

**BEYOND THE IVY LEAGUE: STOPPING  
THE SPREAD OF ANTISEMITISM ON  
AMERICAN CAMPUSES**

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

HEARING HELD IN WASHINGTON, DC, MAY 7, 2025

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# **BEYOND THE IVY LEAGUE: STOPPING THE SPREAD OF ANTISEMITISM ON AMERICAN CAMPUSES**

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**Wednesday, May 7, 2025**

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

The Committee met, pursuant to notice, at 10:16 a.m. in Room 2175, Rayburn House Office Building, Hon. Tim Walberg, (Chairman of the Committee) presiding.

Present: Representatives Walberg, Wilson, Foxx, Grothman, Stefanik, Allen, Owens, McClain, Miller, Kiley, Rulli, Onder, MacKenzie, Baumgartner, Harris, Messmer, Fine, Scott, Courtney, Bonamici, Takano, Adams, DeSaulnier, McBath, Hayes, Omar, Stevens, Casar, Lee, and Mannion.

Staff present: Jenna Berger, Investigative Counsel; Lexi Boccuzzi, Investigator; Antonette Bowman, FDD Fellow; Vlad Cerga, Director of Information Technology; Maren Emmerson, Intern; Amy Raaf Jones, Director of Education and Human Services Policy; Libby Kearns, Press Assistant; Isaiah Knox, Legislative Assistant; Campbell Ladd, Clerk; R.J. Laukitis, Staff Director; Danny Marca, Director of Information Technology; Audra McGeorge, Communications Director; Daniel Nadel, Legislative Assistant; Ethan Pann, Deputy Press Secretary and Digital Director; Kane Riddell, Staff Assistant; Carl Rifino, Intern; Sara Robertson, Press Secretary; Kent Talbert, Investigative Counsel; Brad Thomas, Deputy Director of Education and Human Services Policy; Ann Vogel, Director of Operations; Ali Watson, Director of Member Services; James Whittaker, General Counsel; Ilana Brunner, Minority General Counsel; Ni'Aisha Banks, Minority Policy Aide & Internship Coordinator; Bryan Gonzalez, Minority Grad Intern; Rashage Green, Minority Director of Education Policy & Counsel; Christian Haines, Minority General Counsel; Stephanie Lalle, Minority Communications Director; Raiyana Malone, Minority Press Secretary; Marie McGrew, Minority Press Assistant; Ben Noenickx, Minority Intern; Véronique Pluviose, Minority Staff Director; and Banyon Vassar, Minority Director of IT.

Chairman WALBERG. A quorum is present. The Committee meets today pursuant to notice. Without objecting, the Chair may recess the Committee at any point. Good morning. The Committee on Education and Workforce has been instrumental in exposing the antisemitism that has infected—I hate using that term, but it is

true, infected our Nation's oldest and best-known institutions of higher education.

Schools like Harvard and Columbia, Northwestern. We have held, and will continue to hold these universities accountable, as they choose to stand idly by, rather than meaningfully addressing the harassment and the discrimination against Jewish students on their campuses.

As we will see today, the scourge of antisemitism has taken root far beyond the country's best-known ivory towers. It is our responsibility as a committee to unearth and address antisemitism at these schools too, and others, especially as antisemitism is at a historic high in the United States.

Antisemitism is proliferating at colleges across the country, both private, public, rural, urban and suburban settings. What does antisemitism look like? It manifests in faculty, who create a hostile environment on campus, of all places, by expressing support for known terrorist groups, verbally harass Jewish students and call for the destruction of Israel.

It manifests itself in students who lob antisemitic slurs at Jewish students, and display signs glorifying violence against Jews, while cowardly shielding their own identity behind masks. It manifests itself in organizations like Faculty and Staff for Justice in Palestine, Students for Justice in Palestine, and American Muslims for Palestine, which all support this infrastructure of hate.

It manifests itself in administrators, some of whom appear antisemitic themselves, while others are complicit in creating a hostile environment through their indifference to the harassment of Jewish students. We will hear today about antisemitism at three institutions. Haverford College, DePaul University and California Polytechnic State University, San Luis Obispo.

The incidents we will be discussing with our witnesses today are truly appalling and shameful. Take Haverford, for instance, a small liberal arts college located in suburbs outside of Philadelphia. From the time of October 7, 2023, terrorists attack in Israel to the present, the Haverford administration has consistently refused to act against severe antisemitic harassments on campus.

It has refused to even condemn these incidents of harassment or hostility in a clear, unequivocal statement, much less meaningfully discipline the students responsible for these incidents. Instead, the University has exhibited an all-consuming commitment to dialog, even when that dialog is dominated by antisemitic conspiracy theories or cause the violence.

What is more, Haverford employs faculty members who engage in blatant antisemitism with no apparent consequences. For example, one professor declared online that Zionism is Nazism. The Haverford administrations' failure to address antisemitism on campus is taking a painful toll on students, faculty and staff.

Without objection, I would like to enter into the record a letter from Haverford's Chabad House that was sent just yesterday, yesterday afternoon, to the Haverford Board of Managers. The letter says, "Under this administration Jewish students have been marginalized, ostracized and at times outright attacked. Meanwhile, their pain has been met with indifference."

I was also caught with their early statement and letter where it says "We've never spoken out against the college. We've never publicly criticized this leadership. We've simply tried to serve to support Haverford and its students in every way we could, but today we can no longer remain silent."

I submit this for the record, and without objection, it is submitted.

[The Information of Chairman Walberg follows:]



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May 6, 2025

Chairman Michael Kim  
Board of Managers  
Haverford College

### **Letter to the Haverford Board of Managers Concerning Antisemitism at Haverford**

Dear Chairman Kim  
& Members of the Haverford Board of Managers:

Since we opened the Rohr Center for Jewish Life at Haverford in 2006, we have worked every day to create a home away from home for Jewish students—a place where everyone is welcome to explore, celebrate, and live their Jewish identity. Over the past 19 years, thousands of students have gathered in our Chabad House for Shabbat dinners, holiday celebrations, Talmud study, social action and service programs, and simply to find belonging and community.

Under six Haverford administrations, we've been proud to stand alongside the College in its mission to build an inclusive campus that honors the dignity and worth of every individual. We've never spoken out against the College. We've never publicly criticized its leadership. We've simply tried to serve—to support Haverford and its students in every way we could.

### **But today, we can no longer remain silent.**

Over the past 18 months, we have become a shoulder for students to cry on. In the past, students primarily sought solace on our couch after personal loss or tragedy. Now, it's students, faculty, and staff grieving something harder to name—the feeling of being invisible, ignored, excluded and attacked by the very community they love.

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780 COLLEGE AVENUE, HAVERFORD, PA 19041

AT SWARTHMORE  
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Even before October 7—but especially in its aftermath—we’ve seen students feeling ostracized and shunned because of their Jewish identities. Many are afraid that simply mentioning they’re Jewish, without making it clear that they’re anti-Zionist, will lead to immediate social backlash. Too many are afraid to share with friends that they went to a Shabbat dinner at the Chabad House, worried it will get them pushed out of friend groups or campus spaces. This climate has left students feeling unsafe, isolated, and unsure of where they belong on campus—and this pervasive environment has been allowed to fester for far too long.

For more than a year, we’ve pleaded with Haverford’s administration to acknowledge this issue and take responsibility for addressing it. Yet even that basic recognition has not come. When our students were mocked, harassed, and excluded, our posters were repeatedly torn down—and finally, one perpetrator was caught—we expected urgency, a meeting to acknowledge what we’d endured, and a commitment that it would be taken seriously. But none of that came. In fact, we haven’t heard from this administration once this entire academic year. Not a single call or message: “How are your students doing?” “Have there been other incidents we should know about?”

We’ve pleaded again and again for meaningful action, for concrete policy changes. And when the few meetings did occur, we left feeling even more distraught—faced with an administration unwilling, or unable, to take concerns of antisemitism seriously. It has felt not only like a failure to manage this crisis, but a profound unwillingness to confront the reality.

**And with every ignored plea, every moment when our students’ pain was met with a shrug, trust has eroded.** When a classic antisemitic blood libel is promoted on campus and the administration’s solution is simply to change the name, it sends a message: your dignity is negotiable. When students ask for a plan to keep them safe and are told instead to “be brave,” it tells them their safety doesn’t matter. These aren’t isolated incidents. They are signals—over and over again—that the administration will not take their fears seriously. **And after so many signals, that trust hasn’t just worn thin—it has broken.**

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We cannot ignore what's happening. The rise in antisemitism at Haverford is real. It's deep. It's painful. And it's tearing at the very fabric of inclusion and respect that Haverford claims to stand for. Under this administration, Jewish students have been marginalized, ostracized, and at times outright attacked. Meanwhile, their pain has been met with indifference. Their voices have been silenced. Their safety has been compromised.

For too long, the administration has turned a blind eye to antisemitic harassment, vandalism, and smear campaigns targeting Jewish students—especially those who express a connection to Israel. We've watched concern after concern brushed aside. We've watched warnings met with denial. We've watched as almost 19 long months since October 7 pass without meaningful action.

Now, as President Raymond prepares to testify before the House Committee on Education and Workforce on May 7, we ask the Board of Managers to meet this moment with honesty. This is an opportunity—not to defend Haverford, but to take responsibility, to acknowledge past failures, and to commit, boldly and sincerely, to making things right.

When we first learned of this hearing, we hoped—truly hoped—it would spark urgent conversation. We hoped to be partners in charting a path forward, alongside our students, Club Chai, the Jewish Faculty and Staff Association, and Hillel. Instead, we were *all* left out. And now, as we see Jewish leaders from other campuses standing publicly in support of their presidents at this very hearing—because they were invited into honest dialogue and real collaboration—we are truly saddened that we cannot, in good conscience, do the same for Haverford.

The truth is clear: Haverford has a serious antisemitism problem. And until the College fully acknowledges and addresses it, we cannot pretend otherwise.

(We know there are those who will deny this problem or insist it's being exaggerated. Some of these anonymous voices even claim the mantle of Jewish identity. But just because *some* Jewish community members report feeling safe doesn't mean *other* members aren't genuinely afraid. Safety cannot be decided by a comfortable few who

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marginalize the experiences of the rest; the true barometer of tolerance is when *everyone* can feel safe. Moreover, the groups claiming that all is well have lost credibility by excusing Hamas terrorism, bullying Jewish peers, branding Israel as an illegitimate genocidal terror state, and offering cover for ugly antisemitism on campus.)

We've attached an addendum summarizing our past attempts to bring this issue to the attention of President Raymond and her administration. This timeline is critical to understanding why we remain skeptical of last-minute pledges of new policies and changed hearts. While we sincerely hope for a turning point, real transformation cannot be a performance driven by outside pressure. It must be genuine, deep, and lasting.

**We urge the Board to promptly take the following steps, announcing a commitment to action that shows the College's recent statements are not just empty words, but a genuine pledge to turn the page and make meaningful changes:**

1. **Hire a new, independent staff member before the Fall semester begins**, chosen in consultation with affected parties, who reports directly to the College's general counsel, and who is solely responsible for reviewing, investigating, and responding to antisemitism on campus, past and present.
2. **Establish a Commission on Antisemitism within 45 days** to investigate the history, causes, and impact of antisemitism at Haverford; review College policies and practices; document administrative responses; gather testimony from affected students and stakeholders; and propose governance and admissions changes to prevent future harm and ensure Jewish students feel welcome.
3. **Commit to implementing mandatory antisemitism training for faculty and students starting Fall 2025** and conduct a full review of the Customs orientation program, ensure student-directed content complies with Haverford policies, and incorporate a dedicated session on antisemitism so every new student arrives with a clear understanding of what antisemitism looks like, how it manifests, and why it must be prevented.

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Please know: it brings us no joy to write this letter. Nothing pains us more than to have to speak publicly about the breakdown of trust between Haverford and its Jewish community. We want nothing more than to rebuild that trust, to deepen the relationship, to be able to tell Jewish students and their parents—with sincerity—that Haverford is a place where they are safe, valued, and protected from discrimination. But until that day comes, we feel a moral obligation to speak the truth.

We share this letter in the deep hope that better days lie ahead. Through it all, we remain committed to supporting Jewish students and working toward a stronger, more inclusive Haverford for everyone. We urge you to take the difficult but necessary steps to set things right.

We remain confident that the College will not only turn the page and overcome the current crisis, but will once again become a source of immense pride and beacon of light and hope for its student and alumni communities and beyond.

Sincerely,

**Rabbi Eli Gurevitz & Blumie Gurevitz**

Directors, Rohr Center for Jewish Life – Chabad House at Haverford

*Addendum Follows on next page*

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### Addendum: Timeline of Reports to Haverford Administration Regarding Antisemitism Concerns

#### *Introduction*

Over the past 19 months, we raised urgent concerns over and over again with the administration about rising antisemitism on campus. What began as isolated antisemitic incidents before October 2023 quickly escalated into a sustained pattern of harassment, exclusion, and lawlessness. *This timeline does not list the many disturbing incidents of antisemitic harassment and discrimination that have taken place at Haverford during this period.* Instead, it summarizes our repeated outreach and Haverford's missed opportunities in responding to this crisis, documenting a troubling pattern of warnings dismissed, bias reports ignored, and leadership absent until external pressure forced acknowledgement.

#### *October 2023 – Aftermath of October 7*

Jewish students were devastated by both the Hamas massacre in Israel and by Haverford peers celebrating or justifying the attack. In the months that followed, Jewish students increasingly became the target of bullying and harassment. We expressed concern to President Raymond and her senior staff on multiple occasions, warning that the environment was becoming intolerable.

#### *November 2023 – Senior Staff Fuel Campus Divisions*

After the tragic shooting of a Palestinian student in Vermont, we issued a message of unity:

The Jewish and Muslim communities must be supported and protected. The pain of one community is no excuse for a hateful attack on the other.

We condemned efforts to weaponize the shooting to isolate Jewish students and called out vilification of a Haverford student based on her pro-Israel views. In an email to President Raymond, we warned:

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Validating the direct vilification of a Haverford student is beyond the pale... [and] will ultimately minimize antisemitism, empower those targeting Jewish students, and silence pro-Israel voices on campus.

President Raymond never responded to our concerns, and other senior staff cast inflammatory accusations against Israel during a campus-wide event, further isolating the Jewish community. Those tasked with fostering unity and addressing incidents of antisemitic bias and discrimination were, in fact, the ones fueling division.

### *December 2023 – Meeting Request Ignored*

In an email to President Raymond dated December 2023, we wrote:

We would really like to meet with you over break or before students return in January to brainstorm and find ways together to affect change.

We followed up in January 2024, but President Raymond declined to meet. Instead, she referred us to Dean McKnight and Vice President Young. In response, we wrote:

New policies and specific changes are the only way to make Haverford a warm place for Jews. We also know that changes start at the top—this is why we specifically asked to meet with you.

In a second follow-up email that month, we explained that we wanted to be able to assure students, parents, and alumni that Haverford leadership understood the crisis and was taking action, but made clear that “a meeting with you is necessary before we can make those assurances.”

All these entreaties were ignored.

### *January–February 2024 – Leadership Absence Continues*

Despite repeated follow-ups, President Raymond remained unresponsive. After Bryn Mawr convened its senior leadership to engage Jewish leaders, we again pleaded with Haverford to follow suit, writing:

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We would love to reassure students, parents and alumni that Haverford is also taking the antisemitism on campus seriously.

A meeting eventually took place between concerned Jewish leadership and senior staff, but President Raymond did not attend. Rather than assuaging our concerns, the deans in attendance denied that there was a problem, putting the onus on our students to embrace "bravery" rather than expect "safety."

We left the meetings feeling hurt and unheard. There was not an ounce of support for our community in pain.

The one consensus of the meeting was that we had to communicate more often and have another meeting within 2 or 3 weeks. But Haverford administrators never followed up to make that happen.

*March 2024 – Despite New Policy, Haverford Continues to Tolerate Antisemitism*

President Raymond announced a new anti-bias policy that was supposed to demonstrate "a commitment to the free and open exchange of ideas, while making clear the distinction between protected speech, on the one hand, and discrimination, harassment, and/or bias on the other." In practice, this policy failed because reports of discrimination went ignored.

