimination of an Arab State on or near your campus that you're aware of since October 7th?

Ms. MAGILL. Congressman, not that I am aware of. There have been—

Mr. GOOD. Okay, thank you. You would agree that it would be immoral or dishonest to treat the two as equivalent problems on campus, meaning antisemitism and Islamophobia, that there is equivalency there on the scale or the scope of the problem on campus. Would you agree that would be immoral or dishonest to equate the two?

Ms. MAGILL. Congressman, I abhor all acts of hate.

Mr. GOOD. Would you agree that it is immoral or dishonest to equate the two, that the problems are equal on your college campus or other college campuses? Any evidence of that effect?

Ms. MAGILL. Congressman, I abhor all acts of hate.

Mr. GOOD. Thank you, thank you. Dr. Gay, on October 8, nearly three dozen Harvard student groups authored a statement holding Israel responsible for the Hamas attack. On October 18, a Jewish Harvard Business School student was surrounded, accosted, and shoved to the ground while walking near and filming an anti-Israel protest.

On November 10, when you condemned the use of the phrase “From river to the sea,” over 100 faculty signed a letter criticizing your response to that, criticizing that phrase, you’re condemning the use of that phrase.

A Harvard Crimson survey of the class of 2022 said that—showed that 93 percent of respondents viewed President Trump as unfavorable. Six percent of students said that they were conservative. 34 percent of students viewed favorably the Palestinian boycott, divestment and sanctions or BDS movement.

Currently, Harvard is being investigated by the Department of Education for Title VI violations of civil rights. Title VI, as you know, prohibits recipients of Federal funds from discriminating on the basis of race, color or national origin.

A Title VI violation would occur when institution has allowed, permitted or created a hostile environment that targets someone based on their race, color or national origin. We know, of course, that Harvard has a history of dividing people based on race, based on the Supreme Court’s decision in *Students for Fair Admission v. Harvard*.

Does Harvard actually teach antisemitism in classes?

Ms. GAY. Thank you, Congressman, for the question. No, we do not, and we condemn antisemitism at Harvard. There is no place for antisemitism.

Mr. GOOD. As you know, Harvard received over the last 4 years \$3.2 billion in Federal grants and contracts.

During the 2021 school year, Harvard received 104 million through Title IV. Why should Congress continue to invest money in Harvard when Harvard clearly violates Title VI and helps foster a hostile Jewish—a hostile environment for Jewish students?

Ms. GAY. We are committed at Harvard to ensuring that all of our students thrive, that they feel safe and secure, and we are grateful for our—

Mr. GOOD. Well apparently, 100 professors who—100 professors who sent that letter to you criticizing your condemnation of antisemitic remarks don’t agree with that, and your students, your institution is clearly producing students who are sympathetic to a terrorist organization. Do not you think that is a misuse of taxpayer dollars? My time has expired. I yield back, Madam Chair.

Chairwoman FOXX. Thank you, Mr. Good. Ms. Hayes, you are recognized for 5 minutes.

Ms. HAYES. Thank you. First, I would like to frame my comments in the basic idea that I condemn all forms of hate. I do not think there is any splitting hairs there. That does not make me radical left. It makes me human to think that all people should feel safe in their environment.

In the wake of the October 7th Hamas terrorist attacks in Israel, there has been a dramatic nationwide rise in reported antisemitic incidents, especially on college campuses. Antisemitism has been

on the rise for at least a decade. The ADL found that the number of antisemitic incidents in the U.S. increased by more than 35 percent from 2021 to 2022, and we have seen those numbers skyrocket in the last 2 months.

A few weeks ago, at Central Connecticut State University in my district, a racial slur and a swastika were written on a bathroom stall on campus. We should all be working to find solutions this problem, not doing what we are doing here today in this Committee.

The Biden administration released the National Strategy to Counter Antisemitism earlier this year. The strategy seeks to increase awareness and education in schools, communities and the workplace about antisemitism. This includes having the United States Holocaust and Memorial Museum launch the first ever U.S.-based Holocaust Education Research Center, to promote effective Holocaust education.

As a history teacher, I know the immense power of storytelling, and how healthy dialog is—and how healthy dialog is imperative to finding common ground. I would also like to make the point that teachers, professors, educators do not enter this profession to hate any group of people.

I am happy to hear that all of the people on the panelists responded to the question by my colleague that you do not collect data under conservative or liberal views of faculty. I would argue that that would be unconstitutional.

I would also like to note, in the case of Harvard, you had a very conservative, notable alum who was invited to join your advisory committee. Diversity of thought is important, and all those views should be welcome on any college campus.

President Magill, what steps has the University of Pennsylvania taken in the history—to ensure students have an understanding of the history of antisemitism, in order to address the rise of hate on your college campus?

Ms. MAGILL. I appreciate the question very much. There are a wide variety of things we do at Penn. We are very proud to be home to a very strong Jewish Studies Department, with faculty members who are expert, like Dr. Nadell, on the History and Manifestation of Antisemitism.

Many students are taking those classes. We are proud to call Penn home to the Katz Center for Judaic Studies, which is a world resource in historical materials about Judaica and antisemitism and many centuries of history actually, and many of our faculty and staff and students participate in programs at the Katz Center through their fellowships in education.

We—the third thing I would identify and there is more to say, are we have many student groups that engage with one another across lines of disagreement, and they talk together, usually with the leadership of faculty, to learn from one another and from the faculty.

Ms. HAYES. Which is exactly what is supposed to happen on a college campus. I also want to acknowledge the increase in Islamophobia after the October 7th attack, not so-called Islamophobia but Islamophobia. Palestinian students on and off college campuses have been targeted.

President Gay, in your November 9th open letter to members of the Harvard community, you mentioned specific steps that you are implementing in connection with your ongoing work with the Anti-semitism Advisory Group.

Specifically, you mentioned work being conducted at the Office of Equity, Diversity, Inclusion and Belonging. I will also just say that 18,000 complaints have been received by the Department of Education Office of Civil Rights, the same office that my colleagues are trying to defund.

48 percent of those have been sex discrimination, 32 percent disability discrimination and 17 percent based on race or national origin. We have a problem. We need to welcome and embrace diversity in this country and teach young people why it is important to have a full understanding.

My time has expired, and I know I am going to be gavelled out. If you can just submit that question for the record, I would appreciate it, and thank you all for the work that you are doing.

Ms. MAGILL. I would be happy to. Thank you.

Chairwoman FOXX. Thank you, Ms. Hayes. Ms. Steel, you are recognized for 5 minutes.

Ms. STEEL. Thank you, Dr. Foxx, for leading this important hearing. In October, I introduced H.R. 5933, the Deterrent Act, to bring greater transparency and accountability for institutions of higher education, accepting donations from foreign entities.

This bill will pass the House hopefully tomorrow, and I am hoping the Senate will take it up. The involvement of hostile foreign entities in our postsecondary institutions is one of the biggest threats facing colleges and universities.

Question No. 1 is Ms. Kornbluth. In September 2019, then-Secretary DeVos opened Section 117. It is avoiding disclosures section investigation into MIT that has not been closed. What concrete steps that has MIT taken to address the lack of Section 117 reporting?

Ms. KORNBLUTH. Let me say and thank you for the question. We have cooperated fully. I cannot comment on an open investigation, but I have to say we have greatly increased our reporting to be fully compliant.

Ms. STEEL. It is not that all done yet, but it is still under investigation?

Ms. KORNBLUTH. As I understand it.

Ms. STEEL. Okay. A study released just last month by the Institute for the Global Study of Antisemitism found that from 2015 to 2020, institutions that accepted unreported money from Middle Eastern donors have been on average 300 more antisemitic incidents than those institutions that did not.

President Gay, Magill and Kornbluth, any of you can answer this. Do you believe foreign nations with views hostile to Israel would desire U.S. students to echo their views? I think Dr. Gay can start.

Ms. GAY. Thank you for the question. We have alumni all over the world, and those alumni, through their philanthropy, support student aid, scholarships, cutting edge research.

One thing that their philanthropy does not do is influence how we run the university, how we enforce our policies, or how we keep our students safe.

Ms. STEEL. Okay.

Ms. MAGILL. Thank you for the question. At Penn, we of course follow every law and regulation about donations from individuals in other countries. Beyond that, we do not accept any gift that would compromise our mission or create any sort of conflict of interest.

We have a very elaborate vetting process, and we have declined gifts where we have a worry that would be inconsistent with our mission, and we are very clear about this.

Ms. KORNBLUTH. Yes, thank you. All funds that come to MIT in any form are for open, publishable research. We retain full control over what research is conducted. We also have an extensive internal review process for reviewing foreign gifts. We also adhere to all Federal laws, and we see these reviews through the national security, economic security and importantly human rights.

Ms. STEEL. Thank you for your answers, and I hope that's really true. President Magill, from 2014 through 2019, Penn received a total of almost \$300 million in Section 117 funding.

Are you aware of the amount that was given by Qatar, where any of these donations conditioned on the inclusion of a pro-Palestinian curriculum or pro-Palestinian events? Are you aware if any of these donations were conditioned only for pro-Palestinian professors?

Ms. MAGILL. I appreciate the question. I want to repeat that we follow all laws, and we accept nothing that is inconsistent with our mission of teaching, research and service, and we would never accept conditions on gifts.

My understanding is we have taken no government gifts from the Government of Qatar. We have a small number of alumni in Qatar who have given some gifts for annual gifts to schools, a very small number.

Ms. STEEL. Almost \$300 million.

Ms. MAGILL. Congressman, that figure as funds from Qatar is not one that I am familiar with. That is—I have—that is not what my information tells me.

Ms. STEEL. Do you know exactly how much you received from Qatar of Section 117 funding?

Ms. MAGILL. The data I have—yes, I am aware of our 117 filings. I have—maybe I can followup with you afterwards. That is not consistent with what I understand our 117 filings show, which is no government, no gifts from the Government of Qatar, and a very small number of annual gifts from alumni living in that country.

Ms. STEEL. Dr. Foxx, thank you very much and I yield back.

Chairwoman FOXX. We will look forward to a followup. Ms. Stevens, you are recognized for 5 minutes.

Ms. STEVENS. It is absolutely essential that the Committee on Education and Workforce have a hearing about rising antisemitism in the United States of America, and what is unfolding on our college campuses.

In particular, as we—many of us have the where were you moment on 9/11, I have the where were you on 10/7 moment, when

I woke up to the news of the horrific and barbaric attack on Israel and what we learned that unfolded that day and horror.

My thoughts went to our college campuses, and what would happen on our college campuses, particularly as Jewish students have felt persecuted and attacked and their families have been concerned for a multitude of years.

I want to say that it is, it is incumbent on us to let Jewish students know that they are supported and that they belong. We know that the rule of university presidents encompasses a lot of things, and in my home State of Michigan, and in my home district at Oakland University our university president, Ora Pescovitz, wrote a very compelling op-ed, and she said, "One of my roles is to decipher and distinguish between protecting free speech and tackling unlawful harassment."

I was wondering if our university presidents could chime in on how you balance that do that distinguishing and also that enforcing, to make sure that we do not have unlawful harassment or the incitement of violence on our college campuses? Would you like to start, Dr. Kornbluth?

Ms. KORNBLUTH. Oh yes, sorry. Yes. Thank you for raising that. You know, college campuses are the crucible of ideas, where students are side by side and it is part of the education to hear things that they feel are uncomfortable.

To be absolutely clear, speech can become a form of harassment, and our policies make absolutely clear that harassment is punishable. Speech that targets individuals, or again as we have heard, incites violence on our campus or crosses the line—these cross the line into harassment. This is taken very, very seriously.

Ms. STEVENS. We obviously know that you are subject to the Clery Act and adhere to its rules and clauses. Look, we have now data from the ADL. It says that since 10/7, we have now seen a 388 percent increase in antisemitism. We have to one, call out antisemitism, but two, make sure that we have the right anti-hate laws in place.

It is important for us, as a Congress, to be partnering with all stakeholder groups. Something else along these lines, and maybe I am sharing—sharing this as a fellow student of the humanities, someone—I hold a master's in philosophy, and so a lot of times it is what is the question, not necessarily what is the answer.

By the way, Dr. Nadell, I hail from American University. Two people graduated from my class in '06. We need to have the proper place to exchange ideas and have the space to ask tough questions. What happens when we remove humanities?

What happens when we, when we allow for government to dictate what is being taught on our college campuses, similar to what we are seeing in Florida and in West Virginia? What risk does that pose, particularly when we talk about the proper teaching of history?

Ms. KORNBLUTH. May I take that?

Ms. STEVENS. Yes.

Ms. KORNBLUTH. Yes. You know, it is interesting. Coming from a majority STEM institution as I said, I cannot even think of a place where it is more important that our students also learn humanities, have a humanistic perspective.

We all have to live and work together as people. In order for us to be successful when I think about the technologies that are coming down the road, we want our students to understand the moral implications—

Ms. STEVENS. We need to do both.

Ms. KORNBLUTH. We need to do both.

Ms. STEVENS. We need to do both, and we will continue to call out antisemitism as Members of Congress and push on this topic. Five minutes is certainly not enough, and I call on our committee chair. Let us have a hearing about affirmative action and what the Supreme Court ruling has now done to minority students and minorities being able to join institutions of higher education.

Let us have a hearing about Islamophobia and let us talk about anti-LGBTQ practices that are affecting the mental health of students on college campuses. Thank you, and I yield back.

Mr. KILEY. The representative from Michigan, Ms. McClain, is recognized.

Ms. MCCLAIN. Thank you. Thank you for being here today. I listened to your opening statement, and we all talked so passionately about what was happening on the college campuses as it pertains to antisemitism is absolutely unacceptable, and I appreciate that.

However, talk is cheap, and we really need action. What I would like to talk a little bit about today is what actual action items, not lip service, but action items have happened? I will start with you. President Gay, under your leadership, Harvard has done little to condemn Hamas' brutal murder of woman and children, promote Israel's right to defend itself or protect Jewish students from harassment.

For example, I am curious. What action was taken from Harvard when a Jewish student was mobbed on your campus last month? Action. Not lip service, action ma'am.

Ms. GAY. This specific incident I have communicated with—I have communicated about publicly. As you may know, that is an incident that is currently under investigation by HUPD and the FBI.

Ms. MCCLAIN. Any action. I am looking for the action.

Ms. GAY. When that—and when that investigation is complete, we will address it through our student disciplinary process.

Ms. MCCLAIN. You cannot answer. I am going to move on to my next question. Do you have an action item or not as of this time? Was any action taken? Any action.

Ms. GAY. I cannot share more about a student—

Ms. MCCLAIN. Okay. Thank you. Will these students intimidating Jewish students just because they are Jewish be expelled from the university?

Ms. GAY. I am sorry, I did not catch your question.

Ms. MCCLAIN. Will the students who are intimidating Jewish students just because they are Jewish be expelled?

Ms. GAY. You are describing conduct that sounds like it would violate our policies against bullying and intimidation and harassment, and if that is the case, it will be addressed through our policies.

Ms. MCCLAIN. A simple answer, yes. Thank you. Another question. Why did you allow protestors to occupy University Hall for 24

hours, and not only were these students not punished, but two of your deans provided them with food and promised no disciplinary action would be taken? That was reported by the Harvard Crimson.

Ms. GAY. I can assure you that we have very strong disciplinary processes, and where conduct violates our policies, we use those policies.

Ms. MCCLAIN. Did conduct violate your policies during that incident?

Ms. GAY. We have disciplinary processes underway.

Ms. MCCLAIN. Is there an answer to that or not?

Ms. GAY. We have disciplinary processes underway.

Ms. MCCLAIN. Was any discipline action? I love the lip service. I do, and you academics, I love that. I am looking for an action item. Yes, no, was anybody expelled, any action item? If you do not know, that is okay too.

Ms. GAY. We hold our community to account for our policies.

Ms. MCCLAIN. All right. I will reclaim my time. Thank you. President Magill, under your tenure swastikas have been drawn outside residence halls where Jewish students live. The Hille House was broken into. Jewish students urged not to where symbols of their ethnicity, and those same students harassed when they go to collect challah for Shabbat.

I will be submitting questions for the record on outbreaks of anti-semitism at UPenn, and I look forward to your response, because obviously 5 minutes is just way too short of an answer. I would encourage you to give answers.

We deserve answers. People deserve answers, not rhetoric. Action items. It is clear that the Jewish students on all of your campuses are afraid to be themselves, because you have refused to take real action. There is that word, action against antisemitism, right?

A lot of rhetoric, no action. I strongly encourage all of you to look at the Holocaust Learning Experience set up by MorseLife Health System in Florida, to teach lessons from the actual Holocaust to students in 5th through 12th grade. This program has trained hundreds of teachers in two short years and has gone a long way to teaching students about the harm antisemitism has in our communities.

Harvard, UPenn and MIT, I think you could learn a little bit about this. With the remainder of my time, I will yield to Ms. Stefanik.

Ms. STEFANIK. Thanks for yielding. Harvard receives funding from foreign entities and governments which support its Middle East Studies Department; correct?

Ms. GAY. We receive funding from variety of sources, because we have alumni from all over the world.

Ms. STEFANIK. That is correct, right? The Middle Eastern Studies Department?

Ms. GAY. We receive funding from various sources.

Ms. STEFANIK. It is a yes or a no. Are you not aware when Middle Eastern Studies Department receives funding?

Ms. GAY. We are receiving funding from various sources.

Ms. STEFANIK. I am asking you a yes or no question. You are under oath in front of the U.S. Congress. You are giving lip service provided by your attorneys. It is a yes or no question. Harvard re-

ceives from foreign entities and governments which support its Middle Eastern Studies Department; correct?

Ms. GAY. We have alumni all over the world, and we benefit—

Ms. STEFANIK. The answer is correct, yes? Yes? The answer is correct.

Ms. GAY. We receive support from our alumni from all over the world, from individuals.

Ms. STEFANIK. What amount of support is that reported to the Federal Government?

Ms. GAY. I would have to actually look at our filings.

Ms. STEFANIK. You do not know? As the president of the University, you do not know?

Ms. GAY. Not that particular number, no.

Ms. STEFANIK. It is \$1.5 billion over the past 3 years. Are you aware of that?

Ms. GAY. I do not know if that is the correct number, but that is the number you shared.

Ms. STEFANIK. Has Harvard reported all of the Federal—oh, my time.

Chairwoman FOXX. Ms. Manning, you are recognized for 5 minutes.

Ms. MANNING. Thank you, Madam Chair. For years, virulent antisemitism has been on the rise on college campuses, and sadly since October 7th, the October 7 Hamas terrorist attack, campus antisemitism has skyrocketed on your campuses and all across the country.

It is shocking, it is pervasive, it is threatening, and it is stunningly visible. The fear Jewish students are facing is real, and it is justified. Jewish students are trying to get an education while entrance to their classes is blocked by protests outside and inside classroom buildings.

They sit in classes disrupted by protestors with bullhorns, accusing Israel of genocide, with students chanting “Long live the Intifada.” By the way, as we all know, the Intifadas in Israel included years of terrorist bus bombings and restaurant bombings that resulted in countless deaths of Jewish and Arab civilians.

Jewish students in college dining rooms are confronted with banners that say, “From the river to the sea,” a phrase that calls for the end to the Jewish State and the killing of Jews. Do not take my word for it. You can listen to the leader of Hamas, who has been quite vocal about what that phrase means.

A Jewish student at Harvard was asked by the professor to leave his class, because the other students were not comfortable having their discussion in front of that Jewish Israeli student. Jewish students have been pushed, spat upon, punched and told not to leave their dorms for their own safety during protests.

A Jewish student in my home State was told to rewrite a paper he wrote that supported an Israeli view of the conflict, or he risked failing the course. Jewish students had their class interrupted when a professor told the students that they were going to take a break, so that all the students could go with him to attend the anti-Israel protest on campus.

This intimidation, humiliation and exclusion of Jewish students is simply unacceptable. It would not be tolerated against any other

minority group, and we need university presidents to do more to protect Jewish students.

President Gay, you and I have talked about antisemitism. You have told me your goal is to eradicate antisemitism at Harvard. That is a lofty goal, but will you commit to doing everything necessary to keep Jewish students and faculty safe, and be able to participate in the full range of Harvard's learning experiences?

Ms. GAY. The short answer is yes.

Ms. MANNING. Thank you, and will you enforce all the codes of conduct against students and faculty who violate those codes, and will you communicate those codes and your intention to hold students and faculty accountable?

Ms. GAY. Absolutely.

Ms. MANNING. Will you endeavor to recenter the conversation about the Middle East back to a place of fact-based exchange, and evaluate your course offerings and your faculty to ensure that you have intellectual diversity and multiple perspectives about Israel and Zionism, including professors who support the right of Israel to exist, and support the right of Jewish people to self-determination in the Middle East Studies Department?

Ms. GAY. Absolutely committed.

Ms. MANNING. Thank you, and will you commit to work with Jewish and Israeli scholars, to make sure Harvard has a full range of lectures and scholarship described, as described in Dr. Nadell's testimony?

Ms. GAY. Education is the path forward here.

Ms. MANNING. I understand that you have condemned the phrase "From the river to the sea." I also know that the Harvard School of Public Health has a course called the "Settler Colonial Determinants of Health," that introduces students to the concept of settler colonialism and its health equity implication. It uses case studies in the United States and Palestine and talks about poor health outcomes for indigenous and other non-settler communities.

President Gray, are you aware that Jews were indeed indigenous to the land of Israel and have lived there for 2,000 years?

Ms. GAY. I do know about the long history in Israel.

Ms. MANNING. What is Harvard doing to educate members of the community about these phrases and other false accusations that Israel is a racist, settler, colonialist, apartheid State, even that Harvard is actually teaching courses with the underlying premise that Israel is a settler, colonial state?

Ms. GAY. We have faculty. We have outside speakers who come and over the last couple of months in particular, have been providing more insight into the nature of the conflict and the way forward. Obviously, we have more work to do and that is part of how we are going to eradicate antisemitism on our campus.

Ms. MANNING. Sadly, my time is expiring, but I would like to followup on that and other courses at Harvard, and I would also like to followup with Ms. Magill about how her students felt, her Jewish students felt after the Palestinians Writers meeting, whether they in fact felt threatened and intimidated.

Chairwoman FOXX. Thank you, Ms. Manning.

Ms. MANNING. Thank you, Madam Chair.

Chairwoman FOXX. Ms. Miller, you are recognized for 5 minutes.

Ms. MILLER. Thank you. Dr. Gay, when Harvard allows foreign students to enter the U.S. on a student visa, you are responsible for ensuring that they uphold our American values of free speech and free exercise of religion.

Harvard can expel students who are here on a visa if they commit acts of violence or threaten violence against American citizens, which would terminate their student visas. Dr. Gay, has Harvard expelled any foreign students who are here on student visas for threatening violence against American students?

Ms. GAY. Our international students are an enormous source of pride for Harvard, and part of our strength as an institution. We hold those students accountable—we hold those students—

Ms. MILLER. Absolutely. I just want to know if you—have you expelled anybody?

Ms. GAY. We hold those students accountable to the same set of disciplinary processes that we hold all of our students accountable to.

Ms. MILLER. You have not expelled anybody? I am assuming your non-answer is an answer to the students. They now know you have not expelled any foreign student for threatening the Jewish students.

Dr. Gay, if Harvard found out that a student organization was taking money or taking money from or coordinating with a foreign terrorist organization, would you immediately suspend that student organization?

Ms. GAY. Our student organizations are recognized on the condition that they comply with Harvard policies. When they violate those policies, there are repercussions.

Ms. MILLER. Thank you. Doctor or Ms. Magill, today you said that you defend free speech at UPenn and follow the U.S. Constitution to determine your speech guidelines. Would you allow President Trump, who is a graduate of UPenn, to speak at UPenn if a student group invited him?

Ms. MAGILL. Yes.

Ms. MILLER. That is excellent. I am sure President Trump will be happy to hear that you would welcome him on the UPenn campus. Ms. Magill, earlier this year, a former UPenn student told the House Judiciary Committee that she was forced to undress and change next to a grown man with male genitalia 18 times a week in the locker room.

Ms. Magill, do you think it is appropriate for UPenn to force young women to change in a locker room with biological men against their will?

Ms. MAGILL. I appreciate the question. At Penn, we follow the rules of competition, and if a student complies with the NCAA rules, they can compete for Penn.

Ms. MILLER. Yes. This is a clear violation of Title IX. You are violating the civil rights of your female students, and you will be held to account for it. Ms. Magill, as president of UPenn, can you give us some insight into why Joe Biden was paid almost a million dollars by UPenn? What were his responsibilities when he is at UPenn? Did he teach a class?

Ms. MAGILL. I appreciate the question. President Biden was a professor of Practice at the University of Pennsylvania for a little

over 2 years. My understanding is that his salary was \$400,000 a year. We also had Mr. Jeb Bush as a professor of Practice at the University of Pennsylvania. Professor—President Biden had a wide variety of obligations. He was in many different classes—

Ms. MILLER. What obligations exactly did he have?

Ms. MAGILL. He was—he held seminars. He was in many different classes. He interacted with thousands of students over the time he was there. He invited speakers. The goal of the Center was to enhance—

Ms. MILLER. For \$400,000? Anonymous student—anonymous Chinese donations poured into UPenn after your university hired Joe Biden, and he appeared to have a no-show job. The House Oversight Committee is going to get to the bottom of this, and I yield the remainder of my time to Dr. Foy.

Chairwoman FOXX. Thank you very much. President Magill, on Sunday I received a letter from the Wharton Club of Israel, outlining their efforts to secure a briefing for you and other leaders of your campus by a representative of the Israeli Defense Forces.

We have seen significant efforts to deny the seriousness of Hamas's attacks of terror on October 7th. I assume providing your campus leadership information about what actually happened would be helpful, as you address the explosion of antisemitism.

Unfortunately, they said they were informed by your office that briefing will not happen this calendar year. That leaves the impression that you do not want the information, President Magill. Will you commit to getting a briefing scheduled before the end of the year from the IDF?

Ms. MAGILL. Madam Chairwoman, I do not in any way deny the brutality and barbaric nature of the Hamas attack on October 7th.

Chairwoman FOXX. Will you get a briefing? We in Congress have had a briefing and seen the films.

Ms. MAGILL. I receive many invitations. I do have to attend to my calendar.

Chairwoman FOXX. Dr. Kornbluth, will you hear what these people have to say?

Ms. KORNBLUTH. I will hear what anyone who wants to give me information wants to say.

Chairwoman FOXX. Thank you, thank you. I yield back. Mr. Bowman, you are recognized for 5 minutes.

Mr. BOWMAN. Thank you so much, Madam Chair, and thank you to our witnesses for being here. I really appreciate you taking the time and sharing your experiences and expertise during this very difficult time.

A quick yes or no question. Do you all feel that education globally is very important in addressing the issue of antisemitism? You can just shake your head or say yes, yes.

Ms. KORNBLUTH. Absolutely.

Mr. BOWMAN. Education is key, okay. Thank you for saying that. I am asking that question because a lot of this conversation has been framed around holding students accountable for their threats of violence toward Jewish students, as they should be held accountable, absolutely, and some of it has been framed around, you know, additional punishments, of course.

There has been a lot of political pandering discussed here, without the action that goes with the accountability and the condemnation that must happen when we see antisemitism as it raises its head. What I mean by that is I introduced something called the Great Replacement Theory Resolution, and I wanted us as Congress to condemn the Great Replacement theory.

The Great Replacement Theory is a white supremacist theory that says Jews, blacks and immigrants are looking to replace white people in America. I introduced that theory last Congress. It passed along Democratic lines. I do not believe any Republicans voted for that particular resolution.

In addition, my colleagues on the other side of the aisle continue to look to cut funding to the Department of Education, which will be critical to helping us fight antisemitism. In addition, we have discussed already cuts to the Office of Civil Rights that my Republican colleagues support, that also is critical to fighting antisemitism. I would also add cuts to the Department of Health and Human Services as part of this conversation.

Absolutely we must condemn. Absolutely we must hold people and students accountable. How do we get into the mud and do the real work of fighting antisemitism, without investing in education in the way that we need to invest? Not just at the higher education level, but in our K to 12 schools as well.

I am a former K to 12 educator for 20 years. I taught elementary school. I was a dean in a high school, and I was a middle school principal for 10-1/2 years. Our kids read *The Diary of Anne Frank*. I have had students who have gone to the Holocaust Museum. I still have students in my district from the Bronx, black or brown, visiting the Holocaust Museum, becoming educated and wanting to learn more.

Talk to me about the need, not just for you all as leaders in higher education, but every single person in this room's responsibility to fight antisemitism and anti-hate in all its forms. I just want to add, we have an Original Sin in our Nation of slavery and discrimination.

That sin continued to evolve as segregation, separation and a lack of understanding and empathy of knowledge of each other. Can you just speak briefly to all of that? We will start here and go down the line.

Ms. KORNBLUTH. Yes. Thank you, Congressman Bowman. This actually echoes what I had said earlier, which is it is every single one of our responsibilities, and this is why I am heartened by the full MIT community taking up this problem. It is a human problem.

Mr. BOWMAN. Yes.

Ms. KORNBLUTH. Person to person. I appreciate what you had to say about this.

Ms. NADELL. I want to add that I am so glad that you have raised K through 12, because everybody here is talking as if what has happened on the college campus happened de novo, and those kids came to campus, and they never had an education before. We need to be teaching about antisemitism, not just the Holocaust antisemitism, and racism in America.

Mr. BOWMAN. Our kids live in segregated communities. You have white kids living with white kids, black kids living with black. They never interact with each other. They do not go to school together. They do not know each other. Of course hate is going to be a major part of our society if we continue our segregation in our communities, in our homes. I am sorry, please.

Ms. MAGILL. Congressman, I so appreciate what you asked, and I think one of the thoughts I have is that immediate action is very important, and the calling out of the hateful action and for the longer term. It is an all-societal education obligation, as well as every one of our responsibilities to be fighting antisemitism.

Mr. BOWMAN. Thank you. Dr. Gay.

Ms. GAY. Thank you so much for your question. We have spent a lot of time here talking about the importance of accountability for behavior that crosses the line. We talked about how important it is to denounce language that offends our values.

Mr. BOWMAN. As we should.

Ms. GAY. It is as we should. Ultimately the path forward is education. It is education about the history of this hate and this bigotry. It is also education about how it manifests in the present and what modern antisemitism tropes look like, and it is also education about how do you actually engage in civil dialog on really complex and divisive issues.

Mr. BOWMAN. Thank you so much. I yield back.

Chairwoman FOXX. Ms. Letlow, you are recognized for 5 minutes.

Ms. LETLOW. Thank you, Dr. Foxx. To our university presidents, yes or no. Have you established rigorous programs and rules to address and prevent sexual harassment and violence against women on your campuses, yes or no, Dr. Gay.

Ms. GAY. Yes.

Ms. LETLOW. Yes. Ms. Magill.

Ms. MAGILL. Yes.

Ms. LETLOW. Yes.

Ms. KORNBLUTH. Yes.

Ms. LETLOW. Thank you. Please bear with me because as a mom, a daughter and a woman, what I am about to share is hard. An article from CNN which examines the Israeli investigation into acts of sexual violence by Hamas during the events of October 7th includes a testimony from a female witness of the Nova Festival attack.

“They bent someone over, and I understood he was raping her, and then he was passing her on to someone else.” The woman who was not identified said of what she saw, “She was alive. She stood on her feet, and she was bleeding from her back. I saw what he—I saw that he was pulling her hair. She had long, brown hair. I saw him chop off her breast, and then he was throwing it toward the road, tossed it to someone else and they started playing with it.”

The witness added “I remembered seeing another person raping her, and while he was within her, he shot her in the head.” This is just one of hundreds of accounts of sexual assault that happened on October 7th. Dr. Gay, an article in the Harvard Crimson dated October 10th includes a statement from the Harvard Undergraduate Palestine Solidarity Committee, co-signed by 33 other stu-

dent organizations at Harvard. I would like to read the statement to you.

“We, the undersigned student organizations, hold the Israeli regime entirely responsible for all unfolding violence.” How, Dr. Gay, do you reconcile the blatant hypocrisy of allowing your students a forum to promote and celebrate terrorist groups that make the rape and mutilation of women and children a core function of their operations, while at the same time working for years to combat sexual violence toward women?

By allowing a month to pass before addressing with a real plan the demonstrations and intimidations on your campuses? What message is this and this delay conveying to your women on your campuses? I can only imagine how terrifying it is to be a Jewish woman on any of your campuses.

Just last night, a Jewish student from MIT wrote to me that she felt fearful and was forced to leave her study group during her doctoral exams because someone in her group told her that the women at the Nova Festival deserved to die because they were partying on stolen land.

Now while I am grateful for your condemning of antisemitism in statements to your students and to this Committee, it is not enough. There has been no real action to hold antisemitic students accountable for their behavior. They should be expelled.

The bottom line is that the buck stops with university presidents and all students should feel safe on a college campus, especially in this case Jewish women, as it would be terrifying to know that my administration is not doing more than simply condemning student groups perpetuating terrorist messaging, and as a former administrator myself in higher education, this is a major step backward in all that we have done to stand up against sexual violence toward women.

I have always defended higher education and this institution. Quite frankly, today, I am embarrassed. I yield back the remainder of my time to Ms. Stefanik.

Ms. STEFANIK. Dr. Gay, did anyone contact you about flying the Israeli flag over Harvard Yard?

Ms. GAY. Yes.

Ms. STEFANIK. The decision was made not to allow the flag to be flown over Harvard Yard.

Ms. GAY. It has been standard protocol at the university for years to only fly the American flag unless we have a visiting dignitary.

Ms. STEFANIK. The decision was made to allow the Ukraine flag to be flown over Harvard Yard?

Ms. GAY. That was a decision that was made by my predecessor as an exception to a long-standing rule.

Ms. STEFANIK. It was an exception. You made an exception for the Ukrainian flag, but not the—the university made an exception for the Ukrainian flag, but not the Israeli flag?

