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## COMMITTEE ON EDUCATION AND WORKFORCE

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September 29, 2025

Dr. Alan M. Garber President Harvard University Massachusetts Hall Cambridge, MA 02138

Dear President Garber,

The Committee on Education and Workforce (Committee) is continuing to investigate antisemitism at Harvard University (Harvard), including whether there was or is a hostile environment against Jewish students on Harvard's campus and whether the university is fulfilling its obligation under Title VI of the *Civil Rights Act of 1964* (Title VI) to end any harassment, eliminate any hostile environment and its effects, and prevent any harassment from recurring.

The Committee is deeply concerned that Harvard is failing to uphold its obligations under Title VI, as an investigation by the Department of Health and Human Services concluded. Therefore, the Committee is requesting information about certain incidents, entities, and partnerships at Harvard that may contribute to a hostile antisemitic environment on campus. Obtaining these documents will aid the Committee in considering whether potential legislative changes, including legislation to specifically address antisemitic discrimination, are needed.

First, Harvard does not appear to have disciplined—and instead has rewarded—two students who assaulted an Israeli Jewish student who was filming a "die-in" protest on October 18, 2023.<sup>2</sup> Following the attack, Harvard said that it would "address the incident through its student disciplinary procedures" after law enforcement completed its investigations.<sup>3</sup> However, Harvard

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Press Release, U.S. Dep't of Educ., Task Force to Combat Anti-Semitism Letter to Harvard University (June 30, 2025), https://www.ed.gov/about/news/press-release/task-force-combat-anti-semitism-letter-harvard-university.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Wash. Free Beacon Staff, *Israeli Harvard Business School Student Accosted and Harassed Amid Gaza 'Die-In' on Campus*, Wash. Free Beacon (October 21, 2023), https://freebeacon.com/campus/israeli-harvard-business-school-student-accosted-and-harassed-amid-gaza-die-in-on-campus/.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Johanna Berkman, *Attacking Jews at Harvard Doesn't Just Go Unpunished. It Gets Rewarded*, Free Press (May 21, 2025), https://www.thefp.com/p/attacking-jews-at-harvard-doesnt.

is alleged to have obstructed the District Attorney's investigation into the attack. In addition, the Committee is concerned that you appear to have counseled Harvard Business School against sending a community message shortly after the assault. In a text message, you partly blamed the victim for the assault, stating: "Another complication is that, although [the Israeli student] was technically within his rights ... [t]he way he was taking videos appears provocative." And in a later email conveying your advice, Harvard Business School Dean Srikant Datar said an additional reason against sending out a community message was that "MENA [Middle Eastern and North African] students ... will be very upset by it."

To make matters worse, in April of this year, one of the attackers received a \$65,000 fellowship through the *Harvard Law Review* to work at the Council on American-Islamic Relations, a group that even the Biden-Harris administration disavowed due to its virulent antisemitism. The individual also continued on in his post as president of Harvard Law Review. Although the other attacker was removed from his proctor (resident advisor) position, he still served as the Harvard Divinity School class marshal at graduation. In addition, the Committee is concerned that Harvard Business School—where the above-mentioned Israeli Jewish student was attacked by other Harvard students—has thus far failed to publicly release its own Antisemitism Working Group report.

Second, Harvard was reportedly due, by the end of spring 2025,<sup>11</sup> to announce whether it would permanently end its partnership with Birzeit University, an institution whose student body

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> *Id.* A Suffolk County Judge ordered that the two students complete 80 hours of community service and an anger management course, as part of a pre-trial diversion decision. James Borghesani, *Anger Management and 80 Hours of Community Service Ordered for Two Harvard Students Charged in 2023 Campus Assault*, Suffolk Cnty. Dist. Att'y, Mass. (April 29, 2025), https://www.suffolkdistrictattorney.com/press-releases/items/2025/4/29/anger-management-and-80-hours-of-community-service-ordered-for-two-harvard-students-charged-in-2023-campus-assault.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> Text message from Alan Garber, President of Harv. Coll., to Srikant Datar, Dean of the Harv. Bus. Sch. (Oct. 18, 2023, 9:23:14 PM) (on file with the committee as HRVD-CEW-FEB16-00061816).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> Email from Datar Srikant, Dean of the Harv. Bus. Sch., to Jean Cunningham, Representative of the Conflict of Int. Comm. (Oct. 19, 2023, 01:47:19 -0400 (EDT)) (on file with the committee as HRVD-CEW-FEB16-00061815).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> Collin Anderson, *Harvard Law Review Awards \$65k Fellowship to Student Charged in Assault of Israeli Classmate: Report*, Wash. Free Beacon (May 1, 2025), https://freebeacon.com/campus/harvard-law-review-awards-65k-fellowship-to-student-charged-in-assault-of-israeli-classmate-report/; Peter Baker, *White House Disavows U.S. Islamic Group After Leader's Oct. 7 Remarks*, N.Y. Times (Dec. 8, 2023),