For example, we reported to President Raymond and Dean McKnight that an event titled "Israel's Weaponization of COVID Against Palestinians" was spreading antisemitic blood libels. We wrote:

This event spreads actual blood libels against the Jewish people and further isolates our community... immediate intervention and a strong voice of leadership condemning these antisemitic tropes [is needed].

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But the administration only required the group to change the event's name, not its content. So we followed up:

Students are leaving campus or hiding in their rooms... going to bed with tears rolling down their cheeks... they feel isolated and lonely and find themselves in a horrible situation.

We warned that "until the admin takes a clear stance against antisemitism by acknowledging that it exists and naming the mass intimidation for what it is... this will continue to be a harmful place for Jews."

President Raymond responded only with vague statements about "expressive freedom" and "learning opportunities."

### *April 2024 – President Raymond Shrugs Off Concerns with Bias Reporting System*

We finally met with President Raymond to express our concerns directly. We discussed issues with the lack of oversight for Haverford's bias reporting system and the staff members responsible for addressing reports of antisemitism. President Raymond provided no meaningful assurances or commitments.

### *May 2024 – Failure to Address Reported Antisemitic Incidents*

Social media posts labeled an Israeli vendor's products as "blood donuts." Despite bias reports, the posts remained online. We raised concerns in an email to Vice President Young, who replied:

We take seriously the harm and negative impact the blood imagery has on members of our community and will continue to do what we can to foster a more inclusive environment.

However, no actions were taken to hold the responsible parties accountable.

### *June 2024 – President Raymond Declines to Reach Out After Lawsuit Filed*

Following the news of the lawsuit, we wrote to President Raymond and reiterated our commitment to Jewish life at Haverford:

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This is a sad turn of events in an already difficult chapter... Nonetheless, the Chabad House is not a party to this litigation... We intend to continue working with you and in particular hope to make much-needed progress on addressing the issues immediately affecting Jewish students.

Once again, we invited dialogue:

Please feel free to reach out at any time. We look forward to working together to make Haverford the learning community of friends it aspires to be.

President Raymond declined, citing “demands on [her] time.”

### *August 2024 – Voicing Our Concerns*

In August 2024, we wrote to President Raymond and her senior staff regarding their plans to address antisemitism on campus before the start of the 2024-2025 academic year. We noted that “many other campuses are actively reviewing their policies and working to ensure that the administration has tools to respond effectively when those policies are violated and Jewish students experience harm.” But “with the Fall semester now less than a month away,” we were “profoundly concerned by Haverford’s passive stance in the face of a rising tide of hatred and intolerance on our campus.” We underscored that “Haverford needs to be prepared to address these incidents before they spill over into harassment, bullying, and outright violence.” As we reminded President Raymond:

Despite our persistent urging, Haverford has not incorporated mandatory antisemitism training in first year orientation or at any other stage. Given the blatant antisemitism repeatedly displayed by students and faculty last year, mandatory training on antisemitism for all community members (among other required training) should be a no-brainer. Yet no such training sessions have been planned for the upcoming year, nor have any new policies been presented defining the parameters of unacceptable antisemitic speech or conduct and setting forth the consequences for such violations.

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We pleaded for Haverford to “initiate mandatory training on antisemitism for faculty and student leaders, add a dedicated one-hour session on antisemitism during customs, and clarify the bounds of antisemitic speech and conduct...” We urged President Raymond to “make it your utmost priority to restore an inclusive community for all students at Haverford, including students who proudly identify as Jewish and pro-Israel.”

### *Fall 2024 – No Change in Policy*

During the Fall 2024 semester, Haverford made none of the policy changes we recommended. There was no mandatory antisemitism training, no clear definition of antisemitic speech or conduct, and no outlined sanctions for violations—even after the disruption of the ADL Antisemitism 101 event in September. Unlike other colleges, Haverford did not form a committee to study antisemitism; instead, it deferred entirely to its “Ad Hoc Committee on Freedom of Expression, Learning, and Community,” which only released interim recommendations in late April 2025, after the Committee had already summoned President Raymond.

Then Haverford’s own bias policy was turned against us. In the midst of the High Holidays in September 2024, Vice President Young summoned us to meet on an emergency basis, citing bias reports about “communications from and access to Chabad.” When we asked for clarity and transparency on what the complaints entailed or how the policy was being applied, the urgency disappeared—and we never received a follow-up. In the Jews at Haverford litigation, the College later claimed that this bias policy never existed.

### *April 2025 – Change of Tone Under Congressional Scrutiny*

On April 10, the Committee announced that President Raymond had been invited to testify as part of an investigation into “the rise of antisemitism on college campuses, including Haverford College.” Under pressure, President Raymond finally labeled poster vandalism as “antisemitic acts”—a year after dismissing the same actions as the result of “benign mechanisms.”

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### *May 2, 2025 – President Raymond's Claim of Engagement*

As the May 7 hearing date approached, President Raymond publicly claimed on May 2 to be in "ongoing dialogue" with Jewish campus partners. We are not aware of any Jewish campus leadership being engaged in conversation. (After sending her message, President Raymond reached out to us on May 2 to schedule a meeting after commencement. We plan to attend the meeting with open hearts as we hope for real change.)

We therefore cannot agree with President Raymond's claim that she has 'listened to your stories and learned from those directly impacted by antisemitism.' Sadly, the experience of many Jewish community members has been quite the opposite.

### *Conclusion*

Over the past 19 months, we have made repeated efforts urging Haverford to take the worsening crisis of antisemitism seriously. Time and again, those appeals were met with silence, defensiveness, or outright denial. Only now, under the spotlight of a congressional investigation, has the College begun to respond. We call on the Board to recognize this moment as a turning point and to act on our three recommendations to build a safer, more inclusive future for all members of the Haverford community.

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Chairman WALBERG. At DePaul meanwhile, there have been multiple, yes multiple instances, of physical violence against Jewish students. Last May, the University permitted a multi-week encampment that was so disruptive and violent that the nearby elementary school had to cancel recess.

After finally forcibly shutting down the encampment, DePaul still ended up giving in to agitators' demands. We have a student here today who had surgery as a result of the attack on him, and a colleague. At Cal Poly, at least one faculty member has been complicit in harassing Jewish students who were trying to attend an Israel related special lecture.

My colleagues and I are committed to holding these three universities, and others accountable for perpetuating antisemitism. We are committed to enacting policies that create a safe environment for Jewish students. One in which faculty, staff, and administrators are held accountable for the antisemitism that consumes their campuses.

I look forward to hearing your testimony today, as it will certainly inform this Committee's future work. With that, I yield to the Ranking Member for an opening statement.

[The Statement of Chairman Walberg follows:]





Opening Statement of Rep. Tim Walberg (R-MI), Chairman  
Committee on Education and Workforce  
“Beyond the Ivy League: Stopping the Spread of Antisemitism on  
American Campuses”  
May 7, 2025

(As prepared for delivery)

The Committee on Education and Workforce has been instrumental in exposing the antisemitism that has infected our nation’s oldest and best-known institutions of higher education—schools like Harvard, Columbia, and Northwestern.

We’ve held and will continue to hold these universities accountable as they choose to stand idly by rather than meaningfully address the harassment of and discrimination against Jewish students on their campuses.

But as we’ll see today, the scourge of antisemitism has taken root far beyond the country’s best-known ivory towers. And it’s our responsibility as a Committee to unearth and address antisemitism at these schools, too—especially as antisemitism is at a historic high in the United States.

Antisemitism is proliferating at colleges across the country, both private and public, in rural, urban, and suburban settings.

What does antisemitism look like? It manifests in faculty who create a hostile environment on campus by expressing support for known terrorist groups, verbally harass Jewish students, and call for the destruction of Israel.

It manifests itself in students who lob antisemitic slurs at Jewish students and display signs glorifying violence against Jews while shielding their own identities behind masks.

It manifests itself in organizations like Faculty and Staff for Justice in Palestine, Students for Justice in Palestine, and American Muslims for Palestine, which all support this infrastructure of hate.

And it manifests itself in the administrators, some of whom appear antisemitic themselves, while others are complicit in creating a hostile environment through their indifference to the harassment of Jewish students.

We'll hear today about antisemitism at three institutions: Haverford College, DePaul University, and California Polytechnic State University, San Luis (loo-ees) Obispo.

The incidents we'll be discussing with our witnesses today are truly appalling and shameful.

Take Haverford, for instance – a small liberal arts college located in the suburbs outside Philadelphia.

From the time of the October 7, 2023, terrorist attack in Israel to the present, the Haverford administration has consistently refused to act against severe antisemitic harassment on campus. It has refused to even condemn these incidents of harassment or hostility in a clear, unequivocal statement, much less to meaningfully discipline the students responsible for these incidents.

Instead, the university has exhibited an all-consuming commitment to “dialogue,” even when that dialogue is dominated by antisemitic conspiracy theories or calls to violence.

What's more, Haverford employs faculty members who engage in blatant antisemitism with no apparent consequence. For example, one professor declared online that “Zionism is Nazism.”

The Haverford administration's failure to address antisemitism on campus is taking a painful toll on students, faculty, and staff. Without objection, I'd like to enter into the record a letter from Haverford's Chabad House that was sent yesterday to the Haverford Board of Managers. The letter says, "Under this administration, Jewish students have been marginalized, ostracized, and at times outright attacked. Meanwhile, their pain has been met with indifference."

At DePaul, meanwhile, there have been multiple, yes multiple, instances of physical violence against Jewish students. Last May, the university permitted a multi-week encampment that was so disruptive and violent that the nearby elementary school had to cancel recess. After finally forcibly shutting down the encampment, DePaul still ended up giving in to agitators' demands.

And at Cal Poly, at least one faculty member has been complicit in harassing Jewish students who were trying to attend an Israel-related special lecture.

My colleagues and I are committed to holding these three universities and others accountable for perpetuating antisemitism.

We're committed to enacting policies that create a safe environment for Jewish students—one in which faculty, staff, and administrators are held accountable for the antisemitism that consumes their campuses.

I look forward to hearing your testimony today, as it will certainly inform this Committee's future work.

Mr. SCOTT. Thank you, Mr. Chairman, and I thank our witnesses for being with us today. The month of May marks Jewish Heritage Month. It is when we celebrate the generations of Jewish Americans who have made incredible contributions to this country.

This month we reaffirm our commitment to combat the rise of antisemitism, both on and off college campuses. No one should be discriminated against because of who they are, or how they worship. All students have the right to learn in a safe environment, free from discrimination in compliance with Title VI of the Civil Rights Act of 1964.

Unfortunately, instead of properly enforcing Title VI, this Committee is holding the eighth hearing describing the problem, and complaining about antisemitism on college campuses, instead of taking any meaningful action to actually solve the problem.

Curiously, my colleagues on the other side of the aisle have not had any hearings addressing other forms of discrimination and hate, such as racism, Title IX gender violations, islamophobia, homophobia, or the challenges of meeting the needs of students with disabilities.

This is particularly concerning since we know from reports from the Department of Education's Office of Civil Rights that on January 11th of last year, there were 12,000 open cases alleging discrimination and violation of Title VI, 12,000. Of those 12,000 cases, only 144 could be Title VI violations involving antisemitism.

We know the solution of this problem is better enforcement of Title VI, so instead of holding another problem, another hearing, talking about the problem, which complains about the problem, we ought to be holding a hearing on what is going on in the Office of Civil Rights, OCR, the Department of Education.

This administration is in the process of dismantling the Office of Civil Rights, and it raises reasonable doubt about the plans for addressing antisemitism on campus, as well as racism, homophobia, sexism, Islamophobia, the needs of students with disabilities.

Again, we should be focused on trying to solve the problem, rather than just complaining about it. For centuries college campuses have served as centers for debate and discussion on polarizing issues in our country. Unfortunately, this also means that they can become flashpoints for controversy.

It is fundamental for us to understand that we must protect students' safety, while also fostering college campuses as a place of learning where difficult topics can be discussed civilly without fear of retribution.

OCR has typically and historically played a vital role in preserving that balance. When a suspected incidence of discrimination occurs on college campuses, OCR can investigate the claim, and when I say investigate, you have produced a letter from Jewish students on campus, administration has letters from Jewish students on campus.

It is nice to have an investigation to find out what the facts are, but the OCR could investigate the claim, and there is an established process.

Should an institution be found to violate its duty to provide a safe learning environment, OCR's process is to work with the school, will allow it to address the harm. Specifically, the institution is expected to take appropriate action to "end the harassment, eliminate the hostile environment, prevent its reoccurrence and address its affect as appropriate."

If this does not happen, the Department of Education can begin to withhold funds from the part of the institution which is in violation. Over the first 3 months of the Trump administration, it is closed out 7 of 12 OCR regional offices, all of which conduct investigations into discrimination, and all of which conduct investigations into the discrimination on campus whether based on anti-semitism or race, national origin, gender or disability.

According to public reports nearly half of the OCR staff has been laid off, and so one is left to wonder—how can OCR carry out its important responsibilities with half the staff? My concerns have been confirmed by other reporting of students struggling to get assistance with ongoing cases because their attorney has been laid off.

Moreover, instead of conducting investigations according with the law, the Trump administration has taken a sledgehammer to due process rights of institutions. In fact, the public has seen broad reports of this administration taking action without any investigation, such as taking away Federal funding, students and professors having their international visas revoked, students who have disappeared into detention centers, and threats to revoke tax exempt status of multiple universities.

Schools are also told to accept a list of the administration's demands, all without OCR first conducting a fact-finding investigation. In short, that is not due process. For some of us, this does not come as a surprise. After all, just this past weekend the President appeared on NBC News and was asked whether he believes that he should uphold the Constitution, and he responded, "I don't know."

Of course, one could not forget that this is also the same President who thought that, "There were very fine people on both sides,"

after a White Supremacists marched through Charlottesville in 2017 chanting, "Jews will not replace us." What everyone, including people you may disagree with, everyone is entitled to due process, and all students should be able to seek recourse if they have been discriminated against.

Similarly, institutions should be given a chance to address the harms on their campus without fear of political retribution, and perhaps we should be proactive and utilize agencies and Federal Government like the Community Relation Services at the Department of Justice, which can serve as a peacemaker when there are problems in communities.

Of course, regrettably, the Community Relations Service is on the chopping block right now at the Department of Justice. We hope we can have a productive conversation today. The Centers of Students and higher education, but hopefully 1 day we will begin having a hearing on solutions, rather than continuing to complain about the problem.

Now, before I yield back, when I said 12,000, that are the cases, total cases in the backlog, not the total number of cases, so that the point, obviously, is that the number of antisemitism cases of all of the cases is a very small number, and if we are going to investigate Title VI violations, we ought to be investigating all of them, and we ought to be looking at what is going on at OCR, because that will be ultimately the solution to the problem.

With that, Mr. Chairman, I yield back.

[The Statement of Ranking Member Scott follows:]



## OPENING STATEMENT

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

### Opening Statement of Ranking Member Robert C. "Bobby" Scott (VA-03)

Full Committee Hearing

*"Beyond the Ivy League: Stopping the Spread of Antisemitism on American Campuses"*

Wednesday, May 7, 2025 | 10:15 a.m.

Thank you, Mr. Chairman. Thank you to our witnesses for being here today.

May marks Jewish American Heritage Month, when we celebrate the generations of Jewish Americans who have made incredible contributions to this country. This month, we must reaffirm our commitment to combat the rise of antisemitism, both on and off college campuses. No one should be discriminated against for who they are or how they worship. Jewish students — and all students, for that matter — have the right to receive an education in an environment free from discrimination, in compliance with Title VI of the Civil Rights Act of 1964.

Unfortunately, instead of properly enforcing Title VI, this committee is holding yet another hearing *complaining* about the problem of antisemitism on college campuses — and attacking college presidents who are already working to address the issue — instead of taking any meaningful action. My colleagues on the other side of the aisle claim to care about addressing antisemitism, but they have stayed silent as the Trump administration tears down the Office of Civil Rights, eschews due process, and undermines higher education.

For centuries, college campuses have served as centers of debate and discussion on the issues polarizing our country. Unfortunately, that means that they can become flashpoints not only of antisemitism, but of racism, sexism, homophobia, and other forms of discrimination. We must protect students' safety while also protecting college campuses as places of learning where difficult topics can be discussed civilly without fear of retribution.