Ms. GAY. That was a choice made by my predecessor.

Ms. STEFANIK. Are you aware that there are stickers that are placed on Harvard University Dining Services food calling for Israeli apartheid? It says “Warning. Sabra funds Israeli apartheid and the murder of Palestinians.” Is that acceptable?

Ms. GAY. I can assure you that we have strong disciplinary processes when there are violations of our rules.

Ms. STEFANIK. This is a violation of the rules?

Ms. GAY. I cannot see that very clearly but I—

Ms. STEFANIK. Are you not aware of the stickers being placed on the food items provided to Harvard students?

Ms. GAY. I do recall an episode like that.

Ms. STEFANIK. There are disciplinary actions ongoing?

Ms. GAY. Given students' privacy and FERPA, which I am sure you know well, I will not say more about these particular cases, other than to say that disciplinary processes are underway.

Chairwoman FOXX. Thank you. Ms. Leger Fernandez, you are recognized for 5 minutes.

Ms. LEGER FERNANDEZ. Thank you very much and thank you to the witnesses for being here. I am struck by the passion which we all are bringing, because we know that the issue we are talking about today, antisemitism, white supremacy, you know, the issues that give rise to this, the issues of hate need to be addressed.

What saddens me is that my colleagues on the other side of the aisle recently passed an appropriations bill out of the Committee that would cut funding to the Office of Civil Rights by 25 percent. We know that we must investigate these and hold universities, including your universities, or the universities in my home State of New Mexico accountable if they do not protect students from antisemitism.

They do not protect students from Islamophobia. They do not protect students from the many versions of hate that we too often see in our communities. I would urge and encourage and ask and plead with my colleagues to fully fund the Department of Education and the Office of Civil Rights, so we could go after those instances where universities fail to do what they are required to do.

Recently, I sat with students from New Mexico, from the University of New Mexico, to ask them to share with me so I could bring their stories here about what are you facing on our campus back home? Sadly, the stories I heard would make your heart cry. They made my heart cry. We heard from Sephardi students who are proud of the heritage they bring with them, having suffered through for their minds, the inquisition.

We heard from Ashkenazis who have parents and grandparents, sorry, their, grandparents and great grandparents suffered through the Holocaust, and how there is a normalization—they are worried about the fact that antisemitism is now being normalized, and we all have a duty to fight back against that.

One of the things that I pointed out is that there seems to be a lack of understanding of the history of antisemitism. There seems to be a lack of understanding of the attacks on Jews over the centuries. As we mentioned from the Inquisition and before that too, the Holocaust to the latest that we are now seeing.

They said how come there is not general curricula that requires that we talk about the importance of K through 12 understanding that? We know at Harvard, for example, that you have I believe a course on the Holocaust. Well, what do you have for before you get that specialized course? Like how are we making sure that all stu-

dents understand that. You, Madam President, if you could answer that. I know you looked like you wanted to respond.

Ms. GAY. You make an excellent point. Already in our curriculum, there are so many opportunities for students to learn more about the relevant history.

I think one of the things that has become apparent over the last couple of months is that we have to find ways of making that education more broadly available to our campus community, to all of our students and also to our faculty and to our staff, and we have work to do on that for sure.

Ms. LEGER FERNANDEZ. Because this idea that they are—that Jewish students and that Jews are not indigenous to these lands, I think is something that needs to be pushed back against, right, and that some of these false narratives, I think, are really important.

I think one of the questions then is what do we do when there has been that loss of faith when students at UNM say we are being told we are not from that land, right? Students who have, who are indigenous, you know, who share both, you know, heritage of the Sephardi, heritage of the Zuni Pueblo, heritage of being Latino, who want to deserve to be able to claim it all.

Like I would ask, and maybe Dr. Nadell, or I think you wanted to say something, how do we regain that trust?

Ms. KORNBLUTH. What you are saying is really, really important. We are making a real effort to educate our students on the history of the Middle East. Our Center for International Studies has organized an online course, and really understanding the facts.

The other thing I do want to say though about your comments on the Holocaust, as the last survivors of the Holocaust are passing away, it really behooves us to make sure our students at all levels understand the history of the Holocaust.

As you say, this starts at K to 12, not just once they get to a State university.

Ms. LEGER FERNANDEZ. Dr. Nadell, did you want—

Ms. NADELL. I would just add that the magical word, online. We can really reach millions and millions of people with online programs about this history.

Ms. LEGER FERNANDEZ. Thank you, and with that, my time has expired, and I yield back.

Chairwoman FOXX. Thank you, Ms. Leger Fernandez. Mr. Kiley, you are recognized for 5 minutes.

Mr. KILEY. President Gay, a few months ago the Foundation for Individual Rights in Education released its rankings of how good colleges are at protecting free speech, and out of 248 schools ranked, Harvard ranked dead last, number 248.

In fact, it was the worse score in the history of the rankings, zero out of 100. Now you have quibbled with the study, the methodology, but you do not get to be dead last without there being some truth there. In the aftermath of October 7th including several times today, you have repeatedly stressed Harvard's commitment to free speech.

You have certainly been more outspoken about free speech after October 7th than you were before. I do not think there is any doubt about that. Anyone looking at this objectively will see that you had

literally the worst record in the country on free speech, and it was once' chance of globalizing the Intifada started disrupting classes and harassing students, that you suddenly became a stalwart for free speech. Do you understand why that is troubling to people?

Ms. GAY. Respectfully I disagree with that perspective, and I do not think it is an accurate representation of how Harvard treats speech on campus. We are committed to free expression and making space for a wide range of views and voices and opinions, it is bedrock value to our institution—

Mr. KILEY. Well thank you Dr. Gay, but I asked if you understand why people are troubled, and you proceeded to try to defend yourself, which suggests to me that you would not really understand and have not adequately tried to.

I am going to ask you a few questions, and I would really appreciate a yes or no answer if you could. Do you believe Hamas is a terrorist organization?

Ms. GAY. Hamas is a terrorist organization.

Mr. KILEY. Senator Schumer in a speech a few days characterized October 7th as a vicious, blood-curdling premeditated massacre of innocent men, women and children and elderly. Do you agree with that characterization?

Ms. GAY. That characterization is accurate, and I have condemned the heinous and barbaric terrorist attacks.

Mr. KILEY. Thank you. Senator Schumer also said that when students on college campuses across the country who wear yarmulke or display a Jewish star are harassed, verbally vilified, pushed and even spat upon and punched, that is antisemitism. Do you agree with him that that's antisemitism?

Ms. GAY. I agree.

Mr. KILEY. Do you acknowledge that some incidents of that nature have been occurring on Harvard's campus?

Ms. GAY. I have been talking with students over the last couple of months, and they have shared searing testimony about some of the things that they have experienced.

Mr. KILEY. I am glad you have made that outreach. If you were talking to a prospective student's family, a Jewish student's family right now, could you look them in the eye and tell them that their son or daughter would be safe and feel safe and welcome on your campus?

Ms. GAY. We are absolutely committed to student safety and to making sure that every—

Mr. KILEY. Yes, but I did not ask that question about your commitment. I said could you look them in the eye right now, the family of a prospective Jewish student, and assure them that their son or daughter would feel safe and welcome on your campus?

Ms. GAY. We are taking every step to ensure their physical and their psychological safety, and I stand by that.

Mr. KILEY. Yes or no to my question though. Did you want to answer it?

Ms. GAY. I answered your question.

Mr. KILEY. I guess not. If—would you say that a person who is an avowed neo-Nazi is someone that you would want to be part of the Harvard community?

Ms. GAY. Those are not consistent with Harvard's values, but at the same time, we allowed a wide berth for free expression and a variety of views.

Mr. KILEY. The question was would you want such a person who was an avowed neo-Nazi to be part of the Harvard community, yes or no?

Ms. GAY. Those are not consistent with Harvard values.

Mr. KILEY. You would not want such a person to be part of the community?

Ms. GAY. Those are not consistent with Harvard values.

Mr. KILEY. Would you want someone who has called for the eradication of the Jewish people to be part of the Harvard community?

Ms. GAY. Again, those are not consistent with Harvard values, where we are committed to making no space on our campus for antisemitism—

Mr. KILEY. Would you want someone who has called for the elimination of the State of Israel to be part of the Harvard community?

Ms. GAY. There is no place at Harvard for antisemitism.

Mr. KILEY. The elimination of the State of Israel, someone who advocates for that, is that someone you would want to be part of the Harvard community?

Ms. GAY. There is no place for antisemitism at Harvard.

Mr. KILEY. You have not answered my questions very well, Dr. Gay, so I will move on. You said today that you are proud of Harvard's initial response, the initial steps Harvard has taken in the immediate aftermath of October 7th. One of your predecessors, Dr. Larry Summers, was anything but proud.

He said in his 50 years of Harvard affiliation, I have never been as disillusioned and alienated as I am today. The silence of Harvard's leadership has allowed Harvard to appear at best neutral toward acts of terror against the Jewish State of Israel.

Looking back, is there anything you would have done differently in the aftermath of October 7th?

Ms. GAY. To be clear about what I was doing on October 7th, it was identifying whether or not we had any faculty or students who are in Israel—

Mr. KILEY. Is there anything you would have done differently?

Ms. GAY. Had I known that the statement issued by the students would have been wrongly attributed to the university, I would have spoken sooner about it. I was focused on action that weekend, not statements.

Mr. KILEY. Well, I appreciate you saying that, but it is clear for me from your testimony, President Gay, I don't think you are a person of any kind of prejudice yourself. You clearly seem to believe that you need to—that the forces of antisemitism are a constituency that needs to be catered to.

I think that is clear from your silence, from the carefully parsed statements from the Orwellian passive voice, and unfortunately that message was heard loud and clear by the forces of antisemitism on your campus and has reverberated across American higher education and seeped into our broader culture.

We need fundamental cultural change on university campuses.

Chairwoman FOXX. Thank you, Mr. Kiley.

Mr. KILEY. Thank you.

Chairwoman FOXX. Thank you, Mr. Kiley. Mr. DeSaulnier, you are recognized for 5 minutes.

Mr. DESAULNIER. Thank you, Madam Chair. I want to thank the witnesses and just comment. I guess this is the best and worst of times from my perspective for this Committee, that looking at the panel and the positions you hold are not something that I could have imagined when I went to college many years ago. Thank you for your vocations. I mean that with all sincerity, not your careers.

Dr. Gay, I want to just mention last night I had a wonderful conversation with a dear friend who I started my friendship with at your institution. Gabby Giffords and I were both in State and local government. We went through that program, and it was a wonderful experience.

It was one of those examples of where academia interacted with the real world and the world of action. I want to thank you for that.

Dr. Nadell, I wanted to talk to you as somebody from the Bay area and very involved with technology for many years, about its impact on our public discourse, on hatred, on antisemitism, on racism. I am reflecting on a Berkeley professor, Michael Goldhaber, I think.

Let me check, yes. Yes. He is the Cassandra of the Internet, according to the New York Times, where 30 years ago he predicted that once people started to connect with technology, that the sociology of reality and knowledge would change. I would say this hearing is a comment to that.

Could you comment on social media's impact on antisemitism and hatred, both in academia and as you see it in your research.

Ms. NADELL. Thank you for the question. Social media has been probably the most destructive force for spreading antisemitism ever imaginable, certainly in my own lifetime. When a pop star like Kanye West can put out a few messages that are antisemitic and he has millions and millions of followers, and in the wake of that, Jewish students were also feeling terribly unsafe and insecure.

We have seen this over and over, and we have seen it harnessed not only from the left, but we have also seen it harnessed from the right. Social media in various chat forums, various different platforms were used to create the Unite the Right Rally in 2017, and of course the man who has been convicted of murdering 11 people at the Tree of Life Synagogue also posted on social media that he was not waiting any longer and he was going in. It has been terrible.

Mr. DESAULNIER. There has been so much really good research and writing on the subject matter in the last 10 years, where I am thinking about *The Shallows* from Nicholas Carr in 2005, where his research shows that globally our cells are actually decreasing because of how we retain and absorb information.

All of this on the educational side. Now I will ask, maybe starting with Dr. Gay, this is about the short-term political moment that we are in.

I am equally concerned with, and I have had this conversation with the Chair and the Ranking Member, about what you see in

education and how our brains are changing, because how neuroscience, everything we have learned because of research about how this works in the last 50 years.

Until the Congress figures out how we role in this in this Committee, what is it doing to our—to young people. In Nicholas Carr's book, in *The Chaos Machine*. Susan Lynn, a distinguished member of your faculty, I just had a lovely conversation about her book, about who is minding our kids.

I cannot help but ask this question, because it is part of a larger long-term problem that this Committee really should be dealing with in a nonpartisan, thoughtful way. What do you see when it comes to cognitive development and your students?

Ms. GAY. Recognizing that I am not an expert, particularly on adolescent development on social media, but will share an observation, which is that one of the things that's been laid bare over the last couple of months is how ill equipped the community is and has been to deal with dialog in moments of crisis.

Instead, what is substituted for that is the social modification of dialog. It is intemperate, it is a historical and just mean, and it's a way of engaging that has been deeply socialized through social media, and is reflexive for a lot of the students on our campus.

Mr. DESAULNIER. Dr. Kornbluth, just because I just finished a book, *Reestablishing Conversation*, by one of your faculty, who talks about this.

Ms. KORNBLUTH. Yes.

Mr. DESAULNIER. Maybe you can just briefly—

Ms. KORNBLUTH. No. I agree completely with President Gay and I would say that social media is like a drug, right. It is addictive and it reinforces over and over again messages regardless of their truth.

As educational communities, we need to strive for making sure our students know truth and speak to each other as human beings.

Mr. DESAULNIER. That is beautiful. Thank you, Madam Chair. Hopefully we can have a further discussion about that particular issue in this Committee. I yield back.

Chairwoman FOXX. Thank you, Mr. DeSaulnier. Mr. Bean, you are recognized for 5 minutes.

Mr. BEAN. Thank you, very much and good afternoon to you and good afternoon panelists. Thank you so much for being here and your testimony today. There is a problem in your testimony, and I do not know if you know it. You testified that you value free speech so much that it does not harm

[off mic].

Very good, thank you. It came off, Madam Chair. Your testimony today. You have all testified that you value free speech, so long as it does not interfere with students. You have said that you have created a very safe haven, and you value safety for your students.

The problem is the evidence does not support your testimony. Just as we started our meeting, the videotape showed what is really happening on your campuses. America sees what is happening, not only on your campuses but on campuses across America.

Then just today, we had some courageous students, some of which are still in this room today, courageous students that testi-

fied on your campuses, contradicting, contradicting your testimony that it is a safe space. It is not a safe space.

Imagine trying to be a Jewish student on campus, and just going to the library, going to class, going to wherever on—just being scared to death. That is real, that is real. These videos and the testimony just does not add up.

Here are some things that are—that we have seen, America has seen. There are these anti-Jewish campus organizations called Students for Justice in Palestine. They have been suspended and kicked off many campuses, but none of yours—since October 7th. Their purpose is just to harass and intimidate Jewish students into retreating from campus life.

President Gay, there are numerous videos of Students for Justice in Palestine. At Harvard, they are known as Palestine Solidarity Committee, assaulting and intimidating Jewish students on your campus. When Palestine Solidarity Committee took over University Hall, instead of removing them, your administration gave them burritos.

President Kornbluth, in one of the most absurd, crazy campus incidents over the past 2 months, a viral video went of a math professor at MIT handing his lecture over to MIT's version of Students for Justice in Palestine, the MIT for Palestine Coalition, who invoked lies and just called for hatred and harm against Jewish students, and he sat and watched this.

Here is your chance to tell America who has gotten fired, what organizations you have kicked off your campuses. Anybody want to jump in and say we have kicked them off or we have expelled students? Anybody want to jump in?

[No response.]

Mr. BEAN. You have all also said that you value academic diversity, but you have no idea how many of your professors are liberal or how many of your professors are conservative. How do you know—if you do not know that, that is a pretty important piece of information.

If you do not know that, how do you know that you are academically diverse? Anybody jump in. Just go for it.

[No response.]

Mr. BEAN. I just happen to have the Harvard Crimson, which did a study of their professors on a—on Harvard campuses. This is dated last year. 80 percent of professors either identified as liberal or very liberal. 80 percent of the, of the faculty there versus 1 percent identified as conservative, zero percent identified as very conservative.

80 percent versus 1 percent. President Gay, is that the type of academic diversity that you brag about at America's leading institution, Harvard?

Ms. GAY. We seek to have a very diverse campus on every dimension—

Mr. BEAN. 80 percent versus 1 percent. You would say that is diverse. Madam Chair, I would like to yield the remaining time to the gentlewoman from New York, Ms. Stefanik.

Ms. STEFANIK. Thank you. Dr. Gay, according to Hillel College Guide, the Crimson Freshman Survey and even Harvard's own Education Next journal, the population of Jewish undergrads at

Harvard has plummeted from roughly 25 percent in the 1980's to between five and 10 percent now. Why is that?

Ms. GAY. That is not data that we collect as part of the admissions process. I cannot speak to those numbers or to the trajectory.

Ms. STEFANIK. What is the percentage of students who are Jewish at Harvard in undergraduate now?

Ms. GAY. We do not collect religious affiliation as part of the admissions process.

Ms. STEFANIK. Do you not rely on data collected by Harvard Hillel, which you visited for the first time after October 7th? I will just be honest with you. When I was a freshman, I enjoyed going to Harvard Hillel and have the opportunity to celebrate Shabbat dinners with my fellow undergrads.

The fact that it took you until after October 7th to go to Harvard Hillel is unacceptable. Yield back.

Chairwoman FOXX. Thank you. Mr. Moran, you are recognized for 5 minutes.

Mr. MORAN. Thank you, Madam Chair. Dr. Gay, I would like to direct my questions to you, if that is okay. In an open letter to members of the Harvard community that is posted on Harvard's website, you stated the following:

"Antisemitism has no place at Harvard." You also said "We are committed to doing the hard work to address the scourge." Just a moment, just moments ago when Representative Kiley asked you questions, you reaffirmed one of those statements and said "There is no place at Harvard for antisemitism." Will you now reaffirm those statements today with me?

Ms. GAY. Yes.

Mr. MORAN. Good. Are these mere words, or is Harvard willing to put action behind these words?

Ms. GAY. We are acting on that commitment.

Mr. MORAN. Tell me how you are acting on that commitment in a very specific manner.

Ms. GAY. Well to begin with, the immediate actions that are focused on, the physical security of our students and our campus. There is enhanced police presence, 24-7 threat monitoring, coordination with local, State and Federal law enforcement, and when necessary, we close the gates of Harvard Yard, so that outside actors are limited in their ability to use our campus as a platform. We have also—

Mr. MORAN. When you talk about—when you talk about "outside actors," let us talk about the inside actors. You have had a number of students and student organizations that have made many, many antisemitic statements in the past few months and past years frankly, and it has gone, in my opinion, without any response from the university.

President Gay, a report by AMCHA Initiative for the 2021-2022 academic year found that Harvard saw the most antisemitic incidents, that is 25 of any university surveyed. You were dean at the time; correct?

Ms. GAY. I am sorry, what was the date?

Mr. MORAN. 2021-2022.

Ms. GAY. Yes, I was. I was dean of the Faculty of Arts and Sciences, yes.

Mr. MORAN. In 2022, after the editors of the Harvard Crimson endorsed the antisemitic BDS movement, which seeks the destruction of Israel, a group of 49 faculty penned a letter defending the Crimson editors. Did you ever speak out against BDS during that time?

Ms. GAY. The university and I am clear on our positions about BDS. We do not support that position. It is counter to academic freedom and at odds with the openness which is part of our strength as an institution.

Mr. MORAN. Well, when you say—you said earlier, and you reaffirmed to me the statement “There is no place at Harvard for antisemitism.” Well, those words really ring meaningless if those folks remain at Harvard that promote antisemitism. Would you agree?

Ms. GAY. We do not sanction individuals for their political views or their speech. When that speech crosses into conduct that violates our behavior-based policies, bullying, harassment and intimidation, we take action.

Mr. MORAN. Have any students been expelled or disciplined for bullying, harassment or these actions that you are listing?

Ms. GAY. I can assure you we have robust student disciplinary processes, and we use them.

Mr. MORAN. No, no, no. I am not—I did not ask about—I did not ask about your process. I asked if any students have been disciplined or removed from Harvard as a result of the bullying and the harassment that is taking place based on their antisemitic views in the past months since the October 7th attack?

Ms. GAY. We consistently apply our policies.

Mr. MORAN. Have any students—can you give me a number? Has it been two, ten, 20 or have there been zero students that have been actually disciplined for their activity? Not their speech, their activity.

Ms. GAY. Students have been held to account for any episode in which they violated our behavior-based policies.

Mr. MORAN. Do you know approximately how many of those students have been held to account in your mind, or is that something you are going to keep from public view? I am not asking for identification of students. I just want to know how many people; how many students actually have been held to a disciplinary standard?

Ms. GAY. I am happy to have my office followup with some specific numbers, if that would be helpful to you.

Mr. MORAN. That would be very helpful. I am frankly surprised that you cannot appear before this body, having going to talk about this issue, and not be prepared to tell us whether or not any students, or to the extent or how many have actually been disciplined for their antisemitic behavior in the past months? You cannot tell me that?

Ms. GAY. I can assure—what I can assure you is that we use our policies. We use our processes, and we hold students to account for their behavior.

Mr. MORAN. Recently a coalition of student groups on your campus posted an open letter that placed the sole blame of the Hamas attack on Israel. In fact, in that letter, they said that they—

Mr. JAMES. Thank you, sir. The gentleman’s time has expired.

Mr. MORAN. I yield back. Thank you.

Mr. JAMES. I would like now to acknowledge myself for 5 minutes of questions. I came across an opinion article in the Michigan Daily, of U of M student paper written by an anonymous source with Michigan in Color.

The article stated in the opening paragraph the following: "On October 7th, Palestinians in Gaza launched a surprise attack on the colonizing force of Israel, one of the largest-ever Palestinian liberation operations in modern history.

"They invaded colonial settlements, bulldozed territorial walls and captured Israeli soldiers. Although any violence is unconscionable, the rebellion was unavoidable." This makes me think of a recent book written by Bari Weiss, that seeks to define antisemitism.

"Antisemitism successfully turns Jews into the symbol of whatever a given civilization defines as its most sinister and threatening qualities. When you look through the dark lens, you can understand how under Communism, the Jews were capitalists. How under Nazism, the Jews were the race contaminators.

"And today, when the greatest sins are racism and colonialism Israel, the Jew among nations, is being demonized as the last bastion of white racist colonialism, a unique source of evil not just in the region but the world. Whatever the role the Jews are needed for, well that's the part they are forced to play."

That is the part they are forced to play on your campuses, which is why you are here today. Now I know this article did not come out on your campuses, but this rhetoric is in lock step with much that we see on campuses today, and much of the heinous attacks against Jews we have seen throughout the 19th and 20th centuries.

I want to ask for the record, because many of us here on Capitol Hill hear from our public and our constituents that you are failing to create space where issues of the day are debated without fear of cancellation or ostracization.

Are you all concerned about the antisemitic rhetoric that we are seeing on these college campuses around the Nation, at each of your own? I do not think we can State enough individually, if you can give me maybe 15 to 10 seconds, what each of you are doing. Just remind us of what you are doing on your college campuses, 10–15 seconds each if you please.

[No response.]

Mr. JAMES. Nothing. Okay, great. Some of your peers have turned a blind eye or even permitted antisemitic speech by faculty, students and outsiders on campus. The question today is again, what you're doing about it. I got silent a couple of seconds ago.

Maybe you have been giving a couple of seconds to think about it. I will—I will make this easier. Will each of you commit to conducting a review or what is taught and promptly report back to this Committee with recommendations on how to address these topics?

[No response.]

Mr. JAMES. Okay. I will take silence as a no. I want to just say that I am greatly concerned that students are being taught to view certain groups as oppressors, and now apparently that includes Jewish people. The silence on my two direct questions, I think,

serves as a glaring answer for your lack of commitment for standing, standing in opposition.

I fear our future and the future of our Nation when oppression is used so generally to green light reverse discrimination by people that hide behind your institutions, and this institutional leaders themselves. With that, I am just going to go ahead and move on, because I do not think you have any satisfactory answers for me.

The House is currently in a series of votes, and members need to be on the House floor. As such, the Committee shall stand in recess until immediately following this last vote.

I urge my colleagues to return quickly to the hearing following votes, and I appreciate the patience of our witnesses and the audience. I would ask that you all remain in your seats, so our witnesses are able to leave.

[Recess.]

Chairwoman FOXX. The Committee will be in order. I thank everyone for your patience while we recessed to go vote. I now recognize Ms. Chavez-DeRemer for 5 minutes.

Ms. CHAVEZ-DEREMER. Thank you, Madam Chair, for holding this unfortunately necessary hearing. President Gay, Magill, Kornbluth while I appreciate your testimony, I am a bit confused. In each of your testimonies, you address antisemitism on your campuses in the present and future tense, as if there is no underlying cause predating October 7th, which explains why many of your students were at the ready to harass, threaten and attack Jewish students.

Are we really to believe that antisemitism did not exist on your campuses before the Hamas attack? As presidents of the universities, your jobs do not stop at fundraising and promoting academic success. The cultures of your campuses have no greater influence than you and what you choose to prioritize.

At an educational institution, the most powerful mover of culture is the education itself. The opportunities to learn about people's history provide students the best chance to challenge pre-conceptions, biases and inspire curiosity to understand rather than villainize.

At each of your schools, there are numerous classes focused on Latino, black, indigenous and AAPI history. The existence of such classes is necessary, speaks to your commitment to these communities. The commitment to the amplification of those voices.

Minority groups need their voices at the table. The Jewish people make up 2.4 percent of America's population and are only .2 of the global population. For the past 5,000 years, they have been enslaved, lynched and systematically murdered. During the same time, they have relentlessly improved the course of humanity, selflessly contributing to societies which eventually betrayed them.

President Gay, your university Harvard teaches only two courses on the history and culture of the Jewish people at the undergrad level. One of those classes is focused on portraying all Jews who support Israel's existence as colonialist and racist.

Compared to the roughly 125 classes Harvard offers on Latino, black, indigenous and AAPI history, the discrepancy feels odd. You are not alone. President Magill, the University of Pennsylvania offers three classes on Jewish history to undergrads, and President

Kornbluth, MIT only offers two classes on Jewish history to your undergrad students.

This gives the impression that your deans and professors view Jews as an exception, that their voice as a minority group is not worth amplifying. This mere erasure of Jewish history from offered courses is chilling to me. Harvard, MIT and the University of Pennsylvania offer its students an incredibly limited opportunity to learn about the 5,000 years of Jewish history. It is no wonder so many of your students see Jews as having less humanity than the rest of us.

In denying the Jewish voice a seat at the table, in denying your student body equitable access to Jewish history, you have created a hostile environment for Jewish students. If you provide your students real opportunities to learn about Jewish history at the same rate as you teach the history of groups, there would be wait lists for those classes.

That would provide students the appropriate venue to discuss, debate and learn. It will inspire your students to have meaningful discussions amongst themselves about the full history of Jewish people. President Gay, Magill, and Kornbluth, you can assemble all the task forces you want, and organize countless students' discussions on the issue.

I can assure you that your students, especially your Jewish students, those options come across as lazy and disingenuous. None of you have presented solutions which would address the causes of antisemitism at your schools. In your testimony, I have heard no self-reflection or acknowledge of failure.

President Gay, in your testimony you said that you are guided by the simple mantra asking why not. To the three of you, I urge you to think of one simple question. Why not teach Jewish history? Madam Chair, I will yield the rest of my time.

Chairwoman FOXX. Thank you. Thank you Ms. Chavez-DeRemer. A study, a study from—a 2021 study from Jay Green and James Paul of the Heritage Foundation examined the social media feeds of 741 DEI personnel at 65 universities.

Those DEI staff interacted with almost three times as many posts about Israel as about China. Of those interactions about Israel, 96 percent were critical, while 62 percent of the interactions about China were favorable.

What is your reaction to the fact that the DEI staff on your campuses appear more favorably disposed to one of the most depressive regimes in the world than they are to Israel, Dr. Gay?

Ms. GAY. Thank you, Congresswoman. Our DEI Office and all the professionals in that office are committed to being a resource for the entire campus community, all of our students, all of our faculty, all of our staff. Their priority is ensuring that everyone feels a sense of belonging and they do that work motivated by a commitment to safety, security, to well-being and not within an ideological framework.

Chairwoman FOXX. Thank you. The time is up. Mr. Comer, you are recognized for 5 minutes.

Mr. COMER. Thank you, Madam Chair. Many of our country's top universities and colleges are for sale. That is a fact, and our biggest

foreign adversaries know it. Take for instance China and the Chinese Communist Party.

They have used so-called Confucious Institutes on college campuses to spread CCP propaganda. Now we are learning about billions of dollars flooding into our universities and colleges from countries supporting terrorists, terrorists that hate what our country stands for.

For example, the U.S. Department of Education data shows that Qatar, a key backer and ally of Hamas, is one of the largest investors in U.S. universities. It has given more than \$5 billion to U.S. institutions of higher education since 2001.

Ms. Magill, data from Department of Education shows UPenn has received more than 1 and a1/2 billion dollars from foreign sources. Earlier, you shared with Representative Steel that Penn does not accept gifts from the Government of Qatar but has received gifts from alumni who reside in Qatar. Do you know the total amount of those gifts from alumni in Qatar?

Ms. GAY. Thank you for the question, Congressman Comer. We of course follow all of the laws, and we accept no gifts that are inconsistent with our academic mission, that would create any interference with doing what we do at Penn.

What I know about Qatar is what I mentioned earlier, is that I am not aware of any government gifts, and we have a few alumni in Qatar. The number I have in front of me is about \$2,000 a year from the donors that we have, the private individuals in Qatar.

Mr. COMER. Does Penn have a policy to not accept donations or gifts from countries that harbor and support terrorists.

Ms. GAY. Congressman Comer our—we are guided by the Federal Government on this matter, and we follow all of the rules.

Mr. COMER. Dr. Kornbluth, this report from the National Contagion Research Institute and the Institute for the Study of Global Antisemitism and Policy shows MIT received a total of \$859 million from foreign sources between 2014 and 2019. Has MIT accepted money from Qatar?

Ms. KORNBLUTH. All of our—as I said previously, all of our funds are for open, publishable research. We maintain full control over the research being conducted. I would have to get you the specific funding on Qatar via the staff after this session. It is publicly available information in the public record.

Mr. COMER. Well, does MIT have a policy of not accepting money from countries that harbor or support terrorists?

Ms. KORNBLUTH. Our review of all foreign money is seen through the lens of national security, economic security and human rights.

Mr. COMER. I take it is no then? Do you—do you and your university think it is a good policy to accept donations from countries that support and/or harbor terrorists.

Ms. KORNBLUTH. I told you what our policy is. Thank you.

Mr. COMER. I ask unanimous consent to submit this report, Madam Chair, titled “The Corruption of the American Mind” into the record.

Chairwoman FOXX. Without objection.

[The information of Mr. Comer follows:]

**THE CORRUPTION OF THE AMERICAN MIND:
HOW FOREIGN FUNDING IN U.S. HIGHER
EDUCATION BY AUTHORITARIAN REGIMES,
WIDELY UNDISCLOSED, PREDICTS EROSION OF
DEMOCRATIC NORMS AND ANTISEMITIC
INCIDENTS ON CAMPUS**

PRESENTED BY



Charles Asher Small
Institute for the Study of Global Antisemitism and Policy (ISGAP)

William Kolbrener
Institute for the Study of Global Antisemitism and Policy (ISGAP)
Bar Ilan University, Tel Aviv

David Patterson
Institute for the Study of Global Antisemitism and Policy (ISGAP)
University of Texas, Dallas

Sonia Yanovsky
Rutgers University

Danit Finkelstein
Rutgers University

Prasiddha Sudhakar
Network Contagion Research Institute

Sean T. Stevens
Foundation for Individual Rights and Expression

Nathan Honeycutt
Foundation for Individual Rights and Expression

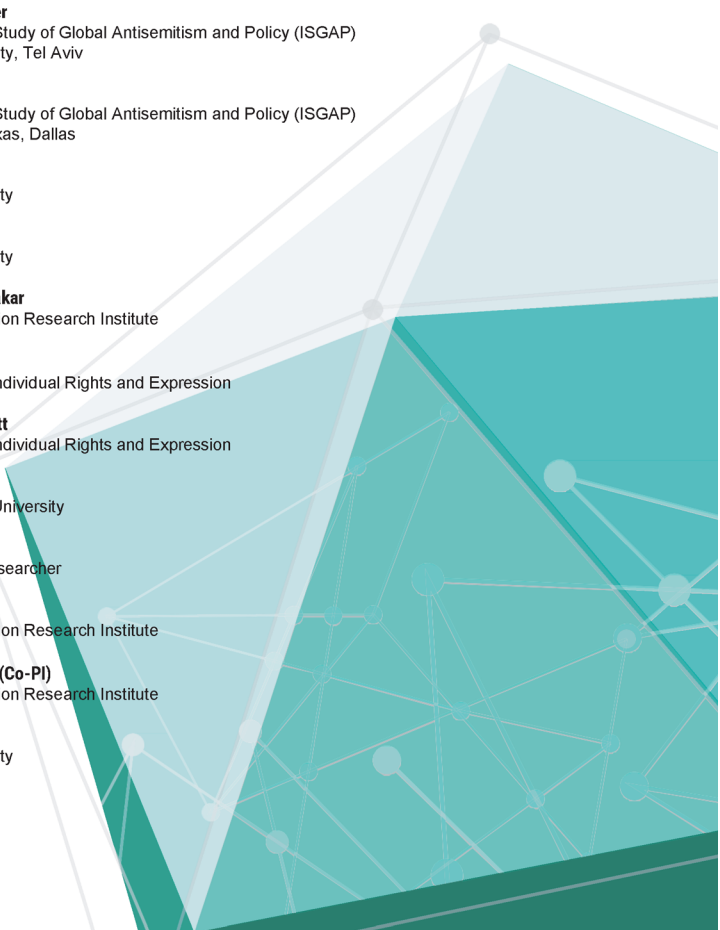
Pamela Paresky
Johns Hopkins University

Michael Bass
Independent Researcher

Alex Goldenberg
Network Contagion Research Institute

Joel Finkelstein (Co-PI)
Network Contagion Research Institute

Lee Jussim (PI)
Rutgers University



Abstract

Over the last decade, institutions of higher education across the United States of America received billions of dollars from foreign donors, much of which went unreported, to the U.S. Department of Education, as required. The U.S. Department of Education required that those institutions file reports detailing how much such funding they received and from where in accordance with regulations for foreign gift and contract reporting. Using that information available in public reports, in the present paper, we report 4 studies examining the extent of different avenues of foreign funding and its statistical relationship to campus political climate and events. Because much of this foreign funding was provided by authoritarian regimes, we examined the levels and sources of such funding and the extent to which this funding correlated with a deterioration of liberal democratic norms around free speech and academic freedom, as well as antisemitism on campus. Because campus antisemitism is not well characterized in peer-reviewed literature, we sought to assess its concurrent validity among other national assessments of antisemitism (reported by the FBI, ADL). All r 's were high ($\sim .50$) indicating strong spatial correspondence between the three assessments.

