March 27, 2024

Dear Dr. Holloway, Mr. Best, Dr. Conway, Dr. Cantor, and Dr. Tillis:

The Committee on Education and the Workforce (the Committee) is investigating Rutgers University’s response to antisemitism and its failure to protect Jewish students. I have grave concerns regarding the inadequacy of Rutgers’ response to antisemitism on its campuses.

Rutgers stands out for the intensity and pervasiveness of antisemitism on its campuses. Rutgers senior administrators, faculty, staff, academic departments and centers, and student organizations have contributed to the development of a pervasive climate of antisemitism. In a February 29, 2024, Committee roundtable, Rutgers student Joe J. Gindi stated, "Jew-hatred has become rampant at Rutgers University. And it has become clear that some members of the school’s administration and faculty are complicit in allowing—even in encouraging—this hate to grow” and “at Rutgers University—like at many other campuses—there appears to be selective
enforcement of [University] rules. They just don’t seem to apply when it comes to protecting Jewish students.”¹

The pattern of deeply troubling incidents and developments at Rutgers includes the following:

- Rutgers-Newark’s Center for Security, Race and Rights (CSRR) has become notorious as a hotbed of radical antisemitic, anti-American, anti-Israel, and pro-terrorist activity. CSRR’s Director Sahar Aziz and numerous CSRR fellows and faculty affiliates have records of virulent antisemitism and support for terrorism. The CSRR was founded in 2018 under Rutgers-Newark Chancellor Nancy Cantor, the same year Aziz was recruited to Rutgers and appointed as a Chancellor’s Social Justice Scholar and distinguished professor of law with tenure.² Aziz receives a $232,623 base salary from Rutgers. Under Cantor’s patronage, the Center has received a total of $191,000 from the Rutgers-Newark Chancellor’s discretionary funds since 2018.³

  - CSRR justified the October 7, 2023, terrorist attack against Israel in an October 31 tweet, stating, “To assess Hamas’s October 7th operation and the Israeli regime’s subsequent response in isolation is to ignore over 75 years of colonial violence and the horrific consequences born out of these decades of oppression and attempted erasure.”⁴

  - Aziz has made numerous antisemitic and pro-terrorism statements, including saying that “American Jews are more privileged than Muslim, Arab, and Palestinian Americans,” and signing a statement condemning “Jewish-Zionist nationals.”⁵ In May of 2021, Aziz signed an open letter that expressed “awe” of and support for “Palestinian struggle to resist violent occupation, removal, erasure, and the expansion of Israeli settler colonialism.”⁶ After October 7th, Aziz reposted antisemitic propaganda claiming that “there [are] no rapes or ‘beheaded babies’! Israel & its MSM accomplices are making up so many outrageous lies to distract from its carnage in Gaza!”⁷

  - On the 20th anniversary of the September 11, 2001, terrorist attacks, CSRR co-sponsored “Whose Narrative? 20 Years since September 11, 2001,” a panel featuring pro-terrorism speakers including Sami Al-Arian, a former University of

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² Letter from Rutgers to S. Judiciary Comm. (Feb. 20, 2024) (on file with S. Judiciary Comm.)
³ Id.
⁵ Aden Kosoi (@adenkosoi), TWITTER (Mar. 6, 2024, 2:09 PM), [hereinafter Gindi Statement].
⁷ Open Letter from Various Rutgers Faculty, We Stand in Solidarity with the Palestinian People, [hereinafter Gindi Statement].
⁸ Editorial, It’s Time for Sahar Aziz to Resign, WESTFIELD LEADERS & UNION CNTY. HAWK (Oct. 11, 2023), [hereinafter Gindi Statement].
South Florida professor who pled guilty and was convicted of providing material support to the designated terrorist group Palestinian Islamic Jihad.⁸ The event’s description states that it “challenges the exceptionalization of 9/11/2001; legitimization of ‘war on terror’ and other imperialist wars and interventions; justification of the ‘Security’ State, and promotion of hyper masculinility and a colonial gender and sexualized order of modernization and ‘civilization.’”⁹ New Jersey Congressman Josh Gottheimer condemned the event, saying, “It is unconscionable that a day meant to reflect on the deadliest attack on United States soil was used to provide a platform to those affiliated with Palestinian Islamic Jihad.”¹⁰