The Office of Civil Rights (OCR) is vital in preserving this balance. When a suspected incident of discrimination occurs on a college campus, that complaint enters a rigorous investigation in which OCR determines if the school failed to take appropriate action to "end the harassment, eliminate the hostile environment, prevent its reoccurrence, and address its effects, as appropriate." Since returning to the White House, the Trump Administration has decimated the Office of Civil Rights and the Department of Education as a whole. Seven out of twelve OCR regional offices, all of which conduct investigations into discrimination on campus, were shut down following a reduction-in-force order for the Department of Education.

Instead of conducting due process, the Trump Administration has taken a sledgehammer to institutions of higher education by taking away federal funding and revoking the tax-exempt status of multiple universities. Over the weekend, Trump appeared on NBC News, where he was asked about the application of due process in criminal and civil cases — due process that, might I add, Donald Trump himself received. When asked by NBC News whether he believes that he needs to uphold the Constitution, Trump responded, "I don't know." Despite his multiple oaths to the Constitution, Trump has apparently not read it. The U.S. government *must* conduct due process and empower OCR to give schools and students the justice they deserve.

For decades, Black and Brown students have asked for stricter enforcement of Title VI as they were targets of racist attacks on college campuses. Time and again, they were told that these attacks were “free speech,” and their voices were ignored. It is shameful that my colleagues have waited until now, when it is politically convenient, to raise their voices against discrimination in higher education. If Republicans were sincere about their newfound interest in protecting students’ civil rights, they would not have gutted the Office of Civil Rights. They would respect and support the due process of investigations into antisemitic incidents. And they would not use the plight of Jewish students as a political tool to dismantle and destabilize institutions of higher education by ripping away their funding and tax-exempt status without any investigation.

At the end of the day, it is students themselves who will pay the price for these attacks. Without federal funding, every school from your local community college to the Ivy League will struggle to keep doors open and provide students from all walks of life with an education. Incidents of discrimination should be taken seriously and investigated as such, not used for political points to dismantle the future of higher education. Democrats’ priorities will always lie with the safety and wellbeing of students. I hope we can have a productive conversation today that centers on students and the future of higher education.

Thank you, Mr. Chairman, and I yield back.

Chairman WALBERG. I thank the gentleman. Pursuant to Committee 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 by 5 p.m., 14 days after this hearing.

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

I will now turn to the introduction of our four witnesses. Our first witness is Dr. Wendy Raymond, the President of Haverford College in Haverford, Pennsylvania. Welcome. Our second witness

is Dr. Robert Manuel, the President of DePaul University in Chicago, Illinois, welcome.

Our third witness is Mr. David Cole, the George J. Mitchell Professor in Law and Public Policy at the Georgetown University Law Center in Washington, DC. Mr. Cole was formerly the National Legal Director for the American Civil Liberties Union, welcome.

Our last witness is Dr. Jeffrey Armstrong, the President of California Polytechnic State University in San Luis Obispo, California. We thank the witnesses for being here today. Pursuant to the Committee Rules, I would ask that you each limit your oral presentation to a 3-minute summary of your written statement. The clock will countdown from 3 minutes, as Committee members have many questions for you, and we would like to spend as much time as possible on questions.

Pursuant to Committee Rule 8–D, the Committee practice, however, we will not cutoff your testimony until you reach the 5-minute mark. I would also like to remind the witnesses to be aware of their responsibility to provide accurate information to the Committee.

I will first recognize Dr. Raymond for your testimony.

**STATEMENT OF DR. WENDY RAYMOND, PRESIDENT,  
HAVERFORD COLLEGE, HAVERFORD, PENNSYLVANIA**

Ms. RAYMOND. Chairman Walberg, Ranking Member Scott, Committee members, thank you for the opportunity to testify today. Before I begin, I want to make it clear that Haverford condemns in the strongest, possible terms, antisemitism in all its forms.

Haverford College is a liberal arts college outside Philadelphia, with about 1,500 undergraduate students. It has been a privilege to serve as President for the last 6 years.

We are a secular institution established in 1833 by a group of Quakers, that Quaker history is one of the many qualities that make Haverford the distinctive place it is today.

Small and closeknit, the college encourages, and values open inquiry and free expression, core tenets of academic freedom. Education here is grounded in the Quaker assumption that intellectual and ethical growth are never complete. In the past few years, we have been tested like never before.

The horrific terrorist attacks by Hamas against Israel caused unfathomable pain on our campus and around the world. Moreover, the ongoing war and loss of innocent lives in Israel and Gaza have left many shaken.

In the wake of these events, we have seen a troubling rise in antisemitism in our communities, and on our campuses. In the days following the attacks, I was inspired by how the Haverford community came together.

At the same time, events have occurred on our campus that are inconsistent with our values. I take these incidents and Haverford's response very seriously. We have taken significant steps to address these issues and strengthen our policies.

That includes updating our policies, strengthening campus safety programs, deepening engagement with the Jewish community, launching programs to combat antisemitism, informing our ad hoc



committee on free expression. I recognize that we have not always succeeded in living up to our ideals.

Many have wished that the college, or I, as President, had responded differently to various actions, and we continue to make progress and invest in the quality of the campus experience for all Haverford students.

In closing, I would like to address the Haverford community directly. You are the ones pushing us to be better. I hear you and acknowledge that we can do better, and I can do better. To our Jewish students, some of you who are here today, I wish to make it unmistakably clear that you are valued members of our community and on our campus.

I am sorry that my actions and my leadership let you down. I remain committed to addressing antisemitism, and all issues that harm our community members.

I am committed to getting this right. This is an unprecedented time in our college's history, and I continue to believe in the Haverford community.

I thank you for demonstrating how together we can work toward creating a better and more peaceful world. Thank you, and I look forward to your questions.

[The Statement of Dr. Raymond follows:]

**Dr. Wendy Raymond, President, Haverford College**  
**Testimony before the**  
**United States House of Representatives**  
**Committee on Education and the Workforce**  
**May 7, 2025**

Chairman Walberg, Ranking Member Scott, Committee Members: Thank you for the opportunity to testify before you. I have served as president of Haverford College for the past six years, and I am honored to represent our community here today. At the outset, I would like to make clear that Haverford condemns, in the strongest possible terms, antisemitism in every form. At Haverford, our Jewish students, staff, faculty, and alumni are deeply valued community members whose presence and contributions are vital to the College. All of our Jewish community members, like all our community members, deserve a Haverford experience that is safe and welcoming, and I look forward to discussing today our approach to these matters.

**Haverford College**

Haverford is a liberal arts undergraduate college located outside Philadelphia that is committed to academic excellence. We are a small, close-knit campus community of roughly 1,500 talented, motivated, and collaborative undergraduate students for whom Haverford is proud to meet 100% of demonstrated financial need.

Founded in 1833 by a group of Quakers and now non-sectarian, Haverford has always been dedicated to continual learning through critical inquiry and ethical practice. Our distinctive ethos is perhaps best conveyed by the words of former president Isaac Sharpless, who in 1888 implored the graduating class, “I suggest that you preach truth and do righteousness as you have been taught, whereinsoever that teaching may commend itself to your consciences and your judgements. For your consciences and your judgements we have not sought to bind; and see you to it that no other institution, no political party, no social circle, no religious organizations, no pet ambitions put such chains on you as would tempt you to sacrifice one iota of the moral freedom of your consciences or the intellectual freedom of your judgements.”

In that spirit, Haverford today provides a rigorous liberal arts education that encourages freedom of thought, open inquiry, and free expression. We will achieve our educational aim of pursuing truth and knowledge only by expecting and accepting differing perspectives among our community members. In such an environment, deep learning occurs through the consideration of competing ideas. In undertaking that challenging process we expect our community members to take shared responsibility for engaging in reasoned and respectful dialogue, especially when confronted with ideas counter to their own.

Education at Haverford is grounded in the Quaker assumptions of every person’s inherent worth and that intellectual and ethical growth are never complete. As our community confronted the dangers and deep wounds of antisemitism brought to the surface by the horrific attacks of

October 7 and the war in Gaza, our community ethos and intellectual aims have been questioned and tested. It is my role as president to ensure that Haverford itself learns and grows from our recent experiences.

#### **Haverford's Fight Against Antisemitism**

Haverford's roots in supporting the Jewish community run deep. A Haverford graduate and board member named Harold Evans played an important role in the founding of the state of Israel. In 1948, he was appointed by the United Nations to be the first Special Municipal Commissioner for Jerusalem in large part because of the trust and respect he had earned from Jews and Arabs alike.

Harold kept his Haverford education with him. Drawing on his Quaker values, he refused military escort and traveled to Jerusalem on his own to assert his belief in peaceful governance. Harold's principled stance in 1948 reflects Haverford's historical and continuing commitment to be a place that values the humanity and worth of each person and strives to make all community members feel safe, welcomed, supported, and inspired to pursue their academic and professional goals.

Since Hamas's terrorist attacks in Israel on October 7, our nation has seen a troubling rise in antisemitism. We have also witnessed an increase in anti-Muslim hate and other types of bias. Haverford has not been immune to these challenges, and I want to affirm our commitment to confronting hate and discrimination in all its forms.

This has been a very painful time for many members of our Jewish community and many others. In the days following the attacks, I was inspired by the ways in which the Haverford community came together. I joined students, faculty, staff, and alums in a Quaker peace circle shortly following the attack. I was deeply moved in particular by the brave students, some of whom had deep connections in Israel and Gaza, who expressed their anguish. A month later, when one of our students, a Palestinian-American from the West Bank, was shot while on Thanksgiving holiday in Vermont, community members came together once again to support one another.

Even while community members demonstrated great compassion and support for one another through those trying events, some actions have since occurred on our campus that challenged our values. In December 2023, a non-violent sit-in at Founders Hall persisted until it escalated and began impeding the abilities of students to pursue their studies and of staff and faculty to conduct their work. Once that occurred, we took decisive action, and the sit-in ended. Last year we invited multiple external experts to lead antisemitism workshops on our campus. I was dismayed and disappointed when protestors disrupted the workshop conducted by the Anti-Defamation League (ADL). Staff took quick action to remove disruptors from the room. Simultaneously, demonstrators who had gathered on the lawn outside created an atmosphere of intimidation, and it took too much time for us to deploy the additional personnel necessary to move them away from the building. The painful irony of the disruption of an educational program about

antisemitism was not lost on me or my many valued colleagues and students in the room, who attended in constructive spirit. Shouting over speakers is counter to our values, and I am grateful that our guests from the ADL had the courage to ultimately finish their presentation. In the aftermath, we conducted a full investigation consistent with our student conduct procedures.

I regret that those demonstrations took the forms they did and had a negative and lasting impact on members of our community. It is our responsibility as college leaders to protect our students from harassment, discrimination, and bias. We have learned from events like these and have strengthened our time, place, and manner policies and procedures. We continue to engage early and directly with any individuals we know to be pursuing activism in order to prevent similar disruptions from occurring in the future.

We stand firmly against antisemitism. Any form of harassment, discrimination, or hate undermines our commitment to being an open and inclusive campus where all are welcome. As such, we have taken a number of concrete steps in the past two years to improve our approach to combating antisemitism:

- **Ad Hoc Committee.** In March 2024, we created the Ad Hoc Committee on the Freedom of Expression, Learning, and Community to examine free expression, antisemitism, and other campus climate issues. Several of the committee's findings and interim recommendations have already been implemented, including the recent enactment of a revised Interim Policy on Expressive Freedom and Responsibility, which further clarifies expectations around time, place, and manner of expressive freedom. We also took the committee's suggestion to draft a set of core values to formally articulate what it means to be part of the Haverford community, and the type of campus culture that we collectively aspire to uphold. I look forward to receiving the committee's final report and full slate of recommendations in June.
- **New Anti-Bias Policy.** We have updated the Haverford anti-bias policy to further clarify that Haverford does not tolerate hate, discrimination, bias, or harassment and to make more visible the College's expectations and procedures for addressing incidents of discrimination, harassment, and bias, including antisemitism.
- **Revised Expressive Freedom and Responsibility Policy.** We recently overhauled our institutional policy clarifying time, place, and manner guidelines on free expression to better articulate the College's commitments and each community member's rights and responsibilities. This includes limiting interruptions of speakers or events, maintaining access to College property for its intended uses, limiting amplified sound to hours that will not disrupt campus life or our academic mission, and establishing greater accountability when individuals violate our policies. Specifically:
  - **Outdoor Spaces.** We have updated our policy on what structures can be erected on Founders Green (central quad) to require that any structure must receive prior

approval and only be available for limited durations of time. College officials will consider health and safety, accessibility, and college operations, and will reserve the right to remove unapproved structures when deemed necessary.

- **Identification.** Any person observed violating our Interim Policy on Expressive Freedom and Responsibility may now be approached by Campus Safety who can request to see a Haverford OneCard or other form of identification. Haverford community members are now required to comply with such requests, including the removal of masks, if applicable, to verify identities.
- **Visual Media.** We clarified that all visual media content, like all forms of expression, are subject to our Interim Policy on Expressive Freedom and Responsibility as well as our Anti-Bias Policy. The revision holds individuals and organizations responsible for any visual media that violate College policies.
- **Strengthened Safety Protocols.** The safety and well-being of the Haverford community is our highest priority. We have increased the presence of Campus Safety personnel at campus events and improved our approach to managing event disruption, including by shifting oversight of our Campus Safety team under the Dean of the College.
  - Campus Safety has increased collaboration with Chabad House advisors to provide additional on-site security for Shabbat dinners and special events, as requested.
  - Campus Safety maintains open communication with our two local law enforcement agencies (Haverford Township and Lower Merion Police Departments) for mutual information-sharing about potentially disruptive activities on campus and in the local community.
- **Honor Code Revisions.** For over 120 years, the Haverford Honor Code has governed student life on campus and holds students accountable to the values upon which our community depends: mutual trust, concern, and respect for oneself, one another, and the community. The Honor Code is in the process of being updated to make clear that harassment, discrimination, and bias are not forms of protected expression, and to emphasize that all our students are welcome on our campus.
- **Student Conduct.** We clarified our student conduct process, making it easier for our community to understand the consequences they may face if they violate our policies.
- **Anti-Doxxing Policy.** We created a college-level anti-doxxing policy to strengthen the protection of members of our community from harassment. This policy covers any personal information shared by others with the intent or knowledge that it may be used to intimidate, threaten, or cause harm.

- **New Title VI Position.** We are hiring a Director of Civil Rights and Title IX Coordinator, responsible for managing the development and implementation of College policies and practices to ensure compliance with federal and state requirements related to equity and non-discrimination, including Title VI, Title VII, and Section 504. The Director will also coordinate educational programs and policies to prevent inequity in education and the College workplace, including identity-based discrimination.
- **Dedicated Programs on Combating Antisemitism.** We launched a year-long initiative in Fall 2024 to encourage critical thinking about and engaging with one another on challenging issues. In Fall 2024, Haverford hosted several talks and panels, workshops, dialogue sessions, and community gatherings, with more than 485 students, faculty, and staff in attendance. There were two community gatherings and vigil spaces on October 6 and 7, hosted by the Jewish Students' Union and the College, respectively; two antisemitism workshops – one offered by the ADL and the other offered by Project Shema; a talk on Antisemitism and Blood Libel in Imperial Russia; and other programs dedicated to dialogue and conflict resolution. Programming continued in Spring 2025 with additional discussions and workshops.
- **Working with External Jewish Groups.** In February, Haverford received a failing grade from the ADL. That is a sobering commentary; I do not believe it fully reflects the current state of our community, and I am committed to improving our standing. We have taken a number of steps that were not reflected in that assessment, such as dedicating resources and programming related to antisemitism. This includes work that has been underway for well over a year, strengthening the kinds of policies and practices the ADL considers in its evaluation. I have been in contact with ADL's president and the Philadelphia regional director. Our teams will explore best practices in ways that I am confident will serve our community well and ultimately remediate the College's current grade on the report card. I look forward to that work. We are having similar, concurrent conversations with colleagues from the Jewish Federation of Greater Philadelphia.

Importantly, the College has invested in Jewish life on campus and engaged in dialogue with Jewish organizations to better support our Jewish students, faculty, and staff. The Office of Religious and Spiritual Life supports three Jewish student groups on campus. An Affinity Employee Resource Group for Jewish faculty and staff began in 2024.