After an initial assessment of the distribution of foreign funding in our sample and campus antisemitism validity study (Studies One and Two respectively) Study Three found that receipt of foreign funding was associated with erosion of free speech norms: Increased campaigns to punish scholars for their speech (it was associated with increased levels of such campaigns from both the left and the right). Studies Four through Six addressed the relationship between foreign funding and antisemitism. Study Four found that receipt of foreign funding was associated with increased levels of campus antisemitism, and this relationship was larger when the foreign funding came from Middle Eastern/authoritarian states. Study Five found that receipt of foreign funding predicted increased perceptions of campus antisemitism in a national survey administered to 1748 college students. Using Granger Causality temporal analyses, Study Six found: 1. a positive directional association between campus antisemitic incidents and antisemitic incidents on the county level; and 2. a higher temporal correlation between use of the #Israeliapartheid hashtag on Twitter and antisemitic incidents at education institutions that received foreign funding than those institutions that did not.

In its totality, these findings described how a lack of transparency in funding reporting occurred in tandem with increases of antidemocratic norms and antisemitism across American institutions of higher education. Discussion addresses limitations to this research, the role of non-transparent foreign funding of higher education in eroding liberal democratic norms and exacerbating intergroup conflict, and directions for future research.

Overall Conclusion: *A massive influx of foreign donations to American institutions of higher learning, much of it concealed and from authoritarian regimes, with notable support from Middle Eastern sources, reflects or supports heightened levels of intolerance towards Jews, open inquiry, and free expression.*

Key Findings

- In our sample of Top American colleges and universities (n=203) we analyze approximately \$13 billion in reported contributions from foreign governments, many of which are authoritarian - Over a broader set of all institutions, \$4.7 billion of total funding from

2014-2019 was previously undisclosed.

- In institutions in our sample receiving such funding:
 - Political campaigns to silence academics were more prevalent.
 - Campuses receiving foreign funds exhibited approximately twice as many campaigns to silence academics as those that did not.
 - Students reported greater exposure to antisemitic and anti-Zionist rhetoric.
 - Higher levels of antisemitic incidents were reported on their campuses.
 - This relationship of foreign funding to campus antisemitism was stronger when the donors were Middle Eastern regimes rather than other regimes.
 - From 2015-2020, institutions that accepted funding from Middle Eastern donors had, on average, 300% more antisemitic incidents than those institutions that did not. Campus-level antisemitic incidents forward predict county-level antisemitic incidents.
- Speech intolerance—manifesting as campaigns to investigate, censor, demote, suspend, or terminate speakers and scholars—was higher at institutions that received funding from foreign regimes.
- Institutions receiving funding from foreign regimes evidence higher correlation between antisemitic incidents and inflammatory social media signals than those that do not.

Introduction: Widespread Failure to Report Donation from Foreign Regimes

Section 117 Foreign Gifts and Contract Reporting - “Section 117 of the Higher Education Act of 1965 (HEA) requires institutions of higher education that receive federal financial assistance to disclose semiannually to the U.S. Department of Education any gifts received from and contracts with a foreign source that, alone or combined, are valued at \$250,000 or more in a calendar year. The statute also requires institutions to report information when owned or controlled by a foreign source.” Throughout the rest of this paper, we use the term “Section 117 Funding” to refer to funds received by institutions of higher education that were (eventually) reported under this requirement.

In July 2019 at the Department of Justice (DOJ), in Washington, D.C., Charles Asher Small, the Director of ISGAP, presented the findings of an ISGAP research project prepared by Michael Bass. CPA that started in 2012, entitled “Follow the Money.” The ongoing research project examined all reported funding to the DOE by United States universities from foreign governments, foundations and corporations, many of which adhere to and promote anti-democratic and antisemitic ideologies, with connections to terrorism and terror financing.²

The project revealed, for the first time, the existence of substantial Middle Eastern funding (primarily from Qatar) to U.S. universities that had not been reported to the Department of Education (DoED), as required by law.

² “VOLUME II Examining Undocumented Foreign Funding of American Universities: Implications for Education and Rising Antisemitism,” *ISGAP* (2020).
<https://isgap.org/post/2020/09/volume-ii-examining-undocumented-foreign-funding-of-american-universities-implications-for-education-and-rising-antisemitism/>

In fact, Bass's research for ISGAP uncovered close to three billion of dollars of unreported funds, which, in turn, helped to the launch of a federal government investigation in 2019. With the explosion of antisemitism at U.S. universities in recent weeks, there are also security concerns that have potential domestic and global implications.

In 2019, the U.S. The Department of Education uncovered billions of dollars in undocumented foreign funds contributed to American universities, with a good deal of it coming from authoritarian regimes hostile to the fundamental principles of democracy and human rights. The findings displayed sizable year over year discrepancies and non-transparent practices by universities across reports from the department's Section 117 portal for foreign gift and contract reporting. These discrepancies raised serious questions about the integrity of Section 117 funds, and the findings captured the attention of lawmakers and led to numerous presentations, investigations, and testimonies involving U.S. officials from the Department of Education (Camera, 2020; Dennett, 2019; Thompson et al., 2020). In this paper, we report the results of research investigating the relationships between flows of Section 117 funds to institutions of higher education in the U.S., and campus threats to free speech and rises in antisemitism.

Undocumented money provides a frustrating research subject, given the obfuscation involved. Studies of this form of secretive influence, the most notorious of which involves groups or individuals funneling money into political and publicity campaigns through anonymized vectors shielded from public scrutiny, tend to focus on issues of "conflicts of interest, transparency, academic and scientific integrity, and coercion" (Jones, 2014). Yet while the sources of the funds may be unknown to the public, philanthropic contributions often come from efforts to establish close relationships, especially in the long term (Morrison, 2015), these funding relationships can even lead to the donor and recipient co-creating "gifts" together (Shaker & Nelson, 2021).

Examples of "undocumented money" include the tobacco industry, oil and gas, and pharmaceutical companies (Jones, 2014), and a recent study indicates the flow of such undocumented funds to U.S. universities from foreign governments, particularly in the Middle East (Small & Bass, 2019). Efforts by countries in the Middle East to influence politics and society in the West is well documented. Roberts (2019) and Diwan (2021) argue that Qatar develops institutions to promote "soft power" in the West in order to improve its relationship with established powers and its role in the Middle East. Felsch (2016) argues that Qatari influence networks cannot be considered "soft power," since it depends more on wealth and payments to "affect outcomes"—a form of "hard power." Walsh (2011, 2019) discusses Qatar's efforts to develop relationships with U.S. universities as a kind of "win-win" through which the country hopes to develop more critical thinking among its own citizens. However, others caution that the development of transnational academic relationships with authoritarian states must proceed with caution, even while promoting the virtues of an open society (Long, O'Connell, & Hugins, 2021).

The present study examined the relationship of foreign funding, much of it previously undocumented, to democratic norms and antisemitism in institutions of higher education in the U.S.

Research Questions

In the present report, we examine two potential malevolent consequences of receipt of foreign (Section 117) contributions: 1. erosion of free speech and academic freedom and 2.

antisemitism. How might this work within universities? First, Section 117 funding, especially from hostile regimes, may be used to create a generally intolerant intellectual environment on campus. Second, the funding might be used to support and expand the work of faculty who are willing to violate others' speech rights and/or are antisemitic. Third, the funding might be used to support extremist groups on campus whose activities spill over into violation of others' speech rights and antisemitism.

The funding described herein coincides with both increased illiberal, anti-democratic sentiment on American college and university campuses (FIRE, 2022; Rausch, Redden & Geher, 2023; Stevens, 2022) and antisemitic incidents (Beckwith & Rossman-Benjamin, 2022). The present research addressed whether these trends might be related. Are foreign actors buying influence over the U.S. higher education system to promote their own ideological and political preferences? This study investigates those possibilities. This research provides the first effort to quantitatively examine the potential relationship between Section 117 gifts and contract funding that is often incomplete and non-transparent, anti-democratic trends, and levels of antisemitism on American college and university campuses. Specifically, this work investigates five questions:

1. Does Section 117 gifts and funding forecast increased illiberal, anti-democratic behaviors around campus censorship and suppression of academic freedom?
2. Does Section 117 funding of institutions of higher learning correlate with higher levels of documented antisemitic activity on those campuses?
3. Does the receipt of funds from Middle Eastern regimes or more authoritarian leaning regimes forecast more campus antisemitic activity than contributions from other entities?
4. Is Section 117 funding associated with students' perceptions of antisemitism on campus?
5. How do campus antisemitism and Section 117 funding correspond or interact, if at all, with social media signals and county level antisemitism?

Data and Methods Common Across Studies

Data Sources and Aggregation

We drew on eight data sources at different levels of analysis to investigate our research questions. Institutions were sampled from the 2022 U.S. News and World Report "Best Colleges" rankings for liberal arts colleges and the top one hundred national research universities (n=203). To model geographic patterns of antisemitism more broadly, we used a more-comprehensive dataset of 402 institutions of higher learning across 179 U.S. counties, along with county-level sources on antisemitic activity and population. The data sources drawn upon include:

1. The Federal Bureau of Investigation's (FBI) uniform crime reporting database³

³ FBI Crime Data Explorer, Hate Crime Statistics, 2015-2020, Last accessed March 12, 2022, <https://cde.uccr.cjis.gov/LATEST/webapp/#/pages/home>.

2. The Anti-Defamation League (ADL) Antisemitic Incident Tracker⁴
3. Foundation for Individual Rights and Expression's Scholars Under Fire database⁵
4. Survey data on university students' attitudes toward Israel, allowing controversial speakers on campus, the acceptability of illiberal protest tactics, and their experiences with antisemitism on campus obtained by Prolific
5. Incident data from the AMCHA Initiative⁶
6. County demographic data from ACS 2017⁷
7. The Carnegie Classifications of Institutions of Higher Education (CCIHE) database⁸
8. Investigative accounting from the DOE performed by Michael Bass CPA for the Institute for the Study of Global Antisemitism and Policy (ISGAP) on undocumented funding to campuses⁹

These data sets all possess unique methodological and coverage strengths and limitations. Limitations in one data set are compensated by strengths of another so that, together, they capture important and different dimensions of antisemitism and anti-democratic trends on American university campuses and their surrounding communities. For example, FBI hate crimes are underreported (Pezzella, Fetzer & Keller, 2019). The ADL's Antisemitic Incident Tracker is nationwide, but shows a "spotlight effect" and relies on different methods than law enforcement. AMCHA's records and the survey data analyzed pertain only to campuses.

In this report, we use the term, "expression" to refer to expressions of antisemitism on campus that do not target particular students or Jewish Institutions, such as episodes of antisemitic graffiti, slogans and chants. "Targeting" refers to incidents of antisemitism on campus directed at specific students and institutions. We sometimes refer to foreign funding documented from section 117 reports throughout the report as "foreign funds" or simply "foreign funding" for simplicity.

Study 1: Levels of Foreign Funding

We began by determining the levels of section 117 foreign funding U.S. institutions of higher learning received from foreign governments in 2014-2019. This is the timeframe used because it is the timeframe covered by U.S. Department of Education investigations (Camera, 2020; Dennett, 2019; Thompson et al., 2020).

⁴ ADL H.E.A.T. Map™ (Hate, Extremism, Antisemitism, Terrorism), 2015-2020, Last accessed December 29, 2022, https://www.adl.org/resources/tools-to-track-hate/heat-map?eclid=CjwKCAiAkrWdBhBkEiwAZ9cdcGn5vicrI6lXl4xnyvLGiaMIW7lwOwInk9hJfLfxdNcJYSdzOg56eXxoCc2UQAvD_BwE.

⁵ FIRE's Scholars Under Fire database is available online: <https://www.thefire.org/research-learn/scholars-under-fire>.

⁶ AMCHA Initiative, Incidents, Years 2015-2020, <https://amchainitiative.org/search-by-incident#incident/display-by-date/>.

⁷ <https://www.census.gov/acs/www/data/data-tables-and-tools/data-profiles/2017/>

⁸ The Carnegie Classification of Institutions of Higher Education (n.d.). About Carnegie Classification. Retrieved (date optional) from <https://carnegieclassifications.acenet.edu/>.

⁹ NCRI will provide collected reports from DOE and other underlying documentation for forensic analysis upon request.

In 2019, the Department of Education structured an online portal and issued a call to institutions of higher learning to report on donations from foreign regimes shown to be widespread and many were withheld in violation of federal regulations. The data derived in this research was obtained from these DOE reports of foreign funds. The institutions that received funding (n=293) cumulatively (from 2014 to 2019) obtained a sum total of \$15,763,675,142, from 2014-2019.

Section 117 Funding Sources 2014-2019		U.S. Institutions Receiving the Largest Amounts of Section 117 Funding		U.S. Institutions Receiving the Largest Amounts of Previously Unreported Funding	
Country	Funds	University	Funds	University	Funds
Qatar	\$2,693,008,951	Carnegie Mellon University	\$1,473,036,665	Cornell University	\$950,610,704
England	\$1,394,656,596	Cornell University	\$1,289,433,376	Yale University	\$376,917,577
China	\$1,173,301,694	Harvard University	\$894,533,832	Brigham Young University	\$322,259,863
Saudi Arabia	\$947,593,558	Massachusetts Institute of Technology	\$859,071,692	University of Colorado Boulder	\$294,104,134
Bermuda	\$899,593,972	Texas A&M University	\$521,455,050	University of Texas MD Anderson Cancer Center	\$277,217,163
Hong Kong	\$873,645,599	Yale University	\$495,851,474	Massachusetts Institute of Technology	\$172,524,130
Canada	\$705,879,958	Northwestern University	\$402,316,221	Texas A&M University	\$141,976,889
Japan	\$635,656,787	Johns Hopkins University	\$401,035,647	University of Chicago	\$136,713,349
Switzerland	\$577,656,787	Georgetown University	\$379,950,511	Columbia University in the City of New York	\$80,725,000
India	\$531,735,380	University of Chicago	\$364,544,338	Boston University	\$78,281,379
Germany	\$426,916,662	University of Colorado Boulder	\$345,389,137	New York University	\$68,290,254
United Arab Emirates	\$399,769,602	Duke University	\$343,699,498	University of California, San Diego	\$62,003,116

Table 1.a.
Countries providing the highest levels of
Section 117 funding to U.S. institutions
of higher education.

Table 1.b.
Universities receiving the highest levels of
foreign (Section 117) funds.

Table 1.c.
Universities receiving the highest levels of
previously undisclosed foreign (Section 117)
funds.

The values described above in Tables 1.a., 1.b., and 1.c. are used in all subsequent studies in this paper assessing the relationship of funding to other outcomes.

Study 2: Validation of Measures of Antisemitism

Because one purpose of the present project was to examine whether receipt of Section 117 funding from foreign countries correlates with antisemitism, we needed to first identify credible assessments of antisemitism. Several very different types of organizations provide such assessments. The Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) provides a national assessment of hate crimes, including those against Jews. The Anti-Defamation League (ADL) provides a national assessment of antisemitic incidents, which includes in situ propaganda and attacks. AMCHA is an American nonprofit that describes itself as “dedicated to investigating, documenting, educating about, and combating antisemitism at institutions of higher education in America” (AMCHA Initiative, n.d.). Its activities include monitoring antisemitic and anti-Zionist activities on campuses.

We do not take any particular data source as definitive of antisemitic activity, but combine and compare these models to capture a more holistic picture of the data. For example, the survey sampling college students’ perceptions of antisemitism on their campuses says nothing about such perceptions among the general public. Furthermore, ideal data reporting rarely occurs for tracking hate incidents in general. AMCHA, for instance, has faced criticism for cataloging BDS activity as antisemitic, because to some it is interpreted as human rights activity. But AMCHA data also includes incidents in which students are specifically targeted in the classroom for being Jewish, as well as overt expressions of antisemitism on campus such as swastikas and anti-Jewish slurs. The ADL’s antisemitic incident reports include a variety of incidents including slurs, the display of hate symbols, and violent attacks, but it may lack the same reach of law enforcement-reported incidents, particularly in lower-population areas. We drew from each data source in order to assess whether Section 117 foreign funds may have impacted the incidents reported by those organizations and agencies. It is precisely because each data set has its own limitations that we use all of them. We can, therefore, evaluate the robustness of any findings with respect to differences in data collection across entities.

Methods

Because the FBI, ADL, and AMCHA are organizations with very different missions and approaches to measuring antisemitism, our first objective was to assess the consistency among their reports. Data on antisemitic acts and incidents from the FBI, ADL, and AMCHA were collected from their websites for the years 2015-2020. We first analyzed these data on a county level, using a histogram to assess their distributions and simple Spearman’s correlation coefficients to understand the relationship of their variance. The histogram showed over-dispersal in each variable, with some high outliers in the FBI data.

Results

Figure 1 shows 3 maps of the USA, each colored by the percentile of the count of antisemitic incidents occurring in each county per the titled dataset. The maps reflect: 1. The different overall levels in antisemitism reported by the three sources; and 2. The geographic similarity in the patterns of antisemitism each source reports.

To further assess the degree of overlap between the measures, we assessed the correlation between the three measures by county. Table 2 reports close correlation between reporting systems by county, showing significant overlap. These high correlations are interpretable as indicating that, despite their differences, they are all capturing similar patterns of antisemitism by county.

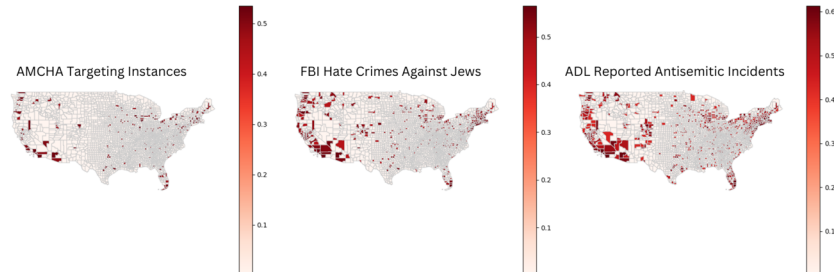


Figure 1. The figure above shows 3 maps of the USA, each colored by the percentile of the count of antisemitic incidents occurring in each county per the titled dataset.

	AMCHA Targeting Instances	FBI Hate Crimes Against Jews	ADL Reported Antisemitic Incidents
AMCHA Targeting Instances	1.000	*	*
FBI Hate Crimes Against Jews	0.480	1.000	*
ADL Reported Antisemitic Incidents	0.527	0.564	1.000

Table 2. Spearman correlation between the percentile counts of antisemitic incidents per dataset.

Study 3. Potential Underlying Mechanisms: Polarization Eroding Campus Conversation

Study 3 examined whether there was a relationship between receipt of Section 117 funding and erosion of liberal democratic values around speech and academic freedom. We therefore began by examining the FIRE’s Scholars Under Fire¹⁰ databases on campaigns targeting academic figures on college campuses. FIRE describes the cases included in this database as follows: “a campus

¹⁰ FIRE’s Scholars Under Fire database (2015-2021) is available online: <https://www.thefire.org/research-learn/scholars-under-fire>. It is, however, constantly being updated so that current data may differ from those reported here. Updated records for these databases will be integrated into future research.

controversy involving efforts to investigate, penalize or otherwise *professionally* sanction a scholar for engaging in constitutionally protected forms of speech. Our definition of a *targeting incident* does not include instances in which the scholar is subjected to harassment and/or intimidation, including death threats, but does not face an attempt at being professionally penalized or sanctioned. Nor does it include cases where the individual(s) or group(s) expresses opposition to a scholar's speech, but does not make any demands that the scholar and/or institution take action to remedy the situation."

We examined whether Section 117 foreign funds might be more broadly associated with ideological incidents of targeting academic scholars for sanction, including campaigns to investigate, censor, demote, suspend or terminate. Research by FIRE has indicated that activities such as these have increased sharply in recent years on college campuses (Honeycutt & Jussim, 2022). FIRE has made their databases publicly available to better investigate the phenomena.

Methods

After initial exploratory data analysis, we modeled the effect of Section 117 foreign funds on a variety of indicators of antisemitic and anti-democratic initiatives on campus. Depending on the dependent variable, we either used the raw amount of funding received by the university or transformed the funding using a logarithm, since the donations were orders of magnitude different from each other (\$10 million vs. a billion).

The data on scholars targeted by campaigns includes 479 incidents between the years 2015-2020, with 278 coming from the left of the scholar and 177 coming from the right of the scholar (24 did not have discernable political characteristics).¹¹ Ivy League universities were overrepresented in the number of incidents on campus, with four schools (Harvard, University of Pennsylvania, Columbia, and Yale) featured in the top 20.

We analyzed these data using a fixed effects ordinary least squares model, using the year as the fixed effect. This enables us to assess the trends from each year, including the impacts of the previous year's funding. We used the Python package statsmodels API to construct the models using the `entity_col` function for year.

Results

Campaigns Against Scholars

Our findings showed that campaigns targeting academic scholars are correlated with the distribution of Section 117 funds by campus (Table 3). This effect was statistically significant and showed correlations between the Section 117 funding and campaigns to suppress or punish speech coming from both the political left and political right of the scholar in question.

Scholars Under Fire

¹¹ "From the left" means the campaign against the speaker came from those to the left of the speaker; "From the right" means the campaign against the speaker came from those to the right of the speaker. In other words, this terminology does not mean that the campaigns themselves are being initiated by the political "left" or "right."

	<i>Dependent variable:</i>		
	Left of Scholar	Right of Scholar	Total
Section 117 funding	3.742e-09** (4.72e-10)	1.378e-09 ** (3.47e-10)	5.12e-09** (5.69e-10)
Constant	-0.146 (0.0753)	0.5944** (0.058)	1.4515** (0.95)
R ²	0.22 +- .03	0.043 +- 0.015	0.241 +- 0.049
Akaike Inf. Crit.	887	721	987

Table 3. Relationship of Targeting Incidents against Academic Speakers from 2015-2020 to Section 117 funding. N=270. Linear Regression coefficients shown; standard errors in parentheses. ** $p < .01$. R² values, shown with std. are cross validated with 5-fold cross validation. The average campus that did not receive Section 117 funding had 1.3 campaigns targeting scholars on average, while campuses that received Section 117 funding had almost double (2.3).

Study 4: Association of Section 117 Funding with Antisemitic Activity

Research suggests that authoritarian, anti-democratic ideologies and practices, are often accompanied by antisemitism (Allington, Hirsh & Katz, 2023). Antisemitism has been referred to as the “canary in the coal mine” for the rise of authoritarian and anti-democratic ideologies worldwide (U.S. House, 2013). Corruption, authoritarianism, and antisemitism often go hand-in-hand (Allington, Hirsh & Katz, 2023; Glasius, 2018). Furthermore, some of the largest contributors of Section 117 funding of institutions of higher education came from Middle East sources, most of which are both authoritarian and have long histories of antisemitic and anti-Zionist agendas. Therefore, Study 4 assessed the relationship between receipt of Section 117 funding and antisemitism. It assessed three specific hypotheses:

Are there heightened levels of antisemitism when:

1. institutions received versus did not receive Section 117 funding?
2. institutions received Section 117 funding from Middle Eastern sources as opposed to other sources?
3. institutions received Section 117 funding from sources from more authoritarian countries than from other sources?

Methods

Of the list of U.S. News and World Report “Best Colleges” (n=203) in our sample one hundred of the set of 203 institutions of higher education that we sampled received Section 117 funding; 18 of these 100 institutions were private and 82 were public universities. The sum of these funds amounted to about \$13 billion from 2014-2019 (see Appendix 1 for totals received by each institution). The median contribution was about \$32 million, and the mean contribution was \$130.6 million. A small subset of the institutions received disproportionately large amounts of the funds. The eight Ivy League schools were disproportionately represented in the highest-funded institutions,

as five of them—Cornell (2nd) and Harvard (3rd), Yale (6th), Stanford (14th), Columbia (16th) and the University of Pennsylvania (18th)—placed in the top twenty overall. The top three universities (Carnegie Mellon, 1st) received an average of \$1.2 billion over this five-year time period, whereas the rest of the top ten averaged \$489 million.

We then created panel data including the years 2015-2020 and included the quantity of antisemitic incidents recorded by AMCHA for each year. We included Section 117 financial contributions as reported by ISGAP, offset by one year to assess the impacts of the previous year's funding on the current year's antisemitism. We further delineated funding from Middle East sources from non-Middle East sources, and funding from the 30 most authoritarian states and those not in the top 30¹² (Table 4).

Analyses were based on antisemitic incidents (as reported by AMCHA) for each of 203 institutions over six years, from 2015-2020.

Thus, each university or college features across six records including a year from 2015-2020 (n=1,218), a quantity of antisemitic or anti-Zionist incidents (targeted antisemitism or expression of antisemitism for the former, and BDS proclamation or protest for the latter), and the previous year's Section 117 funding amount (categorized to distinguish between general funding, Middle East funding, and authoritarian funding).

Summary descriptives for receipt of Section 117 funding

Source:	N	Mean	Maximum
Total funds received by year	447	\$10,758,055	\$853,896,448
30 Most Authoritarian	268	\$1,547,628	\$68,876,904
Countries Not in Top 30	419	\$8,432,505	\$852,896,448
Middle East	217	\$2,993,309	\$181,908,282
Not Middle East	437	\$7,764,555	\$775,639,882

Table 4. N is the total number of times 203 institutions of higher education received Section 117 funding from 2014-2019. Mean is the average Section 117 funding received per institution per year across all years and institutions. Maximum is the most Section 117 funding received by any university in a single year in this time period. There is some overlap between Middle East/non-Middle East and top 30 authoritarian/non-top 30 authoritarian nations' funding by institution per year, since each institution may have received funding from multiple sources in any given year.

Results

Analysis Overview

¹² We labeled "authoritarian" any nation listed by the Economist Intelligence Project's top 30 most authoritarian countries in the world from 2017, plus Russia (https://pages.eiu.com/rs/753-RIO-438/images/Democracy_Index_2017.pdf). Any country outside this list, was labeled as being "not-top 30" for purposes of this project.

Next we sought to understand the relationship between Section 117 funding and campus antisemitic activity. We started by visualizing the dispersion or overdispersion of funding on an institutional level using a histogram. Then, we created campus antisemitic activity panel data by annualizing AMCHA-reported incidents and the binary presence or non-presence of funding during the previous year, moving the incidents forward one year to test whether the previous year's funding correlated to the present year's incidents. We employed fixed-effects, generalized linear models on the institutional level to determine the extent to which Section 117 funds predict the rate of campus antisemitic activity over time, using the year as a fixed effect and taking the log of the total sums of Section 117 funds to compensate for some overdispersion.

Main Findings

Our analysis shows, with a high level of confidence, a correlation between the existence of Section 117 funding and incidents of targeted antisemitism and antisemitic expression on campus (Table 5).

Section 117 Funding: Fixed Effects Linear Regression

VARIABLES	Total	Targeting	Expression	BDS
Log Section 117 Funding	0.152** (0.010)	0.0484** (0.004)	0.0784** (0.005)	0.0255** (0.003)
Constant	0.3399 (0.274)	-0.0115 (0.112)	0.1099 (0.149)	0.2415* (0.094)
R^2 (5-fold validation)	0.164 +- 0.040	0.112 +- 0.033	0.151 +- 0.035	0.016 +- 0.057

Table 5. Fixed Effects Linear Regressions on the relationship of the log of the amount of Section 117 Funding on Antisemitic Activity from 2015-2020. N=1218. ** $p < 0.01$, * $p < 0.05$.

Middle East Funding and Antisemitic Incidents

We then sought to determine if Section 117 funding received from Middle Eastern regimes had a larger impact than other Section 117 monies on antisemitic activity across universities/colleges. Because non-democratic and authoritarian regimes are often associated with ideological and ethnic intolerance, and Middle East states tend to harbor more anti-Israel sentiments, we developed analyses to examine whether Section 117 funding from such sources are contributing to antisemitic activity and BDS. Hence, we ran the same fixed effects linear regressions after splitting the funding variable into institutions of higher learning that accepted funding from Middle Eastern regimes and all other Section 117 monies (Table 6a). We then ran the same analysis controlling for additional variables in the model to ensure robustness, the student enrollment numbers in universities/colleges, whether the institution is a liberal arts college,¹³ and the presence of the group Students for Justice in Palestine (SJP) on campus (Tables 6b).

In the limited model (Table 6a), Middle East funds proved more correlated in each instance, except when dealing with targeted incidents. In the more expansive model however (Table 6b),

¹³ We selected this control variable in case liberal arts colleges systematically differ from research oriented universities in proneness to antisemitic attitudes or incidents.

funding from Middle Eastern sources forecasted more antisemitic incidents on campus. Funding from countries outside of the Middle East became insignificant when controlling for variables like rank and enrollment. Presence of SJP groups also significantly correlated with antisemitic activity, as did enrollment levels in some cases. In its entirety, these findings suggest a diverse set of variables which forecast antisemitic activity on campus, and the significance of Middle Eastern funding appears robust even when controlling for these variables.

Section 117 Money: Relations to Campus Antisemitism Without Control Variables

VARIABLES	Total	Targeting	Expression	BDS
Middle East Funds (Binary)	2.6349** (0.346)	0.7125** (0.143)	1.4256** (0.148)	0.4968** (0.096)
Non-Middle East Funds (Binary)	2.0946** (0.346)	0.7327** (0.143)	1.0310** (0.151)	0.331** (0.096)
Constant	0.3775 (0.271)	-0.0002 (0.112)	0.1327 (0.148)	0.2450** (0.094)

Table 6a. Fixed Effects OLS Regressions with logged explanatory variables examining the Impact of Middle Eastern Money on Antisemitic Activity from 2015-2020 using a yearly effect. Variables on antisemitic activity from AMCHA; variables on funding from ISGAP. Standard errors in parentheses. N=1218. ** $p < 0.01$, * $p < 0.05$.

Section 117 Money: Relationship to Antisemitism with Controls

VARIABLES	Total	Targeting	Expression	BDS
Middle East Money (Binary)	1.9827** (0.328)	0.5229** (0.19)	1.0771** (0.182)	0.3826** (0.12)
Non-Middle East Money (Binary)	0.3182 (0.311)	0.106 (0.132)	0.1735 (0.172)	0.0388 (0.114)
Enrollment	4.44e-05** (1.18e-05)	2.311e-05** (5.03e-06)	1.471e-05* (6.54e-06)	6.585e-06 (4.33e-06)
Liberal Arts College	-0.1548 (0.297)	-0.0474 (0.126)	-0.178 (0.164)	0.0707 (0.109)
SJP	2.3944** (0.248)	0.6738** (0.105)	1.18** (0.137)	0.5406** (0.091)
Rank	-0.0197** (0.004)	-0.0052** (0.002)	-0.0107** (0.002)	-0.0037* (0.001)
Constant	0.5115 (0.446)	-0.037 (0.19)	0.3713 (0.247)	0.182 (0.164)

Table 6b. A Fixed Effects OLS regression with logged explanatory variables showing the impact of the presence of Section 117 Funds on Antisemitic Campus Activities, Divided into both Middle Eastern Regimes Hostile to Israel and Non-Middle Eastern Regimes, and Added Control Variables. Coefficients on top show incidence rate ratios, below are coefficients. Standard errors in parentheses. N=1218. ** $p < 0.01$, * $p < 0.05$.

Authoritarian Funds and Antisemitic Incidents

From the observations on the influence of Middle East funding sources, we sought to develop a similar model to test the impacts of authoritarian countries. For this, we isolated funding from the Economist Intelligence Project's top 30 most authoritarian countries in the world from 2017, plus Russia. Having divided funding among 30 most-authoritarian nations and nations not in the top 30, we utilized the same variables as above to assess the significance of authoritarian funds. We found that, whereas authoritarian funding is significant across the board in relation to AMCHA's variables indicating antisemitism or anti-Zionist sentiment, funding from countries who are not in the 30 top authoritarian nations appeared less significant in most of the limited model (Table 7a) but were insignificant in the expanded model with better controls (Table 7b). As in Middle East funding, the presence of SJP chapters registered as similarly significant across the board.

Section 117 Funds: Association with Antisemitism

VARIABLES	Total	Targeting	Expression	BDS
Top 30 Authoritarian Funds (Binary)	2.3538** (0.352)	0.6195** (0.145)	1.146** (0.193)	0.5884** (0.121)
Not in Top 30 Authoritarian Funds (Binary)	2.0000** (0.308)	0.7193** 0.127	1.0086** (0.169)	0.2721* (0.106)
Constant	0.3539 (0.272)	-0.006 (0.112)	0.1362 (0.149)	0.2237* (0.093)

Table 7a. Fixed Effects OLS Regressions examining the impact of the presence of Authoritarian Money on Antisemitic Activity from 2015-2020 using a yearly effect. Variables on antisemitic activity from AMCHA; binary variables on funding from ISGAP. Standard errors in parentheses. N=1218. ** $p < 0.01$, * $p < 0.05$.