- A CSRR paper titled “Presumptively Antisemitic: Islamophobic Tropes in the Palestine-Israel Discourse” delegitimizes victims of antisemitism by arguing, in the Center’s own description, that “Islamophobia works to fuel and sustain spurious allegations of antisemitism used by the Israel Lobby and its Zionist supporters to shame and silence critics of Israeli ethnic cleansing and apartheid.”¹¹

- Three days after the October 7th terrorist attack by Hamas against Israeli civilians, the Center hosted a webinar entitled “Psychoanalysis Under Occupation: Practicing Resistance in Palestine.”¹² During the event, then-George Washington University (GWU) Assistant Professor Lara Sheehi, who remains a CSRR faculty affiliate, blamed “Zionists” for the largest single mass murder of Jews since the Holocaust, claiming that “Zionist settler colonialism is a structure that is the provocation.”¹³ Sheehi, who resigned from GWU in January 2024 and accepted a Qatar-based position, is known for being the subject of a federal civil rights complaint stating that she told an Israeli student, “It’s not your fault you were born in Israel” and invited an antisemitic lecturer to the class, who stated “good

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¹³ Id.; Faculty Affiliates, Rutgers Center for Security, Race and Rights, https://csrr.rutgers.edu/about/faculty-affiliates/.
deeds done by Jews and Israelis are done to mask sinister activity.”

Following the October 7th attack, Sheehi also shared social media posts calling Hamas terrorists “martyrs” and their terrorism “armed resistance.”

- Notoriously antisemitic, pro-Hamas Columbia Professor of Modern Arab Politics Joseph Massad is a CSRR Distinguished Senior Fellow and faculty affiliate. On October 8th, Massad described the mass murder of Israeli civilians as “astounding,” “awesome,” and “striking.” On December 4, 2023, CSRR hosted Massad for an event called “The West, Israel, and the Settler Colonization of Palestine.” At Columbia, Massad was famously the subject of substantiated complaints for yelling at a Jewish student who questioned his views, saying, "If you're going to deny the atrocities being committed against Palestinians, then you can get out of my classroom!" and asking a student who identified himself as an Israeli military veteran, "[h]ow many Palestinians have you killed?"

- On February 29, 2024, during the question-and-answer period following a CSRR talk on “Gaza, Genocide, and International Law,” a Jewish Israeli professor who offered an “open invitation” to any student who wished to discuss the conflict with him was shouted down by anti-Israel students. Rutgers Students for Justice in Palestine posted an edited version of the incident to its Instagram page, falsely accusing the professor of making “many students across the Rutgers Newark campus feel unsafe” and attempting to “spark hatred between students.” A Rutgers law student who attended commented that she had to suppress “the urge to toss a water bottle at his shiny pink head.”

- Rutgers faculty and staff have contributed to a hostile academic environment through a pattern of hateful antisemitic statements, engagement in antisemitic harassment of Jewish
students, and justification of terrorism, including the following instances:

- Rutgers-New Brunswick Center for Latino Arts and Culture Program Coordinator Silismar Suriel refused to advertise a joint event between the Center and Rutgers Hillel (Rutgers’ Jewish campus center) on social media due to Rutgers Hillel’s association with Israel, causing Suriel to be stripped of her social media responsibilities.²³ At a February 2, 2024, protest Suriel aired her grievances in an antisemitic rant, shouting through a megaphone, “we are a public fucking university serving capitalist issues, serving Zionists” and, “do the Zionists own the university?” while surrounded by anti-Israel activists.²⁴ Suriel also harassed counterprotesting Jewish students with insults, including “[f]uck you,” “[f]uck you, colonizer,” and “[f]uck you, Zionist, why don’t you go read a fucking book?”²⁵

- Rutgers-New Brunswick Associate Professor of Africana Studies Noura Erakat has a well-documented history of anti-Israel, antisemitic, and pro-terrorism conduct and engaging with terrorists, including participating in a 2020 online workshop alongside senior Hamas leader Ghazi Hamad.²⁶ As the October 7th attacks were underway, Erakat wrote that “any condemnation of violence is vapid if it does not begin & end with a condemnation of Israeli apartheid, settler colonialism, and occupation.”²⁷ She justified the kidnapping of civilians as a “military tactic.”²⁸ Weeks later, Erakat ranted about “the lie about beheaded babies” and accused President Biden of supporting “Israel’s genocidal warfare.”²⁹ In 2016, Erakat sat down with Khalida Jarrar, a member of the designated terrorist organization the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine, calling Jarrar a “Prominent Palestinian Activist and Paramilitary Member.”³⁰ Erakat also lionized Khader Adnan,³¹ a member of the terrorist organization Palestine Islamic Jihad, as

²⁴ Id.
²⁵ Id.
a “martyr for freedom.”