During the recent Passover holiday, Jewish student groups worked with one another to share kosher kitchen space, plan and manage events, and host a beautiful Seder. Student engagement in Jewish groups has increased this year, with students enjoying opportunities for connection, spiritual growth, and cultural engagement. Hillel's executive director and a rabbinic advisor have been indispensable resources for our Jewish Student Union, Bi-Co Chabad, which offers a setting for strong spiritual development, community connection and pride, and education about Israel and antisemitism, is also thriving with ongoing and new programs, regular Shabbat

dinners, celebrations, presentations, and religious guidance for students at Haverford. The Chabad community has helped bring important events to Haverford, including panels, discussions, and film screenings.

Even as our community benefits from many such academic, social, and spiritual contributions of students, faculty, staff, and friends, and my leadership team has endeavored to support our community throughout the challenges since October 2023, I recognize we have not always succeeded in living out Haverford's ideals. Actions that clearly transgressed our community values have caused deep hurt and division, and these point to larger remedies like those above we must continue to pursue.

Any failures and fractures at Haverford are ultimately my responsibility as president, and it is my commitment to guide our college toward learning, working, and living together in a way that promotes safety for everyone on our campus.

### **Our Path Ahead**

Haverford has always embraced the Quaker principle that intellectual and ethical growth are never complete. In that spirit, we are confronting this moment in history head-on and are humbly committed to forging a better path forward – one in which our deep commitment to academic freedom and free expression is balanced with ensuring our campus is one in which every student can thrive.

In closing, I would like to briefly address the Haverford community directly. It is you, our students, faculty, staff, alumni, and friends, who often lead by informing us of the ways in which we must adapt and evolve in order to teach, mentor, and be in community together. At Haverford, we often talk about the importance of learning and deep reflection. In my own learning and deep reflection, I've gained clarity about the extent to which, under my leadership, we came up short in some areas. To anyone in the Haverford community who felt like we could have done more, or that I didn't take a more assertive role in the face of actions running counter to our values and Honor Code—I hear you and acknowledge that we can do better, and I can do better. To Jewish members of our community who felt as if the College was not there for you, I am sorry that my actions and my leadership let you down. You are welcome at Haverford, and I remain committed to addressing antisemitism, and all issues that harm our community members and undermine our educational mission.

At this unprecedented time in the history of higher education, I am buoyed by the strength of our community. I want you to know that I am committed to making Haverford better every single day. This will take time. This will take effort. I thank you for demonstrating how, together, we can work toward creating a better and more peaceful world. Thank you, and I look forward to your questions.

Chairman WALBERG. Thank you, President Raymond. Now Dr. Manuel, we recognize you for your testimony.

**STATEMENT OF MR. ROBERT MANUEL, PRESIDENT, DEPAUL UNIVERSITY, CHICAGO, ILLINOIS**

Mr. MANUEL. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. Chairman Walberg, Ranking Member Scott, members of the Committee, I want to thank you for this opportunity to discuss DePaul's efforts to combat antisemitism and keep our campus safe. More than 125 years, DePaul's Catholic Vincentian Mission has been grounded in the belief that every human being possesses inherent dignity, and worth.

A belief that compels us to stand firmly against antisemitism in all its forms. Since the terrorist attacks by Hamas on October 7th, we have taken strong steps to support our Jewish community members, prioritizing campus safety and student well-being. We have made mistakes along the way. As DePaul's leader, I want to acknowledge that openly.

To our students, our parents, our faculty, our staff, our alumni and our friends, I am deeply sorry. I know there are areas where we must and will do better. I also wish to speak directly to two of our students who were attacked last November. What happened to them was a hate crime. No one should ever be attacked because of who they are, and I am sorry for the pain that they are experiencing.

For the past year and a half, we have taken concrete steps to ensure Jewish students, and all students are safe on our campus. For example, we just implemented a new ID verification and mask policy. We have introduced new limits on campus protests through our time, place and manner restrictions.

We have enforced them. The operations for students for Justice in Palestine are currently suspended from the campus, and we banned a group, not a student group, Behind Enemy Lines from our campus. We have hired a former ADL professional to assist in our Jewish engagement on campus.

We have created a dedicated task force on antisemitism. We supported the creation of the Jewish Faculty Staff Alliance, and now we are also launching a Jewish alumni group. We have also made substantial investments to increase security and safety across our urban Chicago campuses, and I commissioned an external review of our security programs to improve campus safety.

As an institution founded on Catholic principles, we believe this moment demands moral clarity. Antisemitism is not only a threat to Jewish students, faculty and staff, it is a threat to the very fabric of our American society. I recognize that for many in our Jewish community, Israel is a core part of their identity.

Those community members, and every community member deserves to feel safe on campus without exception. We began this work over a year and a half ago. While there is more work to be done, the changes we have made are already fostering a culture of accountability on our campus. We recognize the vigilance on this topic, and it will need to be focal point of our work going forward. You have my commitment that we are focused on continuing to make real progress and take action.



As a person of faith, I am personally committed to confronting antisemitism wherever it appears in our institutions, in our communities, and in ourselves. I want to thank you for the opportunity to be here today, and I look forward to the questions.

[The Statement of Dr. Manuel follows:]

**Testimony of  
Robert L. Manuel  
President, DePaul University**

**before the**

**Committee on Education and the Workforce  
U.S. House of Representatives**

**May 7, 2025**

Chairman Walberg, Ranking Member Scott, and Members of the Committee, thank you for the opportunity to be here today to discuss DePaul's efforts to combat antisemitism and keep our campus safe.

I firmly believe that higher education holds the promise to make a meaningful, collective impact on the world—by developing people of substance who are prepared to address the most urgent and complex questions of our time. More than 30 years ago, I chose to pursue a path in higher education because of that potential.

Today, we are at a critical inflection point. The trust placed in colleges and universities has eroded and is being scrutinized—and rightly so. We must confront the ways in which our institutions have fallen short, and we must do the hard work to change. That includes DePaul, and it includes me and my leadership team. I remain committed to the belief that higher education—especially faith-based institutions like ours—can and will rise to this moment with honesty, accountability, and a renewed sense of purpose.

I have found my time spent in faith-based institutions to be among the most fulfilling. I have served as DePaul's president since August 2022, drawn to the university because of its Catholic, Vincentian mission to educate students to engage the most pressing questions of the day and advance the modern workforce. Prior to DePaul, I was president for 10 years at the University of Indianapolis, which is affiliated with the United Methodist Church. I have also had the privilege of working at two additional Catholic universities, first at LeMoyne College and later at Georgetown University, where I served as dean of the School of Continuing Studies and then associate provost. In addition, I have held administrative roles at New York University and currently serve on the national board of the Cristo Rey Network.

At DePaul, our Catholic, Vincentian mission is rooted in the belief that every human being possesses inherent dignity and worth—a belief that compels us to stand firmly against hate and antisemitism in all its forms. Our approach is shaped by the values of our Catholic tradition and by the example of St. Vincent de Paul, who devoted his life to serving those on the margins of society and building communities of compassion, dialogue, and change.

We take seriously the late Pope Francis's call to reject indifference and work actively for peace. In his words, spoken during a 2019 audience with a Jewish delegation, "a Christian cannot be an anti-Semite; we share the same roots. . . Let antisemitism be banished from the heart and life of

every man and every woman.” His message is clear: antisemitism is incompatible with the teachings of Christ and with the values we uphold in our university community.

This moment demands moral clarity. Antisemitism is not only a threat to Jewish students, faculty, and staff—it is a threat to the very fabric of our American society. As a university president, and as a person of faith, I am personally committed to confronting antisemitism wherever it appears: in our institutions, in our communities, and in ourselves.

I firmly believe that a university must serve as a vital community partner and catalyst for change. We cannot do this work in isolation. We must do it in partnership—across institutions, across sectors, and across political parties. I am committed to working with Congress and the broader government to identify, prevent, and respond to antisemitism. As educators and leaders, we have both a responsibility and an opportunity to foster growth and learning—and our collective response will help define the kind of society we leave to future generations.

At DePaul, we have made mistakes over the last two years—but a lack of moral clarity was not one of them. We understand that the sin of antisemitism must be confronted, repelled, and removed from our community and from our broader society. But we have to move faster. At DePaul, we are resolved to continue enhancing our efforts based on feedback from Congress and others.

As an institution, we have already learned to speak out forcefully and faster and with language that is direct and unambiguous. We recognize that our patience in some instances has been a source of undue pain and fear for our Jewish community members. We have dedicated more resources to campus security and learned to move faster against encampments that undermine the environment necessary for all students to learn. We are also engaging with our faculty to make sure our scholarship and pedagogical approach remain consistent with our Vincentian values and commitment to academic freedom. And we are incredibly focused on campus safety, a particularly difficult challenge in urban campus environments. Two of our students were assaulted, and while one assailant has apparently been apprehended, no student should ever be the victim of violence on campus. We have added resources to foster safety and will continue to do so until all our students feel safe and welcome.

#### **I. DePaul University’s Efforts to Combat Antisemitism Since October 7, 2023**

For more than 125 years, DePaul University has welcomed students of every faith tradition into our community. From our founding in 1898, DePaul opened its doors to the children and grandchildren of Jewish and Catholic immigrants at a time when religious quotas limited access to higher education. Today, we continue that legacy as an ecumenical institution rooted in inclusive values, with a campus ministry that reflects our enduring commitment to interfaith understanding and respect.

In the days following the October 7 terrorist attack by Hamas on Israel, we maintained close communication with our community partners—including the Jewish United Fund and Metro Chicago Hillel—as well as with our Jewish faculty, staff, students, and alumni. DePaul’s leadership cosigned a set of guiding principles condemning the actions of Hamas and providing a clear moral framework for how we would lead through this moment and beyond. These principles

became our foundation, reaffirming our unyielding commitment: antisemitism, like all forms of hate, has no place in our community.

Guided by the teachings of the late Pope Francis, we shared his pleas for peace, advocating for nonviolence and compassion. We urged students to engage in thoughtful and peaceful academic events, interfaith gatherings, and religious services that cultivate civic responsibility and spiritual reflection. While encouraging open and constructive dialogue, we also emphasized the necessity of preserving a safe, respectful environment conducive to learning and belonging.

During the encampment protests across the nation in the spring of 2024, we remained in regular contact with our partners at the Jewish United Fund and Metro Chicago Hillel. Throughout this challenging period, we prioritized transparency—informing both the campus and the public about the harmful effects of the encampment on our campus community. We bolstered campus security and appointed a liaison in Student Affairs to ensure Jewish students had a direct channel for support and resources.

We took the encampment seriously and heard the frustration from our community members, many of whom expressed profound concern. On May 16, 2024, with the assistance of the Chicago Police Department, DePaul disassembled the encampment on our campus. In an effort to educate and be transparent, we published a website documenting images and evidence of the discriminatory, harassing, and violent behavior that had occurred. ADL Midwest publicly commended DePaul for transparently presenting this evidence, and the president of the Jewish United Fund praised our response in the Chicago Tribune. While peaceful protest and free expression are protected values at our Catholic, Vincentian university, incitement to violence and hate speech are not.

In the remaining weeks of the 2023-24 academic year, DePaul closed the quad and other campus green spaces to repair the extensive damage. I made it clear that any attempt to breach these areas would result in arrest, suspension, and prosecution. These spaces remained closed until August 2024 to ensure full restoration.

At our Academic Convocation on August 29, 2024, I called on the university to remain grounded in our Catholic, Vincentian mission—affirming the dignity of every person. University leadership reaffirmed our zero-tolerance policy for hatred and violence, and we reiterated our expectations for respectful, constructive engagement as we embarked on the 2024-25 academic year.

On November 6, 2024, I was appalled to learn that two Jewish students, visibly expressing their support for Israel, had been physically attacked in front of the Student Center on the Lincoln Park Campus. That evening, I shared a message with the university community, expressing our outrage and underscoring that for many Jewish students, Israel is a core part of their Jewish identity. Those students—and every student—deserve to feel safe on DePaul's campus, without exception.

Immediately, our Student Affairs team reached out to the two students to offer care and support. We offered 24-hour safety escorts, access to counseling services, anti-doxing resources, and a personal meeting with me and the provost. I also remained in close personal contact with DePaul Jewish Life, the Jewish United Fund, and Metro Chicago Hillel. Simultaneously, we increased campus security to ensure heightened protection.

The next day, on November 7, 2024, the Chicago Police Department rightly classified the incident as a hate crime at our urging and released a public alert, including descriptions and photos of the offenders. That same day, we shared the alert with the university community, urging anyone with information to come forward. DePaul Public Safety continued to work in close partnership with the Chicago Police Department, providing surveillance footage and all available information to support their investigation.

The Chicago Police Department and the Cook County State's Attorney's Office arrested a suspect last month who was charged with two counts of a hate crime in connection with the November attack. The suspect is not affiliated with DePaul University. We continue to fully support the ongoing legal process and the investigation.

I have consistently condemned in the strongest possible terms the antisemitic targeting of members of our Jewish community. This hate crime was a direct violation of DePaul's core values—to uphold and care for the dignity of every individual. The safety and well-being of our students, faculty, and staff is our highest priority. Our guiding principles leave no ambiguity: acts of antisemitism and violence will never be tolerated at DePaul. No one should ever feel unsafe on our campus.

While we appreciated the numerous messages of support for our response to this incident—from faculty, staff, and members of the broader Jewish community,<sup>1</sup> we also recognize that our work is far from over. Combating antisemitism—like confronting all forms of hate—requires vigilance, humility, and a commitment to continuous learning.

We are listening to our Jewish students, faculty, and staff, and we remain open to feedback on how we can do better with an increased sense of urgency. DePaul is committed to sustained dialogue, robust education, and structural reforms that ensure every Jewish member of our community feels seen, supported, and secure. As we move forward, we do so not only with resolve but with a deep understanding that our values must be reflected in both our policies and our daily actions.

## **II. Policy Changes, Safety Enhancements, and Action**

DePaul also has undertaken a significant review of our policies and procedures on campus in an effort to maintain and enhance campus safety across our urban Chicago campuses. Since the encampment last spring, university leadership has diligently committed to examining existing policies and introducing new ones—from security to student conduct.

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<sup>1</sup> Rabbi Dr. Ari Berman, president of Yeshiva University, sent a letter on November 7 commending DePaul for its “strong statement condemning the attack on the two Jewish students, showing visible support for Israel. ... Your leading stance against such hatred is important not only because it is the right thing to do, but because other university leaders will look at DePaul University and see that it truly adheres to its mission statement as it ‘compassionately upholds the dignity of all members of its diverse, multi-faith, and inclusive community.’ Through your very visible work to make DePaul University a safe place for Jewish students, your university is a champion for the rights of the Jewish people.”

Our goals are clear: to learn from those who are affected and maintain a secure, welcoming learning environment where every student, faculty member, and staff member can thrive—free from threat or disruption.

#### *Policy Changes*

We have implemented multiple policy changes. We regularly communicated these new standards with our university community to ensure compliance and understanding.

Changes to our policies include:

- On August 8, 2024, DePaul University introduced revised Time, Place, and Manner Guidelines to clarify how members of our community may safely and productively engage in demonstrations. These updated guidelines are designed to uphold freedom of expression while ensuring the security, operations, and academic mission of the university are not compromised. They prohibit demonstrations that target individuals or groups with violence or discrimination and require advanced reservations for all demonstrations on university property. Demonstrations may not interfere with university business or academic activities, and there are consequences for violations.
- To further support compliance, signs have been posted across campus—including the Quad— notifying the community that special events, tents, and amplified sound are prohibited without prior approval. These proactive measures are part of our broader strategy to ensure that demonstrations are conducted in a manner consistent with DePaul’s values of safety, civility, and respect.
- A review committee comprised of students, faculty, and staff convened in March 2024 to review the current Code of Student Responsibility and provide recommendations for edits and updates. The committee’s work culminated in updates to various sections, all made in the interest of improving existing processes, increasing transparency, and providing additional clarity regarding student rights and responsibilities. Significant changes included modifying the Disorderly Conduct Policy to better define bullying and harassment, and adding doxing to the list of prohibited behaviors.
- DePaul has also taken steps to address campus safety through the implementation of an Identity Verification Policy. This policy strengthens Public Safety efforts to verify identity for any individual on university property when there is a clear reason to do so. Individuals must present a DePaul ID or other valid photo identification upon request. If identity is obscured, officers are authorized to request the removal of masks, face coverings, or disguises to confirm identity. Officers receive regular policy training to ensure it is administered fairly and consistently and will accommodate individual medical or religious needs. Refusal to comply can result in trespass, removal from campus, or disciplinary action.