https://www.nytimes.com/2023/12/08/us/politics/white-house-cair-nihad-awad.html.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup> Dion J. Pierre, *Harvard Students Charged With Assaulting Jewish Classmate Rewarded With Honors*, \$65k Fellowship, Algemeiner (May 26, 2025), https://www.algemeiner.com/2025/05/26/harvard-students-charged-assaulting-jewish-classmate-rewarded-honors-65k-fellowship/.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>9</sup> Mathilda Heller, *Two Harvard Students who Assaulted Jewish Peer Receive Honors*, \$65,000 Fellowship, Jerusalem Post (Updated: MAY 26, 2025 18:41), https://www.jpost.com/diaspora/antisemitism/article-855490; Pierre, *supra* note 8; Johanna Berkman, *Attacking Jews at Harvard Doesn't Just Go Unpunished. It Gets Rewarded*, Free Press (May 21, 2025), https://www.thefp.com/p/attacking-jews-at-harvard-doesnt.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>10</sup> See Working Groups, Upcoming Event, and Resources, Harv. Bus. Sch. (November 9, 2023), https://www.hbs.edu/about/leadership/statements-and-speeches/working-groups-upcoming-event-and-resources. See also testimony on file with Committee.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>11</sup> Aaron Boxerman, *Hamas Wins Landslide in Student Elections at Flagship Birzeit University*, Times of Israel (18 May 2022, 11:42 PM), https://www.timesofisrael.com/hamas-wins-landslide-victory-in-student-elections-at-flagship-birzeit-university/.

overwhelmingly supports Hamas.<sup>12</sup> The Committee is concerned that Harvard has not made its decision, if any, public. In a January 2024 email, you expressed resistance to the idea of ending the partnership, stating that "if the big issue is that Hamas is popular on the Birzeit campus ... were we to shut down the program on that basis, we'd give ammunition to [Boycott, Divestment, and Sanction (BDS)] advocates."<sup>13</sup> Refusing to partner with a university that explicitly endorses a U.S. designated terrorist organization is entirely different than the BDS movement, which boycotts the only democracy in the Middle East because it is Jewish.

Third, the April 2025 Harvard Presidential Task Force report on Combating Antisemitism and Anti-Israel Bias ("Harvard Antisemitism Report") highlighted several instances of antisemitism and anti-Israel bias in the classroom, most notably at Harvard's Graduate School of Education. <sup>14</sup> This included a slide featured in several sections of a required course that described both the Anti-Defamation League and opposition to the BDS movement as "coded genocide." <sup>15</sup> While the report states that the slide was removed, the Committee remains concerned about whether any other changes were made to the course and similar courses, and how many other instances of antisemitism or anti-Israel bias are present in curricula across Harvard.

Fourth, the Harvard Antisemitism Report states that "some of Harvard's offices for Equity, Diversity, Inclusion, and Belonging have not taken antisemitism seriously." The Committee has similarly been informed of allegations that several Harvard offices of Equity, Diversity, Inclusion, and Belonging, including the university-wide office, the Divinity School office, the Medical School office, and the Graduate School of Education office, have at best been ignorant of Jewish student concerns about antisemitism, and at worst, have actively facilitated a hostile environment. <sup>17</sup>

Fifth, it is unclear whether Harvard is implementing its commitment to incorporating the International Holocaust Remembrance Alliance (IHRA) definition of antisemitism. <sup>18</sup> Under Harvard's Non-Discrimination Policy that incorporates the IHRA definition, a "'no Zionist' litmus test for participation in any Harvard activity" would violate the policy. <sup>19</sup> However, in an October 2023 email, you suggested that such a litmus test could be acceptable: "I could see where a group dedicated to the "liberation" of Palestine would not want to invite Zionist speakers, even if in effect that meant no Jews (except "good Jews" who are anti-Zionist and on the fringe) could speak there."