- Rutgers-New Brunswick Professor of Women’s and Gender Studies Jasbir Puar has made a career of whitewashing antisemitic blood libel. In *The Right to Maim: Debility, Capacity, Disability*, Puar claims that the state of Israel deliberately disables Palestinians, writing of “a complementary logic long present in Israeli tactical calculations of settler colonial rule — that of creating injury and maintaining Palestinian populations as perpetually debilitated, and yet alive, in order to control them.” In a 2016 lecture, Puar further amplified the antisemitic conspiracy theory that the state of Israel has a policy of kidnapping Palestinian children to steal their organs.

- Rutgers-New Brunswick Professor of Microbiology Michael Chikindas has a long history of blatant antisemitism. Chikindas shared grotesquely antisemitic cartoons on Facebook, including a cartoon of U.S. soldiers carrying a stereotypical Jew labeled “Israel” saying “I am Gods chosen people – you filthy goyim,” a cartoon of stereotypical Jews with titles above them including “Fed Reserve & Wall Street,” “Internet Spying,” “Pornography,” “Wars for Israel,” and “Sex-Trafficking,” and a cartoon of a Hasidic Jew stealing money from a child in poverty and saying, “be a patriot, goy, somebody’s got to pay 10 billion to Israel.” In addition to sharing these antisemitic cartoons on social media, Chikindas promoted antisemitic conspiracy theories questioning the death of six million Jews in the Holocaust and alleging Jewish responsibility for the Armenian genocide, writing in a social media post, “we must not forget that the Armenian genocide was orchestrated by the Turkish Jews who pretended to be the Turks.” Chikindas also wrote that “these jewish motherfuckers do not control me. They can go and fuck each other in their fat arses.”

- Rutgers Law School administrators, including Assistant Dean Katherine Perez, Assistant Vice Chancellor Erica D. Williams, and Associate Dean Sarah Regina, opened disciplinary proceedings against Orthodox Jewish law student Yoel Ackerman for sharing antisemitic, pro-Hamas messages from a Student Bar Association group chat with the Jewish Law Students Association (JLSA) to document them as instances of

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32 *Id.; HumanRights4Ever, Khader Adnan of Islamic jihad or innocent baker, YOUTUBE* (Feb. 21, 2012), [https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=CtPQ4EqepqW](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=CtPQ4EqepqW).
38 *Id.*
antisemitism. Participants in the student group chat disseminated and defended a video claiming the atrocities committed on October 7th, including rape and murder, were “lies” and that Jews engage in “atrocity propaganda.” After Ackerman spoke out against these antisemitic falsehoods in the group chat and documented them to JLSA, Rutgers Law School administrators opened disciplinary proceedings against Ackerman on the specious grounds of “defamation” and “disorderly conduct.” According to a legal complaint, Dean Regina identified Ackerman to her colleagues by his religion in an email, writing, “[i]t appears we have a Jewish law student seeking to take and publish the names of those he deems to be supporting Hamas.” Ackerman was also harassed by his fellow law students and subjected to an impromptu, sham impeachment hearing by Rutgers Law School’s Student Bar Association (SBA) in which he was called a “Zionist” and forced to apologize for his actions. Rutgers briefly suspended the SBA following the impeachment efforts, but promptly reinstated it.