#### *Safety Enhancements*

In addition to our policies, we have made a number of safety enhancements and investments, including:

- Increased external security spend by 30% to hire more officers for DePaul Public Safety and extended private security contracts with a company that employs off-duty law enforcement;
- Expanded safety escort services by contracting with a private security company to increase our fleet of “Vinny Vans,” which provide free transportation from campus to a residential address within defined boundaries. Public Safety escorts are available to all students on campus from 6 p.m. – 6 a.m. A small group of students, including the two students who were attacked on campus in November, also have access to our 24/7 safety escort service provided by Public Safety;
- Over \$500,000 in lighting upgrades on the Lincoln Park Campus, specifically in the Quad and in our parking garages to deter crime. Lighting makes it more difficult for criminals to operate and improves the visibility of our many security cameras. By installing additional lighting, we eliminated blind spots that came to our attention during the encampment; and
- Installation of new security cameras, upgrading over 200 existing cameras, and integration of security cameras with emergency call towers.

Additionally, I have commissioned an external review of our safety protocols and procedures. This review is examining whether we should maintain our current safety operation of unarmed, unsworn Public Safety officers; move to have a full-fledged police department; or have a hybrid Public Safety department with a mix of unsworn and sworn officers, contracted through a private security company. I expect to have a report with recommendations by the end of this academic year.

#### *Taking Action*

Informed by the lessons of the encampment last spring, we are committed to moving swiftly to communicate expectations, enforce university policies, and hold individuals and groups accountable for violations.

- For example, on October 7, 2024, a group attempted to organize a protest without reserving campus space, as required. University officials, in coordination with the Chicago Police Department, quickly informed the group that remaining in the space could result in arrest. The protest was moved, and the organization was sanctioned and remains on probation for the 2024-25 academic year.
- On March 6, 2025, Behind Enemy Lines—an outside group banned from campus and not recognized as a student organization—attempted to organize a protest on university property. DePaul Public Safety and the Chicago Police Department prevented the group from entering university grounds and required them to remain on the public sidewalk.
- Since the original encampment was removed, no new encampments have successfully been organized. This is because of the decisive action taken by the university to tamp down on these disruptive protests.

These examples demonstrate our resolve to enforce policy consistently and protect the integrity of our campus.

Beyond these measures, we also recognize the urgent need to strengthen our sense of community. To create lasting structural change, I have appointed Scott Levin, Esq., former Regional Director of the Anti-Defamation League, as Special Advisor to the President on Jewish Engagement. Over the course of the next year, the special advisor will:

- Establish and lead a task force dedicated to combating antisemitism.
- Review DePaul's existing policies to assess whether they sufficiently address hate and antisemitism and are effectively integrated into institutional operations.
- Evaluate DePaul's cultural and structural practices as they relate to combating hate and antisemitism with actionable recommendations for improvement.
- Provide a comprehensive action plan with specific recommendations for policy improvements and community engagement.

In addition, the university has launched a Jewish alumni affinity group to foster deeper connections among graduates and provide ongoing support to our Jewish community. This group will play an important role in building intergenerational bonds, strengthening mentorship opportunities, and amplifying Jewish voices within the broader DePaul network.

To foster a culture of understanding through intentional dialogue and engagement, I established the Dialogue Collaborative at DePaul in August 2024. A cornerstone of the collaborative is the Dialogue in Action certification program, led by DePaul's College of Communication. Through a series of workshops, cohorts of faculty and staff are trained in the principles and facilitation of dialogue across diverse perspectives.

By the end of this academic year, 60 faculty and staff will be certified, each tasked with organizing a campus initiative that incorporates a dialogic approach. These facilitators have already led meaningful conversations. One example is a dialogue held on February 11, 2025, featuring members of the Parents Circle – Families Forum.

The Parents Circle – Families Forum is an organization of over 750 Israeli and Palestinian families whose loved ones have been killed in conflict and who have chosen dialogue and peace. At the event in February, two members of the forum—an Israeli and a Palestinian—shared their powerful journeys with DePaul community members at the St. Vincent de Paul Church. Student leaders also had the opportunity to participate in a training session with the American Friends of the Parents Circle – Families Forum.

Students are also central to the collaborative's mission. Many students are currently engaged in the Bridgebuilding Fellowship, developing skills in interfaith dialogue. On April 24, 2025, these students facilitated small group dialogues during the Yom HaShoah Storytelling event, hosted by DePaul Jewish Life. At that event, staff members also shared family stories of Holocaust survival, creating a deeply reflective and interfaith-centered space for understanding and solidarity.

Our intention is clear: to learn from the past, design meaningful change, and implement systemic changes that eliminate antisemitism at DePaul, affirming our values of safety, belonging, and shared responsibility.



*Dedicated Response Team*

At DePaul University, our Catholic, Vincentian values compel us to protect the dignity of every person and to foster a community where all students can participate fully—without fear of hatred or discrimination. As part of our continued commitment to this vision, we are in the process of establishing a Bias Education and Response Team (“BERT”), which will serve as a critical point of support and accountability for our campus community.

University leadership is developing BERT—which we expect to be fully active going into the upcoming school year—in response to ongoing dialogue with students, faculty, and staff who expressed a need for clearer pathways to report bias-related incidents and access timely support. BERT will serve both as a responsive structure for addressing harm and as an educational resource committed to long-term cultural change. It reflects our belief that a safe and welcoming environment is essential to academic success.

Students who experience or witness incidents of hate or bias will be able to use an online reporting form to make the university aware of what has occurred. These reports will be routed directly to BERT and the Dean of Students Office. Students can submit reports confidentially or anonymously, understanding that in certain situations, such as those involving immediate safety concerns or potential criminal activity, anonymity may be limited by law. Regardless of the circumstances, DePaul will handle each report in accordance with university privacy policies and comprehensive anti-retaliation protections.

BERT will include representatives from Student Affairs, Mission and Ministry, Academic Affairs, and other university offices as needed. Their charge will be to assess incidents, provide support and resources to affected individuals, coordinate appropriate institutional responses, and identify learning opportunities. BERT will function not only as a response mechanism but as a reflective body—analyzing trends and recommending structural improvements. Its charge will include oversight of antisemitism related to bias and discrimination complaints, with trained individuals who are equipped to assess and respond to such claims.

We recognize that we cannot eliminate all bias from our society. But we can—and must—build a campus culture where students feel safe speaking up, where harm is acknowledged and addressed, and where education leads to transformation. BERT is one more step toward that goal, affirming our shared responsibility to care for one another and uphold the Catholic, Vincentian values that define DePaul University.

### **III. Values: Vincentian Personalism, Commitment to Building Community, Integrity, Academic Freedom**

At DePaul University, our efforts to combat antisemitism are grounded not only in policy but in purpose. Our Catholic, Vincentian identity calls us to uphold the sacred dignity of every individual. We believe that community is not a given—it is something we are called to build, actively and intentionally. Vincentian personalism teaches us to meet one another with compassion and courage, to protect those who are vulnerable, and to stand firmly against all forms of hate. This work is an expression of who we are and who we aspire to be.

The late Pope Francis called on the global Church to embrace a synodal path—one that requires deep listening, humility, and a commitment to journeying together. This model of synodality is especially relevant to Catholic higher education. It invites us to step outside our own experiences, to make space for the voices of others, and to discern our path forward in community. At DePaul, that spirit is foundational to our response to antisemitism. It shapes how we engage, how we lead, and how we care for every member of our community—particularly those who feel unsafe or unseen.

This approach reflects our namesake, St. Vincent de Paul, whose ministry emerged from a belief that faith demands an ethical commitment to serve the marginalized and to transform both Church and society. For St. Vincent, spiritual conviction could not be passive. Our faith must be bold, practical, and creative. He taught that “wisdom consists in following Providence step by step”—a reminder that we are called to respond to the reality before us with integrity and resolve. At DePaul, we take that responsibility seriously. We are committed to asking the Vincentian question: What must be done? We answer that call with action.

Academic freedom is also an integral part of this commitment. Far from being in tension with our religious mission, academic freedom is rooted in the Catholic intellectual tradition. Faith and reason are not opposing forces—they are companions in the search for truth. We believe that knowledge is best pursued through rigorous scholarship, open dialogue, and mutual respect. But we also affirm that academic freedom carries moral responsibility. A truly free university must also be a safe one—where all students, including those who face hatred or bias, can engage fully in the life of the mind without fear for their wellbeing.

St. Louise de Marillac, who partnered with St. Vincent to co-found the Daughters of Charity, once encouraged her community to “live together in great union and cordiality, loving one another in the charity of Our Lord.” Her words offer a powerful vision for university life.

As we confront antisemitism and all forms of hatred, we do so not as a reaction to crisis, but as a faithful expression of our mission. We are called to a love that, in the words of St. Vincent, must be “inventive to infinity.” It is this love—bold, inclusive, and enduring—that compels us to protect, to listen, and to lead.

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Thank you for this opportunity to discuss our ongoing work to combat antisemitism and ensure our campus is one where all students can thrive. We appreciate the opportunity to be here and the work of your staff. I also welcome any questions that you may have.

Chairman WALBERG. Thank you, Dr. Manuel, and now I recognize Mr. David Cole for your testimony.

**STATEMENT OF MR. DAVID COLE, GEORGE J. MITCHELL PROFESSOR IN LAW AND PUBLIC POLICY, GEORGETOWN UNIVERSITY LAW CENTER, AND FORMER NATIONAL LEGAL DIRECTOR, AMERICAN CIVIL LIBERTIES UNION, WASHINGTON, D.C.**

Chairman WALBERG. Press the button and turn the mic on there, please.

Mr. COLE. Sorry.

Chairman WALBERG. Thank you.

Mr. COLE. Thank you, Chairman Walberg, much better, and Ranking Member Scott for inviting me to testify today. I come not so much to comment on the specifics of what happened in Haverford, DePaul or Cal Poly, but to provide a legal framework and a cautionary note.

In my work with the ACLU and others, I have defended the speech rights of everyone from the National Rifle Association, which I represented successfully in the Supreme Court just last year, to fundamentalist Christians, to Palestinian students. I have also challenged discrimination on the basis of race, sex, and religion.

I care deeply about both values, free speech and equality, and both are at stake here. I have three points. First, antisemitic speech, while lamentable, is constitutionally protected, just like racist speech, sexist speech, and homophobic speech is. The Supreme Court protected the rights of the Nazi party to march in Skokie, the home of Holocaust survivors. Sorry, I just turned my thing off.

It protected the rights of the Westboro Baptist Church to hurl homophobic slurs at a military funeral, and it protected the rights of the Ku Klux Klan to burn crosses and engage in racist speech. As Chief Justice Roberts explained in the Westboro Baptist Church case, while such speech obviously causes deep harm, the greater danger is giving government officials the power to censor speech by labeling it antisemitic, racist or sexist.

Second, Title VI does not prohibit antisemitic speech. It prohibits only the discriminatory denial of equal access to education. An antisemitic slogan at a protest, or online, does not deny equal access to education anymore than a sexist or a racist comment at a rally does.

Antisemitic speech implicates Title VI in only two narrow circumstances. First, where it constitutes harassment targeted at an individual because of that individual's Jewish identity. Not because he supports Israel, but because of his Jewish identity specifically.

Second, where the speech is not targeted, say at a rally, where it is so severe, pervasive and objectively offensive that it denies equal access to an education. That is a very high standard. It has almost never been met in the case law. That means most antisemitic speech does not implicate Title VI at all. Therefore, a school committed to free speech should be tolerating it, not suppressing it, as this Committee would ask.

Title VI governs only colleges, not students, so when a student harasses another student that student has not violated Title VI, and the college has not violated Title VI because the student does not speak for the college. The college only violates Title VI if it is deliberately indifferent to the act, deliberately indifferent, again, a very high standard set forth by the Supreme Court in the Davis case, and almost never met.

That is basically you ignore what has happened rather than respond. Deliberate indifference is not responding to antisemitism in a way that this Committee does not think is sufficient. That leads me to my third and final point. The line between protected antisemitic speech and prohibited antisemitic discrimination is necessarily fact intensive.

It requires a careful assessment of what was said to whom, and why it was said. As a result, it is not sufficient to make general accusations of antisemitism, as members of this Committee have repeatedly done in all of the prior hearings, and already today. Any more than it is sufficient under Title IX to label an encounter between two students' sexual harassment.

You need to look at what happened, hear both sides of the encounter, and make a legal assessment, not a political harangue. Therefore, getting to the bottom of what happened here requires fair hearings where both sides are heard with about specific incidents.

This Committee room is not the place to do that. This Committee has not held a single hearing looking into a specific incident, having the perpetrator and the complainant testify, and trying to figure out what has happened.

Instead, it has engaged in broad based charges of antisemitism without any factual predicate. With all due respect, these proceedings have had more in common with those of the House American Un-Activities Committee—

Chairman WALBERG. I ask the gentleman to conclude. You have gone past the 5-minutes.

Mr. COLE. Yes, I am sorry. If I could just—I have one final comment. It will take me a second.

Chairman WALBERG. Very quick.

Mr. COLE. Yes. These proceedings, with all due respect, have more in common with those of the House Un-American Activities Committee. They are not an attempt to find out what happened, but an attempt to shield protected speech.

Chairman WALBERG. Thank you for your testimony.

Mr. COLE. That was a mistake then, and it is a mistake now.

[The Statement of Mr. Cole follows:]

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STATEMENT

of Professor David D. Cole

Georgetown University Law Center

“Beyond the Ivy League: Stopping the Spread of Antisemitism on American Campuses”

A Hearing Before the House Committee on Education and Workforce

May 7, 2025

Thank you for inviting me to testify on this very important subject.

I am the former national legal director of the American Civil Liberties Union, and a professor at Georgetown University Law Center. I speak here on my own behalf as a scholar and practitioner of First Amendment and civil rights law. I have spent 45 years teaching, litigating, and writing about constitutional law and civil rights.

I have committed my career both to the elimination of discrimination of all forms, and to the protection of free speech for all. On the antidiscrimination side, among other cases, I represented a transgender woman, Aimee Stephens, in *Bostock v. Clayton County*, which established that discrimination on the basis of transgender status is sex discrimination prohibited by Title VII. And on the free speech side, just last year I represented the National Rifle Association in *NRA v. Vullo*, a case challenging efforts by the Democratic Governor of New York and his chief financial regulator to blacklist the NRA for its political viewpoint. The Supreme Court ruled unanimously on our behalf. And in my capacity at the ACLU, I have advocated for the speech rights of liberals and conservatives alike, including those of the NRA, Black Lives Matter activists, Donald Trump, social media platforms, Ilya Shapiro, and fundamentalist Christians.<sup>1</sup> I have also worked actively against discrimination and in favor of free speech on college campuses.

I say this because at the heart of the issue this committee is investigating is the difficult challenge of balancing our commitments to free speech with our commitment to equality reflected in civil rights laws like Titles VI and IX of the Civil Rights Act. The remarks I make here reflect principles advanced by myself and 17 fellow constitutional law scholars, from across the ideological spectrum, in connection with the Trump administration's actions against Columbia University. In that statement, joined by many of the leading conservative First Amendment and constitutional scholars in the country, as well as the founder of the Federalist Society, is attached as Appendix A to my testimony.

I will make three points. First, the vast majority of antisemitic speech is constitutionally protected, even if hateful. We can and should condemn it, but it remains protected. Second, while Title VI prohibits discrimination on the basis of race and national identity, it is narrowly defined, especially when it comes to speech, and most antisemitic speech is not discrimination under Title VI, just as most sexist speech is not discrimination under Title IX. Third, because drawing the line between protected speech and unprotected discrimination is very difficult, it requires careful consideration on a case-by-case and incident-by-incident basis, best conducted by tribunals that are designed to assess conflicting factual accounts and draw careful lines. It is not sufficient, as this committee has in the past, to make broad charges of antisemitism and assume that one has established discrimination.

#### **1. The First Amendment Protects Antisemitic Speech.**

I start from the premise that antisemitism, like Islamophobia, racism, sexism, homophobia and transphobia, all forms of identity-based hate, should be condemned. We should see each other as human beings, and everyone deserves equal dignity and respect, regardless of their racial, religious, or sexual identity.