Association of Section 117 Money with Antisemitism: Model with Controls

VARIABLES	Total	Targeting	Expression	BDS
Top 30 Authoritarian Money (Binary)	1.5439** (0.338)	0.3140* (0.143)	0.7384** (0.188)	0.4915** (0.123)
Not in Top 30 Money (Binary)	0.3661 (0.317)	0.1891 (0.135)	0.1532 (0.176)	0.0238 (0.115)
Enrollment	3.815e-05* * (1.17e-05)	2.162e-05** (4.98e-06)	1.218e-05 (6.52e-06)	4.249e-06 4.26e-06
Liberal Arts College	-0.2875 (0.29)	-0.0856 (0.123)	-0.2998 0.161	0.0979 (0.106)
SJP	2.3658** (0.25)	0.6639** (0.106)	1.1743** (0.139)	0.5277** (0.091)
Rank	-0.0213** (0.004)	-0.0056** (0.002)	-0.0121** (0.002)	-0.0036* (0.001)
Constant	0.7254 (0.437)	0.0145 (0.185)	0.5560* (0.243)	0.1550 (0.159)

Table 7b. A Fixed

Effects OLS Regression on the impact of the presence of Section 117 Funds on Antisemitic Campus Activities, Divided into both Authoritarian Regimes Less Authoritarian Regimes, and Added Control Variables. Standard errors in parentheses. $N=1218$. ** $p < 0.01$.

Study 5: Survey on Relationship of Section 117 Funding to Student Perceptions of Antisemitism

Study 4 showed that Section 117 funding of higher education was associated with increased levels of antisemitic activity on campus as per the AMCHA database. Unfortunately, neither the ADL nor FBI provide data on campus antisemitism per se, and all such individual databases have important limitations. Therefore, Study 5 addressed this issue using an entirely different methodology. Specifically, we conducted a survey of college students at institutions that either did or did not receive Section 117 funding. On that survey, we assessed their experiences with antisemitism on their campus. We then assessed whether Section 117 funding predicted their reported experience with antisemitism.

Methods

Sample

A national survey of college students was conducted by Prolific. 1,816 students nationwide were asked about their experience with antisemitism at their institutions, and 1,760 from 215 colleges and universities completed all measures.

No demographic information beyond whether they were college students was collected (and only college students were included in the sample).

Measures

After answering a few filler questions (such as their views of campus climate), respondents proceeded to five questions assessing their experiences with antisemitism on their campus. Specifically, they were asked:

How frequently is the following sentiment expressed at your university campus or in your classes? (1 never; 2 rarely; 3 sometimes; 4 often)

1. Saying Israel has no right to exist as a Jewish country
2. Drawing comparisons of contemporary Israeli policy to that of the Nazis
3. Saying that the U.S. government only supports Israel because of Jewish money
4. Saying American Jews care more about Israel than the U.S.
5. Boycotting Jewish organizations because they have a connection to Israel

These specific questions were selected because they tap into well-documented antisemitic and anti-Zionist tropes (e.g., Anti-Defamation League, 2023; Burley, 2019; Jussim, Ross, Goldenberg, Finkelstein, Suddhakar; Ramos & Glover, 2023; Kaufman, Shayshon & Levy, 2021; Sunshine, 2019; Tabarovsky, 2022).

Analysis

To analyze the data, we used a Welch's t-test adjusted for unequal variances between responses. We classified the survey response schools based on whether or not they received funds. We then developed a data set with two separate columns for each answer variable, including responses from those that did receive and those that did not receive Section 117 funds. Finally, we used a t-test to determine statistical significance of differences between the means of the two distributions for each question variable. We utilized a Welch's t-test in the stats package in R, because the compared columns contained different variances and different sample sizes, so the degrees of freedom are adjusted accordingly. We plotted the sample means with standard error bars using ggplot in R.

Results

Our first set of analyses compared students' reported experiences with antisemitism among those attending universities that received Section 117 funds (n=872) with those from universities that did not (n=901). Students at universities receiving Section 117 funding reported hearing all five types of antisemitism significantly more often at colleges and universities that did not (see Figure 2, Table 8).

Outcome:	Section 117 Funding (Mean, SE)	No Section 117 Funding (Mean, SE)	t, df, p-value	Effect size (d)
Israel has no right to exist	1.36 0.02	1.21 0.02	t(1656.3)=5.65, p< .001	d = 0.27
U.S. supports Israel because of Jewish money	1.24 0.02	1.17 0.02	t(1731.2)=2.36, p=0.018	d = 0.11
Israelis compared to Nazis	1.23 0.02	1.17 0.02	t(1727)=2.54, p=0.011	d = 0.12
American Jews care more about Israel than the U.S.	1.24 0.02	1.16 0.02	t(1706.5)=3.03, p=.003	d = 0.14
Boycott Jewish organizations	1.32 0.02	1.18 0.02	t(1660.3)= 4.90, p<.001	d = 0.23

Table 8. Welch's t-tests to determine whether responses from individuals from schools receiving Section 117 funding have different means from those that do not receive funding.

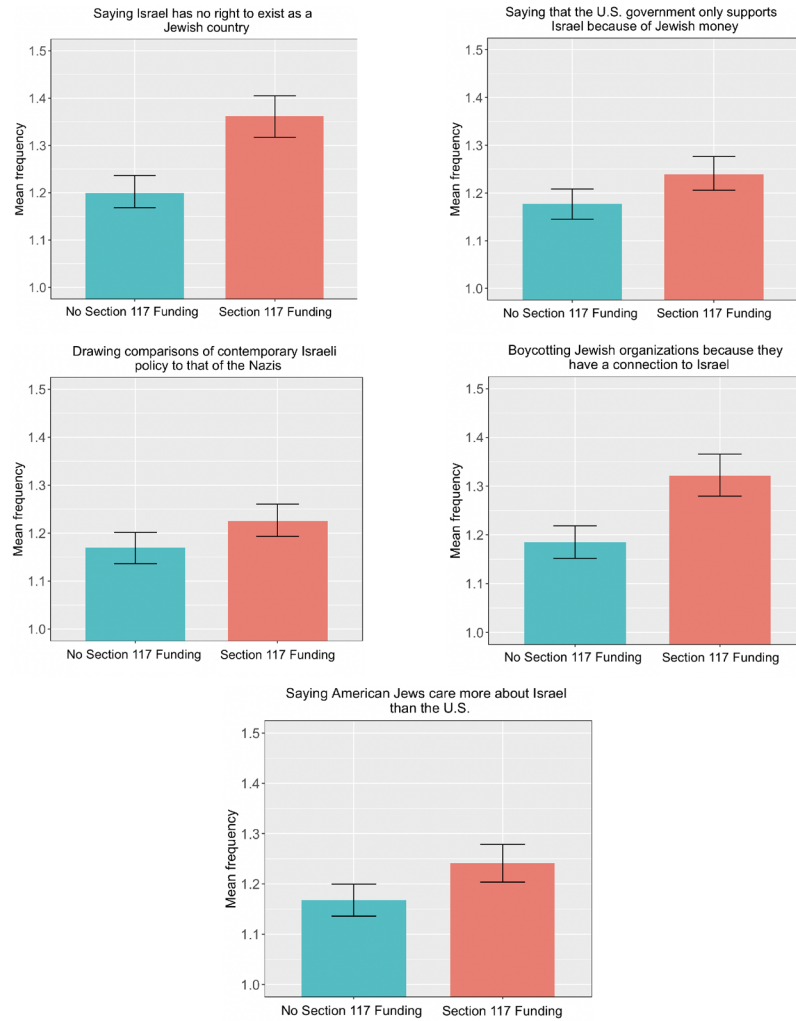


Figure 2. Mean frequency refers to the frequency with which students reported having heard the antisemitic statements shown. Students from institutions that report Section 117 funding reported hearing significantly more antisemitic statements than students at institutions which do not report Section 117 funding.

Study 6: Antisemitism From Computer to Campus and from Campus To County

Might campus antisemitic activity be upstream of broader antisemitic trends and how does it interact with social media trends, which are known to be highly relevant to young adults? One possibility is that Section 117 funds on campuses could lead to changes in antisemitic campus and youth culture, which could then lead to a spill out effect from campus to county. These same changes in youth culture, might “sensitize” students to respond more strongly to high-valence social media activity. To better understand these relationships we set out to examine 2 hypotheses: That campus antisemitism precedes and predicts antisemitism in the surrounding county and that antisemitic reactivity is higher in campuses receiving Section 117 funds when high valence social media activity targeting Israel is present.

Methods

FBI Data on Antisemitic Hate Crimes

The FBI data on hate crimes against Jews from 2015-2020 was downloaded from the Uniform Crime Reporting database, which has maintained data on hate crimes since 1991. In 2021, the FBI counted 11,834 reporting agencies, including federal, metropolitan, state, and county jurisdictions. Some universities reported hate crimes, but few classroom incidents reported by AMCHA are assessed as FBI criminal reports, so the two can be taken as distinct datasets in the modeling environment.

AMCHA Data on Antisemitic Expression and Targeting

AMCHA-reported incidents were downloaded from their website and integrated into a daily time series table with FBI reports using INDEX and MATCH functions in Excel. As described above, the Expression incidents feature expressions of antisemitic beliefs in the classroom, whereas Targeting incidents indicate the picking out of a specific person or group because of their Jewishness.

Results

Preliminary Analyses

Table 9a summarizes the FBI and AMCHA data on antisemitism in time series datasets documenting discrete incidents of campus antisemitism (AMCHA) and hate crimes against Jews (FBI). Table 9b summarizes the Twitter data on “#israelapartheid” and the antisemitic incidents at institutions that did versus those that did not receive Section 117 funding from Middle East sources.

	Total	Mean	Maximum	Median
FBI	5,070	2.31	17	2
AMCHA (Expression)	1,794	0.82	18	0
AMCHA (Targeted)	1,384	0.63	22	0

Table 9a: Summary statistics for antisemitism over time, from 2015-2020

	Total	Mean	Maximum	Median
"Apartheid" on Twitter	3,144,522.5	1,434.5	13,434	1,234
Incidents at institutions that received funding from Middle East Sources	759	0.83	32	0
Incidents at institutions that did not receive funding from Middle East Sources	804	0.88	70	0

Table 9b: Descriptive Statistics on Twitter data and antisemitic incidents data.

Does Antisemitism on Campus Predict Antisemitism in the Surrounding County?

We set out to examine the relationship between FBI reported hate crimes against Jews and campus specific antisemitic incidents to determine whether one is useful in forecasting the other. To do so, we deployed Granger Causality, a statistical time-series analysis which includes lagged variables. First we ran Augmented Dickey Fuller unit root tests to ensure that the time series data was not stationary, and in every case, that proved true. Then, we ran vector autoregression tests to assess appropriate lag values, settling on Akaike information criterion (AIC) as the best goodness of fit. We further examined daily time series data for the term "#israelapartheid" on Twitter in relation to expressed and targeted antisemitic incidents on campus from January 1, 2020 to June 30, 2022. Splitting up the daily counts of incidents between whether they happened on universities that did and did not receive funding, we obtained daily counts of incidents based on the origin of funding (Figure 2).

The key Granger Causality results are shown in Table 10. In the years 2015-2020 targeted instances of antisemitism on campus appear to forecast FBI-reported hate crimes ($p < 0.001$), and vice versa ($p = 0.004$), suggesting these trends influence one another. However, we found that non-targeted expressions of antisemitism such as slogans, graffiti or flyers help forecast FBI reported hate crimes against Jews ($p = 0.05$), and not the other way around (Figure 3). These findings suggest that the expression of antisemitic graffiti, slogans and fliers on campus may be upstream indicators for broader, county-level trends in antisemitic hate crimes recorded by the FBI.

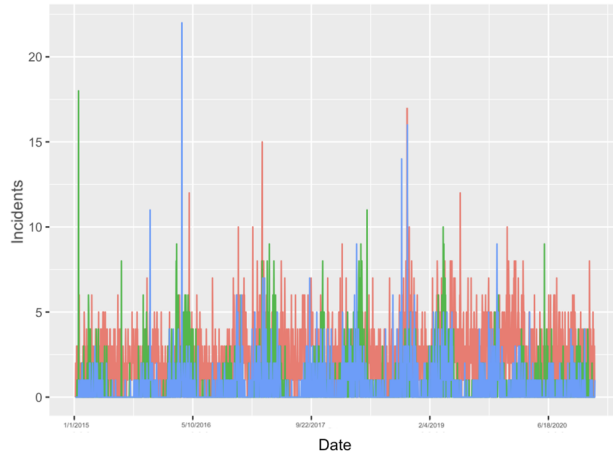


Figure 2. Trace activity from 2015-2020 of FBI hate crimes and campus (targeted and non-targeted antisemitic incidents) by week. The expression of antisemitism on campus (green) and targeted antisemitism on campus (blue) often precedes FBI reported antisemitic hate crimes (red).

	Caused by FBI Reported Hate Crimes Against Jews	Causes FBI Reported Hate Crimes Against Jews	Caused by ADL Reported Antisemitic Incidents	Causes ADL Reported Antisemitic Incidents
Campus Targeted Incidents	$p = 0.0027^{**}$	$p < 0.0001^{**}$	$p = 0.0915$	$p = 0.8639$
Campus Antisemitic Expression	$p = 0.179$	$p = 0.039^{**}$	$p = 0.9942$	$p = 0.8918$

Table 10. Granger causality analysis shows that campus targeted incidents and regional antisemitic hate crimes follow from one another, but expression of antisemitism in the form of fliers, slogans or graffiti appears as an early indicator for antisemitic hate crimes as reported by the FBI (January 2015-December 2020) and the ADL (November 2019-December 2020). $^{**} p < 0.01$, $^* p < 0.05$

We next sought to understand how social media activity might correlate with antisemitic activity on campus and how concealed funding might play in such a relationship. We thus further developed another time series with the same range, this time incorporating data including Twitter posts including the hashtag “#Israelapartheid”, alongside two variables including the quantity of antisemitic incidents on campus recorded by AMCHA divided into those that received and those that did not receive Section 117 funding. Using a negative binomial count model to account for overdispersion regarding the different source groups as independent variables, we found campus antisemitic activity was correlated to the use of the Twitter hashtag at significant levels but the effect size was larger in schools that received undisclosed funding (Table 11).

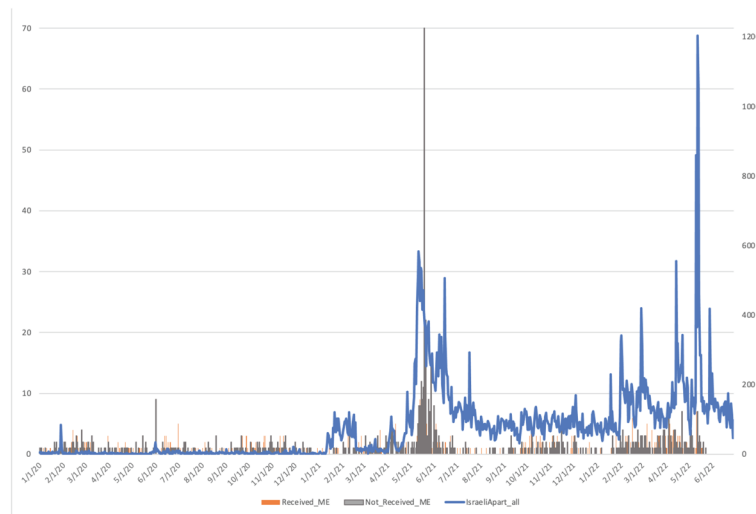


Figure 3. Daily incidents from institutions of higher learning that did (orange) and did not (gray) receive Section 117 funding in relation to the trends of “#IsraelApartheid” on Twitter (secondary axis, blue line).

Funds from Middle East Regimes and Antisemitic Incidents

Dependent variable:

	#IsraeliApartheid Count (1)
Daily count of antisemitic incidents at Universities that Received Section 117 Funds	0.23** (0.06)
Daily count of antisemitic incidents at Universities that Did Not Receive Section 117 Funds	0.04 (0.03)
Constant	4.00** (0.006)
Observations	911
Log Likelihood	-4,511.2
Akaike Inf. Crit.	9,030.4

Standard errors in parentheses

** $p < 0.01$, * $p < 0.05$

Table 11. Negative Binomial Regression on the correlation between daily counts of #IsraeliApartheid on Twitter with antisemitic incidents that occurred in institutions of higher learning that received funding and in those that did not on the same day.

Our findings support the hypothesis that campus institutional antisemitism does not remain isolated to the university, but impacts broader regional activity, spilling out from campus to county. Furthermore, our findings indicate that undisclosed funding tends to create more amenable conditions for antisemitic incidents to conjoin with high valence online signaling.

General Discussion

In this report, we explored ways in which Section 117 funding received by colleges and universities predicts both antisemitism and the erosion of liberal democratic norms around suppression of speech. Key findings include:

1. Major institutions of higher learning in the U.S. received billions of dollars from foreign regimes, with significant contributions from Middle Eastern and Authoritarian regimes. Substantial portions of this funding were previously unreported.
2. Receipt of Section 117 funding was related to:
 - a. an illiberal environment on campuses, in which scholars and campus speakers were more likely to be targeted for punishment by activist campaigns.
 - b. reports of exposure to both antisemitic rhetoric and the demonization of Israel.
 - c. higher levels of antisemitic acts on campus—a relationship that was even stronger if the Section 117 funding came from countries in the Middle East

3. Section 117 funding predicted the relationship between social media signals on Twitter and antisemitic reactivity on campus.

Limitations and Directions for Future Research

As the first large-scale and data-driven report that links these factors this work has notable limitations. Because our analyses were entirely correlational, we cannot make clear claims about causal directions. Whether illiberal campuses attract Section 117 funding, Section 117 funding causes illiberalism, some third variable (such as university status) causes both, or some combination of causes combine in complex ways cannot be determined by our analyses. Identifying causal directions is an important area for future research.

The present research also did not assess why some of the funding went unreported for years, until the U.S. Department of Education began deliberations for conducting an investigation. Therefore, whether this occurred because of innocent oversights, managerial incompetence, overly complex bureaucratic reporting requirements, political agendas, or corruption – or some combination of these or other reasons – was not determined by the present research. Indeed, it is possible that foreign funding went unreported for different reasons at different institutions. The purpose of the present research was to investigate social and political phenomena related to receipt of Section 117 funding; its purpose was not to investigate how or why some of it initially went unreported.

Another limitation is that we only examined relations of receipt of total funds eventually reported under Section 117 from foreign sources with manifestations of illiberalism. But those total funds could be divided into two pools: 1. Funds initially received and transparently reported; 2. Funds that went unreported until the DOE began deliberating investigations in institutions of higher education for failing to report all foreign funding required under Section 117. Whether transparently reported funding is associated with liberal democratic norms around speech and antisemitism in a manner that differs from initially unreported funding was not addressed in the current report. Regardless, without direct comparisons of how documented versus previously unreported funding relates to illiberalism, no conclusions are justified on the basis of this report regarding whether receipt of previously unreported funding is more or less strongly associated with illiberal campus developments. Such comparisons would be invaluable in future research.

As the first investigation (of which we are aware) of how receipt of Section 117 funds relates to campus liberal democratic norms, the present research was exploratory, rather than confirmatory. Therefore, all findings should be viewed as introductory and a first step to further research on this topic by other social science teams.

Finally, though a significant portion of funds were previously undisclosed, we did not break out money that was disclosed in a timely fashion, vs funding that was previously undisclosed by universities to examine differences in outcomes for campus antisemitism or polarization with such funds specifically. Future research is under preparation to itemize these and segregate these discrepancies to analyze differential outcomes.

Implications, Speculations, and Future Research

This report raises the sobering possibility that international actors are using undisclosed channels to funnel large amounts of money into college campuses (including elite institutions that often have outsized influence on American culture and politics) for purposes harmful to the democratic norms of pluralism, tolerance, and freedom. There clearly has been an erosion of democratic norms on campuses (self-censorship; censorship by scientists; disinvitations rising; abandonment of free speech/academic freedom by academics). These developments are surely complex and multiply determined. One possibility, however, is that receipt of Section 117 funding from foreign sources, especially authoritarian ones, has contributed to these developments.

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APPENDIX 1: Institutional level

<u>Institutions</u>	<u>Funding</u>
Carnegie Mellon University	1,473,036,665
Cornell University	1,289,433,376
Harvard University	894,533,832
Massachusetts Institute of Technology	859,071,692
Texas A&M University	521,455,050
Yale University	495,851,474
Northwestern University	402,316,221
Johns Hopkins University	401,035,647
Georgetown University	379,950,511
University of Chicago (The)	364,544,338
University of Colorado Boulder	345,389,137
Duke University	343,699,498
Brigham Young University	323,509,863
Stanford University	319,561,362
University of Texas MD Anderson Cancer Center	301,527,419
University of Southern California	297,018,636
Columbia University in the City of New York	295,506,012
University of California, Berkeley	294,229,904
University of Pennsylvania	292,730,761
University of Michigan - Ann Arbor	287,336,783
New York University	263,120,883
University of California, Los Angeles	241,330,072
Northeastern University	209,612,629
Boston University	208,481,283
George Washington University	157,668,354
University of Phoenix	155,070,846

California Institute of Technology	150,183,084
University of California, San Diego	131,941,755
Rice University	127,016,688
Arizona State University	112,606,405
Princeton University	107,855,430
University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign	103,351,540
University of Washington - Seattle	90,202,451
Virginia Commonwealth University	89,163,583
University of Arkansas	86,632,281
University of Texas at Austin	85,858,408
Georgia Institute of Technology	77,979,361
Purdue University	75,504,368
Indiana University - Purdue University Indianapolis	73,313,006
Williams College	73,110,507
San Diego State University	71,121,817
Rutgers, the State University of New Jersey	59,294,927
Ohio State University (The)	58,277,670
Dartmouth College	54,451,481
University of Delaware	52,031,064
Oregon Health & Science University	51,804,595
University of Arizona (The)	49,219,296
University of Pittsburgh	49,024,123
Indiana University - Bloomington	48,487,128
Saint John's University	47,634,332
University of Notre Dame	46,652,439
University of Maryland, Baltimore	46,606,037
Temple University	46,121,994
Vanderbilt University	45,581,221
University of California, San Francisco	45,376,390

New York Institute of Technology	44,646,055
George Mason University	44,320,257
Babson College	43,776,133
Pennsylvania State University (The)	43,458,897
University of Iowa	43,285,554
University of California, Irvine	42,961,430
University of North Carolina - Chapel Hill	41,292,544
Boise State University	40,255,604
Tufts University	40,126,640
School of the Art Institute of Chicago	40,003,260
Kean University	39,148,779
Western International University	38,826,482
Eastern Washington University	37,532,091
Chamberlain University	37,093,314
Boston College	36,654,370
Whittier College	36,237,000
Emory University	36,100,743
Brown University	34,839,308
University of Kansas	33,560,295
University of Minnesota - Twin Cities	32,947,045
Ball State University	32,334,248
University of California, Davis	32,028,791
Washington University in St. Louis	30,996,146
Kansas State University	30,879,041
DePaul University	29,528,842
University of California, Santa Barbara	28,640,020
University of Colorado Denver	28,393,144
Oregon State University	26,357,408
University of Oklahoma	25,725,486

Central Michigan University	25,175,713
University of Kentucky	24,971,560
Rensselaer Polytechnic Institute	24,924,830
Colorado State University	23,985,191
Washington State University	23,975,181
North Carolina State University	23,762,788
University of Alabama	23,626,197
University of Wisconsin - Madison	22,945,761
University of Virginia	22,189,238
Drexel University	21,828,454
California State University, East Bay	21,128,003
Chapman University	20,956,280
Teachers College, Columbia University	20,817,997
University of Miami	18,745,285
West Virginia University	18,509,865
Syracuse University	18,050,730
University of Toledo	17,963,388
University of Georgia	17,797,759
Wichita State University	17,287,541
Johnson & Wales University	16,367,685
Western Michigan University	15,914,064
Juilliard School (The)	15,238,905
University of Louisville	15,088,506
Spartan College of Aeronautics and Technology	13,368,010
Iowa State University of Science & Technology	13,211,508
University of Rochester	13,068,703
Mayo Clinic College of Medicine and Science	12,702,624
Ohio University	12,648,082
University of New Hampshire	12,252,707

University of Texas at Dallas	12,239,876
Virginia Polytechnic Institute & State University	11,792,062
University of Florida	11,464,228
University of Hawaii at Manoa	11,235,118
Northwood University	11,159,755
University of Texas at Arlington	10,900,984
Hult International Business School	10,693,624
University of California, Riverside	10,500,404
Curtis Institute of Music	10,000,000
MCPHS University	9,954,332
University of Colorado Colorado Springs	9,293,748
Texas Tech University	9,267,686
University of New Haven	9,206,730
Michigan State University	9,154,652
Soka University of America	9,113,797
University of Oregon	9,026,834
California State University, Fresno	8,854,772
University of Missouri - Columbia	8,604,797
University of South Alabama	8,537,196
California State Polytechnic University, Pomona	8,163,467
Winthrop University	8,109,782
University of Houston	8,095,807
University of Texas Health Science Center at Houston	7,565,896
University of Alabama at Birmingham	7,190,988
Loyola University Chicago	7,148,217
Miami University	6,927,637
University of Denver	6,850,876
Missouri University of Science and Technology	6,721,969
University of Connecticut	6,697,718

University of Utah	6,551,764
University of Tennessee	6,458,377
Rochester Institute of Technology	6,421,819
New School, The	6,282,174
Culinary Institute of America	6,045,827
Missouri State University	5,979,661
University of Texas Southwestern Medical Center (The)	5,900,144
Berkeley College	5,899,803
Campbellsville University	5,750,133
University of Missouri - Kansas City	5,697,739
Haverford College	5,554,548
California State University, Los Angeles	5,409,852
University of North Texas	5,283,725
University of California, Santa Cruz	5,215,319
University of Dayton	5,183,399
Indiana University of Pennsylvania	5,153,291
University of Cincinnati	5,145,711
Wake Forest University	5,026,211
Saint Louis University	5,020,233
Clemson University	4,912,287
North Dakota State University - Fargo	4,848,361
California State University, Fullerton	4,644,036
California State University Maritime Academy	4,619,004
Biola University	4,463,027
California State University, San Bernardino	4,452,375
University of Nebraska at Omaha	4,324,674
Indiana State University	4,291,189
University of Tulsa (The)	4,264,346
Albert Einstein College of Medicine	4,252,385

Midwestern State University	4,200,000
University of Northern Iowa	4,117,945
University of Maryland, College Park	3,919,324
Berklee College of Music	3,750,000
Claremont McKenna College	3,749,803
University of Vermont and State Agricultural College	3,665,489
Rush University	3,613,341
American University (The)	3,489,000
Keck Graduate Institute of Applied Life Sciences	3,454,342
College of William & Mary	3,384,498
University of Texas Health Science Center at San Antonio	3,298,546
CUNY Bernard M. Baruch College	3,201,465
New Jersey Institute of Technology	3,187,199
California State University, Northridge	2,881,586
Graceland University	2,873,580
Jacksonville University	2,838,302
Columbia College Chicago	2,770,210
Alfred University	2,711,699
Barnard College	2,700,000
Middlebury College	2,689,528
DigiPen Institute of Technology	2,547,978
California State University, Bakersfield	2,366,777
Lamar University	2,308,232
Pace University	2,264,746
Kent State University	2,214,473
Gonzaga University	2,189,779
Keuka College	2,177,417
Gustavus Adolphus College	2,107,800
Bryant University	2,063,621

New Mexico State University	2,045,147
Regis College	2,000,000
Erikson Institute	1,985,034
Hawaii Pacific University	1,896,240
University of Missouri - Saint Louis	1,890,492
Worcester Polytechnic Institute	1,866,477
University of Texas at San Antonio	1,864,375
University of Nebraska Medical Center	1,845,055
California State University, Chico	1,840,398
University of Nebraska	1,760,841
Wright State University	1,693,644
California Institute of Advanced Management	1,675,000
University of Idaho	1,672,208
Smith College	1,610,875
Washington Adventist University	1,581,497
Southern New Hampshire University	1,564,566
University of Illinois at Chicago	1,557,227
Westmont College	1,500,000
Rhode Island School of Design	1,500,000
Westminster Theological Seminary	1,467,620
Auburn University Montgomery	1,419,838
University of Wyoming	1,386,651
Middle Tennessee State University	1,369,959
University of Northern Colorado	1,309,306
Niagara University	1,300,858
University of Massachusetts - Amherst	1,273,915
University of North Texas Health Science Center at Fort Worth	1,261,996
Pomona College	1,255,000
Wellesley College	1,243,736

Northern Illinois University	1,223,418
University of Indianapolis	1,189,518
University of Maine	1,175,469
St. Lawrence University	1,152,300
Kennesaw State University	1,119,364
California State University, Long Beach	1,107,987
Midway University	1,057,500
Michigan Technological University	1,025,590
Presidio Graduate School	1,000,002
Lawrence University of Wisconsin	999,977
California State University, San Marcos	992,445
Northern Arizona University	949,163
Moravian College	947,401
Marian University	931,000
California State University - Sacramento	915,732
Northeastern State University	898,471
Valparaiso University	885,690
Des Moines Area Community College	883,435
Stevens Institute of Technology	805,306
Bucknell University	788,432
Amherst College	778,723
Oral Roberts University	764,059
Tulane University	750,188
Xavier University of Louisiana	706,193
Santa Clara University	686,943
University of Tennessee Health Science Center	681,000
Cornell College	655,662
Cleveland State University	655,027
United States Sports Academy	590,000

University of Mississippi	587,636
Towson University	560,951
Columbia Southern University	545,720
Bentley University	535,342
Wesleyan College	500,000
Adelphi University	500,000
Swarthmore College	500,000
University of the South (The)	500,000
Troy University	463,657
Missouri Southern State University	461,603
Murray State University	436,999
Rose - Hulman Institute of Technology	432,277
Young Americans College of the Performing Arts (The)	421,583
Norwich University	394,566
University of Akron (The)	392,822
Georgia Southern University	364,000
San Jose State University	357,370
Corban University	350,000
San Francisco State University	345,653
University of North Carolina - Charlotte	326,486
University of Hawaii at Hilo	320,000
Brandeis University	300,000
University of Portland	300,000
Wayne State University	299,895
California State University, Dominguez Hills	299,605
Yeshiva University	297,397
Marquette University	295,048
Villanova University	264,466
Bates College	250,000

Beth Medrash Govoha of America	250,000
Jacksonville State University	250,000
University of California, Merced	182,514
University of Central Oklahoma	160,288
Metropolitan State University	136,657
University of Jamestown	500

APPENDIX 2: County Level

<u>County, State</u>	<u>Section 117 Funds</u>
Middlesex, Massachusetts	1,832,921,876
Allegheny, Pennsylvania	1,522,060,788
Tompkins, New York	1,289,433,376
Cook, Illinois	851,481,656
New York, New York	615,329,382
Los Angeles, California	559,281,402
District of Columbia, District of Columbia	541107865
Brazos, Texas	521455050
New Haven, Connecticut	505058204
Harris, Texas	444205810
Suffolk, Massachusetts	423117827
Baltimore County, Maryland	401596598
Philadelphia, Pennsylvania	370681209
Boulder, Colorado	345389137
Durham, North Carolina	343699498
Utah, Utah	323509863
Santa Clara, California	320605675

Alameda, California	315357907
Maricopa, Arizona	306503733
Washtenaw, Michigan	287336783
Merced, California	241330072
Santa Barbara, California	133441755
Mercer, New Jersey	107855430
Champaign, Illinois	103351540
King, Washington	92750429
Richmond City, Virginia	89163583
Washington, Arkansas	86632281
Travis, Texas	85858408
San Diego, California	82797180
San Francisco, California	78750836
Fulton, Georgia	77979361
Tippecanoe, Indiana	75504368
Worcester, Massachusetts	74976984
Marion, Indiana	74244006
Middlesex, New Jersey	59294927
Franklin, Ohio	58277670
St. Louis County, Missouri	54971327
Providence, Rhode Island	54770614
Grafton, New Hampshire	54451481
Multnomah, Oregon	52104595
New Castle, Delaware	52031064
Pima, Arizona	49219296
Hampshire, Massachusetts	48995635
Monroe, Indiana	48487128
Queens, New York	47634332
St. Joseph, Indiana	46652439

Davidson, Tennessee	45581221
Nassau, New York	45146055
Johnson, Iowa	44475072
Fairfax County, Virginia	44320257
Norfolk, Massachusetts	43776133
Centre, Pennsylvania	43458897
Buncombe, North Carolina	41292544
Ada, Idaho	40255604
Spokane, Washington	39721870
Union, New Jersey	39148779
DeKalb, Georgia	36100743
Denver, Colorado	35380677
Orange, California	34714113
Douglas, Kansas	33560295
Hennepin, Minnesota	32947045
Delaware, Indiana	32334248
Riley, Kansas	30879041
Santa Cruz, California	28640020
Benton, Oregon	26357408
Cleveland, Oklahoma	25725486
Isabella, Michigan	25175713
Fayette, Kentucky	24971560
Albany, New York	24924830
Larimer, Colorado	23985191
Wake, North Carolina	23762788
Madison, Alabama	23626197
Dane, Wisconsin	22945761
Albemarle, Virginia	22189238
Monroe, New York	19490522