- Rutgers SJP has repeatedly engaged in antisemitic harassment and disruptions of student life and learning at the university. Despite a history of violation of university rules governing student organizations, Rutgers SJP has received tens of thousands of dollars from the Rutgers student government.
  - In 2022, following a Rutgers SJP rally, several carloads of people carrying Palestinian flags stopped in front of the Alpha Epsilon Pi (AEPi) house, a Jewish fraternity. Fraternity members said occupants of the vehicles “yelled antisemitic remarks, spit in their direction and threw miscellaneous items.”
  - On November 17, 2023, the Rutgers SJP group occupied the College Avenue Student Center and harassed visibly Jewish students.” Gindi’s testimony described how SJP activists called him a “murderer” and “European colonizer”

40 Id., at 2.
41 Id.
42 Id.
44 Id.
48 Palmer, supra note 23.
and screamed at him, “we don’t want Zionists here,” while he was standing outside the Center. According to Gindi, Rutgers police officers who were present stood by and failed to prevent the takeover of the Center.

- On November 29th, Rutgers SJP occupied the business school and disrupted classes, stating in a social media post, “WE’RE OCCUPYING THE BUSINESS SCHOOL AND WE’RE HERE ALL NIGHT (emphasis in original).” According to Gindi, a Rutgers administrator held the door open for SJP activists to enter the building and engage in violations of university rules.

- While Rutgers SJP was suspended by Rutgers-New Brunswick in December 2023 for continuously violating university policies against disruptive, disorderly, and improper conduct, including repeated disruptions of “classes, a program, meals, and students studying,” the organization was reinstated in January 2024 with a one-year probation.

- Following the lifting of Rutgers SJP’s suspension in January 2024, the group responded by recording and posting an ominous video in which students masked with keffiyehs called for the elimination of the state of Israel through a global “intifada,” denied responsibility for harassing Jewish students, and blamed “Zionist pressure” for the original suspension.

- At a January 18, 2024, protest following the organization’s reinstatement, SJP members glorified and promoted terrorism and engaged in antisemitic chants, including stating, “dying as a martyr, dying as a hero is one of the greatest sacrifices you can do as a Palestinian and as a Muslim,” “say it loud, say it clear, we don’t want Zionists here,” “there is only one solution, Intifada revolution,” and “settlers, settlers, go back home.”

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49 Gindi Statement, supra note 1.  
50 Id.  
51 SJP Rutgers-NB (@sjprutgersnb), INSTAGRAM (Nov. 29, 2023), https://www.instagram.com/sjprutgersnb/reel/C0PsUW6Oy6y/?hl=en.  
52 Gindi Statement, supra note 1.  
• A Rutgers-Camden law student, who is both Jewish and African-American, had her residence hall door’s decorative nameplate vandalized with a swastika on November 24, 2023, and again on January 20, 2024. The most recent incident of vandalism also had the n-word written below the swastika.  

• AEPi has been a target of blatant antisemitic harassment and threats of violence. In November 2023, a social media post called for the murder of a fraternity member, stating, “there is an Israeli at AEPi go kill him.”  

According to 2022 testimony by the Executive Director of Rutgers Hillel, two years in a row, the fraternity house was egged while students were participating in the solemn practice of reading aloud names of Holocaust victims on Holocaust Memorial Day, as well as on Rosh Hashanah, the Jewish New Year.  

• In the spring of 2021, following a number of antisemitic incidents, then Rutgers-New Brunswick Chancellor Christopher Malloy released a university-wide statement condemning antisemitism and all forms of bigotry, but subsequently apologized for doing so after complaints from Rutgers SJP accusing him of Islamophobia. Both the initial statement condemning antisemitism and the subsequent apology have since been scrubbed from the Rutgers website.  

• Information from Hillel International indicates that there are fewer than 30 Jewish undergraduate students at Rutgers-Newark. Out of more than 9,000 undergraduate students at the Newark campus, this would indicate a Jewish student population of less than one-half of one percent. By contrast, New Jersey is almost seven percent Jewish.  

To assist the Committee in understanding antisemitism at Rutgers and the school’s response, please produce the following items no later than 12:00 PM EST on April 10, 2024:

1. All reports of antisemitic acts or incidents and related documents and communications since January 1, 2021, including but not limited to all reports of antisemitic acts,

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56 Gindi Statement, supra note 1, at 14.
61 Rutgers University, Newark, HILLEL INTERNATIONAL, https://www.hillel.org/college/rutgers-university-newark/.
62 Id.
incidents, or discrimination made to the following:

a. The Office of the President;
b. The Office of the Senior Vice President and General Counsel;
c. Chancellor’s Offices;
d. Offices of Student Experience;
e. The Division of Diversity, Inclusion, and Community Engagement (DDICE);
f. Rutgers University Police Department;
g. Any hotlines, inboxes, or other mechanisms that collect reports of bias, discrimination, and harassment; and
h. Rutgers University Human Resources.