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<sup>1</sup> See David Cole, *Defending Speech We Hate*, ACLU Blog, Feb. 20, 2024, <https://www.aclu.org/news/civil-liberties/defending-speech-we-hate>.

That said, the First Amendment protects antisemitic speech, just as it protects racist, sexist, homophobic, and Islamophobic speech. The only forms of speech *not* protected by the First Amendment are true threats, incitement, defamation, obscenity, speech integral to illegal conduct, and fighting words. Offensive speech that expresses bias or animus towards someone because of who they are does not fall within any of those categories. The Supreme Court has repeatedly reaffirmed this principle. It has protected the speech rights of Westboro Baptist Church members to protest a military funeral with homophobic slurs;<sup>2</sup> of the Nazis to march in Skokie, Illinois, home to many Holocaust survivors;<sup>3</sup> and of the Ku Klux Klan to engage in racist speech and cross-burnings.<sup>4</sup> The Supreme Court has held unconstitutional even efforts to punish fighting words, a form of unprotected speech, where those fighting words were singled out for worse treatment because they expressed a racist point of view.<sup>5</sup> All such speech, like antisemitic speech, is hateful, offensive, and often inflicts psychic injury on those exposed to it; but it is nonetheless protected by the First Amendment.

Under longstanding First Amendment principles, we must tolerate offensive speech, even when listeners experience it as deeply harmful, because giving government officials the power to determine whose views can be heard and whose should be silenced is a greater danger. As Chief Justice John Roberts wrote in the Westboro Baptist Church case:

Speech is powerful. It can stir people to action, move them to tears of both joy and sorrow, and—as it did here—inflict great pain. On the facts before us, we cannot react to that pain by punishing the speaker. As a Nation we have chosen a different course—to protect even hurtful speech on public issues to ensure that we do not stifle public debate.<sup>6</sup>

Accordingly, it will not do to proclaim that because a student or faculty member on campus engaged in speech that is perceived to be antisemitic, colleges are somehow violating federal law by tolerating that speech. On the contrary, tolerating such speech will often simply be respecting principles of free speech.<sup>7</sup> Many Republicans and conservatives have long criticized universities for failing to tolerate speech that was perceived to be racist, sexist, or homophobic. Conservatives argued—and I agree—that such speech must be tolerated in a free society. But the same is true of antisemitic speech—the vast majority of it is constitutionally protected, no matter how offensive we find it. And therefore free speech principles preclude its suppression.

## **2. Federal Law Prohibits Discrimination Based on Race, National Origin, and Sex, and in Narrow Circumstances, Speech Can Constitute Discrimination.**

While antisemitic speech is protected, discrimination is not. Federal law, particularly Titles VI and IX, prohibit discrimination because of race, sex, or national origin by educational institutions that receive

<sup>2</sup> *Snyder v. Phelps*, 562 US 443 (2011).

<sup>3</sup> *Nat'l Socialist Party v. Village of Skokie*, 432 U.S. 43 (1977).

<sup>4</sup> *Brandenburg v. Ohio*, 395 U.S. 444 (1969); see also *Virginia v. Black*, 538 U.S. 343 (2003)

<sup>5</sup> *R.A.V. v. City of St. Paul*, 505 U.S. 377 (1992).

<sup>6</sup> *Snyder v. Phelps*, 562 U.S. at 460-61.

<sup>7</sup> While private universities, unlike public universities, are not constitutionally obligated to adhere to the First Amendment, most universities have adopted “free speech” policies that impose on them the same restrictions that the First Amendment imposes on public institutions. That is because free speech is widely viewed as essential to free inquiry.

federal funding—in effect, virtually all educational institutions. Most discrimination consists of conduct, as when someone is hired or fired or denied a promotion based on a protected characteristic. In those instances, the challenge is to determine the motive behind the conduct – if it is motivated by criticism of Israel or Hamas, for example, it is not antisemitic or Islamophobic. If it is motivated by animus against Jews or Muslims, it is.

In some instances, discrimination can take the form of speech. Thus a quid pro quo request for sex in exchange for a promotion is sexual harassment, and is not protected even though it is expressed through words. Similarly, harassing speech that is targeted at a particular individual because of his race or national origin is prohibited. But drawing the line between free speech and targeted harassment can be difficult.

More difficult still is defining when non-targeted speech rises to the level of discrimination. As a general matter, speech that is not targeted at an individual, even if it is virulently sexist, racist, or antisemitic, will rarely constitute discrimination under Title VI or IX, and is constitutionally protected by the First Amendment. The only exception is when the non-targeted speech is so severe, pervasive, and objectively offensive as to create a “hostile learning environment” that denies individuals equal access to education based on race, sex, or national origin.<sup>8</sup> But precisely because this theory runs up against the free speech protections for hate speech, very few claims of “hostile learning environment” have ever succeeded. It is, and should be a very high bar, lest it trench on protected speech.

It is, in addition, critical to distinguish criticism of Israel, or defense of Palestinian rights and lives, from antisemitic discrimination—just as one cannot equate criticism of Hamas or defense of Israeli citizens’ right and lives, with Islamophobia. Most criticism of Israel is not antisemitic; indeed, many Jews are deeply critical of how Israel has responded to the terrorist attacks of October 7, and of how Israel has managed its long-term conflict with the Palestinian people. Nor is defense of Hamas’s right to fight back antisemitic, even if it seeks to justify terrorist actions—just as defense of Israel’s bombing and killing of civilians in Gaza is not Islamophobic. In commenting upon or protesting a military conflict between a religiously-identified state and a religiously identified terrorist group, one has to be able to take sides and criticize either or both sides. It is not surprising that people on both sides experience taking sides in a war as antisemitic or Islamophobic. But that doesn’t make it so. Accordingly, defining what is “antisemitic” in this setting is very difficult. This means that even when conduct, not speech, is involved, as in a physical blockade or assault, the conduct is only discrimination if it is motivated by the race or national origin of a particular target, and not if it is motivated by criticism of Israel or Hamas.

And the difficulty doesn’t end there. Because, as noted above, most even indisputably antisemitic speech does not violate federal law, universities committed to free speech, as most are, must tolerate it, not punish it. And where the assertion is that a series of statements have collectively created a “hostile learning environment,” appropriate remedies are especially challenging to formulate. For example, if one person engages in antisemitic speech on the campus lawn, not targeted at anyone, that is not discrimination. If two people say the same thing, that is also not discrimination. If three people say it, it is still not discrimination. But if 1,000 people said it, it might become sufficiently “severe, pervasive, and objectively offensive” to create a hostile learning environment. But if the first 999

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<sup>8</sup> *Davis v. Monroe County Bd. of Educ.*, 526 US 629 (1999).



students can't be punished for saying it, is it fair to punish the 1,000<sup>th</sup> student? Or if it's protected to say it for two hours, but not for three weeks, who draws that line, and on what basis? These are extremely difficult questions, and they are not answered by loose charges of rampant antisemitism and demands to punish students.

If one is committed to both free speech and equality, it is important to make careful assessments, and not paint as off limits all speech that might be deemed offensive to a particular group. To take one example close to home for me: When conservative lawyer Ilya Shapiro, who had recently been hired by Georgetown, posted a tweet in 2022 claiming that because President Biden had promised to select the first Black woman for the Supreme Court, and there were in Shapiro's view more qualified candidates on the federal bench, Biden would necessarily choose a "lesser Black woman," many people called his remarks discriminatory, and argued that they rendered him unfit to direct an institute at Georgetown Law, where I teach. I defended Shapiro's right to say what he did, arguing that even if his speech was offensive to many, and could be viewed as racist and sexist, it was protected by the First Amendment, and by Georgetown's free speech policy.<sup>9</sup> After an investigation, the Dean declined to withdraw an offer to Mr. Shapiro, upholding his speech rights. Such incidents illustrate the importance of not treating any speech that is racist, sexist, or antisemitic as unworthy of protection, or as constituting discrimination.

By the same token, the fact that someone says something deemed antisemitic, whether a student or a faculty member, is not necessarily discrimination. In fact, in most instances, it will not be discrimination at all, but protected speech.

### **3. Distinguishing Protected Antisemitic Speech from Prohibited Discriminatory Harassment Requires Careful, Case-by-Case Analysis, and Cannot be Adjudicated in a Congressional Committee Hearing.**

Because only a very small subset of antisemitic (or racist or sexist) remarks even conceivably constitute discriminatory harassment under Title VI or Title IX, determining whether a particular antisemitic statement is protected speech or prohibited harassment is necessarily a fact-specific inquiry. One simply cannot conclude that antisemitic remarks are discrimination without a careful assessment of all the facts and circumstances surrounding any alleged incident. People often have very different views about what happened—as countless Title IX sexual harassment cases have illustrated over the years. In that context, one person's consensual encounter is often another person's assault or harassment; the only way to get to the truth is to carefully assess the facts in a fair and impartial hearing. The same is true with charges of antisemitism, Islamophobia, or other forms of alleged hate speech.

Accordingly, colleges must investigate, and where appropriate, hold fair hearings that afford both sides an opportunity to be heard and to challenge opposing testimony, weigh often conflicting testimony about what happened, and seek a fair resolution.

In addition, the fact that *students* engage in harassing behavior does not mean *the college* has violated Title VI. Nor does it violate Title VI for a college to resolve a particular incident or series of

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<sup>9</sup> David Cole, The University and Free Speech, New York Review of Books, Feb. 15, 2022, <https://www.nybooks.com/online/2022/02/15/the-university-and-freedom-of-expression/>; David Cole, Georgetown Law Did the Right Thing on Ilya Shapiro, Wash. Post, June 4, 2022, <https://www.washingtonpost.com/opinions/2022/06/04/georgetown-law-ilya-shapiro-free-speech/>.

incidents in ways that members of this committee do not deem sufficiently harsh. One student's harassment of another does not violate Title VI; the students themselves are not bound by Title VI, only the college is. As students do not speak for the college, their actions are not attributable to the college. Accordingly, colleges violate Titles VI or IX only when they are "deliberately indifferent" to a credible claim of discrimination.<sup>10</sup> That is an extraordinarily high bar. The fact, for example, that a college resolves a charge of sexual harassment against the accuser, and imposes no penalty, is not deliberate indifference—even if a reasonable person might have found for the accuser. Nor is it deliberate indifference for a college to impose a modest penalty, or a mere warning, for particular incidents. The college's obligation is to take credible complaints seriously—not to reach any particular result in any particular case. Thus, very few colleges have ever been found to be deliberately indifferent under Titles VI or Title IX, by courts or the Department of Education.

What does this mean for this committee? It means that throwing around broad charges of antisemitism is not helpful. This committee and this hearing are not capable of engaging in the fact-intensive inquiry necessary to determine the facts of any particular incident. Since most antisemitism is protected speech, only a very small subset of antisemitic remarks even arguably constitute discrimination, and schools are liable only if they are "deliberately indifferent" to an actual instance of discrimination, one cannot possibly fairly assess any particular case in this committee room. Just as we don't try criminal or civil cases by congressional committee, we ought not pretend we are enforcing Title VI in this committee.

Complaints about antisemitism should be adjudicated in the first instance in college hearings or by college investigators, in the second instance by the Department of Education's Office of Civil Rights, or, where a lawsuit is filed, in the courts. But this Committee has already made clear, through its conduct of similar hearings last Congress, that it is not a venue that can get to the bottom of what actually happened in a particular instance or whether it was fairly decided.

To be honest, and with all due respect, the hearings this committee held on this same subject last year are reminiscent not of a fair trial of any sort, but of the kind of hearings the House Committee on Un-American Activities used to hold.<sup>11</sup> And I think we can all agree that the HUAC hearings were both a big mistake and a major intrusion on the First Amendment rights of Americans.

Finally, I will close with a word about academic freedom and the Constitution. The core premise of academic freedom, which the Supreme Court has said is a "special concern" of the First Amendment,<sup>12</sup> is that universities and professors get to decide what to teach and research, and whom to hire as faculty and admit as students. Absent actual discrimination, those decisions are not for politicians to make, even if politicians don't like the viewpoint a university seems to have adopted. Whether a university leans in a conservative direction, a liberal direction, or seeks a diverse set of voices, it is not the role of the government to interfere. Thus, demands, as the Trump administration has

<sup>10</sup> *Davis v. Monroe County Bd. of Educ.*, 526 US 629 (1999).

<sup>11</sup> I note, in this regard, that the Committee's Oversight Plan expressly states, at p. 3, that the committee seeks to fight not only "antisemitism" but "anti-Americanism" in education. See <https://docs.house.gov/Committee/Calendar/ByEvent.aspx?EventID=117778>. That is *exactly* what the House Committee on Un-American Activities did. Anti-Americanism is also, needless to say, constitutionally protected speech.

<sup>12</sup> *Keyishian v. Board of Regents*, 385 U.S. 589 (1967).

recently made, that schools stop teaching about “diversity, equity, and inclusion,” or subject their hiring and admissions decisions to federal review for “viewpoint diversity,” are impermissible. So, too, are threats to withdraw major grants and contracts from programs and departments that are not even charged with any Title VI violations. And so, too, are threats to revoke tax-exempt status in retaliation for universities standing up for academic freedom, as President Trump has now twice illegally suggested with respect to Harvard.

The actions of this committee, and of the Trump administration, violate one of the Constitution’s most important principles: that the government doesn’t get to tell us what can and cannot be said, or what side of issues of public concern we must be on. In a constitutional democracy, those decisions are left to the people and private institutions – because we don’t trust government to do a fair job. Rarely has that risk been more manifest than right now.

## APPENDIX A

A Statement of Constitutional Law Scholars on Columbia,  
<https://www.nybooks.com/online/2025/03/20/a-statement-from-constitutional-law-scholars-on-columbia/>

## A Statement from Constitutional Law Scholars on Columbia

**Eugene Volokh, Michael C. Dorf, David Cole, and 15 other scholars**

March 20, 2025

We write as constitutional scholars—some liberal and some conservative—who seek to defend academic freedom and the First Amendment in the wake of the federal government’s recent treatment of Columbia University.

The First Amendment protects speech many of us find wrongheaded or deeply offensive, including anti-Israel advocacy and even antisemitic advocacy. The government may not threaten funding cuts as a tool to pressure recipients into suppressing such viewpoints. This is especially so for universities, which should be committed to respecting free speech.

At the same time, the First Amendment of course doesn’t protect antisemitic violence, true threats of violence, or certain kinds of speech that may properly be labeled “harassment.” Title VI rightly requires universities to protect their students and other community members from such behavior. But the lines between legally unprotected harassment on the one hand and protected speech on the other are notoriously difficult to draw and are often fact-specific. In part because of that, any sanctions imposed on universities for Title VI violations must follow that statute’s well-established procedural rules, which help make clear what speech is sanctionable and what speech is constitutionally protected.

Yet the administration’s March 7 cancellation of \$400 million in federal funding to Columbia University did not adhere to such procedural safeguards. Neither did its March 13 ultimatum stipulating that Columbia make numerous changes to its academic policies—including the demand that, within one week, it “provide a full plan” to place an entire “department under academic receivership for a minimum of five years”—as “a precondition for formal negotiations regarding Columbia University’s continued financial relationship with the United States government.”

Under Title VI, the government may not cut off funds until it has

- conducted a program-by-program evaluation of the alleged violations;
- provided recipients with notice and “an opportunity for hearing”;
- limited any funding cutoff “to the particular program, or part thereof, in which...noncompliance has been...found”; and
- submitted a report explaining its actions to the relevant committees in Congress at least thirty days before any funds can be stopped.

These requirements aim to ensure that any withdrawal of funds is based on genuine misbehavior on the university’s part—on illegal toleration of discriminatory conduct, not just on allowance of First Amendment–protected expression. The requirements aim to make clear to recipients of federal funds just what behavior can form the basis for sanctions. And each of the requirements aims to make sure that the sanction fits the offense.

Yet here the sanction was imposed without any agency or court finding that Columbia violated Title VI in its response to antisemitic harassment or discrimination. Even to the extent that some protesters’ behavior amounted to illegal harassment of Jewish students, no agency and no court has concluded that Columbia illegally failed to reasonably respond to such discriminatory behavior—much less failed to act at a level justifying withdrawal of nearly half a billion dollars in funds. The government’s action therefore risks deterring and suppressing constitutionally protected speech—not just illegal discriminatory conduct.