<sup>17</sup> Testimony on file with Committee.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>12</sup> Aaron Boxerman, *Hamas wins landslide victory in student elections at flagship Birzeit University*, Times of Israel (March 18, 2022), https://www.timesofisrael.com/hamas-wins-landslide-victory-in-student-elections-at-flagship-birzeit-university/.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>13</sup> Letter from Alan Garber, President of Harv. Coll., to Biddy Martin (Jan. 11, 2024, 9:55:18 AM) (on file with the committee as PSP HCEW00003859).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>14</sup> See https://www.harvard.edu/wp-content/uploads/2025/04/FINAL-Harvard-ASAIB-Report-4.29.25.pdf. <sup>15</sup> *Id* at 150.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>16</sup> See https://www.harvard.edu/wp-content/uploads/2025/04/FINAL-Harvard-ASAIB-Report-4.29.25.pdf.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>18</sup> Harvard and Students Against Antisemitism Announce Settlement of Lawsuit, Harv. Univ. (January 21, 2025), https://www.harvard.edu/media-relations/2025/01/21/press-release-settlement-harvard-saa/.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>20</sup> Letter from Alan Garber, President of Harv. Coll., to Rakesh Khurana (Oct. 21, 2023, 12:17:42 -0400 (EDT)) (on file with the committee as HRVD-CEW-FEB16-00014658).

As you know, postsecondary institutions that receive federal funds must maintain a safe learning environment and fulfill all obligations under Title VI and its accompanying regulations. This includes the obligation to promptly address discrimination, including harassment that creates a hostile environment, wherever such circumstances may be found to exist. Under Title VI, even speech that is protected by the First Amendment may contribute to an unlawful hostile environment. Thus, Title VI requires universities to promptly address incidents creating a hostile environment. This can be done through a variety of methods, including investigating the incidents and imposing appropriate discipline; condemning the statements made; implementing policy changes such as time, place, and manner restrictions; providing training to combat antisemitism; and other measures.

To assess whether a hostile environment existed or exists at Harvard, and to understand whether and how Harvard has responded to any incidents of harassment, the Committee requests the production of the following documents and communications by October 13, 2025:<sup>22</sup>

- 1. An updated disciplinary chart that shows all reports or complaints of antisemitic acts or incidents received by Harvard from October 7, 2023, through the date of your response that includes the date of the complaint, a summary of the complaint, the source (by category) of the complaint, the date the complaint was filed, the reviewing entity, whether Harvard opened an investigation, and the current status of the complaint. If a disciplinary or conduct case was opened, include the disciplinary process used to review the case, all actions taken by Harvard to date (including any modification of proposed or imposed discipline), and the current standing of the alleged perpetrator, or standing at the time of graduation. Please also highlight all instances in which alleged perpetrators were involved in previous disciplinary incidents.
  - a. For each report or complaint, include any communications among administrators or staff regarding the complaint, such as discussion about whether to investigate the complaint or how to discipline a perpetrator.
- 2. All documents and communications from October 7, 2023, through the date of your response referring or relating to Harvard's response, whether through investigation, discipline, public or community statement, or other means, to the assault of an Israeli Jewish student by two Harvard students in October 2023, including those in possession of Harvard Law School, the Harvard Divinity School, Harvard Business School, Harvard University Police Department, Harvard's Office for Community and Campus Life, university-wide disciplinary bodies, or any appeals bodies.
  - a. Please include all documents and communications pertaining to internal deliberations about Harvard's response.
  - b. Please include the drafts of the internal community statement that is the subject of HRVD-CEW-FEB16-00061815 and HRVD-CEW-FEB16-00061816.
  - c. Please include the third-party investigative report commissioned by Harvard into the October 18, 2023, incident.

<sup>22</sup> Please note that we are requesting only those documents that have not been previously provided to the Committee.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>21</sup> See, e.g., Andrea Jane Martin, Balancing Freedom of Expression and Equality on College Campuses in the Wake of Intensified Antisemitism, 90 BROOK. L. REV. 67 (2024), https://brooklynworks.brooklaw.edu/blr/vol90/iss1/2/.