2. All documents containing Rutgers disciplinary, academic, personnel, administrative, or other processes through which allegations of hate crimes, discrimination, bias, or harassment are responded to, including but not limited to, any written policies, procedures, guidance, handbooks, rubrics, and/or tables of penalties. Please also identify the offices, individuals, boards, and/or bodies that are responsible for evaluating and/or determining such responses, including the composition of any offices, boards, or bodies;

3. Documents sufficient to show Rutgers policies and procedures that ensure and preserve access to safe and uninterrupted learning environments and respond to and address reported violations, including through law enforcement, investigative, and disciplinary processes. Please also identify the offices, individuals, boards, and/or bodies that are responsible for evaluating and/or determining such responses, including the composition of any offices, boards, or bodies;

4. All documents referring or relating to the findings and results of any disciplinary processes, changes in academic status, or personnel actions by Rutgers (including all Rutgers campuses, schools, and units) toward students, faculty, staff, and other Rutgers affiliates related to conduct involving the targeting of Jews, Israelis, Israel, Zionists, or Zionism since January 1, 2021;

5. All documents referring or relating to the findings and results of any disciplinary processes or changes in status by Rutgers (including all Rutgers campuses, schools, and units) toward Rutgers student organizations related to conduct involving Jews, Israelis, Israel, Zionists, or Zionism since January 1, 2021, including but not limited to Rutgers SJP and the Endowment Justice Collective;
6. All documents and communications relating to or reflecting sources of funding for Rutgers SJP, including but not limited to university, departmental, faculty, and student organization funds, as well as foreign donations;

7. All findings and results of any disciplinary processes, changes in academic status, or personnel actions by Rutgers toward students, faculty, staff, student organizations, and other affiliates as a result of the following:
   
   a. Allegations of hate crimes, discrimination, bias, or harassment on the basis of religion, race, ethnicity, national origin, sex, sexual orientation, gender identity, and disability at Rutgers since January 1, 2021; and
   
   b. Reports of denial or disruption of access to safe and uninterrupted learning environments at Rutgers since January 1, 2021.

8. All documents and communications since January 1, 2021, referring or relating to antisemitism, involving the Office of the President, Office of the Chancellor, Student Life, DDICE, and/or the Rutgers University Police Department;

9. All Rutgers Board of Governors meeting minutes and/or summaries, whether formal or informal, including minutes of meetings of any components, such as committees, executive committees, subcommittees, and/or task forces, since October 7, 2023;

10. All documents and communications since January 1, 2021, referring or relating to antisemitism and/or Israel involving the Rutgers Board of Governors (including all members and/or officers);

11. All documents and communications, including, but not limited to those involving the Office of the President, Office of the Chancellor, University Police Department, undergraduate and graduate/professional schools, Human Resources, and/or any other entities responsible for investigating and determining consequences for misconduct and violations of university standards, referring or relating to:
   
   a. The activities of Rutgers SJP since October 7, 2023;
   
   b. Posts by Rutgers students, faculty, staff, and other university affiliates on social media platforms targeting Jews, Israelis, Israel, Zionists, or Zionism;
   
   c. Anti-Israel protests at Rutgers since October 7, 2023, and any assaults, harassment, and other disruptions to education and student life related to them, including but not limited to Rutgers SJP or Endowment Justice Collective protests on 11/17/23, 11/29/23, 12/11/23, 12/14/23, 1/18/24, 1/24/24, and 2/2/24.
   
   d. Allegations of antisemitic conduct and/or discrimination against Jewish or Israeli Rutgers students since October 7, 2023.
12. All documents and communications referring or relating to Rutgers Law School’s disciplinary proceedings against Yoel Ackerman and/or the Rutgers Law School SBA’s efforts to impeach Mr. Ackerman;

13. All documents referring or relating to CSRR, including but not limited to:
   a. All communications between CSRR staff and the Office of the President, Chancellor’s Offices, and other Rutgers administrators since January 1, 2020;
   b. All communications by CSRR to email distribution lists promoting events, products, press releases, initiatives, or engaging in advocacy, including the recipients, since January 1, 2020, identified by listserv;
   c. Documents sufficient to show the date, times, and attendees of all meetings (whether in-person, virtual, or telephonic) between CSRR staff and any CSRR faculty affiliates and/or advisory board members;
   d. Documents sufficient to show all funding (whether public or private) for CSRR since January 1, 2020, identifying the date, amount, donor/source, and use; and
   e. All communications involving CSRR staff and Sami al-Arian since January 1, 2020.