Miami-Dade, Florida	18745285
Monongalia, West Virginia	18509865
Tulsa, Oklahoma	18396415
Dallas, Texas	18140020
Onondaga, New York	18050730
Lucas, Ohio	17963388
Clarke, Georgia	17797759
Wichita, Kansas	17287541
Kalamazoo, Michigan	15914064
Jefferson, Kentucky	15088506
Story, Iowa	13211508
Olmsted, Minnesota	12702624
Athens, Ohio	12648082
Strafford, New Hampshire	12252707
Tarrant, Texas	12162980
Montgomery, Ohio	11881117
Montgomery, Virginia	11792062
Alachua, Florida	11464228
Midland, Michigan	11159755
Worcester, Maryland	9954332
El Paso, Colorado	9293748
Lubbock, Texas	9267686
Ingham, Michigan	9154652
Lane, Oregon	9026834
Fresno, California	8854772
Boone, Missouri	8604797
Mobile, Alabama	8537196
York, South Carolina	8109782
Hamilton, Ohio	7545548

Butler, Ohio	6927637
St. Louis City, Missouri	6910725
Phelps, Missouri	6721969
Salt Lake, Utah	6551764
Hamilton, Tennessee	6458377
Delaware, Pennsylvania	6054548
Greene, Missouri	5979661
Casey, Kentucky	5750133
Jackson, Oregon	5697739
Denton, Texas	5283725
Yolo, California	5215319
Bexar, Texas	5162921
Indiana, Pennsylvania	5153291
Forsyth, North Carolina	5026211
Pickens, South Carolina	4912287
Cass, North Dakota	4848361
Solano, California	4619004
San Bernardino, California	4452375
Clark, Nevada	4324674
Bronx, New York	4252385
Wichita, Texas	4200000
Black Hawk, Iowa	4117945
Prince George's, Maryland	3919324
Chittenden, Vermont	3665489
Williamsburg, Virginia	3384498
Essex, New Jersey	3187199
Calhoun, Alabama	3088302
Decatur, Iowa	2873580
Montgomery, Pennsylvania	2854271

Allegany, New York	2711699
Addison, Vermont	2689528
Kern, California	2366777
Jefferson, Texas	2308232
Portage, Ohio	2214473
Yates, New York	2177417
Nicollet, Minnesota	2107800
Doña Ana, New Mexico	2045147
Douglas, Nebraska	1845055
Butte, California	1840398
Lancaster, Nebraska	1760841
Middlesex, Connecticut	1743736
Latah, Idaho	1672208
Montgomery, Maryland	1581497
Merrimack, New Hampshire	1564566
Montgomery, Alabama	1419838
Rutherford, Tennessee	1369959
Weld, Colorado	1309306
Niagara, New York	1300858
DeKalb, Illinois	1223418
Spotsylvania, Virginia	1175469
St. Lawrence, New York	1152300
Baldwin, Alabama	1135720
Cobb, Georgia	1119364
Woodford, Kentucky	1057500
Houghton, Michigan	1025590
Outagamie, Wisconsin	999977
Coconino, Arizona	949163
Northampton, Pennsylvania	947401

Sacramento, California	915732
Porter, Indiana	885690
Des Moines, Iowa	883435
Hudson, New Jersey	805306
Union, Pennsylvania	788432
Orleans, Louisiana	750188
Fayette, Tennessee	681000
Linn, Iowa	655662
Cuyahoga, Ohio	655027
Lafayette, Mississippi	587636
Marion, Tennessee	500000
Newton, Missouri	461603
Calloway, Kentucky	436999
Washington, Vermont	394566
Marion, Oregon	350000
Orange, North Carolina	326486
Ventura, California	300000
Wayne, Michigan	299895
Milwaukee, Wisconsin	295048
Chautauqua, New York	264466
Ocean, New Jersey	250000
Androscoggin, Maine	250000
Oklahoma, Oklahoma	160288
Stutsman, North Dakota	500

APPENDIX 3: PROLIFIC SURVEY

INSTITUTION WITH SEC. 117 FUNDING	RESPONSES
University of Houston	20
Purdue University	17
Arizona State University	17
Pennsylvania State University	15
Southern New Hampshire University	14
University of California, San Diego	13
University of Michigan, Ann Arbor	13
University of Georgia	13
University of Tennessee	12
University of Maryland, College Park	12
University of Pittsburgh	11
Temple University	11
University of Washington	11
University of Kentucky	10
The Ohio State University	10
Rutgers University	10
Georgia Institute of Technology	10
University of North Texas	9
University of California, Los Angeles	9
University of Virginia	9
University of Arizona	9
University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill	9
University of Illinois, Urbana Champagne	9
University of Illinois, Chicago	9
Oregon State University	9

New York University	9
Northeastern University	9
University of Wisconsin, Madison	8
Texas A&M University	8
University of Rochester	8
University of Minnesota, Twin Cities	8
University of Texas, Austin	8
University of California, Berkeley	8
University of California, Irvine	8
Ohio State University	8
Miami University	8
University of Florida	7
University of Cincinnati	7
Texas Tech University	7
University of Massachusetts, Amherst	7
Boston University	7
California State University, Fullerton	7
West Virginia University	6
Washington University, St. Louis	6
University of California, Davis	6
University of North Carolina, Charlotte	6
Wayne State University	6
University of Connecticut	6
University of Delaware	6
University of Southern California	6
San Francisco State University	6
North Carolina State University	6
Kennesaw State University	6
Indiana University	6

George Washington University	6
DePaul University	6
Indiana University Purdue University Indianapolis	6
Towson University	5
Virginia Polytechnic Institute and State University	5
University of California, Riverside	5
University Of Nebraska, Omaha	5
University of Iowa	5
Texas A&M University-College Station	5
San Diego State University	5
Loyola University Chicago	5
San Jose State University	5
American University	5
Columbia University	5
Iowa State University	5
California State University, Long Beach	5
Drexel University	5
California State University, Northridge	5
Johns Hopkins University	5
Colorado State University	5
University of Pennsylvania	4
University of Toledo	4
University of Akron	4
University of California, Santa Cruz	4
University of Notre Dame	4
Syracuse University	4
Virginia Commonwealth University	4
University of Texas, Arlington	4
University of Kansas	4

University of Texas, San Antonio	4
University of Texas at Austin	4
Yale University	4
Ohio University	4
Rice University	4
Middle Tennessee State University	4
Michigan State University	4
Cornell University	4
Boston College	4
Georgia Southern University	4
Brown University	4
University of Northern Iowa	3
University of Texas, Dallas	3
Washington State University	3
University of Vermont	3
University of Colorado, Boulder	3
The University of Texas, Austin	3
University of Nebraska, Lincoln	3
University of Oregon	3
University of Miami	3
University of Colorado, Denver	3
University of California, Santa Barbara	3
Vanderbilt University	3
Villanova University	3
University of Missouri, Columbia	3
Marquette University	3
Rensselaer Polytechnic Institute	3
Northern Illinois University	3
Northwestern University	3

Stanford University	3
George Mason University	3
Ball State University	3
Central Michigan University	3
Duke University	3
Brigham Young University	3
Harvard University	3
Kansas State University	3
University of Arkansas	2
University of Texas at San Antonio	2
University of Portland	2
University of Chicago	2
University of Wyoming	2
University of Dayton	2
University of Phoenix	2
University of Denver	2
University of California Berkeley	2
University of Indianapolis	2
Tufts University	2
The College of William and Mary	2
University of Alabama, Birmingham	2
The New School	2
Wichita State University	2
The University of Texas, Arlington	2
University of Oklahoma	2
Murray State University	2
Pace University	2
Missouri State University	2
Michigan Technological University	2

St John's University	2
Rochester Institute of Technology	2
New York Institute of Technology	2
Kent State Univeristy	2
Northern Arizona University	2
Indiana University of Pennsylvania	2
Clemson University	2
California State University, San Marcos	2
Baruch College	2
Cleveland State University	2
Boise State University	2
Georgetown University	2
University of Utah	1
Williams College	1
University of California, Merced	1
The University of Akron	1
University of Maine, Orono	1
University of Hawaii, Manoa	1
University of Central Oklahoma	1
Worcester Polytechnic Institute	1
Western Michigan University	1
University of Hawaii, Manoa	1
University of Texas Health Science Center, San Antonio	1
University Of Colorado, Colorado Springs	1
Tulane University	1
Wright State University	1
University of Maryland, Baltimore	1
University of Louisville	1
Wake Forest University	1

University of Tennessee at Knoxville	1
Wellesley College	1
University of Texas	1
Yeshiva University	1
University of Texas at Dallas	1
University of New Hampshire	1
University of Maine	1
Xavier University	1
Loyola University Chicago School of Law	1
Smith College	1
Oxford College of Emory University	1
Missouri University of Science and Technology	1
Missouri Southern State University	1
Lamar University	1
Massachusetts Institute of Technology	1
New Jersey Institute of Technology	1
School of the Art Institute Chicago	1
Massachusetts College of Pharmacy and Health Sciences	1
Middlebury College	1
Saint Louis University	1
St Lawrence University	1
Oregon Health & Science University	1
San Francisco State University	1
Keck Graduate Institute	1
Bucknell University	1
Columbia College Chicago	1
California Institute of Technology	1
California State University, Chico	1
Auburn University Montgomery	1

Kean University	1
City University of New York Bernard M Baruch College	1
Gustavus Adolphus College	1
California State Polytechnic University, Pomona	1
Haverford College	1
California State University, Bakersfield	1
Brandeis University	1
California State University, Dominguez Hills	1
Adelphi University	1
California State University, East Bay	1
Indiana University Bloomington	1
California State University, Los Angeles	1
Indiana University Purdue University of Indianapolis	1
California State University, Sacramento	1
California State University, San Bernardino	1
Jacksonville University	1

Mr. COMER. Dr. Gay, how much money does Harvard receive from foreign sources that support Hamas or have links to terrorist organizations, like Qatar, Lebanon and the Palestinian Authority?

Ms. GAY. Excuse me, sorry Congressman. Harvard has policies that govern the acceptance of gifts and contracts, beginning with respecting Federal law, which means that we don't accept gifts or contracts from entities that are on restricted lists.

Then we go further and only accept gifts that align with our mission and that provide autonomy for our research and our faculty. We have alumni all over the world, and their philanthropy supports student aid and scholarships and cutting-edge research.

Mr. COMER. Okay. The Department of Education reports that Harvard has received more than \$19 million from Qatar, 2 and 1/2 million from Lebanon and more than 1 and 1/2 million from the Palestinian Authority as of October 2023. As university president, do you think Harvard should be accepting money from countries that support terrorists?

Ms. GAY. Again, we have strict policies that govern the gifts and contracts that we accept. We comply fully with Federal law.

Mr. COMER. Do you have a personal opinion?

Ms. GAY. We will not accept gifts that do not align with our mission and retain autonomy—

Mr. COMER. Will you make a commitment to not accept money from countries that we know support terrorists?

Ms. GAY. We follow Federal law.

Mr. COMER. The antisemitism on college campuses across the country, including your campus, has been shocking to witness, and that goes to all the witnesses I have asked questions to. We have seen the celebration of terrorism on all of your campuses, including from faculty.

When we see how much foreign money, including from our most dangerous adversaries, is going into our colleges and universities, maybe we should not be that surprised. You need to immediately reevaluate the sources of foreign donations and recognize the poisonous effect that this is happening on your campuses.

Thank you, Madam Chair, and I yield back.

Chairwoman FOXX. Thank you, Mr. Comer. Mr. Burlison, you are recognized for 5 minutes.

Mr. BURLISON. Thank you, Madam Chair, and thank you for the witnesses that are here today. In response to the ongoing harassment of Jewish students, including supporting a National Day of Resistance, the Antidefamation League and the—sent a letter to colleges and universities around the country, urging them to investigate the activities of their local campus chapter of Students for Justice in Palestine.

Several universities followed through with that, and as a result some universities kicked those chapters off their campuses. In some instances, Columbia University suspended the SJP and the Jewish Voice for Peace. What steps have your universities taken to address the Students for Justice in Palestine? Dr. Gray, Dr. Gay.

Ms. GAY. Thank you for the question. As I indicated earlier, I reject so much of the hateful and reckless speech—

Mr. BURLISON. I do not want a long answer—I just want to know what—have you taken any steps like—have you followed suit with

these other universities to remove this hateful organization from your campus?

Ms. GAY. We do not punish students for their views, but we hold them accountable for their conduct and behavior, and any conduct that violates our rules against bullying, harassment or intimidation, we take action.

Mr. BURLISON. Your answer is no. Does it not—does it concern you that your policies say that intimidation is factor for removal, and yet this group clearly, their very presence is an intimidating factor to Israeli students. Do you have any concerns?

Ms. GAY. I am concerned about students who do not feel safe and welcome on our campus and wanting to make sure—and I want to make sure that they receive all the support that they need. When other students transgress and violate our policies, they will be held accountable.

Mr. BURLISON. Thank you. Ms. Magill, can you tell me at your university, have you taken actions to remove the Students for Justice in Palestine?

Ms. MAGILL. Thanks for the question, Representative Burlison. We have similar policies, which is that any organized student group must comply with the rules of the university, and if they have violated those rules, they can be non-recognized.

Mr. BURLISON. Okay, and then Mrs. Kornbluth, same question.

Ms. KORNBLUTH. As far as I know, we do not have an SJP chapter. We do have students who are allied with you know, are interested in advocating for the Palestinian cause. We are not aware of any national links of that group.

Mr. BURLISON. Thank you. My next line of inquiry has to do with your lack of reporting standards when it comes to these foreign contributions, as was mentioned by my colleague. I understand that Harvard and MIT are under Section 117 investigations. A New York Post article just recently revealed that MIT received over \$859 million in foreign funding.

I think Harvard received similar numbers, nearly, nearly \$900 million. As was stated, some of this money is coming from countries in the Middle East that have a history of large contributions to fund these academic centers called the Middle East Study Centers. Are you—has Harvard taken any money to fund the Middle East Study Centers?

Ms. GAY. We receive support from a variety of sources, and our alumni are all over the world, including in the Middle East, who support our activities on campus.

Mr. BURLISON. Well, an analysis has indicated that there is a direct correlation between the universities that have received money for these Middle East Study Centers and the activity of the SJP. I would highly encourage you to examine, and I will ask, I will just ask it directly.

Is it because of the money that you are receiving from these foreign countries that you're not kicking these, this, these hate groups off campus?

Ms. GAY. Our donors do not influence how we run the university, how we enforce our policies or how we keep our students safe.

Mr. BURLISON. Thank you. I yield the rest of my time to my colleague from New York.

Ms. STEFANIK. Dr. Gay, does calling for the genocide of Jews violate Harvard's rules of bullying and harassment?

Ms. GAY. The rules around bullying and harassment are quite specific, and if the context in which that language is used amounts to bullying and harassment, then we take—we take action against it.

Ms. STEFANIK. Can you say yes to that question, of does calling for the genocide of Jews violate Harvard's rules on bullying and harassment?

Ms. GAY. Calling for the genocide of Jews is antisemitic.

Ms. STEFANIK. Yes?

Ms. GAY. That is antisemitic speech, and as I have said—

Ms. STEFANIK. It is a yes?

Ms. GAY. When speech crosses into conduct—

Ms. STEFANIK. It is a yes? I have asked the witnesses each—

Ms. GAY. Once when speech crosses—when speech crosses into conduct, we take action.

Ms. STEFANIK. Is that a yes? Is that a yes? The witness has not answered. Madam Chair, is that a yes? You cannot answer the question—

Ms. GAY. When speech crosses into conduct, we take action.

Chairwoman FOXX. I am sorry. I am sorry, Dr. Gay. I have to cut you off.

Ms. GAY. Of course.

Chairwoman FOXX. Mr. Williams, you are recognized for 5 minutes.

Mr. WILLIAMS. Thank you, Madam Chairman. I have the unfortunate distinction of being a graduate of the University of Pennsylvania, as well as a visiting student at Harvard University for a year. The purpose of this hearing is to assess the health of our most elite, and until recently esteemed educational institutions in this country.

We raised the question, whether your institution and others like them deserve to enjoy the benefits of partnerships with our government. Research investments, student loan guarantees, tax-free status for your endowments. Funding for veterans to receive education is tied to their prior service, like myself, or their ongoing service.

It has been stated several times that this runs in the tens of billions of dollars across higher education, perhaps even into \$100 billion.

Dr. Gay, you have repeatedly in your testimony today claimed that you believe in accountability, that acts of hate are personally abhorrent to you, that you follow Federal law, that you believe all parts of your community must feel safe and secure, and that education is the solution for antisemitism. Does this accurately reflect your views?

Ms. GAY. I have expressed those views, yes.

Mr. WILLIAMS. Those are your testimony today. How long have you been president of Harvard?

Ms. GAY. Five months.

Mr. WILLIAMS. Sorry?

Ms. GAY. Five months.

Mr. WILLIAMS. Uh-huh. What is your annual budget?

Ms. GAY. For the entire university?

Mr. WILLIAMS. Yes.

Ms. GAY. About \$6 billion, pretty close to that.

Mr. WILLIAMS. Six billion. How many employees?

Ms. GAY. We have 19,000 faculty and staff.

Mr. WILLIAMS. How long is the—how large is the university endowment?

Ms. GAY. It is just over \$50 billion.

Mr. WILLIAMS. How long has Harvard been in existence?

Ms. GAY. 387 years.

Mr. WILLIAMS. 337 years.

Ms. GAY. 87.

Mr. WILLIAMS. 87, sorry. Cut you by 50 there. You said that education is the solution. All of you agreed actually, that education is the solution for antisemitism, yet your educational institution under your leadership and previous leaders, is seething with hateful and threatening antisemitic demonstrations.

These are only—as I mentioned, these are only against the Jewish students. No one else, just Jews at your school. You say you believe in accountability. Should the Federal Government keep shoveling money and privilege to institutions like yours that fail so profoundly in their mission?

Your mission is to educate. Education's the solution. You have 387 years and you have arrived at this place of virulent antisemitism and hate. Why should the Federal Government continue to partner with you on such a failed accomplishment or lack of accomplishment?

Ms. GAY. The Federal-university partnership is not only a critical source of the success of all American higher education, but also its—

Mr. WILLIAMS. Well, maybe we should redirect it to the ones that are, because there are other universities that are succeeding. I am trying to get at the heart of if education is the solution. You do not seem to be accomplishing that solution, even though you have had a 387-year run up to stamp out antisemitism. What happened? Is it leadership?

Ms. GAY. We have work to do to build the community that our students and our faculty deserve—

Mr. WILLIAMS. Ha! Well, it is—I am looking backward. I am saying how did you arrive here, if education is your mission and antisemitism is your result? How did you arrive here?

Let me—let me help. 100 years ago, Harvard, University of Pennsylvania, other Ivy League schools actually publicly and actively began restricting Jewish enrollment. Now I am proud to say that Syracuse University in my district resisted this trend and did not implement those kinds of policies.

Today, we actually see the fruit of those decisions, and it seems to me that the leadership that we need needs moral clarity to understand the moment that we are in, and I am not really hearing that frankly from anyone. Ms. Magill, how long have you been the president of the University of Pennsylvania?

Ms. MAGILL. Just under a year and a half.

Mr. WILLIAMS. The budget and employees there?

Ms. MAGILL. About \$12 billion because we have a large health system. We have about 45,000 employees.

Mr. WILLIAMS. The endowment please.

Ms. MAGILL. About 20 billion.

Mr. WILLIAMS. Do you not have enough resources to complete your mission, your stated goal of education?

Ms. MAGILL. We have many resources that we invest in the education of our 30,000 students.

Mr. WILLIAMS. If education is the mission and education is the solution, how did you Penn arrive at this horrible place, that actually I am ashamed to be an alumni of your university?

Ms. MAGILL. I am very sorry to hear that Congressman.

Mr. WILLIAMS. I am not alone.

Ms. MAGILL. We have—we have work to do, I agree.

Mr. WILLIAMS. Well, I keep hearing that. I think you have a need for leadership or a need of Federal intervention to cutoff the resources that allow this continued failed—this mission that is failed to continue. I yield back.

Chairwoman FOXX. Thank you. Ms. Houchin, you are recognized for 5 minutes.

Ms. HOUCHIN. Thank you, Madam Chair. Thank you to the witnesses for testifying today. I want to just say how frustrated I am that this hearing is even necessary. I would be naive to recognize—not to recognize though, antisemitism on our university campuses, including my home State.

As you may know, this fall two members of the Indiana University Student Government published a resignation letter due to the blatant antisemitism of the student body president. According to their firsthand testimony, this student body president was intentionally neglecting the experience of Jewish students on campus, by not only refusing to meet or work with Jewish students, but by actively ignoring the voices of those who tried to bring attention to their issues, and the concerns for the well-being of their Jewish students.

It is especially appalling when we recognize that 10 percent of Indiana University student body is Jewish. Campus life in the United States has become a daily trial of intimidation and insult for our Jewish students, a hostile environment that began with statements from pro-Palestinian student organizations justifying terrorism has now rapidly spiraled into death threats and physical attacks, leaving Jewish students alarmed and vulnerable.

At least 124 antisemitic incidents have been reported on campuses since October 7th, and that's likely a severe undercount. The response to this has been empty rhetoric. Words have been weak; action has been slow. No action has resulted in Jewish students feeling safe or welcome.

This is an example as why I'm an original co-sponsor of a congressional resolution condemning the support of Hamas, Hezbollah and other terrorist organizations at our institutions of higher education. We will not tolerate the creation of a hostile environment for our Jewish students.

Faculty and staff on college campuses, if you will not do it, then we will take action ourselves. Madam Chair, I would like to yield the balance of my time to the gentlewoman from New York.

Ms. STEFANIK. Dr. Kornbluth does—at MIT, does calling for the genocide of Jews violate MIT's code of conduct or rules regarding bullying and harassment, yes, or no?

Ms. KORNBLUTH. If targeted at individuals not making public statements.

Ms. STEFANIK. Yes or no, calling for the genocide of Jews does not constitute bullying and harassment?

Ms. KORNBLUTH. I have not heard calling for the genocide of Jews on our campus.

Ms. STEFANIK. You have heard chants for Intifada?

Ms. KORNBLUTH. I have heard chants, which can be antisemitic depending on the context, when calling for the elimination of the Jewish people.

Ms. STEFANIK. Those would not be according to the MIT's code of conduct or rules?

Ms. KORNBLUTH. That would be investigated as harassment if pervasive and severe.

Ms. STEFANIK. Ms. Magill, at Penn, does calling for the genocide of Jews violate Penn's rules or code of conduct, yes, or no?

Ms. MAGILL. If the speech turns into conduct, it can be harassment, yes.

Ms. STEFANIK. I am asking specifically calling for the genocide of Jews, does that constitute bullying or harassment?

Ms. MAGILL. If it is directed and severe or pervasive, it is harassment.

Ms. STEFANIK. The answer is yes?

Ms. MAGILL. It is a context-dependent decision, Congresswoman.

Ms. STEFANIK. It is a context-dependent decision? That is your testimony today? Calling for the genocide of Jews is dependent upon the context? That is not bullying or harassment? This is the easiest question to answer, yes, Ms. Magill. So is your testimony that you will not answer yes.

Ms. MAGILL. If it—if it is—if the speech becomes—

Ms. STEFANIK. Yes or no.

Ms. MAGILL. If the speech becomes conduct, it can be harassment, yes.

Ms. STEFANIK. Conduct meaning committing the act of genocide? The speech is not harassment? This is unacceptable, Ms. Magill. I am going to give you one more opportunity for the world to see your answer. Does calling for the genocide of Jews violate Penn's code of conduct when it comes to bullying and harassment, yes or no?

Ms. MAGILL. It can be harassment.

Ms. STEFANIK. The answer is yes, and Dr. Gay, at Harvard, does calling for the genocide of Jews violate Harvard's rules of bullying and harassment, yes or no?

Ms. GAY. It can be, depending on the context.

Ms. STEFANIK. What is the context?

Ms. GAY. Targeted as an individual, targeted at an individual.

Ms. STEFANIK. It is targeted at Jewish students, Jewish individuals. Do you understand your testimony is dehumanizing them? Do you understand that dehumanization is part of antisemitism?

I will ask you one more time. Does calling for the genocide of Jews violate Harvard's rules of bullying and harassment, yes, or no?

Ms. GAY. Antisemitic rhetoric when it crosses over into conduct—

Ms. STEFANIK. Is it antisemitic rhetoric—

Ms. GAY. Antisemitic rhetoric, when it crosses into conduct, it amounts to bullying, harassment, intimidation, that is actionable conduct and we do take action.

Ms. STEFANIK. The answer is yes, that calling for the genocide of Jews violates Harvard code of conduct; correct?

Ms. GAY. Again, it depends on the context.

Ms. STEFANIK. It does not depend on the context. The answer is yes, and this is why you should resign. These are unacceptable answers across the board.

Chairwoman FOXX. Mr. Scott, you are recognized for 5 minutes.

Mr. SCOTT. Thank you. Freedom of speech protects not just popular speech. I have heard many of you refer to that. Can you comment on what speech is protected and what speech is not protected? Starting with Dr. Gay.

Ms. GAY. Speech is protected, and that protection extends even to speech we find objectionable and offensive and even outrageous. It is when speech crosses into conduct that violates our very clear policies around bullying, harassment, intimidation, that it becomes actionable.

Mr. SCOTT. When it is targeted and creates imminent threats of violence, that can actually be criminal?

Ms. GAY. Yes.

Mr. SCOTT. The Title VI standard is not that—it does not require all that. You can just have a—you have much less of a standard to create a violation of Title VI. When do you know—what is the Title VI standard for when speech violates Title VI and creates a hostile environment?

Ms. GAY. I cannot recite that from memory.

Mr. SCOTT. Anybody know of the kinds of things that would constitute a Title VI?

Ms. KORNBLUTH. Yes, a hostile environment that prevents the students from attaining their educational acquisition.

Mr. SCOTT. Students have a right to feel safe on campus. Would the standard of a hostile environment apply to all students, or just Jewish students?

Ms. KORNBLUTH. All students.

Mr. SCOTT. Dr. Magill, a lot has been said about some of the speakers that have been invited. Who invites the speakers?

Ms. MAGILL. Congressman, it varies. It might be a student organization, it might be a faculty member, it might be a staff member. It might be my office.

Mr. SCOTT. Does your office always control who the speakers are, what speakers are invited?

Ms. MAGILL. No. There is no preapproval process for the speakers who are invited. It's quite decentralized.

Mr. SCOTT. If some group, student group invited somebody that the university found offensive, what happens?

Ms. MAGILL. Well, we do not prevent a speaker from coming to campus, following the guidance of the United States Constitutions, based on the views that we think they are going to express.

We sometimes condemn those views if they are deeply inconsistent with our values. We do not censor or prevent speakers from coming based on their views, even if they are offensive.

Mr. SCOTT. Dr. Gay, you said several students are participating—subject to disciplinary actions. Typically, how long does that disciplinary action take to be completed?

Ms. GAY. The process, we try to move with all deliberate speed. It varies depending on the complexity of the incident. It could be a matter of days or weeks, or it could be a bit longer than that. The range of consequences vary, but up to and including expulsion from Harvard.

Mr. SCOTT. Several comments have been made that the campuses are full of antisemitism and that is the only problem on campus. Can the university presidents comment on that?

Ms. GAY. It is not the only problem on campus. It is particularly acute at this moment, and as I have mentioned before, students have offered searing testimony about what they've been experiencing. It is not just antisemitism. It is also Islamophobia and frankly just hostility to individuals who are visibly Muslim or Arab or Palestinian.

Then we also have other student communities that feel marginalized, not just in this moment but have been struggling to feel a sense of belonging at Harvard for some years, including students of color.

Mr. SCOTT. Ms. Magill.

Ms. MAGILL. I would describe very much the same experience at the University of Pennsylvania, as Dr. Gay described.

Mr. SCOTT. Dr. Kornbluth.

Ms. KORNBLUTH. Racism, Islamophobia, anti-LGBTQ sentiment. One thing I might add about free speech on campus with these issues is that the best way to fight negative speech is more speech, to have speakers and individuals who fight antisemitism and can speak to our students on campus.

Mr. SCOTT. Thank you. Yield back. Thank you, Dr. Foxx, and I want to thank our witnesses for participating in today's hearing. Protecting students from discrimination and harassment are central to fostering safe and welcoming campuses.

Regrettably following the October 7th attacks, college campuses have experienced a disturbing rise in incidents of antisemitism and Islamophobia. It is great to have the opportunity to hear directly from campus leaders on what they are doing to be more proactive and prevent incidences of violence and harassment on campus.

I applaud President Biden's leadership and the administration for actively helping institutions protect students as part of the White House's National Strategy to Combat Antisemitism.

Under the President's direction, the Department of Education has provided additional guidance to colleges and universities on how to uphold their obligation under Title VI of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, and better address antisemitism, Islamophobia and other forms of discrimination on campus.

We have already opened about 15 Title VI investigations in the recent incidences on campus since October 7th. Finally, as Members of Congress, we also have the responsibility to condemn discrimination as we see it, and we should fully fund the Office of Civil Rights, so that they will have the resources to investigate these cases. Thank you, Madam Chair, and I yield back.

Chairwoman FOXX. Thank you, Mr. Chairman—Mr. Ranking Member. Postsecondary education has never been held in such low esteem in our country as it is today. Indeed, I do not refer to colleges and universities any longer as higher education, because it is my opinion that higher order skills are not being taught and learned.

I think today's hearing indicates that. I think Mr. Williams was on to something in his line of questioning about why are we here—at this stage when you all talk about education being the answer to the problems.

Now I want to remind everyone why we are here. I started the hearing by recognizing the students we have in the audience today. You are the ones bearing the brunt of the hate that is festering on our campuses. You are the reason we are calling attention to these issues, and we will continue holding college leaders accountable for failing to protect you.

You are heroes, and I thank you for your courage. One of the students here today is Talia Khan. She is an undergraduate alumna of MIT, and currently a graduate student there. She wrote a letter to the Committee. I request unanimous consent to submit her full letter for the record. Without objection.

[The letter of Mrs. Foxx follows:]

To the congressmen and women at today's hearing, thank you for taking the time to read this letter.

My name is Talia Khan. I am an undergraduate alumna at MIT and a current second year graduate student at MIT. I am a Jewish student, the daughter of a Jewish mother and an Afghan Muslim father, and the proud President of the MIT Israel Alliance. Considering my position at the center of Jewish and Israel-related life on campus, I would like to bring to your attention my perspective as a Jewish student currently immersed in an extremely toxic atmosphere at MIT.

Since the devastating attacks against Israel on October 7th, I have watched in horror as a culture of blatant antisemitism has taken root at MIT. I have witnessed the administration, namely President Sally Kornbluth, fail time and again to address this crisis in any meaningful way. President Kornbluth has watched as violent hatred infects, in broad daylight, an institution which is looked to as a beacon of enlightenment. This failure by the MIT administration to protect Jewish students must not be regarded simply as inaction, but rather as a feckless, cowardly, hypocritical, and entirely deliberate choice to remain silent.

There is a radical anti-Israel group at MIT called the CAA. In recent weeks, the CAA's antisemitic rhetoric has shifted the culture on campus, to such an extreme of intolerance that 70% of MIT's Jewish students feel compelled to hide their identities and perspectives (from a poll of 75 Jewish students). I, too, have stopped wearing my Star of David necklace in public. However, today I refuse to hide.

In a letter sent to MIT president Sally Kornbluth on November 10th, signed by over 1700 members of the MIT community, a number of incidents were detailed to illustrate the antisemitism festering on campus. The most extreme example has been a series of protests in the most heavily trafficked area of campus on November 9th and 12th, Lobby 7. These protests, organized by the CAA, unavoidably disrupted life on campus. Participants chanted for hours over multiple days, calling for the complete destruction of Israel ("from the river to the sea") and endorsing violence against Jews with calls for intifada, and calls to "Raise up your two fists and sacrifice everything for Palestine." So disruptive were these protests that MIT Hillel felt compelled to send out a notice to its members warning them against traversing these areas on campus for their own safety. CAA members stormed the offices of Jewish faculty and staff in the MIT Israel internship office. Staff reported fearing for their lives, as students went door to door trying to unlock the offices. How hateful must the environment on campus be that Jews must be warned against walking the halls, for fear of being harassed for being Jewish? Is it normal to get two police notifications sent to all students in one day warning them of potential violence due to an MIT student club event? The MIT student handbook directly states the right for students to exist "free from unreasonable and disruptive offense." Surely, all of this must qualify as unreasonable and disruptive. The MIT student handbook also states that "Harassment is ... verbal, nonverbal or physical [conduct] that is sufficiently severe or pervasive to create a work or academic environment that a reasonable person would consider intimidating, hostile or abusive and that adversely affects an individual's educational, work, or living environment." We know from a poll of Jewish students that since October 7th, only 90% of Jewish students do not feel

“very safe” on MIT’s campus. 60% of MIT’s Jews have directly experienced antisemitism since October 7th, and 82% feel there has been a negative change in their feeling of safety in their departments and classes (from the same poll of 75 Jewish students). Surely, with this information, we would expect the MIT administration to do something.

While students who organized and participated in these large protests were threatened with suspension if they did not comply with a mandate to leave the area, the administration has failed to follow through with this threat, instead referring student organizers to a long and ill-defined disciplinary process. Once again, President Kornbluth is deliberately ignoring MIT’s handbook, in which she is reserved the right to take immediate administrative action separate from the usual conduct proceedings under unusual circumstances. If these circumstances are not to be considered unusual, which are? Indeed, a Jewish member of the Committee on Discipline, which the MIT Administration has tasked with determining the punishment for these students, stated that as of December 4th, he has not seen a single case come through the Committee on Discipline from these numerous complaints we have made against the CAA and its leaders. Clearly, the MIT Administration and Senior leadership has no intention of creating a harassment-free environment for Jews. They would like to maintain the status quo and get all of us to shut our mouths. This refusal to take disciplinary action has only emboldened the CAA to act more brazenly in disregard of MIT policies.