- d. Please include all communications referring or relating to the Suffolk County District Attorney's Office and its investigation into the October 18, 2023, incident.
- e. If Harvard undertook investigations of the incident, please provide a timeline supported by documentary evidence that shows when the investigations were opened, the date third-party investigators were hired, the date third-party or internal investigators delivered their findings, the date any charge letters were sent, the date of any university disciplinary hearings, any breaks or pauses in the investigations, and the date they was closed, if any.
- f. Please specify whether the IHRA definition of antisemitism was considered with regard to this incident at any time between October 2023 and August 2025.
- 3. All documents and communications referring or relating to Harvard Business School's Antisemitism Working Group report, including the report itself and internal communications related to the decision by Harvard Business School not to publicly release it.
- 4. All documents and communications since October 7, 2023, referring or relating to whether Harvard should continue its relationship with Birzeit, including Harvard's internal review of the François-Xavier Bagnoud Center (the entity that partnered with Birzeit),<sup>23</sup> internal deliberations regarding Harvard's partnership with Birzeit, and any recommendation that has been delivered regarding the partnership.
- 5. All documents and communications since October 7, 2023, referring or relating to any requests to make changes to curricula or classes at Harvard in response to concerns raised or discussed by Claudine Gay's Antisemitism Advisory Group or the Presidential Task Force on Combating Antisemitism and Anti-Israeli Bias.
- 6. Documents sufficient to show the Presidential Task Force action plans provided to you by Harvard deans for Harvard College, the Graduate School of Arts and Sciences, and each professional school, as described in an April 2025 schoolwide email.<sup>24</sup> Please include a chart that shows which deans have provided action plans and the date of submission.
- 7. All documents and communications since October 7, 2023, through the date of your response, from, to, or in the possession of Harvard's university-wide DEI office, or its successors, referring or relating to antisemitism,<sup>25</sup> including those containing the terms

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>23</sup> Harvard ends partnership with antisemitic Birzeit University, JNS (March 31, 2025), https://www.jns.org/harvard-ends-partnership-with-antisemitic-birzeit-university/.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>24</sup> Alan Garber, *Update on Presidential Task Forces*, Harv. Univ, Off. of the President (April 29, 2025), https://www.harvard.edu/president/news/2025/update-on-presidential-task-forces-3/.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>25</sup> In this letter, "antisemitism" is defined in accordance with the International Holocaust Remembrance Alliance (IHRA) definition and contemporary examples. Examples of antisemitism under the IHRA definition may include references to "Zionism" or "Israel." *Working Definition of Antisemitism*, Int'l Holocaust Remembrance Assoc. (26 May 2016), https://holocaustremembrance.com/resources/working-definition-antisemitism. Antisemitism is considered from the perspective of a reasonable person and considers "the relevant particularized characteristics and

"Israel" or "Palestine."

When producing documents, do not alter them in any way, including but not limited to, the application of redactions or watermarks. Additionally, digital copies should be provided in a format that enables their printing and copying.

Congress's oversight powers are derived from the U.S. Constitution and have been repeatedly affirmed by the United States Supreme Court. Under House Rule X, the Committee's legislative and oversight jurisdiction is broad, extending to "education . . . generally" and "laws, programs, and Government activities relating to domestic educational programs and institutions and programs of student assistance within the jurisdiction of other committees." This includes enforcement of Title VI and other antidiscrimination laws by the Department of Education. Further, as set forth in House Rule X, the Committee "shall review and study on a continuing basis the application, administration, execution, and effectiveness of laws and programs addressing subjects within its jurisdiction." The information gathered will also aid the Committee in considering whether potential legislative changes, including legislation to specifically address antisemitic discrimination, are needed.

Should you have any questions please contact Jenna Berger at jenna.berger@mail.house.gov.

Sincerely,

Tim Walberg Chairman

Committee on Education and Workforce

Jim Walberg

Elise M. Stefanik Chairwoman

House Republican Leadership

Feine M. Sofank

circumstances of the victim." *See* OCR, Racial Incidents and Harassment against Students at Educational Institutions: Investigative Guidance, 59 Fed. Reg. 11,448, 11,449 (Mar. 1994).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>26</sup> RULES OF THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES, 119th Cong. at 7, 10 (Jan. 16, 2025),

https://rules.house.gov/sites/evo-subsites/rules.house.gov/files/documents/houserules119thupdated.pdf.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>27</sup> RULES OF THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES, 119<sup>th</sup> Cong., Rule X cl. 1(e)(6); cl. 2(b)(1)(A) (2025).