And this danger extends beyond universities. The safeguards and limits that the administration has ignored are designed to protect all recipients of federal funding from unwarranted or excessive sanctions. They protect recipients of federal funding across the ideological spectrum, including K-12 schools, hospitals, nursing homes, and business and agricultural initiatives. The administration’s failure to honor the Title VI safeguards creates a dangerous precedent for every recipient of federal financial assistance.

Steven G. Calabresi  
Clayton J. and Henry R. Barber Professor of Law, Northwestern Law School

Erwin Chemerinsky  
Dean and Jesse H. Choper Distinguished Professor of Law, Berkeley Law School

David Cole  
Hon. George J. Mitchell Professor in Law and Public Policy, Georgetown University Law Center

Michael C. Dorf  
Robert S. Stevens Professor of Law, Cornell Law School

Richard Epstein  
Laurence A. Tisch Professor of Law, NYU School of Law

Owen Fiss  
Sterling Professor Emeritus of Law, Yale Law School

Aziz Huq  
Frank and Bernice J. Greenberg Professor of Law, University of Chicago Law School

Pamela Karlan  
Kenneth and Harle Montgomery Professor of Public Interest Law, Stanford Law School

Randall Kennedy  
Michael R. Klein Professor of Law, Harvard Law School

Genevieve Lakier  
Professor of Law, Herbert and Marjorie Fried Teaching Scholar, University of Chicago Law School

\*Titles for identification purposes only.

Chairman WALBERG. Thank you for your testimony, and I think we did not step on your testimony.

Mr. COLE. Thank you.

Chairman WALBERG. Now, I recognize Dr. Armstrong for your testimony.

**STATEMENT OF DR. JEFFREY ARMSTRONG, PRESIDENT, CALIFORNIA POLYTECHNIC STATE UNIVERSITY, SAN LUIS OBISPO, CALIFORNIA**

Mr. ARMSTRONG. Good morning, Chairman Walberg, Ranking Member Scott, and members of the Committee. For the past 14 years it has been my privilege to serve as President of Cal Poly in San Luis Obispo, California. At Cal Poly we emphasize a learn by doing approach, providing hands on, practical experience, learning from experiences, and constantly getting better.

Over the past 18 months questions have been asked about how higher education institutions confront, prevent, and combat antisemitism that escalated after the 2023 Hamas attacks against Israeli citizens. The October 7 attacks on innocent men, women and children were horrific.

The violence perpetrated that day must be condemned without equivocation. The targeting of Jewish students on campuses across the U.S. that followed was terrible and unacceptable. Both as a university President, and a human being, this is a matter I take particularly seriously. We have to do better. At Cal Poly, when people do not live up to our commitment to prohibit prejudice and bias, we hold them accountable.

We have dealt with antisemitism and other forms of discrimination by faculty staff, visitors and students. We do not tolerate threatening activity. We deploy campus police whenever there is potential for threatening activity, or trouble, and they make arrests and file criminal charges when justified.

In addition, when alleged antisemitism or harassment occurs, we investigate and impose immediate university discipline. At Cal Poly, we have enjoyed a vibrant Jewish community for many years. Stakeholders rate Jewish life on our campus at a high level, and the number of Jewish students has doubled since 2011.

Hillel and Chabad are registered Cal Poly student organizations, and I and my wife have been invited to and proudly participated in some of their activities. I am grateful to the Jewish student leaders who traveled across the country to join me here today. In addition to those long-standing partnerships, we have been working with the ADL and other Jewish leaders on several ongoing and some new initiatives.

First, we have continued to be certain to speak out to oppose antisemitism. Second, we are enhancing our mandatory student orientation and biannual employee training to provide greater education and awareness about antisemitism. Our team is participating in the fifth cohort of Hillel's Campus Climate Initiative.

To date, our administrators have attended eight training sessions. Third, we are establishing a new Presidential Antisemitism Task Force that will develop an action plan focused on Jewish student life, antisemitism, education and cultural awareness.

Fourth, we are continuing to fundraise to endow a Chair in Jewish Studies and build an interfaith center that includes Jewish students. Our efforts to support Jewish students and combat antisemitism have made progress.

I want to emphasize that our goal is continuous improvement. We will work to give each student the safest possible environment, free from discrimination and religious intolerance, so they can

learn, grow and succeed. We call it being ready day one. We will continue to strongly confront any antisemitic conducts or threats.

In conclusion, I want to thank you for the important work on this issue and pledge our continuing support.

[The Statement of Dr. Armstrong follows:]



**Dr. Jeffrey D. Armstrong**  
**President, California Polytechnic State University, San Luis Obispo**  
**Testimony before the**  
**United States House of Representatives**  
**Committee on Education and Workforce**  
**May 7, 2025**

Good morning, Chairman Walberg, Ranking Member Scott, and members of the Committee.

For the past 14 years, it has been my privilege to serve as the President of Cal Poly in San Luis Obispo, California.

At Cal Poly, we emphasize a “Learn by Doing” approach, providing hands-on, practical experience. Our approach includes learning from experiences and constantly getting better.

Over the past 18 months, questions have been asked about how higher education institutions confront, prevent and combat antisemitism that escalated after the 2023 Hamas attacks against Israeli citizens.

The October 7 attacks on innocent men, women, and children were horrific. The violence perpetrated that day must be condemned without equivocation.

And the targeting of Jewish students on campuses across the U.S. that followed was terrible and unacceptable.

Both as a university president and a human being, this is a matter I take particularly seriously. We have to do better.

I appreciate the opportunity to appear before this committee. No leader wants to have to acknowledge potential gaps or find it necessary to look back on some actions with regret for what more could or should have been done in a sensitive situation.

At Cal Poly, when people do not live up to our commitment to prohibit prejudice and bias, we hold them accountable. We have dealt with antisemitism and other forms of discrimination by faculty, staff, students, and visitors.

We do not tolerate threatening activity; we deploy campus police whenever there is the potential for trouble; and they make arrests and file criminal charges when justified.

In addition, when alleged antisemitism or harassment occurs, we investigate and impose appropriate university discipline.

At Cal Poly, we have enjoyed a vibrant Jewish community for many years. Stakeholders rate Jewish life on our campus at a high level, and the number of Jewish students has doubled since 2011.

Hillel and Chabad are registered Cal Poly student organizations, and I am invited to and proudly participate in some of their activities.

I am grateful to the Hillel and Chabad student leaders who traveled across the country to sit with me and support Cal Poly today, Avi Shapiro and Mia Kaplan Kirstensen.

In addition to those longstanding partnerships, we have been working with the ADL and other Jewish leaders on several initiatives.

- First, we have spoken out to clearly oppose antisemitism.
- Second, we are enhancing our mandatory student orientation and biennial employee training to provide greater education and awareness about antisemitism.
- Third, we are establishing a new Presidential Antisemitism Task Force that will develop an action plan focused on Jewish student life, antisemitism education, and cultural awareness.
- Fourth, we are endowing a chair in Jewish studies and building an interfaith center that includes Jewish students. Our efforts to support Jewish students and combat antisemitism have made progress. I want to emphasize that our goal is continuous improvement.

We will continue to work to give each student the safest possible environment, free from discrimination and religious intolerance, so they can learn, grow, and succeed. We will continue to strongly confront any antisemitic conduct or threats.

In conclusion, I want to thank you for your work on this important issue and pledge my continuing support.

Chairman WALBERG. Thank you, Dr. Armstrong. Under Committee Rule 9, we will now question witnesses under the 5-minute rule. I will recognize myself for the first 5 minutes. This question is for all three Presidents. All of your schools have been hot beds of antisemitism at some point.

Please tell me how many students at your schools have been suspended, and how many have been expelled for antisemitic conduct since October 7, 2023.

President Raymond.

Ms. RAYMOND. We do not publicize those numbers, and we use suspension and expelling as normal parts of our disciplinary process.

Chairman WALBERG. You do not have numbers to give us, so we assume there have been none.

Ms. RAYMOND. We do not talk about those numbers publicly.

Chairman WALBERG. Mr. Manuel.

Mr. MANUEL. Thank you for the question. Post-October 7th, there were eight student groups investigated. Two were suspended and put on probation. I believe there were two arrests after the encampment dissolution, one of them I believe was a student.

Chairman WALBERG. Thank you.

President Armstrong.

Mr. ARMSTRONG. As a result of events in 2024, we have had a total of six students disciplined, with the discipline ranging from two quarters suspension to deferred suspension to probation.

Chairman WALBERG. President Manuel, you say you are committed to addressing antisemitism on campus. The group, Students for Justice in Palestine or SJIP, is at the very center of your antisemitism problem. Students have been physically and verbally as-

saulted at multiple SJIP protests. SJIP was central to the May 2024 encampment, which caused \$500,000 in damage.

SJIP has also circulated deeply antisemitic posts on Instagram, including a recent post accusing Israel of being just like the Nazi's. President Manuel, considering SJIP's history of harassment and violence against Jewish students, and its repeated refusal to abide by university policies, will you commit to finally, permanently, permanently, banning SJIP from campus?

Mr. MANUEL. Thank you for the question. SJIP has been suspended. They are on probation, and this post that I think you are referring to happened on Thursday. They were immediately suspended, and all their operations from campus pending a new hearing. The cumulative effect of their work will be considered in the results or the outcomes of that next hearing. I would be happy to report back to you on their findings.

Chairman WALBERG. I would be glad to receive that. The cumulative effects seems like it is gone on and on. I believe it would be a point in time for banning. President Raymond, in March the Haverford and Bryn Mawr group Faculty and Staff for Justice in Palestine, or FSJIP praised a Palestinian terrorist who led an attack in 1978 that killed 38 Israelis, including 13 children.

FSJIP claimed that the terrorists, and I quote, "Sacrificed herself for her country, and fought for the freedom of many Palestinians." Does praising the murder of Jews violate any Haverford policies?

Ms. RAYMOND. Of course it does.

Chairman WALBERG. Thank you.

Ms. RAYMOND. There is no place for that, ever, anywhere.

Chairman WALBERG. Thank you. Another FSJIP post applauded a member of the Popular Front for Liberation of Palestine, a U.S. designated terrorist group because she trained for military operations. Did Haverford professors in this group face any consequences whatsoever?

Ms. RAYMOND. I am not aware of that particular post, and anti-semitism in any of its forms is not tolerated at Haverford College.

Chairman WALBERG. Well, with these faculty it seems to have been. I am going to ask you a few questions about statements we have heard on Haverford's campus since the October 7th terrorist attack against Israel. Again, I will not display all that is in this book, but this reminds us that the attack was not from Israel. The attack was from Hamas, brutal, unprovoked attack as well.

Is the phrase, "Long Live the Intifada," protected speech on Haverford's campus? Yes, or no?

Ms. RAYMOND. That is an antisemitic form of speech.

Chairman WALBERG. Is the phrase, "From Gaza to Lebanon, Israel Will Soon Be Gone," protected speech on Haverford's campus?

Ms. RAYMOND. That is repugnant speech. I disavow it. It is antisemitic.

Chairman WALBERG. Happening. Is the phrase, "Resistance is not terrorism," protected speech on Haverford's campus?

Ms. RAYMOND. Any antisemitic speech I will not defend, and at Haverford we do protect speech.

Chairman WALBERG. Do these statements call for the genocide of Jews?

Ms. RAYMOND. There is no tolerance for any such speech that would call for that.

Chairman WALBERG. Well, we hope we see that soon to come. Hamas is gaining support and comfort from schools that allow this to go on, and these go beyond just simply words. They include faculty and students blocking the freedom of education, and life itself for Jewish students. I yield back, and now I recognize Representative Bonamici, the gentlelady from Oregon, for her questioning.

Ms. BONAMICI. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. As I have said before on this Committee, there has been an undeniable rise in antisemitism and hate speech across the country and around the globe. Antisemitism is a real problem that has existed for thousands of years and should be taken seriously by schools and universities, and by elected officials.

Jewish students deserve to feel safe and be safe on campus and everywhere. No one should be afraid of harassment or discrimination because of their faith, and I strongly condemn acts of violence, and want to emphasize that people who break the law must be held accountable.

Instead of engaging with this topic genuinely and constructively, we have another performative hearing, during which the majority will try to blame the left, and what they consider liberal or elitist institutions and college for acts of antisemitism. It is another chapter in the majority's battle against higher education.

As we have discussed repeatedly, but it is worth restating, when white supremacists marched in Charlottesville with burning tiki torches chanting, "Jews will not replace us," President Trump said there were fine people on both sides, and I do not recall the Republican majority calling that out.

General Kelly, who served as Chief of Staff in the first Trump Administration said that Donald Trump spoke favorably about Hitler, saying that Hitler had done some good things. Some Republican Members of Congress have promoted conspiracy theories, like Jewish space lasers that control weather, and have accused "Jewish globalist elites," of pulling strings behind the scenes of government.

Another, a member of this Committee, quoted Hitler on the steps of the capitol. Several members of President Trump's inner circle have public and prominent ties to white nationalist and white supremacist groups, there are more examples, but I have made the point.

If this Committee is going to tackle the rise in antisemitism, let us start there. Let us denounce and condemn all instances of antisemitism, including from colleagues and the administration. If we truly want to protect Jewish Americans, we need to speak out regardless of the source and not turn a blind eye when antisemitic attacks come from leaders of a political party.

For those of us who do want to stop the rise of antisemitism on college campuses, I remind you that the Federal Government already has an entity in place to investigate and resolve antisemitic instances, the Office of Civil Rights. It is housed, at least for now, in the Department of Education.

Unfortunately, Secretary McMahon has fired almost half of OCR's staff and closed 7 of their 12 regional offices. President

Trump's recent budget called for a 35 percent cut to the Office of Civil Rights. Will any of the Republicans on this Committee stand against the dismantling of the Office of Civil Rights?

I doubt it, because that would require a real commitment to combating antisemitism. If you truly want to stand up for the Jewish people, condemn the White Christian Nationalism seeping into the policy in the White House. Speak up against the attempts to end the separation of religion and government, show your support for freedom of religion.

It is unconscionable to weaponize the real problems of the Jewish community for political gain, and I am not going to engage in more back and forth in this hearing with people who call out antisemitism, when it is part of their Anti higher education agenda, but not when it is coming from their side of the aisle.

Mr. Chairman, I request unanimous consent to enter a statement into the record from Northwestern University, in which more than 100 Jewish faculty and staff members raised serious concerns about how Congress is addressing antisemitism.

They say we come from different points on a political compass. We express our identities as Jews in a myriad of ways, but we are united by the conviction that our Jewishness must not be used as a cudgel to silence the vigorous exchange of ideas that lie at the heart of university life.

I also request unanimous consent to insert into the record a statement from the Jewish Council on Public Affairs, and a broad coalition of Jewish groups in which they emphasize that they, "firmly reject the false choice between confronting antisemitism, and upholding democracy."

Our safety as Jews has always been tied to the rule of law, to the safety of others, to the strength of civil society, and to the protection of rights and liberty for all. It continues, it is both possible and necessary to fight antisemitism on campus, in our communities, and across the country without abandoning the Democratic values that have allowed Jews and so many other vulnerable minorities to thrive.

Mr. Chairman, as a mother who raised her children in the Jewish home——

Chairman WALBERG. Without objection, they will be received.

[The Information of Ms. Bonamici follows:]

May 1, 2025

The Honorable Tim Walberg  
Chairman  
Committee on Education and the Workforce  
United States House of Representatives  
Washington, DC 20515

The Honorable Robert C. "Bobby" Scott  
Ranking Member  
Committee on Education and the Workforce  
United States House of Representatives  
Washington, DC 20515

Dear Chairman Walberg and Ranking Member Scott:

As Jewish faculty members at Northwestern University, we write to express our grave concern regarding the Majority's ongoing assault on higher education under the false pretense of combating antisemitism.

In light of the Chairman's recent interview request to Northwestern University President Michael Schill, we write to bring your attention to a recent [statement](#) signed by more than 115 of our Jewish colleagues at Northwestern. The statement, attached to this letter, rejects the Secretary of Education's depiction of "relentless antisemitic eruptions that have severely disrupted campus life for more than a year," and Chairman Walberg's claim of a "disturbing climate of antisemitism" on our campus. As we write, the federal government's "unwarranted threats to our university... in the name of Jews is deeply offensive to us. We believe it should stop."