The MIT administration, in an attempt to “keep the peace,” has refused to take adequate measures to protect its Jewish students. Worse, President Kornbluth has refused to explicitly condemn the CAA by name, instead issuing a lukewarm general condemnation of ill will towards others. This is not only insufficient, but actually insulting. Her response to the November 13th letter essentially avoided all responsibility for the state of antisemitism on campus, simultaneously ignoring the reasonable demands of Jewish student groups to ban the CAA, and enforce MIT’s rules appropriately for students who have violated it. Her failure to address these points speaks louder than any message she attempts to convey through shallow words of understanding. She has gaslighted us, even after we showed videos of Jewish students being physically blocked from moving through the anti-Israel crowd through the main MIT lobby, and, in a private meeting with her after the event when I asked her why she was unwilling to put in writing that she would equally apply MIT’s rules on all groups and individuals, she told me that she can’t because she’s worried about losing the trust of the faculty. The MIT President is unwilling to enforce the rules equally on anti-Israel members of the community, and she knows it. It is no secret.

I have asked for an antisemitism task force for two months. After initially agreeing to a taskforce against hate that would begin by focusing on antisemitism and then turn to islamophobia, the administration has backpedaled. As of December 4th, even though Sally Kornbluth herself said that there are 10 times more reports of antisemitism than islamophobia on campus, the MIT administration said they will now be looking at these two issues simultaneously. I have offered numerous times to be on this task force; they have yet to name a single member, other than the leader, Chancellor Melissa Nobles. Instead they are promoting a new podcast which features a

Jewish professor who has repeatedly gaslighted Jewish and Israeli students on campus into believing that all is well and we are making everything up in an attempt to garner attention.

I will share a few examples of antisemitism on campus and let you all decide if all is well on MIT's campus. First, I was forced to leave my study group for my doctoral exams halfway through the semester because my group members told me that the people at the Nova massacre deserved to die because they were partying on stolen land. This negatively impacted me both emotionally and academically. Second, after a postdoc at MIT called Zionism a mental illness, said that Jewish Israelis want to enslave the world in a global apartheid system, falsely claimed that Israel harvests Palestinians for organ harvesting, and implied that the "average Israeli" is a Nazi, the DEI officer of his department replied by telling us that nothing he said was "hate speech" and that the organ harvesting conspiracy theory was "confirmed." Third, following an almost poetic parallel to a case at MIT in 2003, I was forced to take down my Israeli flags and a poster that said "No Excuse for Hate" and "We Stand With Israel" in my office window after a new banner rule was created 6 days after I put my flags up. Other banners, such as those for "Black Lives Matter" are still hanging proudly in office windows today. A rule was created by the MIT administration to appease bigoted students who can't bear to see that Israel exists. Again, an almost exact replica of this event occurred in 2003, when MIT threatened a student with eviction if he didn't remove an Israeli flag from his dorm window. Silencing pro-Israel free speech is embedded in MIT's mores. Fourth, the interfaith chaplain at MIT interrupted an event four times to call out Israel as an oppressive white supremacist colonizer state and then asked all students who keep kosher to raise their hands to receive their meals, reportedly examining these students to an extent that non-Jewish students felt uncomfortable and compelled to report the event. So far, no disciplinary action has been taken, even though just a few years ago, a Catholic chaplain was forced to resign after expressing his personal political opinions publicly. I could continue on and on. I can tell you about the number of Israelis who have been told that if they are scared of being Jewish at MIT, that they should just go back to Israel; about the HR staff member who told a student that Jews do not fall under a protected class at MIT; about the DEI officer who said that Israel has no right to exist, and the department head who, in an email with that DEI officer, insinuated he would protect CAA members from any disciplinary action taken against them. Instead, I want to ask – why has the MIT administration done nothing? Why have DEI, the Committee on Discipline, and HR done nothing? Why is President Sally Kornbluth allowing the rot of antisemitism to spread, unchecked, throughout campus?

Non-Jewish students at MIT have emailed us in private, warning us to be safe because they hear their anti-Israel dormmates say that any violence against pro-Israel people is justified. The MIT administration has seen every one of these reports. The overwhelming hatred, now unmistakable in the atmosphere on campus, coupled with the administration's unwillingness to take action, has created an unbearable environment for Jewish students at MIT. Jewish students are afraid to leave their rooms, walk the hallways with Jewish clothing and jewelry, and speak in Hebrew on campus. How are we expected to function as members of this community, as students, as the world's leading scientific researchers, when we cannot exist on campus without fear of harassment? According to the MIT Handbook, "Students are expected to uphold

a high standard of civility and to demonstrate their respect for all members of this diverse community.” The CAA members haven’t done that, the antisemitic post-doc hasn’t done that, DEI and HR have not done that, and the faculty and staff in charge of keeping our learning environment safe haven’t done that.

This atmosphere is intolerable. Concrete action must be taken **immediately** by President Kornbluth and the MIT administration to remedy this situation. Of the 75 students polled, 95% of Jewish students do not believe the MIT administration has done an adequate job to make students feel safe on campus. The trust between Jewish students and the MIT administration has been irreparably damaged, and the promise to provide an environment for growth and learning has been broken.

It is my hope that my testimony today has brought to light the pain that Jewish students at MIT, and at universities across the country, are currently facing. Only when our leaders step up to combat hatred on campus will we begin to heal as a community. I am supposed to be a student at MIT researching sustainable materials. Unfortunately, I have been put in charge of working to keep MIT Jews feeling safe. I have been put in charge of advocating for hundreds of frightened students, afraid of retribution. I want to stop being told about the most recent antisemitic incident, and feeling like I have to push and push to report it, even though nothing ever gets done. This should not be my job. Sally Kornbluth – please, let me be a student again. Let me study without fear in the school I have called home for eight years. It is your job to keep Jewish students safe, not mine.

Thank you again for the opportunity to share my testimony.

Sincerely,
Talia Khan, Graduate Student President of the MIT Israel Alliance

RESOURCES

The following are some resources that give an accurate overview of the situation on campus:

- This [slideshow](#) narrates the recent uptick in antisemitism, including notable events that marked turning points in the nature of campus culture and a poll that indicates how fearful MIT students are and their lack of confidence in the MIT administration’s actions to make them safe. We have also compiled a [timeline](#) that lists notable instances of antisemitism, centering around the Coalition Against Apartheid, a student group that is largely behind the recent uptick in antisemitic incidents.
- Concerned by acts of antisemitism against students, the MIT Israel Alliance wrote a [letter](#) to the MIT administration outlining a set of reasonable requests that would make Jews feel safer on campus. These included the removal of the CAA as an official campus group, an official denouncement of their actions, as well as the adoption of the IHRA working [definition](#) of antisemitism. All demands were rejected by the administration, as shown in this [response letter](#)

Chairwoman FOXX. I encourage all the members to read it. Unfortunately, I do not have time to read the whole thing, but I want to give you a sample.

“I’m a Jewish student, the daughter of a Jewish mother and an Afghan-Muslim father. I’d like to bring to your attention my perspective as a Jewish student currently immersed in an extremely toxic atmosphere at MIT.”

She goes on to describe a litany of violence, harassment and bullying against Jewish students on MIT’s campus, and inaction by the MIT administration. She then concludes with a plea for help from the MIT administration. “Unfortunately, I have been put in charge of working to keep MIT students feeling safe. I have been put in charge of advocating for hundreds of frightened students, afraid of retribution.

“I want to stop being told about the most recent antisemitic incident and feeling like I have to push and—push and push to report it, even though nothing ever gets done. This should not be my job. Sally Kornbluth, please let be a student again. It is your job to keep Jewish students safe, not mine.”

Talia, thank you for sharing your ordeal with this Committee. Talia happens to be a student at MIT. Unfortunately, her story is not unique to that campus. Horrific acts of hate, violence and intimidation are happening at the University of Pennsylvania, Harvard and institutions all over the country, and institutional leaders are failing to meet the movement with courage, clarity or decisive action.

I also ask unanimous consent to submit for the record a Wall Street Journal op-ed from this past Sunday by Lance Morrow. The op-ed is called “The New Antisemitism is the Oldest Kind.” Without objection.

[The information of Mrs. Foxx follows:]

The New Antisemitism Is the Oldest Kind This isn't the midcentury 'Gentleman's Agreement' variety. It's the return of pure hatred of the Jews.

By
Lance Morrow
Dec. 3, 2023 12:59 pm ET

L



Anti-Israel protesters gather in City Hall plaza in New York City, Nov. 7. PHOTO: BRUCE COTLER/ZUMA PRESS

I remember a dinner party on Martha's Vineyard in the 1970s when I and my first wife, who was Jewish, shared lobster with a half-dozen nicely tanned Protestants in sherbet-

colored golfing trousers. They chattered about what pests “those people” were, who kept “pushing” to join the local beach club, even though they were “not wanted.”

“Gee,” said a middle-aged Princeton man—pronouncing the word “jay”—“why don’t they stick to their own clubs?”

My then-wife and I left the party early, and in the car she burst into tears.

How innocent the moment seems. That was the postwar “Gentleman’s Agreement” version of American antisemitism—gentiles relaxing up-island, on their fourth glass of Chablis. The word “Jew” wasn’t mentioned. In the Martha’s Vineyard iteration—post-Auschwitz—American antisemitism often had a discreetly covert quality. It emerged from a kind of sly politesse because, after all, everyone at some time or other had seen the films from the Nazi camps—the ones that Gen. Eisenhower had ordered his troops to watch. In Elia Kazan’s 1947 movie based on the Laura Hobson novel “Gentleman’s Agreement,” desk clerks fidget and look away when Gregory Peck, as a journalist pretending to be Jewish, pushes them about renting a room.

America’s antisemites in those days were more fools than monsters. With exceptions—Henry Ford, Father Coughlin, et al.—their antisemitism seemed more snobbery than hate crime. It wasn’t political, programmatic or fanatical. One evening in 1918, Eleanor Roosevelt (of all people) came home from a Washington dinner party for the financier Bernard Baruch and wrote to her mother-in-law that “the Jew party was appalling.”

The antisemitism that has poured forth onto the country’s streets and campuses in the autumn of 2023 is a different thing—a reversion to a politics of aggressive, unapologetic hate. The ominous historical regression at work in the latest Jew-hatred takes up the themes of the mid-1930s, the spirit of Hitler’s brown shirts and Kristallnacht. Of course, the new Jew-haters—especially young people on campuses—think of themselves as perfectly virtuous. What is a thousand times worse, they think of their Jew-hatred as righteous. It’s morally fashionable among them.

To frame this in American terms, you might recall another Gregory Peck movie, “To Kill a Mockingbird” (1962). Remember the scene in which, in the middle of the night, a mob of whites comes into town with intent to lynch Tom Robinson, a black man who has been falsely accused of raping a white girl. Peck’s Atticus Finch sits in front of the local jail, reading a book. The moment is tense. Just then, the children, Jem, Scout and Dill, step forward and, in the most innocent way, greet the leader of the lynch mob. Scout says, “Hey, Mr. Cunningham,” and she mentions Cunningham’s son, whom she knows from school. His brutal face grows suddenly embarrassed. The children have shamed him out of his violence. The mob backs off and dissolves into the Alabama night.

The most disgraceful and dangerous change that has occurred in the character of America’s “elites” during my lifetime is this: In 2023, at some of the most expensive universities in the country (who bothers to call them “the best” anymore?), Jem and Scout are leading the lynch mobs.

Sympathy for innocent Palestinian civilians who have been killed under the Israeli bombardment of Gaza? By all means. Who doesn't feel that? The mirror neurons of any decent person must respond at the sight of child-sized body bags in the ruins of a Palestinian hospital; the stunned, unbearable grief on the faces of those still alive. The conscience recoils and cries, "Stop!"

But wait. Draw back. Who-whom, as Lenin said: How you assign blame for violence depends on who has done what to whom. The Americans didn't bomb Yokohama on Dec. 7, 1941; the Japanese attacked Pearl Harbor. And the Japanese were responsible for what followed.

Why did Hamas attack on Oct. 7? Israeli oppression? Hamas has ruled Gaza since 2007, two years after the Israelis withdrew. Under decent, intelligent leadership—with a touch of vision, with investment by oil-rich Arab states—Gaza might now be a Mediterranean Singapore. Instead, Hamas has maintained Gaza as an anguished slum, an ongoing dramatization of the Palestinian victimhood that is the source of Hamas's power and *raison d'être*.

Although it seems grotesque to say so, the casualties in Gaza have been relatively light by neighborhood standards. More than 300,000 of Saddam Hussein's own people ended up dead or missing during his 24-year rule. In Syria under the regime of the Assads, father and son, hundreds of thousands of Syrians have been killed and nearly 13 million people—more than half the country's prewar population—have been turned out into the world as refugees.

Students at Harvard and Columbia don't protest the region's routine inhumanities. They do so only when there are Jews around to blame and to hate. It's the Israelis' Jewishness that brings the demonstrators out. This isn't "a new antisemitism." Antisemitism is never new. It's an ancient beast that awakens from time to time and exhales such filth as "Gas the Jews" and "Hitler was right."

Mr. Morrow is a senior fellow at the Ethics and Public Policy Center and author of "The Noise of Typewriters: Remembering Journalism."

Chairwoman FOXX. This op-ed is clear-eyed about the threat we face. Talking about the antisemitism of the post-war era, Morrow said "America's antisemites in those days were more fools than monsters." Then he says "The antisemitism that is poured forth onto the country's streets and campuses in the autumn of 2023 is a different thing. A reversion to a politics of aggressive, unapologetic hate.

"Of course, the new Jew haters, especially young people on campuses, think of themselves as perfectly virtuous. What is a thousand times worse, they think of their Jew hatred as righteous. It is morally fashionable among them."

This brings me back to the beginning. Presidents Gay, Magill and Kornbluth, you have real and important practical challenges. These are real students sitting here, and they need to be protected. You also have a moral challenge. It is fashionable among too many members of your campus communities to hate Jews. It is ideologically acceptable.

As you do the practical work of protecting your campus, you must also do the rhetorical work of changing hearts and minds. That is your job as a campus president. That means being willing to risk your job to speak truth clearly, consistently and unapologetically, even when the Jew haters turn their hate to you.

We will now be watching, and I genuinely hope for the sake of our Nation you will rise to meet the challenge. Without objection, there being no further business, the Committee stands adjourned.

[Whereupon, at 3:40 p.m., the hearing was adjourned.]



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AN OPEN LETTER TO AMERICAN COLLEGES

Dear American Colleges,

We are the parents of your students and frankly, we do not care whether this letter finds you well. We are tired of making phone calls, signing petitions, and writing angry letters. We are tired of being angry and tired. We want action; we want you to do your job.

Your woefully inept leadership has resulted in a tragic and dangerous eruption of antisemitism at colleges across the United States. While you hide behind the constitutional freedom of speech to justify or even encourage (not to worry, we will get to your professors later) horrific and savage displays of Jew-hatred, you are recklessly sacrificing the safety and education of your Jewish students. Needless to say, in many instances, this “free speech” has crossed the line to incendiary speech, leading to violence. Moreover, “free speech” does not excuse your legal obligation to provide a campus environment that is devoid of the severe, pervasive, or persistent hostility we are currently seeing targeting Jewish students.

At Harvard, during a Gaza “Die-In,” a Jewish student was surrounded by a menacing mob of students wielding keffiyehs as gates to prevent his escape while they groped him and chanted, “SHAME! SHAME! SHAME!” over and over like a modern-day Arthur Miller parable. To our knowledge, no one has been disciplined. Notably, one of these attackers, Elom Tettey Tamaklo, is an RA for Harvard freshmen. What virtues is he modeling for the students he is advising? How might he be dangerously influencing these students? How might he be abusing Jewish freshmen in his care?

At Cornell, a junior, Patrick Dai, was arrested for leaving hate-filled posts directing others to,

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among other things, “stab” and “slit the throat” of any Jewish males and behead Jewish babies. Perhaps he was inspired by Cornell professor David Hirsh in a public rally, who used a similar rhetoric. He found out about it through a news resource on October 7th, he was “exhilarated” and “energized.” He remains on leave, assuming the possibility of returning and infecting more students with his antisemitic and vicious rhetoric.

At Columbia, more than 100 professors signed a letter defending students who support Hamas and its “military action” of October 7th. One Jewish student was physically attacked in what has been charged as a hate crime; others have been spat upon for speaking Hebrew. A student, who has been identified but not yet disciplined, yelled, “F--k the Jews” at a Jewish student. An Israeli student was beaten with a stick on campus. Subsequently, hundreds of masked Columbia students publicly celebrated the genocide of Jews. Columbia’s own tenured professor, Joseph Massad, who has previously been investigated by Columbia due to his history of making anti-semitic remarks in class, found the Hamas massacre to be “awesome.” He published an article declaring October 7th to be a “stunning victory.” He is still teaching at Columbia, spouting his lies and contempt, brainwashing students.

The University of Pennsylvania might have jump-started the uptick in antisemitism with their Palestine Writes Festival, which featured known antisemites as speakers. In fact, one of them was the journalist responsible for the repulsive tweet asking whether baking powder was used for the baby horrifically murdered in a hot oven by Hamas. Since then, swastikas and other expressions of antipathy towards Jews have reared their ugly heads, making the campus unsafe for Jewish students. Notably, at least one Penn student, Tara Tarawneh, is connected to both the Palestine Writes Festival and acts of detestable racism post October 7th. On September 14, 2023, just weeks before the massacre, Tarawneh wrote a column for the Daily Pennsylvanian entitled “Palestine Writes: Why Penn should protect its students from colonial backlash.” Tarawneh writes that “Palestinian and Arab students deserve to feel more safe on campus.” In a twist of loathsome irony, Tarawneh recently disregarded the safety of Jews and others, when she stood before a rowdy crowd, inciting them to violence. She recollects “joyful and powerful images which came from the glorious October 7th,” like bulldozers breaking through the barriers and tanks captured by “freedom fighters.” She recounts her joy upon hearing about the death of Jews. The crowd repeatedly chants “YES!” and “LONG LIVE OCTOBER 7TH!” while she tells them to “hold that feeling in your heart.... Bring it to the streets... go down to the streets every day.” Where is Tarawneh now, University

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of Pennsylvania? Is she still able to go to class and torment and terrorize her fellow students?

Do you think your Jewish students feel safe?

These are just a few examples from some of the most well-known colleges in the country. At George Washington University, the genocidal slogan, "From the river to the sea, Palestine will be free" was projected across the library's facade. At University of Wisconsin, students gleefully praised the "martyrs" just days after October 7th. The University of California Ethnic Studies Faculty Council rejected that Hamas' massacre was "terrorism," and cited multiple erroneous and factually incorrect pieces of "evidence," which is alarming for 300 faculty members of higher education. The University of Colorado, Boulder, issued a similarly disturbing and completely false statement. At Cooper Union, Jewish kids were locked in the library while a bloodthirsty gang banged on the door hollering, "Free, free Palestine!" College professors at countless schools are offering extra credit to participate in anti-Israel walk-outs and demonstrations of Jew-hatred. At Drexel, a Jewish student's dorm room was set on fire. At Stanford and UCLA, professors are holding classes to educate students on the suffering of Palestinianians at the hands of Jews. And at Stanford, a professor divided his students into Jews and non-Jews and put the Jews in the back of the class, because "that's what Israel does to Palestinianians.:"

Sadly, we can go on and on and on.

But we would rather not. We would rather move forward and address this situation head-on with urgency, aggressive action, and intelligence.

Let's start with education. Your students and staff should be required to participate in mandatory seminars educating them about civility, antisemitism (including modern forms of antisemitism, like anti-Zionism), the Holocaust, and yes, the actual history of Israel, which has somehow been lost. We are asking you to create mandatory programming, including required readings, classes, and orientation activities, that clarifies these issues to ensure that your students and staff are not complicit in engendering the atrocious vitriol spreading through American college campuses like a stage IV cancer. You need to bring knowledgeable, educated speakers to campus rather than those seeking to mobilize lost youth and robotic teenagers looking for a trendy cause to support.

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Students, professors and other staff who violate your disciplinary codes must face real consequences, like suspension and/or expulsion (and codes are not specific to their purpose.) Professors who indoctrinate impressionable students, provide preferential treatment to students whose views align with theirs while penalizing those (mostly Jewish) students whose views do not. For students who incite violence, threaten and intimidate, vandalize or make campus an unsafe and hostile environment to learn, grow, and these days, simply exist, there must be consequences. If your faculty, staff, and/or students support and advocate for outright inhumane brutality, how do you expect us to entrust you with our children? You have a duty to create a safe atmosphere for everybody. You need to protect your Jewish students. Period.

Your DEI programming and initiative, orientation material, and other written guidelines should adopt the IHRA definition of antisemitism and should include antisemitism, which most, at the moment, do not.

Clubs which openly support terrorist organizations, like Students for Justice for Palestine, must be banned. They have no place in education and create a toxic, hostile, and horrendous environment for their targets who are also students. Further, these clubs are responsible for provoking untold acts of antisemitism, racism, and cruelty on campuses. Brandeis recently banned SJP because it supports Hamas. All colleges should follow suit.

Any student/professor/staff brandishing flags, clothing, signs, or any other forms of expression that contain symbols of hate like swastikas, Hamas flags, Taliban flags, ISIS flags, etc. should be disciplined, suspended, and/or expelled. These disgusting displays of overt hatred serve no purpose other than to threaten, intimidate, and harass, and have no place on American college campuses. Simply put, supporting terrorism should not be tolerated.

Any student/professor/staff chanting notorious calls for attacks on Jews, like "Intifada," "From the River to the Sea, Palestine Will be Free," "Death to Jews," "Glory to the Martyrs," "Gas the Jews," and other similar rallying cries for barbarous action should be disciplined, suspended, and/or expelled. These cries glorifying violence and genocide specifically target the Jewish people, and would not be tolerated if they were directed at any other minority group. It is unacceptable and impermissible to allow a hostile environment targeting minorities on

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college campuses, especially when this includes reprehensible calls for the murdering of Jews.

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You are in the business of enlightenment! It is your job to teach young adults to distinguish fact from fiction, to question, to appreciate nuance, to operate from a place of tolerance and understanding, to know history so that their behavior has context. In this primary and essential regard, your leadership has failed. Rather than creating an intellectual, academic environment you've become cogs in the mass production of unthinking automatons, or worse, desensitized people lauding terrorism and depravity. It is your job to assure your professors educate rather than teach false narratives as a means to indoctrinate students. Because this is what is happening and it must stop.

We expect our children to make mistakes and encounter challenges; we don't expect them to have to justify their existence. Nor do we expect them to hide their identities—by removing Stars of David, kippot, or mezzuzot—to protect themselves.

In the recent past, American universities have focused on increasing diversity among their student bodies. In fact, colleges frequently and proudly publish their admission rates in terms of diversity. We respectfully submit that, based on the above sampling, not only does there seem to be a lack of diversity of thought among your students, but also, and unless serious action is taken, your future student bodies will be largely and sadly homogenous. With the current atmosphere at American colleges, there is loud talk amongst us parents in terms of where our children might gain a top-notch education in a safe environment. So far, there are an alarmingly small number of colleges that offer this combination. As such, barring major change, you may expect fewer Jews and others supporting decency, goodwill, and equality to apply to your schools.

It is time for you to embody the standards you set for your students. It is imperative that you model critical thinking and analytic skills, empathy, growth, collaboration, independent thought, kindness, and leadership.

We have seen what's happened to the Jews when heinous and perilous climates like this are permitted to fester. You have a responsibility to alter the future by starting with the present.

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We urge you to start today.



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In the name of God, the Most Compassionate, the Most Merciful
All praise and thanks belong to God, the Lord of the Worlds
May peace and prayers be upon Prophet Muhammad and his family.



Council on American-Islamic Relations

453 New Jersey Ave. S.E.
Washington, D.C. 20003
Tele 202-488-8787 Fax 202-488-0833
E-mail: info@cair.com URL www.cair.com

December 4, 2023

The Honorable Virginia Fox
Chair
U.S. House Committee on Education and The Workforce
2176 Rayburn House Office Building
Washington, DC 20515

The Honorable Bobby Scott
Ranking Member
U.S. House Committee on Education and The Workforce
2101 Rayburn House Office Building
Washington, DC 20515

RE: Urgent Request for Hearing on the Rise of Islamophobia and Violence against Muslim Students

Dear Chair Fox and Ranking Member Scott:

On behalf of the Council on American-Islamic Relations (CAIR), the nation's largest Muslim civil rights and advocacy organization, I write to address a matter of utmost importance and urgency that pertains to the safety and well-being of American students, which will be discussed during tomorrow's hearing on "Holding Campus Leaders Accountable and Confronting Antisemitism."

We are deeply concerned about the recent surge in Islamophobia and Antisemitism, particularly on American college campuses, which has resulted in targeted harassment and violent attacks against Muslim and Jewish students across the nation. We urge the House Committee on Education and Workforce during tomorrow's full committee hearing to also address the below-highlighted concerns about Islamophobia on school campuses nationwide, as it is crucial to ensure equitable attention to the distinct challenges encountered by Muslim students.

It is our firm belief that the rights of Muslim and Jewish students to receive an education in a safe and inclusive environment are in peril. Recent events have shown a national surge in Islamophobic incidents, which includes acts of violence and intimidation from California to Florida. The situation is further exacerbated by current statements made by some members of Congress who are seeking to introduce resolutions and hold hearings about only acts of harassment and attacks on college campuses targeting Jewish American students while ignoring the safety and security of their fellow Muslim classmates. These actions, while well-intentioned, do not frankly speak to the broader issues of violence and intimidation that both Muslim and Jewish students are currently facing. Since the escalation of violence in Israel and Palestine, CAIR received more than **1283 requests for help and reports of bias**¹, showing a 216 percent increase over the previous year. These incidents span a broad spectrum of hostility, including harassment, discrimination, and threats, affecting students who are visibly Muslim or who have spoken up for protecting civilians in Gaza.

Students expressing their support for Palestinian rights have faced extreme consequences for their activism, including the publicizing of their personal information through digital trucks that have circled campuses like Harvard and Columbia University. Recently, on November 25, three Palestinian college students wearing traditional Palestinian scarves were shot in Burlington², Vermont, during the Thanksgiving holiday. The students were walking on Prospect Street enroute to visit their grandmother when a white man confronted them with a handgun. The man, without speaking, discharged at least four rounds, and fled on foot. Jason Eaton, the 48-year-old accused of the shooting, has pleaded not guilty. One of the three students, Hisham Awartani, a 20-year-old student at Brown University, is now paralyzed from the chest down after sustaining a gunshot wound that lodged in his spine.

Muslim students are being subjected to discrimination and harassment at an alarming rate, with one member of Congress having used offensive and derogatory language by comparing Palestinians to "Nazis." Such rhetoric from leadership figures only serves to exacerbate the harassment and discrimination faced by Muslim students. Allow me to draw your attention to some specific incidents that have occurred recently:

¹ Bailey, Chelsea. "CAIR Received an 'Unprecedented' 1,283 Reports of Anti-Arab and Islamophobic Bias in the Last Month, New Data Shows." *CNN*, November 9, 2023. <https://www.cnn.com/2023/11/09/us/cair-unprecedented-surge-anti-muslim-bias-reaj/index.html>.

² Tebor, C., Abdallah, K., McKend, E., & Sottile, Z. (2023, November 27). 3 Palestinian students were shot in Vermont. Civil rights groups are calling for a close look at the motive. *CNN*. <https://www.cnn.com/2023/11/26/us/palestinian-students-shot-burlington-vermont/index.html>

- On Wednesday, October 11, 2023, at the University of California³, Los Angeles (UCLA), during a virtual Palestine Emergency Panel, a group of students was threatened and labeled as terrorists by a group of individuals who entered the building. The incident escalated to the point where the students had to leave the building for their safety.
- On Thursday night, October 12, several individuals harassed students⁴ at the University of Texas during a Palestine Solidarity Committee meeting that addressed the recent violence in the Gaza Strip. These individuals were captured on video using profanities, calling students terrorists, and throwing papers at attendees.
- On Tuesday, October 31, 2023, a Muslim student faced exclusion⁵ from Bloomfield Hills High School in Michigan for declining to respond to inquiries regarding her involvement in a peaceful protest at the school. Following a walkout for Palestine, students were called to the office and questioned about their participation and intentions, with those who chose not to disclose their political beliefs or exercise their First Amendment rights facing school suspension pending an investigation.
- On Wednesday, October 25, 2023, Florida Governor Ron DeSantis ordered state universities to ban pro-Palestinian student organizations.⁶ This represents a significant erosion of education, freedom of speech, and social justice initiatives, including the banning of anti-racist courses and attempts to criminalize protests. Freedom of speech gives students the right to express their unique views on issues of the day without facing the threat of violence from their neighbors or censorship from the government.
- On Thursday, November 2, 2023, a hit-and-run targeting an Arab Muslim student was reported on Stanford University's campus, with the incident involving a suspect who allegedly shouted offensive remarks.⁷ The victim, a pedestrian, sustained injuries, and the suspect fled in a black Toyota 4Runner. According to the initial report, the driver "made

³ "CAIR-LA Condemns Attacks against Pro-Palestine UCLA Students, Calls for Investigation and Ban by School," October 17, 2023. https://www.cair.com/press_releases/cair-la-condemns-attacks-against-pro-palestine-ucla-students-calls-for-investigation-and-ban-by-school/.

⁴ *CAIR-Texas Calls for Campus Ban of Men who Harassed Students at U. Texas Palestinian Solidarity Meeting.* (2023, October 13). https://www.cair.com/press_releases/cair-texas-calls-for-campus-ban-of-men-who-harassed-students-at-u-texas-palestinian-solidarity-meeting/

⁵ *CAIR-MI to Hold Press Conference with Family of Student Removed from Bloomfield Hills High School for Refusing to Answer Questions About Participation in Walk Out for Palestine.* (2023, October 30). https://www.cair.com/press_releases/cair-mi-to-hold-press-conference-with-family-of-student-removed-from-bloomfield-hills-high-school-for-refusing-to-answer-questions-about-participation-in-walk-out-for-palestine/

⁶ Farrington, B., & Binkley, C. (2023, October 25). Florida orders state universities to disband pro-Palestinian student group | AP News. *AP News*. <https://apnews.com/article/israel-palestine-desantis-florida-education-sjp-12b4d4f2bdd8618c12b8a29cc852be25>

⁷ Yang, Anna. "Hit-and-Run Injures Arab Muslim Student, Incident under Investigation as Hate Crime." *The Stanford Daily*, November 5, 2023. <https://stanforddaily.com/2023/11/04/hit-and-run-injures-arab-muslim-student-incident-under-investigation-as-hate-crime/>.

eye contact with the victim, accelerated, and struck the victim.” The incident is being investigated as a potential hate crime, given the reported bias-motivated language used.

These are only a snapshot of countless more incidents of Islamophobia, harassment, and violence against students across America. Regardless of faith, these stories are profoundly concerning and demand immediate attention. The rise in discrimination, violence, and the silencing of voices Muslim students on campus is an alarming trend that must be addressed promptly. We must work tirelessly to ensure that all students can learn in safe and inclusive environments, regardless of their background. **It is imperative that this committee and its counterpart in the U.S Senate take decisive action to combat these injustices and continue to promote the principles of a safe, educational environment that values freedom of speech for all students.**

CAIR is committed to working with you and the committee to ensure the safety and rights of all American students. CAIR has submitted a parallel letter to the Senate Committee on Health, Education, Labor, and Pensions.

We appreciate your attention to this matter and look forward to your prompt and effective response. Please contact us if you require any further information or if we can help.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in cursive script, appearing to read "Robert S. McCaw".

Robert S. McCaw
Director of Government Affairs Department
Council on American-Islamic Relations

December 2, 2023

To: The Committee on Education and the Workforce
From: MIT Jews for Ceasefire, Harvard Jews for Palestine, and University of Pennsylvania Chavurah
Subject: Letter for the Record re: Hearing on “Holding Campus Leaders Accountable and Confronting Antisemitism”

Dear Chairwoman Foxx, Ranking Member Scott, and Members of the Committee:

We, Jewish and Israeli students of Harvard, MIT, and the University of Pennsylvania, who call for a ceasefire and an end to the war in Gaza, are writing today to share with you our experiences on our campuses. Below, we have compiled testimonials from Jewish students across our three universities, anonymized for safety, to share the pain, grief, and resolve we feel as a Jewish, anti-war coalition.

Although our circumstances differ, together we have faced antisemitism, harassment, threats, and silencing from our administrations, faculty, student bodies, and the larger media narrative that has brought about this hearing. Some of us have faced suspensions and the loss of jobs and professional opportunities. Some of us have been doxxed for being public about our beliefs. As a result, we have become fearful for our and our anti-war friends’ safety.

We are writing to clear the record on the term antisemitism: **Criticism of the Israeli government is not antisemitism.** To call being critical of a government “antisemitic” is to shut down free speech. Our Jewish values tell us that life is sacred; they necessitate that we speak out about injustice. And so we repeat this point: **Criticism of the Israeli government is not antisemitism.**

It is unacceptable to punish students and make threats against their lives, livelihoods, and safety in response to their opposition to a government’s actions. It is unacceptable for school administration and politicians, some of whom are in the room today, to co-opt our shared identity to silence Palestinian, Muslim, Arab, and Jewish students. These actions only serve to obfuscate real cases of antisemitism and **put Jewish students at even greater risk.**

For too long supporters of Israel have gotten away with silencing us for calling out Israel’s harmful actions against Palestinians. We are Jewish students advocating for peace for Palestinians and Israelis. We know that our safety as Jews will never come at the expense of Palestinian safety. We need a permanent ceasefire and an end to the Israeli occupation. We stand in solidarity with Palestinians.

Signed,
MIT Jews for Ceasefire, Harvard Jews for Palestine, and the University of Pennsylvania
Chavurah

Testimonies from Jewish students at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology:

“I am a Jewish anti-war protestor who is critical of Israel. Jewish supporters of Israel at MIT have called me an antisemite, Hamas, a self-hating Jew, and have told me that I am ‘not a real Jew’ and that ‘G_d made a mistake by having you born a Jew’ — the last statement was made directly to my face. All of these labels and comments are antisemitic under any definition of the word, and do not make me feel safe or welcome in Jewish spaces on campus.”