14. All documents and communications, including but not limited to those involving the Office of the President, Office of the Chancellor, undergraduate and graduate/professional school administrations, and/or any academic departments, programs, and centers, referring or relating to any efforts by Rutgers students, faculty, and staff to engage in the Boycott, Divestment, and Sanctions movement against Israel since January 1, 2021, and communications by Rutgers administrators relating to such efforts;

15. All products of diversity, equity, and inclusion offices and programs, and similar offices and programs within Rutgers, since January 1, 2023, relating to Jews and/or antisemitism, including but not limited to reports, publications, presentations, personal or professional development materials, guidance, and other related materials;

16. Documents sufficient to show the mandate, size, budget, agenda, and performance metrics of all diversity, equity, and inclusion offices and programs, and/or any similar offices and programs within Rutgers, including documents sufficient to show any updates to the mandate, size, budget, agenda, or performance metrics of such offices since October 7, 2023;

17. All Rutgers policies concerning the acceptance and rejection of donations from foreign sources, including policies concerning:
a. Faculty and staff receiving and disclosing donations and funding from foreign sources; and

b. Donations and funding from foreign sources being directed toward academic departments, programs, and centers.

18. Documents sufficient to show:

a. The annual total amount of foreign donations and funding (including but not limited to governmental bodies, nongovernmental organizations, and private individuals) to Rutgers since January 1, 2021, by country;

b. All foreign donations and funding (including but not limited to governmental bodies, nongovernmental organizations, and private individuals) to Rutgers of $50,000 or more since January 1, 2021. Please identify the date, amount, donor/source, and use;

c. All donations and funding to Rutgers from Qatari sources (including but not limited to the Qatar Foundation, Qatar Foundation International, governmental bodies, nongovernmental organizations whether incorporated in Qatar or elsewhere, and private individuals) since January 1, 2021, including the date, amount, donor/source, and use; and

d. All Rutgers faculty positions or programs/centers as of October 7, 2023, endowed by foreign governments and entities, including the faculty position or program/center, foreign government/entity, and amount donated.

19. All documents and communications involving the Office of the President, the Office of the Chancellor, dean’s offices at each of Rutgers’ undergraduate and graduate/professional schools, undergraduate Office of Admissions and each admissions unit of Rutgers graduate/professional schools, and the Rutgers Board of Governors since January 1, 2013, relating to recruitment, admission, enrollment, and retention of Jewish students.64

Congress’ oversight powers are derived from the U.S. Constitution and have been repeatedly affirmed by the United States Supreme Court.65 Under House Rule X, the Committee has legislative and oversight jurisdiction over “education or labor generally.”66

64 The Committee is not seeking the application materials of individual applicants and students.
65 See generally U.S. CONST. art. I, § 8, cl. 8; McGrain v. Daugherty, 273 U.S. 135, 174 (1927) (holding that “the power of inquiry—with process to enforce it—is an essential and appropriate auxiliary to the legislative function”); Eastland v. U.S. Servicemen's Fund, 421 U.S. 491, 504 (1975) (holding that “the power to investigate is inherent in the power to make laws”); Barenblatt v. United States, 360 U.S. 109, 111 (1959) (holding that “the scope of power of inquiry … is as penetrating and far-reaching as the potential power to enact and appropriate under the Constitution.”).
Please see the attached instructions for relevant definitions and other directions for the production of documents. This request encompasses responsive materials in the possession of not only Rutgers faculty, staff, students, and other affiliates, but also individual members of the Rutgers Board of Governors. The request also extends to any informal communications such as text or other electronic messages. I expect that this request will be conveyed promptly to all parties who would be reasonably expected to have responsive materials.

If you have any questions about this request, please contact Ari Wisch of the Committee staff at 202-225-4527 or ari.wisch@mail.house.gov.

Sincerely,

Virginia Foxx
Chairwoman
Committee on Education and the Workforce