“As a Jewish student and anti-war protestor, I feel completely alienated by the conflation of criticism of Israel with antisemitism on MIT’s campus. At the core of my Jewish identity is a commitment to stop what happened to European Jews, including many members of my own family, from ever happening again to anyone. I fight for the Palestinian people because I believe that Jewish liberation is connected to the liberation of all people and that the world we should strive for is one in which all people live with freedom and dignity. I never feel more Jewish than when I am fighting for Palestinians, specifically because it requires a real commitment to that belief. It erases my Jewish identity to assert that protests at MIT calling for Palestinians to have full rights between the river and the sea are antisemitic and endangering Jewish students.”

“As a Jewish MIT student, I feel silenced, unsafe, and unwelcome as a direct result of MIT’s lack of acknowledgement for anything other than pro-Israel Jewish sentiment.”

“I have been called a self-hating Jew, an antisemite, I’ve been told ‘you want us all to die,’ ‘you’re going to get raped.’ I feel alienated from institutional Jewish spaces and need to seek support elsewhere.”

“I believe that various factions on MIT campus are co-opting our Jewish identity and causing harm to us and others, all in the name of ‘Jewish safety.’ It should be possible to speak out against this publicly, but I and other members of my Jewish community do not feel safe or supported to do so by the MIT administration.”

“As a Jewish student at MIT I have faced real antisemitism on campus, but I have felt nothing but empowered by the anti-war coalition of students on campus calling for a ceasefire and an end to the Israeli occupation of Palestine. We should be able to condemn the Israeli government’s actions towards the Palestinian people without facing accusations of antisemitism. Weaponizing false claims of antisemitism seriously endangers our rights to free speech and creates a hostile environment where we do not focus our attention on real cases of antisemitism.”

Testimonies from Jewish students at Harvard University:

“The story of how the horrors overseas have reverberated throughout Harvard’s campus is, much like the nature of the violence itself, a story of an extreme power imbalance.

Those who hold administrative power — namely, University President Claudine Gay — have been shamefully silent. Their silence is complicity; they fold in the face of pressure from tweets and mega donors, who hold immense power in their own right.

Those who are, from an institutional standpoint, virtually powerless — students and workers — have been callously punished for using their voices, the one thing no power can strip from them, to protest Israeli apartheid and the unfolding genocide in Gaza.

At Harvard, dozens of infinitely courageous and fiercely intelligent pro-Palestinian voices — many of them some of my closest friends and almost all of them students of color — have been targeted, their names and faces blasted across the internet and displayed on a “doxxing truck” in Harvard Square. Worst of all — if such a calculation can even be made — all of this was done under the guise of combating antisemitism.

Discussions around antisemitism and how to fight it are made futile when they do not give consideration to what truly constitutes antisemitic rhetoric and actions. Protecting student identities by blocking prying cameras at a peaceful demonstration is not antisemitic. Chanting “from the river to the sea,” a rolling cry for Palestinian liberation — not synonymous with the expulsion of Jews from the region — is not antisemitic. Deeming “the Israeli regime entirely responsible for all unfolding violence” is not antisemitic.

Conflating criticism of Israel with antisemitism is not just blatantly wrong, it is dangerous. The conflation distracts from instances of true antisemitism, making these harder to find and address. The conflation excludes anti-Zionist, non-Zionist, and Zionist-questioning Jewish perspectives from the narrative entirely.

This country and its college campuses are not safe for all Jews.

Antisemitism is an unequivocal evil. In a strange and ugly way, I likely would not be here if not for it: At the turn of the 20th century, my paternal ancestors fled the Russian pogroms and sought refuge in America. If only my ancestors knew that the very hate which expelled them from their homes has been redefined, twisted, and weaponized to justify the hate of another people. The same country my family deemed safe over a century ago has become a land which cowardly shrinks from its founding commitment to liberty and justice for all. Moreover, the elite institutions of higher education in this land — prides of our nation and supposed bastions of free speech — have utterly failed to protect their students and workers.

This country and its college campuses are not safe for Palestinians, Black, or Brown people.

I have heard my friends on the Harvard Undergraduate Palestine Solidarity Committee refer to their lives as a bifurcation: “pre-statement” and “post-statement.”

I want to share a story — a moment removed from an endless string of moments since the PSC released their now infamous statement from October 11, 2023 — that I feel encapsulates the lived reality of pro-Palestinian organizers on Harvard’s campus.

Like at most colleges, on every door in my dorm building, there are placards with the names of the students who live behind each of them.

Last month, I walked my friend, a Brown PSC organizer, back to her room in our building. My friend lives in a double. On her door, where there were supposed to be two names, there was just one. Anyone passing by would have no idea there were ever two; the one placard remaining had been moved to the center of the door. My friend’s name was gone, like it had never been there.

She had, in essence, been erased from Harvard’s campus, her dorm, and her home.

When we got to my friend’s dorm and I saw the door, my visceral reaction was to exclaim ‘what happened?’ She hadn’t even opened her mouth to answer before I realized. She had been doxxed — on X, on Canary Mission, on the truck — earlier this month and she did not feel safe leaving her name up on her door for the world to see.

If we are not safe in our own homes, are we safe anywhere?

In the weeks since October 7, 2023, I have never felt more Jewish — and I have never been more proud to be a Jew. Simultaneously, I have never been more ashamed to be a Jew. I am proudest when I stand in solidarity with a people and a movement on the right side of history. I am most

ashamed when my identity is exploited to justify the doxxing, silencing, and violence against pro-Palestinian voices — my pro-Palestinian friends.”

“The doxing truck was outside my house. My jaw dropped with my stomach. I don’t know what shocked me more — the brazenness of the truck, my fear for my friends, the bizarre, disturbing familiarity of its presence. Can you imagine how it feels for a massive truck displaying the photos and personal information of your friends to have been circling campus for over a month and a half? For the site of such public, aggressive slander, and weaponization of antisemitism to become commonplace? Half my house mates wear keffiyeh everyday. What else are we supposed to do to show that we grieve the hundreds of Palestinian lives lost everyday? Thousands lost in mere weeks? The truck isn’t displaying faces at this exact moment that I see it in front of my home. It’s taken an interlude from student names and faces to show a video. It takes me a second to register. So many of my friends were at the die-in at Harvard Business School. I was there. I listened as my friends spoke over the microphone about how we organize because we love life. We mourn this loss of life. I first noticed the Zionist agitator as it seemed like he was going to step on protesters lying peacefully prone on the grass. My gut fell through my knees, I was scared. I didn’t know what was going on so I sat up to see. He had his phone out, inches from demonstrators faces. I was impressed with the marshal’s graceful deflection: they held their scarves up to block his ability to film vulnerable faces. I thought it had de-escalated rather quickly.

And then what? Days later, our Jewish chaplain, Rabbi Hirschy Zarchi, the founder of Harvard’s Chabad, someone I have confided in in the past, sends an email that contains the following line: ‘Let’s increase in mitzvot and live more Jewishly.’ In the same breath, he characterized the interaction as a ‘gang assault.’ This is a blatant lie. It’s a racist lie. I think a gang assault would’ve been.... quite different. Mitzvot are ethical obligations. It was so confusing and devastating to see these two sentences put together in the same email. Sent by a hugely influential Jewish leader to the entire Chabad mailing list. With a blatant lie that hastened the removal of a graduate student from his housing without warning. So coming home to this was devastating. I am afraid to be a Jew on campus who has a complicated relationship to Israel. I feel so alone. I thought when we say ‘never again,’ we will never again tolerate this treatment of a people, this loss of life ever again. How can we let this continue? The way our University speaks of antisemitism makes it seem like Jews are a monolith, that we all feel the same way. What is more discriminatory than assuming a whole group of people is homogenous based on their ethnicity or religion? My administration’s assumption that it speaks for my Jewish voice is more antisemitic than anything my friends have done to cause them to appear on that truck. I don’t understand why my university can’t acknowledge there’s more than one way to be Jewish.

And our administration tells us there's nothing they can do to make it go away, to make us feel safer in our homes.

Anti-semitism is a terrifying and real problem. I love being Jewish. But it's antisemitic to assume that all Jews feel the same way about Israel, which is what the University's communications have conveyed. Islamophobia and racism on our campus are just as big of problems as antisemitism. Why don't they get hearings too? President Gay, does it really feel appropriate, in your heart of hearts, to have a committee on antisemitism and not Islamophobia? Does the price pro-Palestine voices have to pay for their organizing not feel grossly out of proportion and targeted? A first-year proctor and advocate for Palestinian liberation lost his job, our friends are doxxed, people were threatened with blacklisting by billionaires on X. The founder of Accuracy in Media, the company funding the doxxing truck, posted a video of himself at a shooting range hours before the Harvard-Yale tailgate.

I don't know why it's such a radical ask for all students to be equally protected at this campus. We are in an environment where we are supposed to be able to learn, not worry about our imminent physical safety as we try to rally our communities towards peace. This is not my Harvard. This is not a place I'm proud to be a student."

Testimonies from Jewish students at the University of Pennsylvania:

"It feels like there is so much tension in the air on campus, and it seems like if I speak up about my anti-Zionist beliefs, my voice will be silenced or shot down as "antisemitic" even though I am Jewish. The University of Pennsylvania's administration has essentially refused to acknowledge the havoc that Israel has perpetrated in Gaza, and their recent cancellation of the film *Israelism*, hosted by a progressive Jewish organization, demonstrates a lack of commitment to open dialogue and free speech surrounding Israel and Zionism. I am incredibly angered by the university's actions and I feel as if Penn has recently taken a turn towards censorship, leaving behind diversity of opinion and open dialogue, both of which should be the key tenets of an academic institution."

"Because of my position on Israel and my involvement in Chavurah, I have had multiple friends cut me off. I have been told by someone I used to attend Shabbat services with that I'm denying my Jewishness and being 'pointlessly cruel' towards my own community. My concerns about the safety of my Palestinian peers, Gaza, the future of the Jewish people and the future of Judaism beyond Zionism, have made me a villain to people who had once been my friends. And the university's censoring of progressive Jewish voices and condemnation of calls for a free Palestine as antisemitism has helped validate my peers' attitudes towards me. The future of the

Jewish community at Penn is at a crossroads and the way to protect it is not to silence some Jewish voices and value the other — that will only cause further division and jeopardize the safety of a significant number of Jewish students. The only way forward is to create a space where all Jews can feel heard by one another and by the broader Penn community. By censoring progressive Jews, Penn admin is actively contributing to the dissolution of the Penn Jewish community.”

“When I first became involved in pro-Palestinian activism, I had to come to terms with the very real impacts to my relationships with my friends and family as well as my future career opportunities. My criticism of Israel and its policies is not disconnected from Judaism; rather, it’s inherent in my Jewish beliefs that I question, learn, and engage in critical dialogue in all aspects of my life. My friends and I have been called self-hating Jews, traitors, nazi sympathizers, and worse for expressing dissent with a state that doesn’t represent us, but uses our cultural and religious identity as a justification for genocide. I regard the censorship on campus as a violation of my freedom of speech as well as my freedom of religion, and I condemn Penn for not only failing to provide education about the conflict, but actively suppressing the educational events that student organizations have been forced to host for lack of open dialogue.”

“I had my face posted on a prominent and vitriolic instagram targeting Jewish pro-Palestinian activists on Penn campus. The post was overlaid with a call for administration to leverage a stronger police presence to effectively quash freedom of speech on campus. It’s increasingly unsafe to freely express dissenting opinions on campus, and the administration is promoting censorship instead of education in its students’ moment of need.”

December 2, 2023

To: The Committee on Education and the Workforce
From: MIT Coalition Against Apartheid, MIT Jews 4 Ceasefire
Subject: Letter for the Record re: Hearing on “Holding Campus Leaders Accountable and Confronting Antisemitism”

Dear Chairwoman Foxx, Ranking Member Scott, and Members of the Committee:

As MIT students pushing for a safe, democratic, and open campus community, we write today to share our perspective of recent events on MIT’s campus in relation to the Israel-Hamas War. As you hear from MIT President Sally Kornbluth at the December 5 hearing “Holding Campus Leaders Accountable and Confronting Antisemitism”, we hope you keep in mind the student perspective as well. We are a diverse group of students who stand for our, and everyone’s, freedom to speak and protest peacefully on college campuses, free from the fear or threat of violence and hatred, whether targeted against our Jewish, Muslim, Arab, or other communities.

In this letter, we share student experiences at MIT in the recent weeks and months, our steadfast belief in the importance of free speech and diversity on college campus, our perspective on antisemitism and criticism of Israel, and a timeline of events surrounding the November 9 sit-on on MIT’s campus, events which has been spun repeatedly to tell a misleading narrative. The main points we want to get across in this letter are the following:

1. There is a movement on campus to brand criticism of the state of Israel as antisemitic. Many students, including Jewish students, are hurt by this movement. It prevents MIT from effectively targeting true hatred of, and threats to, Jewish people and also limits valid criticism of Israel.
 - Jewish students in the MIT Jews for Ceasefire group have reported that they generally feel safe on campus, but have felt targeted by pro-Israeli students with antisemitic comments.
 - Many pro-Palestinian students, both Jewish and otherwise, on campus have reported feeling threatened, socially ostracized, and targeted. There is a wider network of people within MIT working to recruit those outside of MIT to punish MIT students for speaking in favor of Palestine.
 - Free speech is a critical part of MIT’s history and character. It is also a fundamental cornerstone of democracy, something students as young adults are coming to learn about.
 - Students are expressing themselves peacefully and with the intention to gain and spread knowledge. This is ultimately the goal of an educational institution and must be protected.

2. A correction of what has become a misleading narrative of what happened on MIT's campus on November 9:
 - o Students protested peacefully via a sit-in in Lobby 7, a highly symbolic and high traffic lobby of MIT that is open to the public.
 - o Protesters remained non-violent but were met with counter protesters who spoke hatefully (e.g., calling protesters terrorists) and physically intimidated students through snatching posters, throwing posters, and shoving students.
 - o Previously, Lobby 7 had been used numerous times, both in the last year and in the long-term history of MIT, as a site for protest and mass gatherings.

Student experiences at MIT

In the weeks since October 7th, there have been several peaceful anti-war vigils and protests on MIT's campus. The MIT administration has attempted to silence this movement through new, arbitrary protest policies, use of police to block entrance, and threats of academic suspension. Students at MIT who advocate for Palestine have faced intimidation and ostracization to various degrees from administration, faculty, and fellow students. A graduate student stated "As a Jewish MIT student, I feel silenced, unsafe, and unwelcome as a direct result of MIT's lack of acknowledgement for anything other than pro-Israel Jewish sentiment." Another student reported that they were told by members of their dorm and study groups that they are no longer welcome, for expressing concern about the ongoing bombing campaign in Gaza. One student in the coalition for Palestine remarked "As someone who supports Palestine, ... I no longer feel comfortable in class because I know that some of my classmates will harass me without any consequences" Students have been called [terrorists](#) by fellow students. One student reported receiving a message on Instagram from another MIT student saying 'F*** you for supporting terrorism and kidnapping kids and elderly disabled women and the killing of my literal school friends.' Students have also reported former members of the Israeli Defense Forces (IDF) threatening to "come after" every other MIT student who criticizes Israel, and teaching assistants and professors photographing and videotaping their students when engaging in protests. These recordings are being used to threaten academic and professional retaliation for engaging in protests, or to publicly reveal students' identities online, and call on external actors to make these students "unemployable."

During the sit-in in Lobby 7 on November 9th, counter protesters made antisemitic remarks directed at Jewish students participating in the sit-in. Members of MIT Jews for Ceasefire have stated that they were told "God made a mistake by having you born a Jew" and called both Hamas and "self-hating". An MIT graduate student, stated "As a Jewish student at MIT I have faced real antisemitism on campus, but I have felt nothing but empowered by the anti-war coalition of students on campus calling for a ceasefire and an end to the Israeli occupation of Palestine ... Weaponizing false claims of antisemitism seriously endangers our rights to free

speech and creates a hostile environment where we do not focus our attention on real cases of antisemitism.” In addition to verbal remarks, pro-Israeli counter protesters physically assaulted students during the sit-in, stole the anti-war students’ posters and threw them at people, and reached across police barriers in an attempt to enact more violence, as described in the timeline below.

Importance of free speech and right to protest on college campuses

Open criticism within university spaces can prevent morally repugnant entanglements and enable evaluation of existing financial engagements at universities. Two examples of moral causes for divestment are disengagement from the MIT-Skoltech Program in response to the Ukraine war, and divestment from Sudan in response to the genocide in Darfur. MIT’s more recent history highlights the importance of speech and the right to protest: In 2020, when it was revealed that MIT had accepted funds from convicted criminal Jeffrey Epstein, students and faculty engaged in often uncomfortable and time-consuming public debates, Q&A sessions, and other venues for discourse to create a better path forward and hold administrators accountable. Without open dialogue, these kinds of involvements could have continued, making MIT complicit in human rights abuses.

Civil disobedience is a vital component of college campuses. Students are in a unique position to criticize the actions of the powerful and well-connected, due to their proximity to knowledge creation and their academic freedoms. Student activism has a rich history precisely because students are people who want not only to lead the advancement of science and technology, but also to apply these tools to create a [better world](#). At MIT, we are a community who, in the 1960-70s, [protested en-masse to demand immediate withdrawal from Vietnam](#) and successfully lobbied MIT to [divest from the Department of Defense sponsored Instrumentation Lab](#); who, in the 1980-90s, [built a shantytown in front of the Student Center](#) to draw awareness to [MIT Corporation’s investments in the apartheid regime in South Africa](#); who, in recent years, [held a 116 day long sit-in](#) in the Infinite Corridor to demand that the university cut fossil fuel holdings from its endowment.

Today, [students at MIT are calling](#) on the Institute to divest from financial and military collaborations that aid a decades-long occupation to systematically degrade, displace, and destroy the lives of countless Palestinians. Through protest and dissenting speech, students and faculty continue to call for a systematic process to evaluate institutional involvements in the Middle East on a consistent ethical and moral framework. Lobby 7 was chosen as the venue for a demonstration because of its high visibility and high traffic, with a large percentage of our MIT community passing through every day. Organizers wanted the demonstration to be visible, especially at a time when silence and invisibility only add to our complicity within US institutions. It must also be noted that there is a rich history of student demonstrations in Lobby

7, from a dining reform protest in 2010, a BlackHack die-in in 2019, to a police brutality speak-out in 2023. Lobby 7 is akin to the town square of MIT. As students of history and as a coalition that is constantly inspired by the work of the MIT activists that came before us, Lobby 7 was chosen to honor this tradition of student protest and to visibly call attention to the war crimes being waged against Palestinians.

Universities are often the first place young adults become aware of the inner workings of a large bureaucracy. Washington is distant, but the actions and words of peers at school are not. Protest, dissent, and advocacy within the university are how students learn and observe the workings of democracy in action. Academic rights, such as the right to reserve space in the university, to publish, to put up informational posters, to protest in public spaces, and to have unbiased access to information, enable truth-seeking and truth-telling. Students advocating for causes within their universities are tomorrow's public intellectuals and government officials. **A university without the right to speech and protest would be a place that teaches acquiescence to the interests of the powerful, not a place where human knowledge is advanced and individuals can speak truth to power.**

Importance and value of diversity of people on campus

Diversity, equity, and inclusion are fundamental cornerstones of academic excellence and achievement. Engaging with people who have different backgrounds, identities, and views is what gives rise to developing our own ideas and bringing about new questions that advance our society. As academics, we often face disagreement among our peers in regards to our personal, cultural, or religious views. It is, however, the nature of an academic institution to foster healthy dialogue that addresses these disagreements in order to progress, not to quell or threaten certain views from being spoken. The preservation of MIT's academic prestige, and to a larger extent the United States' commitment to prevent the "abridging the freedom of speech, or of the press; or the right of the people peaceably to assemble," is critically dependent on the acceptance and inclusion of different perspectives. This is as true now as it was when students galvanized the civil rights movements in the 1960s.

In 2022, President Kornbluth stated that "MIT has never been more excellent, and MIT has never been more diverse, and I see these factors as inextricably intertwined. I'm dismayed by anything that threatens that because that threatens our mission, and it threatens our ability to prepare the next generation of leaders for our multiracial society." Never has this statement been truer, yet this threat is now being brought again to our institutions in the form of suppression of criticism of another sovereign nation across the world. Our nation's demographic and voters are becoming increasingly diverse, which is a welcome fact to not only our academic institutions, but also our most prominent companies and military, where it is believed diversity adds to their strength.

Their viewpoints, backgrounds, and opinions, must, therefore, be acknowledged and uplifted, rather than suppressed and vilified.

On antisemitism and criticism of Israel

We, the letter writers, are deeply concerned by the rise in antisemitism, as well as the rise in Islamophobia and anti-Arab hate throughout the nation. The recent shooting of three college students in Vermont weighs heavily on our minds at this time. It is crucial to differentiate between on the one hand, criticism of Israel and Palestine, and on the other antisemitism and islamophobia. Antisemitism and islamophobia should be condemned and prosecuted anywhere they occur, but criticism of Israel or Palestine cannot be suppressed without undermining the very pillars of our democracy. To criticize Israel's military, social, and political repression of Palestinians, or political Zionism and its agenda, is to join the ranks of academic scholars from MIT and beyond, along with many renowned human rights organizations. Criticism of Israel's unjust and unlawful actions cannot, and must not, be conflated with criticism or persecution of Jewish people, just as criticism and debate on our own government's actions is not conflated with an attack on the American people. To the contrary, we take pride in the fact that American democracy allows and empowers our right to free speech.

Regarding the safety and support of Jewish students at MIT, two orthodox Jewish students [penned an article](#) in which they express that "Since October 7, ... if anything, the Institute's support for its Jewish students has only gotten stronger," and "Despite all the media coverage, campus life has, for the most part, remained the same. Jewish students have continued attending their classes and going about their day with minimal interruption." We commend MIT and President Kornbluth for their role in ensuring protections for Jewish students. However, we are deeply concerned with attempts to weaponize allegations of antisemitic hate-speech to stifle dissent and silence speech that may be controversial, but well-within the bounds of academic and university guidelines. Many on campus, assembled under the MIT Israel Alliance, are advocating the use of the International Holocaust Remembrance Alliance (IHRA) definition of antisemitism. The IHRA contends that "claiming that the existence of a State of Israel is a racist endeavor" falls under this umbrella of antisemitism. The IHRA conflates many forms of criticism of the state of Israel with antisemitism. This sets a dangerous precedent in which nation-states and governments can avoid valid criticism and intellectual scrutiny.

MIT Jews for Ceasefire are calling for a rejection of the IHRA definition of antisemitism, and adoption of the Jerusalem Declaration on Antisemitism. The Jerusalem Declaration states: "Criticizing or opposing Zionism as a form of nationalism, or arguing for a variety of constitutional arrangements for Jews and Palestinians in the area between the Jordan River and the Mediterranean...on the face of it, are not antisemitic (whether or not one approves of the view or action)." It goes on to say "It is not antisemitic to point out systematic racial

discrimination. In general, the same norms of debate that apply to other states and to other conflicts over national self-determination apply in the case of Israel and Palestine. Thus, even if contentious, it is not antisemitic, in and of itself, to compare Israel with other historical cases, including settler-colonialism or apartheid.”

We strongly believe that criticism of Israel’s actions is not only justified but necessary. One student in the coalition for Palestine remarked: “Equality for some is not equality, and none of us are free until we all are: Palestinian or Jewish.” Another MIT graduate student and alumni stated “A commitment to stop what happened to European Jews, including many members of my own family, from ever happening again to anyone is at the core of my Jewish identity. I fight for the Palestinian people because I believe that Jewish liberation is connected to the liberation of all people and that the world, we should strive for is one in which all people live with freedom and dignity. I never feel more Jewish than when I am fighting for Palestinians, specifically because it requires a real commitment to that belief. It erases my Jewish identity to assert that protests at MIT calling for Palestinians to have full rights between the river and the sea are antisemitic and endangering Jewish students.”

Timeline of events surrounding the Lobby 7 sit-in:

Nov 8 at 2:53 PM: Suzy Nelson, Dean of Student Life, sends an [email](#) to all students saying: “You may not disrupt living, working, and learning spaces at MIT.” “The only approved protest venues are the following outdoor spaces...” “Failure to comply with these regulations will result in referral to the Committee on Discipline”. The day of the protest is predicted to be cold and rainy. Outdoor protest venues require advance booking.

Nov. 9th 8:00 AM: Protesters sit quietly. Counter protesters start to arrive, also quietly.

9:00 AM-9:30 AM: Escalation. [Counter protesters forced their way through the student marshalls](#) (orange-vested students) and protesters. [Counter protesters are held back by MIT Police and push through police as well.](#)

9:50-11:50 AM: Increase of shouting. Protesters report being trampled whilst sitting. Verbal abuse by counter protesters.

11:55 AM: MIT Letters that warn of suspension are handed out to some protesters and counter protesters (“less than half”) who were inside Lobby 7. Some students doubt the validity and origin of the letter. There is no signature or letter head. Counter protesters leave.

12:15 PM: Protesters largely remain. Clear egress paths through protesters are maintained.

Around 2:50 PM: Additional protesters arrive, transitioning from a different protest across town to join the Lobby 7 demonstration– they all sit down. Another counter protester enters with an Israeli flag and takes pictures; he is peacefully escorted out of lobby 7.

4:55 PM: More police presence arrived at Lobby 7. MIT sends out an MIT advisory to the entire MIT community that “Please avoid Lobby 7 due to an ongoing demonstration. Seek alternate routes. Beginning at 5pm, MIT Main Group buildings will be accessible via MIT ID card only.”

Around 5:00 PM: Protest Organizers announce that protesters should stay for a press conference at 7. MIT closes Lobby 7, a space that MIT proudly keeps open to the public. Police at all entrances let people leave but not reenter.

This includes students trying to use the restroom. No student is allowed to pass through either. Police block lobby 7 in a way that protesters never did.

7:14 PM: Protesters are allowed to use the restroom if they accept an escort.

8:00 PM: Speech by the MIT Coalition Against Apartheid organization to all protesters stating their desire to end the MIT Lockheed Martin MISTI program and Seed Fund.

9:05 PM: Protest is finished. Those still in attendance help clean up Lobby 7 and go home.

10:32 PM: Email from Sally Kornbluth, President of MIT. “the students who remained after the deadline will be suspended from non-academic campus activities”

Nov. 10th 10:00 AM: Student-organized lecture series on Palestine canceled by police blocking entrance to previously reserved classroom.

Appendix

Full timeline: [NOVEMBER 9TH LOBBY 7 PROTEST TIMELINE](#)

Additional videos: https://drive.google.com/drive/folders/15PlvYHC_tSZ-BWuFWmeo4Ccg1y12n9M

Report on current conditions at MIT: https://docs.google.com/document/u/2/d/e/2PACX-1vQqEdTqipNw4XdNTNgDchnmY8hN941buAU-BoBWou1uusE0L8vy0Bvx3iwbFjx4WOWuuxLJF4YCTAwJ/pub?fbclid=IwAR1ygla_VsZmfoLCgnAARJEEQq1cph_qnE3ScOCJIBYZx_B3LALdPkKUmPQ



Jerusalem, 06 December 2023

Dear Congressmen,

Thank you for taking part yesterday's US Congress hearing of its Committee on Education & the Workforce, chaired by US Congresswoman Virginia Foxx.

A few weeks ago, I personally met with President Magill as well as with the Interim Provost of Columbia University, Dr. Dennis Mitchell, concerning the alarming rise of antisemitism on their campuses, respectively. During my recent trip to the US, I also met with more than 120 Jewish students about their experiences over the last two months. Needless to say, their disappointment from university administrators and feelings of ostracism struck me.

In follow up to yesterday's proceedings in Congress, I would like to draw your attention to Yad Vashem's [massive online open course on antisemitism](#). Yad Vashem also has numerous educational videos about various forms of antisemitism that could be very helpful during this time of rampant misinformation as well as the denial and distortion of facts often spread by social media among university students.

In addition, I also would like to draw your attention to a special course designed for US college and university professors about antisemitism and Holocaust education that Yad Vashem is coordinating in June 2024. I have attached a flyer about this seminar geared for US campus faculty in the hope that you will personally encourage professors in your state to take advantage of this study opportunity.

Thank you very much for your support to combat antisemitism on US college campuses and in your state.

If you have not recently visited Yad Vashem, I will take this moment to extend you an invitation. This would be an excellent opportunity to meet with you in order to discuss the crisis of Jewish students attending institutions of higher education in the US. I look forward to personally welcoming you to the Mountain of Remembrance in Jerusalem in the near future.

With best wishes for the upcoming holiday season,

Mr. Dani Dayan
Chairman of Yad Vashem Directorate

P.O.B. 3477 Jerusalem 9103401, Israel
Tel +972-2-644-3454/5 | Fax +972-2-644-3452
WWW.YADVASHEM.ORG

Remembering the Past, Shaping the Future



December 4, 2023

Dear President Kornbluth, Provost Barnhart, and members of the MIT administration,

We are a growing group of MIT Jewish alumni and MIT allies who are united in our grave concern and alarm over the growth of antisemitism and an increasingly hostile environment for Jewish and Israeli students, faculty, and staff on MIT's campus.

Since the barbaric attack perpetrated by Hamas terrorists on Israeli civilians on October 7, 2023, antisemitism in the United States has risen to unprecedented levels. The Anti-Defamation League (ADL) has reported that incidents of harassment, vandalism, and assault against Jews have increased by 388 percent since October 7, 2023 over the same period last year (<https://www.adl.org/resources/press-release/adl-records-dramatic-increase-us-antisemitic-incidents-following-oct-7>). Outbreaks of antisemitic incidents have plagued many college campuses, where administrators have shown either inability or unwillingness to effectively manage the situation. Unfortunately, MIT is not an exception.

Our concern and alarm come from news reports and personal conversations with current MIT students who have reached out to us to discuss incidents of harassment and intimidation that they have experienced on campus in the past weeks. These incidents include:

- Two MIT-funded student groups, MIT Coalition Against Apartheid (CAA) and Palestine@MIT, sent an email to all undergraduate students on October 8, 2023, justifying the massacre of Israeli civilians and blaming Israel for it. This was traumatizing to many MIT Jewish and Israeli students with family and friends in Israel who have been directly affected by the brutal attacks.
- Multiple rallies were held on the MIT campus both in locations where MIT allows formal protests (such as Stratton Student Center steps) and in ones where it does NOT allow formal protests (77 Mass Avenue steps, classrooms such as 10-250, 26-100, and MIT hallways). In at least one case, involving a rally on the steps of 77 Mass Avenue held on November 12, 2023, many non-MIT individuals participated. These rallies involved chanting of antisemitic slogans and calls for violence against Jews and Israelis. The chants included the notorious "From the river to the sea, Palestine will be free" slogan – a call that has been deemed antisemitic by the Anti-Defamation League and that the US congressional resolution of November 7, 2023 deemed "a genocidal call to violence to destroy the state of Israel and its people to replace it with a Palestinian state extending from the Jordan River to the Mediterranean Sea." The rallies also included calls for "intifada" – a violent uprising.
- The now-infamous protest of November 9, 2023, organized by the MIT-funded student group CAA, resulted in an all-day occupation of Lobby 7, even after the warnings by the MIT administration before and during the blockade that this was illegal. Fortunately, the MIT police were able to keep the entrance to the Infinite Corridor open but ultimately had to shut down Lobby 7 to the entire MIT community as the occupiers refused to leave.

- Students have stormed the offices of Israeli and Jewish staff members, harassing and intimidating the staff.
- Students have interrupted lectures at MIT chanting antisemitic slogans.
- Individual Jewish students have been subjected to harassment and intimidation by other students while walking around campus.
- Many Jewish students do not feel safe on campus. In the words of one Jewish MIT student: "I do not just feel unsafe, I am unsafe!"

The MIT administration's response to the numerous antisemitic incidents has been tepid at best and tolerant of this antisemitic behavior at worst. While the administration clearly set down red lines for all students as to what is considered acceptable behavior, these rules continue to be flagrantly violated without any meaningful consequences for the violators. Given the administration's lack of response to these violations, it is not surprising that antisemitic harassment and intimidation on campus continue undeterred.

This is not the MIT that we all know and love. This is not the place that we are proud to call our alma mater.

Antisemitism has no place on MIT's campus and in any civilized society. The continued antisemitic harassment and intimidation of Jewish and Israeli students on campus is of grave concern not only to the MIT community, but also to industry leaders and lawmakers. For example, the second most popular audience comment at a session of the MIT Industrial Liaison Program (ILP) Conference held on November 15-16, 2023, expressed concerns about working with MIT in view of the rise of antisemitism on campus. Further, President Kombluth is scheduled to testify before Congress in front of the House Committee on Education and the Workforce on December 5, 2023, to address antisemitism on MIT's campus (<https://www.bloomberg.com/news/articles/2023-11-28/harvard-penn-mit-heads-called-before-congress-on-antisemitism>). MIT should be mentioned in the media for its scientific achievements, not for its antisemitism.

MIT has a legal responsibility under Title VI to provide all students, including students who are or are perceived to be Jewish or Israeli, a school environment free from discrimination, including intimidation and harassment.

We call on the MIT administration to take the following concrete steps to address the growing antisemitism on campus:

Enforce meaningful consequences for the individuals who violate MIT's rules

It is shameful to see how MIT enables further disruption without consequences for individuals who flagrantly violate the rules the administration set forth for everyone in good faith. Other

universities have done much better at enforcing their rules, and so should MIT. Some universities have banned student groups who repeatedly flout rules, others arrested students who engaged in harassment and intimidation of members of their communities, and still others enacted speedy disciplinary hearings within 10 days for those who violate the rules. We call on the MIT administration to enforce its own disciplinary rules and send a clear message to students that antisemitic harassment and intimidation will not be tolerated and will have real, severe consequences. We also call on the MIT administration to take any and all measures to restore civility on campus. It is unacceptable for Jewish and Israeli students to continue being targeted.

Create an antisemitism-specific task force on campus

We applaud President Kombluth's announcement of the "Standing Together Against Hate" council with the aim to "combat hate." However, this is a long-term measure, and it does not address the immediate and urgent problem at hand, which is undeterred antisemitism within the MIT community. We call on the MIT administration to implement concrete solutions to address the rise of antisemitic rhetoric and harassment in the immediate term. We also call on the MIT administration to follow the lead of other schools and create an antisemitism-focused task force to work on ensuring the physical safety of Jewish students and combating the root causes of antisemitism's spread on campus.

We are proud members of the MIT community. It is our hope that MIT's response to our concerns described here will reassure us and revive the sense of belonging, both for us and for current Jewish and Israeli students, faculty, and staff. It is paramount that Jewish and Israeli students, faculty, and staff on campus feel protected and safe, as do all other members of the MIT community.

Signed by:

Svetlana Shnitser M'Eng '00
 Yelena Margolin S.B. Biology '99; S.B. Chemistry '99, Ph.D. Toxicology '08
 Lev Teytelman BS Mathematics(18), BS Computer Science (6-3), 2003
 Irene Margolin-Katz BS 1999
 Stacey Eden Blau BS, 1998
 Dana Rosenfarb BSc, MEng, 2022
 Leonid Taycher PhD 2006
 David Goldfarb BSc (VI-3) 1984
 Alex Neil Iselin MBA, 2022
 Jonathan Erik Monahemi BS 2020
 Mark Cameron Zaretsky SB80, SM82, PhD88
 Diane Gail Lebowitz Bachelor of Science, 1981
 Dianna Goldenson El Hioum SB 1995
 Vera Tilson SBEE '87
 Lawrence Sher SM, 1962
 Adina Gwartzman SB, SM, 1981/1982
 Emanuel Katz BS, 1996 and PhD, 2001
 Adam Charles Rigel SB 2008, MBA 2019

Andrew D. Yablon SB 1992, SM 1993, PhD 1997
Gregory Golberg BS, Computer Science, 2007
Silvina Zimi Hanono Wachman MS 1995, PhD 1999
Limor Sinay MBA 2004
Orli G. Bahcall PhD BSc, 1999
Shulamit Esther Lerner BS, 1993, Course 7
David A Friedman SB 1996
Mark Stephen Daskin BSCE, 1974; Ph.D., 1978
Michael, N, Beregovsky BS, 2006
Jamie H Rosenblum Lichtenstein BS, 1996
Keren Rimon MBA, 2004
Edward Khokhlovich MS in Civil and Environmental Engineering
Dmitry Goykhman Course 6
George Roy Lee SB in EECS, 1998
Jonathan Bart Tepper SB 1974, SM 1975
Ofar Shapira PhD, 2007
Samuel Kaswan SM '94
Dmitri Rabin MBA 2004
Ira Scharf SB '89, SM '94
Kim Wegbreit Koran MBA, 2001
Leonard J. Schulman BSc 1988, PhD 1992
Richard Allen Baehr MS, 1975
Jonathan D. Schwartz SM Management 1994, SM Mechanical Engineering 1994
Lawrence Gordon S.M, 1979
Linne Kimball 1994 MS Sloan, MS Materials Science Engineering
Josette C. Goldish SB 1969, SM 1984
Marc H. Fogel BS, 1966
David Reginald Coleman SB Course 6 2004
Oren Lederman MS 2015, PhD 2019
Rachelle L. Horwitz-Martin PhD 2017, SM 2014
Amy Ilene Katz Gerhardt SB 2002
Keren Greenbaum BA, 2014
Kayla Jacobs S.B. 2006, S.B. 2007
Corey McCaffrey S.B. 2005, M.Eng. 2006
Alexander Moskovitz BSc course II, 1997
Natasha Neginsky Kincy BS 18C 1999
Alexander Rosen SB 1990
Galia Meiri BS 1989
Alexander Staroselsky PhD 1998
Matya Schachter SB, 2005
Dina (Betsar) Levitan SB 2011 MEng 2012
Seth Bisen-Hersh 2001
David A. Broniatowski SB XVI-II, 2004; SM XVI 2006; SM TPP 2006; PhD ESD 2010
Rebecca Kurnik Seshasai BS 2003
Jack J. Schuss S. B., 1973
Gisele Marie Proulx Ellis SB 1998, SM 2000

Nitzan Schwertner BS EE 2004; MEng EE 2005
 Vadim Dribinsky B.S. in Physics
 Alexander Vladimirov SB 1997, MEng 1998
 Michael Miller PhD, 15B-OR, 1996
 Ada Brunstein MS 2007
 Eric Banks BS, MEng 2000
 Yevgeniya Nusinovich SB, 2001 (2 of them, course 5 and 7)
 Mariya Ishutkina Aero/Astro BS 2001, MS 2004, PHD 2009
 Alina Khankin Course 5 and 7, SB, 2002
 Esther M Kalashnikova BS '02
 Mark Daniel Knobel SB 2000
 Igor G Tarashansky MEng, 2000, BS, 2000
 Daniel Rodan Legrain PhD in Physics, 2022
 Laura Sandler SB 2000
 Jonathan Katz BS, 1996
 Aaron Mark Ucko SB, 2000 (x2); MEng, 2001
 Robert J Fetter SB/SM 1978 and SM 1986
 Alana Lidawer BS 2018
 Leonard H Horowitz SB EE 69
 Hagit Yerushalmi MBA, SF program, class of 1999
 Ruth G. Fax SBEE 1967
 Lori Alperin Resnick B.S. 1982
 Jonathan Baravir MBA, 2019
 Diego Syrowicz BS '98, MEng '00
 Ari Bronsoler Ph.D. economics, 2022
 Anna Dreyer BS (EECS) 2003, M.Eng 2005, Ph.D. 2008.
 Thomer Gil SM, 2007
 Yuri Cataldo MBA, 2023
 Reuven M. Lerner SB 6-3, 1993
 Helena Briones Panadero SM 2020
 Evan Bradley Crane SB 2017, MBA 2023
 Itamar Chinn BS '22
 Benjamin Reed Hammer MBA, 2021
 Kevin Larry Trangle SB 1973
 Mike Speciner SB 1968
 Rose G Radin SB 2002
 Zachary Wainwright MBA 2021
 Jason Jay Merkin PhD Biology, 2014
 Ilya Lisansky S.B. 1999, M.Eng. 1999
 Gene E. Fax S.B. 1967
 Mark Zarkhin 6.2, 1997
 Sergey Gribov Sloan Fellows, 2007
 Silvina Grad SM, 2001
 Jerome E Milch BS Biophysics 1967, BS Political Science 1967, PhD. Political Science 1974
 Steven Stern SB2004, MEng 2005
 Diana Borenshtein Ph.D, 2006. Postdoc 2008.

Jose Gerson Bloch BS (1969) MS (1971) MBA (1971)
 Richard Kornfeld Ph.D 1999
 Ron Scharf S.B. 1992
 Jeffrey Sperling BS, 2015, Course 8
 Katya Taycher BS '98, MEng '98
 Richard J. Barbalace SB, 1997
 Abigail Klein BS 2014, MEng 2015
 Steven H. Bergstein SB EE, 1988; SB CS, 1988
 Richard Warren Singerman SB Physics, 1987
 Joel Irvin Seiferas EE Phd, 1974; EE SM, 1973; Math SB, 1973
 Lev Weisfeiler Courses 8, 18 yr 1991
 Natalie Raykin BS'99
 Igor Kaplansky MEng 2001, Bach of Eng (CS) 2001
 Massimiliano A. Poletto 1995 SB, 1995 MNG, 1999 PHD
 Ron Sidorov Feldman MBA 2005
 Warren Jay Katz BSME(2), BSEE(6-1), 1986
 Jack Favilukis SB 14/18 2002
 Igor Cherpak BS, M.Eng 2000
 Joyce Wertheimer SB 1983
 Sara Rubenstein BS, 2009
 Ilias Zadik PhD, 2019
 Omer Preminger PhD, 2011
 Susan Lisa Lotwin B.S. in Economics, 1992
 Alison Jill Fox SB, 1990
 Shari C Fox BS 1992
 Joshua Zvi Levin 1992 Ph.D.
 Boris Raykin '98 Course 6-2, BS and MEng
 Thomas Farkas BSEE'89, MSEE'91
 Elizabeth Ruth Greyber Bachelor of Science Course 7 1989
 Mark Velednitsky BS, 2014
 Gila Schein B.S. 2022, MEng 2023
 Moriel Wojtyla Levy BS Course 10, 2017
 Nadine Carol Otterman ME SB 1992
 Andrew Lynn SB 2002
 Dalia Pesia Leibowitz SM in course 2, 2018. SB in course 2, 2016
 Alex Sherstinsky S.M. 1989; Sc.D. 1994; Post-Doctoral: 1995
 David Sheena SB 1964; SM 1965; PhD 1969
 Ora Mitchell Matushansky PhD 2002
 Tanya Gilman BS 2003
 Sharone Small SB, 2014
 Dina Mayzlin BS 1997, PhD 2001
 Claude Gerstle BS 1968
 Neil David Steinmetz BS 1967
 Abbe Cohen Dvornik SB 1996
 Emily Marcus SB 2002
 Boris Kozinsky SB Physics 2000, SB Math 2000, SB EECS 2000, PhD Physics 2007

Julia D Kurnik SB 2006
 Alexander Malchik Course 6 BS, M.Eng
 David A. Ucko Ph.D. '72
 Irene Miriam Kaplow B.S. in Mathematics, 2010
 David Held B.S. 2005, M.S. 2007
 Maxwell Plaut BS, 2014
 Amir Rasowsky Course 2, 2002
 Inbar, Sarah Yamin, Plaut BSc, 2015
 Chaim Kutnicki SB, 2007
 Jeremy B Katz SB, 2009
 Richard A. Kraus SM 2009
 Isaac Moses SB, 2002; SM, 2005
 Adam Joseph Cervenka MBA, 2021
 Rebecca C Lehman PhD, 2007
 Spencer Bret Moss MBA, 2021
 Gordon B Logan BS 68
 Dalia Yablon Parent
 Daniel Katz SB Physics 1994, SM Nuclear Engineering 1996
 Ari Trachtenberg SB 94
 Mussy Altein Student Life Affiliate
 Ben Baumgold BS, 2008
 Mauricio Karchmer Faculty
 Emmy Linder MBA, 2010
 Gwen Weinstock-Zlotnick MIT Parent
 Andrew Prihodko MBA 2006
 Jacob Gilon Parent
 Avital Balsam Parent
 Eugene Belostotsky BS, MEng 1997
 Jeremy Michael Wertheimer SM '89, PhD '96
 David Mark Blaker BSEE 1979
 Lydia Sandon Musher SB 1998, MEng 1999
 David B Godes MBA 89 / PhD 2000
 Beth Kulas BS 90 Economics
 Sherri Duitz Parent
 Laura Hodes Zacks Parent
 Cara Suzanne Baker SB Course 18c, 1994
 Joshua Eric Duitz Parent
 Stacey Schwarcz M.S. 2024
 Amnon Gavish Parent
 Sharon Herzfeld Parent
 Jomi Kramer LGO 2023
 Adam S. Zeiger Ph.D., 2013
 Pamela K Weinfeld Parent '24
 Almog Reshef MBA 2023
 Boris Meyerovich MBA, 2022
 Samuel Mansberg MBA 2023

Max Faingezicht MBA 2011
 Jonathan D. Baker SM 1994
 Itzik Elyahou MBA, 2020
 phyllis schwartz widow of Robert Schwartz BS '58
 Slava J Menn Sloan MBA 2011
 Penina Scharf Parent '25, '26
 Gene Itkis B.S., Physics (Course 8), 1983
 Boaz Fachler SF MBA '22
 Marshall E Fox SM MechE 2016, MBA 2016
 Amitay Kalmar MBA, Sloan 2010
 Yael Gertner BS MEng 97
 Ron Gut BS 1992
 Lavi Erisson SF MBA 2019
 Tilli Bannett MBA 2006
 Sarah Fox MBA 2023
 Rachel Kern M.S. 2006
 Joshua Krieger Phd 2017
 Jay, F. Landauer MBA
 Elisa and David Mitchell Parents ('24)
 Dar Shkedi Sloan MBA, 2021
 Mark S. Weinfeld Parent '24
 Janey Bishoff MCP, 1979
 Zvi Gordon MBA '14
 Alan Katz Benaim Sloan, 2011
 Sam Goldberger SB 1982, MBA 2016
 Steven Jay Henry SB, SM '73 (VI-A), Officer CI of '72
 Josh Scharf MBA, 2023
 Beth Grey Parent
 Jordan A. Grey Parent (2019 & 2027)
 Shai, Ben Nun MBA 2017, Masters of science in EECS 2017
 Eduardo Tobias MBA, 2014
 Matthew Evan Burg MBA, 2014
 Maya Bustan MBA, 2011
 Abraham Neil Seidman M.S., '68
 Anna Sokolinski BS Economics 1996
 Barton Zwiebach Faculty
 Michael Segal PhD 2007
 Deborah Anne Maizel BS 2006
 Tamara Litwin SB 2009
 Gabriela Zwiebach Faculty spouse, mother, mother in law of alumni and graduate
 Vitaly Veksler MBA 2009
 Aaron S. Sarfati BS 2007
 Roy Appelman MBA 2005
 Adam Hanoach Milner MBA, 2018
 Tchelet Segev BSc and MEng, 2018
 Glenn Michael Borok MIT Sloan MBA '23

Oren Kassif MBA 2006
 Ilia Sokolinski SB 95, SM 98
 Brian Louis Ross SB 2011
 Eitan Ze'ev Reich SB 2007, MEng 2007
 Isaac Alexander Schlecht MBA 2019
 Heidi Michelle Brun Course II, BS/MS both in '85
 Maya Bobrovitch MBA, 2022
 Aaron Zwiebach BSc 2016
 Mikhail Goykhman BS Aerospace Engineering, 2008
 Max Rozenoer Master 6.3, Bachelor 18C 1999
 Maria K Houtchens, M.D. MS, 2005
 Alison Ross SB'82; SM'82
 Tania Ionin PhD, course 9, 2003
 Jeffrey F. Hankoff BS, 1970
 Barry David Jacobson Alum, Harvard-MIT Division of Health Sciences and Technology,
 Ph.D. 2008
 Jeffrey M. Hausdorff MSME 1988
 Aryeh Weiss SB 79, SM, EE 81, PhD 86
 William A. Frezza BSEE '76, BS Biology '76, MSEE '78
 Sandra I Cuzzo Parent
 Leslie Bromberg SB 73 PhD 77
 Theodore H. Korelitz SB 1956
 Andrei Joseph Levin B. S. Physics, 2008; B. S. Mathematics 2008
 Philip Byer SM 1970, SB 1972, Ph.D. 1974
 Jonathan William Wolf Course VI-3, 2002
 Micha Ben-Naim BS 2016
 C. Andrew Frank BS in Biology, 1997
 Alex Grinman MIT S.B. '15, M.Eng '16
 Robert Howard Lustig S.B. Life Sciences, 1976
 Warren J Manning BS Course II '79
 Jonathan Balsam Parent
 Stuart Basseches BSAD 1982
 Alexander Bernstein MEng 99, BS Physics '99, BS EE '99

I would like to submit written testimony for the House Education and Workforce Committee hearing entitled, “Holding Campus Leaders Accountable and Confronting Antisemitism.”

The Dec. 5 hearing, and an earlier one on Nov. 14, were specifically about the relationship between antisemitism and diversity work at universities. It’s a crucial topic that demands direct address, and it’s not surprising that the hearing made headlines across the country.

First, on antisemitism — wherever it exists, it is odious. I had an experience in high school where I did not stand up for a Jewish friend experiencing harassment. A group of students had taken to scrawling antisemitic slurs on classroom desks and shouting them in the hallway. I did not confront them. I did not comfort my Jewish friend. Instead, I averted my eyes from the bigotry, and I avoided my friend because I couldn’t stand to face him.

A few years after we graduated, my Jewish friend reminded me of that experience. He told me he feared going to school those days, and he felt abandoned as he watched his close friends do nothing. Hearing him tell me of his suffering, and reminding me of my silence, is the single most humiliating experience of my life.

My inaction as a teenager was a betrayal of both my Muslim faith and the ideals of America. People of all faiths and identities — Jews, Muslims, African Americans, gay people — should not just be tolerated but should feel safe and welcome. My friend needed more than my silent presence at the lunch table. In the words of the great American poet Gwendolyn Brooks: “We are each other’s business; we are each other’s harvest; we are each other’s magnitude and bond.” This encapsulates the essence of community and responsibility.

Second, a diverse society needs a place to practice and promote pluralism. Enter universities, which are a treasure of our civilization. Where else do you get a wide range of identities

converging in a small physical space, the intellectual resources to teach about the world's great traditions and the co-curricular opportunities (intramural sports, student clubs, volunteer programs) to apply what you learn?

It is essential that colleges prioritize diversity work, but the model should be a potluck, not a battlefield. Good diversity work is absolutely essential to the American project. The United States is the world's first attempt at a mass-level multiracial, multiethnic, interfaith democracy. For centuries, political philosophers believed that a country as diverse as ours was impossible. After all, we humans are wired to prefer people who look and pray like us and to be suspicious of those who are different. To borrow from the great writer James Baldwin, to "achieve our country," we must advance effective diversity initiatives.

Third, we build a pluralistic America by exercising the muscles of cooperation across difference. This means we have to expand the knowledge base, learn the skill set, and nurture the qualities of bridgebuilding. Bridges of cooperation don't fall from the sky or rise from the ground — people build them.

There is a growing campus-based pluralism movement, with a number of courses on civil discourse and a handful of centers like the Wheatley Institute at Brigham Young University, the Vanderbilt Project on Unity and American Democracy, the Difficult Conversations Lab at Columbia University, the Karsh Center for Law and Democracy at the University of Virginia, and the Othering and Belonging Institute and the Greater Good Science Center, both at the University of California, Berkeley.

It's a start, but not nearly enough. Our nation needs every campus not only to house a center for pluralism but to *be* a center for pluralism. Campuses need to be places where people from diverse identities and divergent ideologies learn from one another, not just shout at each other.

In this model, campuses would gather the faculty, advance the research, teach the courses, host the guest lectures and, most importantly, train students to be leaders in pluralism. Furthermore, a campus as a center of pluralism could administer surveys to gauge the pluralism orientation of students, run workshops during first-year orientation to help every incoming freshman have basic skills for constructive conversations across differences, and organize a student fellowship to prepare a small number of people who seek to be expert practitioners of pluralism.

We should remember that we have the wind at our backs. There is an impressive literature, written by both academics and journalists, on pluralism. These include classic works in political philosophy like "Talking to Strangers" by Danielle Allen, "Cosmopolitanism" by Kwame Anthony Appiah, and "Confident Pluralism" by John Inazu. There are books in political science that explore our partisan divide like "Uncivil Agreement" by Lilliana Mason and "Divided We Fall" by David French.

There is a whole tradition in sociology that looks at how groups either come apart or come together, including the studies of Muzafer and Carolyn Sherif in contact theory and virtually everything that Robert Putnam has written. There are important books in moral psychology that look at the role of identity formation in relation to conflict, like Jonathan Haidt's "The Righteous Mind" and Appiah's "The Lies That Bind."

And there is a growing practitioner literature that highlights the skills of strengthening relationships across difference. These include Mónica Guzmán's "I Never Thought of It That

Way,” Amanda Ripley’s “High Conflict,” Peter Coleman’s “The Way Out,” Eric Liu’s “Become America,” David Brooks’ “How to Know a Person” and Arthur Brooks’ “Love Your Enemies.”

Even if a campus is not experiencing conflict regarding the Middle East war, it may well do so around the politics of abortion or gun control, or events related to the upcoming election. Truth be told, a diverse democracy will have no shortage of issues that divide people. We need leaders with the knowledge and skills to make sure that people can disagree on some fundamental things while working together on other fundamental things. We want students to be protesting respectfully on the quad, but we also need them to be working together to find cures for cancer in our laboratories and collaborating on new technologies in our engineering schools.

This has potential outside of higher education, too, as employers from virtually every sector are seeking to hire people with the skills to turn potentially contentious issues — such as which books to include in a school curriculum — into opportunities for collaboration rather than conflict.

Barriers like racism, misogyny, Islamophobia and antisemitism prevent people from making their contribution to a pluralistic society. These things need to be called out and defeated. But the eradication of prejudice is not enough; we must proactively build a diverse democracy and cherish the contributions of all.

In every generation, American campuses have stepped up to help address the urgent needs of the nation. Right now, the great problem we face in the United States is high conflict, and the urgent need is more collaboration and cooperation across differences. In this moment of extreme polarization, to serve the nation and improve themselves, campuses need to become laboratories and launching pads for pluralism, because ultimately “we are each other’s business.”

Eboo Patel is a civic leader who believes that religious diversity is an essential and inspiring dimension of American democracy. Named “one of America’s best leaders” by *U.S. News and World Report*, Eboo is Founder and President of Interfaith America, the leading interfaith organization in the United States. Under his leadership, Interfaith America has worked with governments, universities, private companies, and civic organizations to make faith a bridge of cooperation rather than a barrier of division.

Eboo served on President Obama’s Inaugural Faith Council, has given hundreds of keynote addresses, and has written five books, including *We Need to Build: Field Notes for Diverse Democracy*. He is an Ashoka Fellow and holds a doctorate in the sociology of religion from Oxford University, where he studied on a Rhodes scholarship.



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December 19, 2023

Dr. Claudine Gay
President
Harvard University
Massachusetts Hall
Cambridge, MA 02138

Dear President Gay:

Following up to Dr. Gay's testimony at the December 5 Committee on Education and the Workforce hearing on "Holding Campus Leaders Accountable and Confronting Antisemitism," please find additional questions submitted by Committee members following the hearing. Please provide written responses no later than January 10, 2024, for inclusion in the hearing record. Responses should be sent to Hans Bjontegard (hans.bjontegard@mail.house.gov) of the Committee staff; he can be contacted at (202) 226-4004.

We appreciate your contribution to the work of the Committee.

Sincerely,

Virginia Foxx
Chairwoman
Committee on Education and the Workforce

Enclosure

Questions for the Record for Dr. Claudine Gay

Committee Hearing

“Holding Campus Leaders Accountable and Confronting Antisemitism”

December 5, 2023

10:15 a.m.

Representative Bob Good (R-VA)

- Dr. Gay - Between 2018-2022, Harvard received over \$3.2 billion in federal grants and contracts. For the 2020-2021 school year, Harvard received \$104 million through Title IV student aid. You have personally issued statements condemning antisemitism, yet these statistics from the *Harvard Crimson* tell a different story about the atmosphere on campus: In a survey of the Harvard Class of 2022, 34% of students have a favorable view of the Palestinian Boycott, Divestment, Sanctions movement. Only 21% of students view it unfavorably, while 45% answered unsure, or no opinion. These students graduated from Harvard without an understanding of the conflict between Israel and Palestine. Your institution is clearly producing a number of students who are sympathetic to a terrorist organization.
 - Would you call this a misuse of taxpayer dollars?

Questions for the Record for Dr. Claudine Gay

**Committee Hearing
“Holding Campus Leaders Accountable and Confronting Antisemitism”
December 5, 2023
10:15 a.m.**

Representative Bob Good (R-VA)

- Dr. Gay - Between 2018-2022, Harvard received over \$3.2 billion in federal grants and contracts. For the 2020-2021 school year, Harvard received \$104 million through Title IV student aid. You have personally issued statements condemning antisemitism, yet these statistics from the *Harvard Crimson* tell a different story about the atmosphere on campus: In a survey of the Harvard Class of 2022, 34% of students have a favorable view of the Palestinian Boycott, Divestment, Sanctions movement. Only 21% of students view it unfavorably, while 45% answered unsure, or no opinion. These students graduated from Harvard without an understanding of the conflict between Israel and Palestine. Your institution is clearly producing a number of students who are sympathetic to a terrorist organization.
 - Would you call this a misuse of taxpayer dollars?

Harvard appreciates the opportunity to provide further information in follow up to the Committee’s December 5, 2023 hearing. Harvard and its leadership are deeply committed to combatting antisemitism; we have expressly condemned all forms of antisemitism, including the abhorrent atrocities committed by the Hamas terrorist group on October 7. We have made our position clear: antisemitism has no place at Harvard.

With respect to the Boycott, Divestment, Sanctions movement, University leadership has publicly rejected calls to participate in the movement.

Additionally, Harvard respectfully submits that maintaining federal funding for research and financial aid to students from moderate- and low-income families is consistent with this Committee’s commitment to “promoting access to high-quality education for students.” Federal grants and contracts are crucial to Harvard fulfilling its core educational and research missions. For example, last month Harvard researchers achieved a breakthrough in quantum computing, which may lead to significant advancements in the fields of medicine, science, and finance. This and countless other societal benefits arising from research and study at Harvard would not be possible without federal funding.

Federal student aid is equally important. It goes directly to assist students from moderate- and low-income households to help make higher education attainable. Without this necessary assistance, fewer students from modest means could access these educational opportunities.

We appreciate the American public’s longstanding support for higher education and recognize our important role as stewards of these investments—investments that have made American colleges and universities the envy of the world, have strengthened the American economy, and have improved health and well-being. We are committed to continuing to be thoughtful stewards of all grants and funding, including from the federal government.



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SUSAN WILD, PENNSYLVANIA
LUCY MCBATH, GEORGIA
JAHNNA HAYES, CONNECTICUT
ILHAN OMAR, MINNESOTA
HALEY M. STEVENS, MICHIGAN
TERESA LEGER FERNÁNDEZ,
NEW MEXICO
KATHY E. MANNING, NORTH CAROLINA
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JAMMAL BOWMAN, NEW YORK

December 19, 2023

Dr. J. Larry Jameson, MD, Ph.D.
Interim President
The University of Pennsylvania
1 College Hall Rm. 100
Philadelphia, PA 19104

Dear Dr. Jameson:

Following up to Ms. Magill's testimony at the December 5 Committee on Education and the Workforce hearing on "Holding Campus Leaders Accountable and Confronting Antisemitism," please find additional questions submitted by Committee members following the hearing. Please provide written responses no later than January 10, 2024, for inclusion in the hearing record. Responses should be sent to Hans Bjontegard (hans.bjontegard@mail.house.gov) of the Committee staff; can be contacted at (202) 226-4004.

We appreciate your contribution to the work of the Committee.

Sincerely,

Virginia Foxx

Virginia Foxx
Chairwoman
Committee on Education and the Workforce

Enclosure

Questions for the Record for University of Pennsylvania

**Committee Hearing
“Holding Campus Leaders Accountable and Confronting Antisemitism”
December 5, 2023
10:15 a.m.**

Chairwoman Virginia Foxx (R-NC)

There is a culture at your institution that fosters antisemitism because you have faculty and students who hate Jews, hate Israel, and are comfortable apologizing for terror. How did your campus get this way? What is it about the way that you hire faculty and approve curriculum that's allowing your campus to be infected by this intellectual and moral rot?

Rep. Rick Allen (R-GA)

1. Like so many others, I have been extremely troubled by the antisemitic activities on your campus. I would like to go through three examples of blatant antisemitism by your distinguished faculty members who were entrusted to educate our future leaders. First, on October 23, Dr. Robert Vitalis showed solidarity with Gaza not by calling for a return of hostages and peace but by posting a patch of the military wing of Hamas. Second, Dr. Eve Trout Powell agreed with a known antisemite, Noura Erakat, that condemning the violence on October 7th must begin with the condemnation of Israeli segregation, colonialism, and occupation. This was posted 24 hours after the greatest loss of Jewish life since the Holocaust. Lastly, three days later, Dr. Powell reposted a statement that said, “I hope once the shock of what the ‘Palestinian resistance’ (not terrorists ... the resistance) did has passed, the good people in the West will return to having moral clarity and speak out about the intent to genocide by Israeli leaders and the fact they are carrying this out with western government approval.”
 - A. **Question:** Are Professors Vitalis and Powell currently still teaching classes at the University of Pennsylvania?
 - B. **Question:** Have Professors Vitalis and Powell’s department heads demanded explanations for their activities?
 - C. **Question:** Has an investigation been launched to determine whether or not their views have led to discrimination or harassment of Jewish students in their classes?

Question from Chairwoman Foxx

Question 1. There is a culture at your institution that fosters antisemitism because you have faculty and students who hate Jews, hate Israel, and are comfortable apologizing for terror. How did your campus get this way? What is it about the way that you hire faculty and approve curriculum that's allowing your campus to be infected by this intellectual and moral rot?

The University of Pennsylvania welcomes the opportunity to reaffirm our commitment to combat antisemitism and all forms of hate. Penn is distinguished by our long history of being an especially welcoming place for Jewish people. The vibrant engagement of Jewish faculty, students, staff, and alumni has long been, and will continue to be, an integral part of Penn. We are proud of our history and the prominent role our Jewish community plays in Penn's campus life and academic excellence. Therefore, the University of Pennsylvania respectfully disagrees with the premise of the question and rejects the allegation that the University has fostered a culture of hate on campus.

Antisemitism—a pernicious, viral evil—has been rising in our society, and global events have dramatically accelerated the surge. No place is immune, and many campuses across the country, including ours, have recently experienced unacceptable antisemitic incidents. The University stands clearly and strongly against antisemitism in all its odious forms. We will never shrink from our moral responsibility to combat antisemitism and educate others to recognize and reject hate.

We have acted decisively to ensure safety throughout and near campus.

- We have expanded the presence of Penn Public Safety and Allied Security at our religious life centers including Penn Hillel, the Herbert D. Katz Center for Advanced Judaic Studies, and the Lubavitch House. And we have enhanced security at every event, rally, protest, and vigil on campus.
- We are also working closely with local, state, and federal law enforcement to promptly report and investigate antisemitic acts against any member of the Penn community.
- Where we have identified individuals who committed these acts in violation of University policy, we have initiated disciplinary proceedings, and we have referred matters to law enforcement where appropriate.

Penn is committed to a whole-University approach, anchored in the U.S. National Strategy to Counter Antisemitism,¹ to combat antisemitism now and in the future and to ensure that our campus culture will not tolerate antisemitism.

The history of Hebrew and Jewish Studies at the University of Pennsylvania spans more than two centuries and has involved some of the most illustrious names to have graced the University's roster. And we are continuing to build on and strengthen Penn's leading scholarship and teaching on the history of antisemitism and Jewish studies including by investing in Penn's

¹ See *The U.S. National Strategy to Counter Antisemitism*, The White House (May 2023), <https://www.whitehouse.gov/wp-content/uploads/2023/05/U.S.-National-Strategy-to-Counter-Antisemitism.pdf>.

Jewish Studies Program, the Herbert D. Katz Center for Advanced Judaic Studies, and the University's Middle East Center.

The University of Pennsylvania encourages freedom of inquiry, discourse, teaching, research, and publication, and we protect our faculty from influences, from within or outside the University, that would restrict the exercise of these freedoms in faculty members' areas of scholarly interest. Accordingly, the University's faculty are entitled to freedom in the classroom in discussing their subject. The University's policies also make clear that faculty have special obligations that include showing respect for the opinions of others and avoiding the harassment of any member of the University community.

While faculty independently set the curriculum for their class, Penn's administration and leadership teams work every day to make sure that Penn, as an institution of higher education, creates the conditions where all our students and faculty, and the free exchange of ideas, can thrive.

Questions from Representative Allen

Question 1. Like so many others, I have been extremely troubled by the antisemitic activities on your campus. I would like to go through three examples of blatant antisemitism by your distinguished faculty members who were entrusted to educate our future leaders. First, on October 23, Dr. Robert Vitalis showed solidarity with Gaza not by calling for a return of hostages and peace but by posting a patch of the military wing of Hamas. Second, Dr. Eve Trout Powell agreed with a known antisemite, Noura Erakat, that condemning the violence on October 7th must begin with the condemnation of Israeli segregation, colonialism, and occupation. This was posted 24 hours after the greatest loss of Jewish life since the Holocaust. Lastly, three days later, Dr. Powell reposted a statement that said, "I hope once the shock of what the 'Palestinian resistance' (not terrorists ... the resistance) did has passed, the good people in the West will return to having moral clarity and speak out about the intent to genocide by Israeli leaders and the fact they are carrying this out with western government approval."

Question 1.A. Are Professors Vitalis and Powell currently still teaching classes at the University of Pennsylvania?

Question 1.B. Have Professors Vitalis and Powell's department heads demanded explanations for their activities?

Question 1.C. Has an investigation been launched to determine whether or not their views have led to discrimination or harassment of Jewish students in their classes?

The University of Pennsylvania has a long and proud history of being an especially welcoming place for Jewish people. The vibrant engagement of Jewish faculty, students, staff, and alumni has long been, and will continue to be, an integral part of Penn. We condemn any statements that foster a culture of hate on campus or that threaten our Jewish students, faculty, or staff.

Professor Vitalis is not scheduled to teach a course during the University's Spring 2024 Semester. Professor Powell is teaching a graduate-level seminar for Penn History Ph.D. candidates during the University's Spring 2024 Semester. As a general matter, if a member of Penn's faculty engages in harassment, creates a hostile classroom environment, or otherwise violates local, state, or federal law or our policies, we will review that conduct and take appropriate action. Penn is committed to investigating complaints of harassment or discrimination in the classroom when we learn of them. The University may also initiate a disciplinary proceeding in the event that a faculty member violates the standards, rules, or mission of the University. Penn's policies govern when and how a faculty member may be sanctioned and outline the procedures the University follows to ensure that such matters are handled fairly. Consistent with these policies, disciplinary proceedings are confidential, and members of the University community are prohibited from making public statements about disciplinary investigations, charges, or proceedings until the proceedings have been completed. Accordingly, while the University of Pennsylvania is not able to provide information regarding the disciplinary status of individual faculty members, we assure the Committee that we are committed to responding to complaints of antisemitism and taking appropriate action.