Antisemitism is a serious problem in the United States and around the world. We welcome serious efforts to combat threats to the Jewish community. But, as we write, "we are united by the conviction that our Jewishness must not be used as a cudgel to silence the vigorous exchange of ideas that lies at the heart of university life. To punish Northwestern financially or to limit academic freedom in the name of protecting Jewish students could itself spark antisemitism – and would be an injustice to those very students and an injury to American society at large."

Sincerely,



Shana Bernstein  
Clinical Associate Professor of Legal Studies



Deborah Cohen  
Richard W. Leopold Professor of History



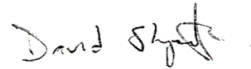
Sanford Goldberg  
Chester Tripp Professor  
Department of Philosophy



Adam Goodman  
Clinical Professor  
McCormick School of Engineering



Lilah Shapiro  
Charles Deering McCormick  
Distinguished Professor of Instruction  
School of Education and Social Policy



David Shyovitz  
Director of Jewish and Israel Studies  
Associate Professor of History

**cc: Members of the Committee on Education and the Workforce**

The Honorable Joe Wilson  
The Honorable Virginia Foxx  
The Honorable Glenn “GT” Thompson  
The Honorable Glenn Grothman  
The Honorable Elise M. Stefanik  
The Honorable Rick W. Allen  
The Honorable James Comer  
The Honorable Burgess Owens  
The Honorable Lisa C. McClain  
The Honorable Mary E. Miller  
The Honorable Julia Letlow  
The Honorable Kevin Kiley  
The Honorable Michael A. Rulli  
The Honorable James Moylan  
The Honorable Robert F. Onder, Jr.  
The Honorable Ryan Mackenzie  
The Honorable Michael Baumgartner  
The Honorable Mark Harris  
The Honorable Mark B. Messmer  
The Honorable Randy Fine  
The Honorable Joe Courtney  
The Honorable Frederica S. Wilson  
The Honorable Suzanne Bonamici  
The Honorable Mark Takano  
The Honorable Alma S. Adams  
The Honorable Mark DeSaulnier  
The Honorable Donald Norcross

The Honorable Lucy McBath  
The Honorable Jahana Hayes  
The Honorable Ilhan Omar  
The Honorable Haley M. Stevens  
The Honorable Greg Casar  
The Honorable Summer L. Lee  
The Honorable John W. Mannion

[Statement enclosed on the next page.]



### Statement from Jewish faculty and staff at Northwestern University

As Jewish faculty and staff at Northwestern University, we write today to defend the values of academic freedom, pluralism and independence that animate Northwestern and undergird its commitment to teaching, learning, and research. We write to dispel misconceptions that are being wielded by outsiders to weaken the university and harm our students. The fact that U.S. government leaders are making unwarranted threats to our university and stripping rights from students, faculty, and researchers nationwide in the name of Jews is deeply offensive to us. We believe it should stop.

In [announcing](#) Title VI investigations of 60 universities, including Northwestern, the U.S. secretary of education spoke of “relentless antisemitic eruptions that have severely disrupted campus life for more than a year.” As Jews who walk the campus every day and teach in its classrooms, we can reliably report that this depiction bears little resemblance to life at Northwestern. Some of us have been disappointed at times by Northwestern’s response to campus events. We recognize that antisemitism is present on college campuses, as it is in the world. Yet a fair-minded assessment would reveal a faculty and a university administration committed to the education of our students through rigorous and respectful debate.

We come from different points on the political compass. We express our identities as Jews in myriad ways. But we are united by the conviction that our Jewishness must not be used as a cudgel to silence the vigorous exchange of ideas that lies at the heart of university life. To punish Northwestern financially or to limit academic freedom in the name of protecting Jewish students could itself spark antisemitism — and would be an injustice to those very students and an injury to American society at large.

Signed:

1. Shana Bernstein, Legal Studies
2. Sanford Goldberg, Chester Tripp Professor, Department of Philosophy
3. Adam Goodman, Clinical Professor, McCormick School of Engineering
4. Lilah Shapiro, SESP
5. David Shyovitz, Director of Jewish and Israel Studies, Associate Professor of History
6. Ken Alder, Professor of History
7. Karen J. Alter, Norman Dwight Harris Professor of International Relations
8. Joe Bass FSM Professor of Medicine
9. Lisa Beutler, Assistant Professor, Department of Medicine
10. Julie Biehl, Clinical Professor, Director Children and Family Justice Center, Northwestern Pritzker School of Law,
11. Jonathan Brack, Assistant Professor, History
12. Ann Bradlow, Abraham Harris Professor of Linguistics, Weinberg College of Arts and Sciences
13. Noah Chaskin, Assistant Professor of Instruction, English
14. Nate Cohen, Adjunct Assistant Professor of Instruction
15. Deborah Cohen, Leopold Professor of History
16. Richard A. Cohn, Professor Emeritus of Pediatrics
17. Jonathan Copulsky, Senior Lecturer, Medill
18. David Dana, Professor, Northwestern Pritzker School of Law
19. Zayd Dohm, Professor, Radio/TV/Film
20. Jack Doppelt, Emeritus Professor in Journalism, Medill
21. David Dranove, Professor of Strategy, Kellogg School of Management
22. John Elson, Emeritus professor of law, Northwestern Pritzker School of Law
23. Steven Epstein, Professor of Sociology and John C. Shaffer Professor in the Humanities
24. Joshua Ewen, MD; Professor of Pediatrics, Feinberg School of Medicine
25. Michelle Falkoff, Clinical Professor of Law
26. Andrew Fano, Clinical Professor of Computer Science

27. Joe Feinglass, PhD, Research Professor of Medicine, Feinberg School of Medicine
28. Peter Fenves, Professor of German
29. Alison Flaum, Clinical Professor, Northwestern Pritzker School of Law
30. Ezra Friedman, Professor, Pritzker School of Law
31. Benjamin Frommer, Department of History
32. Ezra Getzler, Professor, Department of Mathematics
33. Danielle Gilbert, Assistant Professor, Political Science
34. Michal P. Ginsburg, Professor Emerita of French and Comparative Literature
35. Jonathon Glassman, Professor Emeritus, Department of History
36. Bennett Goldberg, Professor of Physics and Astronomy
37. Jeffery A. Goldstein, MD, PhD, Associate Professor of Pathology
38. Paul Goren, PhD, Director E4 Center, School of Education and Social Policy
39. Susannah Gottlieb, Professor of English and Comparative Literary Studies
40. Izzy Groszof, Assistant Professor, Industrial Engineering and Management Science
41. Devora Grynspan, Vice President for International Relations
42. Joshua Hauser, Professor, Department of Medicine, Feinberg School of Medicine
43. Penny L. Hirsch, Prof. Emerita, Weinberg College
44. Lisa Hirschhorn, Professor in Medical Social Sciences, Feinberg School of Medicine
45. Elizabeth Shakman Hurd, Professor of Religious Studies and Political Science
46. Daniel Immerwahr, Bergen Evans Professor in the Humanities, History Department
47. Emily Kadens, Williams Memorial Professor of Law, Northwestern Pritzker School of Law
48. Dean Karlan, Frederic Essel Nemmers Distinguished Professor of Economics and Finance
49. Ben Z. Katz, MD
50. Heidi Kitrosser, William W. Gurley Professor of Law, Northwestern Pritzker School of Law
51. Jonathan Koehler, Beatrice Kuhn Professor of Law, Northwestern Pritzker School of Law
52. Andrew Koppelman, John Paul Stevens Professor of Law, Northwestern Pritzker School of Law
53. Alex Kotlowitz, Professor, Medill
54. Bryna Kra. Sarah Rebecca Roland Professor of Mathematics
55. Debbie Kraus, Senior Director, Kellogg School of Management
56. Robert Launay, professor of anthropology
57. Jules Law, Professor, English
58. Donna R. Leff, Professor Emeritus, Journalism, Medill
59. Alissa Levy Chung, Associate Professor of Instruction, Psychology
60. Hilarie Lieb, Associate Professor of Instruction, Department of Economics Emerita
61. Joan Linsenmeier, Senior Lecturer Emerita, Psychology
62. Reba London, Associate Director, Alumni Relations and Development
63. Steven Lubet, Williams Memorial Professor Emeritus, Northwestern Pritzker School of Law
64. Michael Maltenfort, Assistant Professor of Instruction, Weinberg Advising and Dept. of Mathematics
65. Jon Marshall, Associate Professor, Medill
66. Kate Masur, Professor of History
67. Sarah Maza. Professor Emerita of History
68. Joel Mokyr, Robert H. Strotz Professor of Arts and Sciences
69. Wendy Muchman, Professor of Practice, Northwestern University Pritzker School of Law
70. Shmuel Nili, Associate Professor, Political Science
71. Leslie Oster, Northwestern Pritzker School of Law
72. Wendy Pearlman, Jane Long Professor of Arts and Sciences and Professor of Political Science
73. Abe Peck, Prof. Emeritus in Service, Medill
74. Michael Rakowitz, Alice Welsh Skilling Professor of Art, Department of Art Theory and Practice/MENA Studies
75. Martin H. Redish, Louis and Harriet Ancel Professor of Law and Public Policy, Northwestern University Pritzker School of Law

76. Brian J. Reiser, Orrington Lunt Professor of Learning Sciences, SESP
77. Jeff Rice, Political Science
78. Leonard L. Riskin, Visiting Professor of Law, Northwestern U. Pritzker School of Law
79. Andrew Roberts, Associate Professor of Political Science, Northwestern University
80. Gabriel Rocklin, Assistant Professor of Pharmacology
81. Ariel Rogers, Associate Professor, School of Communication
82. Judy Rosenbaum, Clinical Professor of Law, Northwestern University Pritzker School of Law
83. Jesse Rosenberg, Clinical Associate Professor in Musicology
84. Laura Sauer-Shah, Bienen School of Music, Assistant Director of Admission
85. Joseph L. Schofer, Emeritus Professor of Civil & Environmental Engineering
86. Sarah Schulman, Ralla Klepak Professor of English
87. Kenneth Seeskin, Emeritus Professor of Philosophy
88. Rebecca Seligman, Associate Professor, Dept. of Anthropology
89. Elisheva Shanes, MD
90. Gail Shapiro, Associate Professor of Instruction, Theatre Department, School of Communication
91. Nitasha Sharma, Professor, Asian American Studies and Black Studies
92. Mark Sheldon, Distinguished Senior Lecturer Emeritus, Department of Philosophy
93. Doron Shiffer-Sebba, Assistant Professor of Sociology
94. Shayna Silverstein, Associate Professor, Performance Studies, School of Communication
95. Eric Sirota, Clinical Associate Professor of Law, Tenant Advocacy Clinic
96. H. David Smith, Distinguished Senior Lecturer, Northwestern University
97. Alexandra H. Solomon, PhD, School of Education and Social Policy (SESP)
98. Lynn Spiegel, Frances Willard Professor of Screen Cultures, RTVF
99. Peter Sporn, MD; Professor of Medicine, Cell and Developmental Biology, and Medical Education; Feinberg School of Medicine
100. Amy Stanley, Professor of History
101. Julia Stern, Henry Sanborn Noyes Professor of Literature, Department of English
102. Yael Tessler, Admin Assistant at CARE/HPaW
103. Debra Tolchinsky, Associate Professor, RTVF
104. Boris Tsygan Professor Department of Mathematics
105. Lauren S. Wakschlag, PhD, Professor, Department of Medical Social Sciences, Feinberg School of Medicine
106. Caryn Ward, Professor, Medill
107. Adriana Weisleder, Assistant Professor, Communication Sciences & Disorders
108. Mimi White, Professor, Department of Radio/TV/Film
109. Barry Wimpfheimer, Associate Professor, Religious Studies and Law
110. Roy Wollen, Lecturer, Medill
111. Deborah Wood, retired, Writing Program
112. Jared Wunsch, Professor of Mathematics, Northwestern University
113. Sandy Zabell, Professor, Department of Mathematics, Northwestern University
114. Anne Zald, Government Information Librarian, Northwestern University Libraries
115. David Zarefsky, Owen L. Coon Professor Emeritus of Argumentation and Debate, School of Communication
116. Eric Zaslow, Henry S. Noyes Chair in Mathematics, Department of Mathematics
117. Cliff Zimmerman, Professor of Practice, Pritzker School of Law
118. Richard Zinbarg, Professor, Psychology Department

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## **BROAD COALITION OF MAINSTREAM JEWISH ORGANIZATIONS RELEASE STATEMENT REJECTING FALSE CHOICE BETWEEN JEWISH SAFETY & DEMOCRACY**

*Ben Meyerson*

4-5 minutes

Today, a coalition of ten organizations representing a broad swath of mainstream American Jewry – including three of the four denominations – issued a joint statement rejecting the false choice between confronting antisemitism and upholding democracy.

The organizations, which were brought together by the Jewish Council for Public Affairs and include the Religious Action Center of Reform Judaism, National Council of Jewish Women, American Conference of Cantors, Central Conference of American Rabbis, HIAS, Rabbinical Assembly, Reconstructing Judaism, Reconstructionist Rabbinical Association, and the Union for Reform Judaism, released the following statement:

“The rule of law, freedom of inquiry, access to vibrant places of higher education, and strong democratic norms and institutions have allowed American Jewry to thrive for hundreds of years.

“There should be no doubt that antisemitism is rising—visible, chilling, and increasingly normalized in our public discourse, politics, and institutions. It requires urgent and consistent action by our nation’s political, academic, religious, and civic leaders. At the same time, we firmly reject the false choice between confronting antisemitism and upholding democracy. Our safety as Jews has always been tied to the rule of law, to the safety of others, to the strength of civil society, and to the protection of rights and liberties for all.

“At this moment, Jews are being targeted and held collectively accountable for the actions of a foreign government. Jews are being pushed out of certain movements, classrooms, and communities for expressing a connection to their heritage or to the Jewish homeland. And, horrifically, some voices in the public square are justifying or celebrating the murder of Jews. Dangerous antisemitic tropes and conspiracy theories that over the past decade have already fueled a cycle of hate crimes and violence — including the deadliest attack on the Jewish community in U.S. history in Pittsburgh — have been mainstreamed by too many political leaders, civil society influencers, social media platforms, and others.

“In recent weeks, escalating federal actions have used the guise of fighting antisemitism to justify stripping students of due process rights when they face arrest and/or deportation, as well as to threaten billions in academic research and education funding. Students have been arrested at home and on the street with no transparency as to why they are being held or deported, and in certain cases with the implication that they are being punished for their constitutionally-protected speech. Universities have an obligation to protect Jewish students, and the federal government has an important role to play in that effort; however, sweeping draconian funding cuts will weaken the free academic inquiry

that strengthens democracy and society, rather than productively counter antisemitism on campus.

“These actions do not make Jews—or any community—safer. Rather, they only make us *less* safe.

“We reject any policies or actions that foment or take advantage of antisemitism and pit communities against one another; and we unequivocally condemn the exploitation of our community’s real concerns about antisemitism to undermine democratic norms and rights, including the rule of law, the right of due process, and/or the freedoms of speech, press, and peaceful protest.

“It is both possible and necessary to fight antisemitism—on campus, in our communities, and across the country—without abandoning the democratic values that have allowed Jews, and so many other vulnerable minorities, to thrive.

“We appreciate the civil society, academic, and local, state, and national leaders who are committed to seriously and thoughtfully addressing the threat of antisemitism. We remain committed to working alongside university leadership and public officials at every level to ensure policies and practices that protect the Jewish community as well as other marginalized communities and uphold for all people the principles of justice, fairness, and equal protection under the law. That is the only path to true safety.”

###

Ms. BONAMICI. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. As the mother of children she raised in a Jewish home, and is an active member of my synagogue for more than 25 years, I can no longer pretend that this is a good faith effort to root out antisemitism, especially when the Trump administration and majority party are regularly undermining Jewish values, including justice, loving kindness, free speech, freedom of religion, and the Jewish responsibility of Tikkun Olam, to repair the world. I yield back.

Chairman WALBERG. I thank the gentlelady, and I now recognize the gentleman from South Carolina, Representative Wilson.

Mr. WILSON. Thank you very much, Chairman Tim Walberg, and I appreciate your leadership for promoting real academic freedom

with real diversity of ideology with equality and with real political inclusion. With that in mind, all Americans in good faith want college education to be uplifting for students, and to achieve the American dream.

Unfortunately, the barbaric mass murder of October 7th by Iranian puppets of Hamas invading Israel, has shockingly revealed that many college campuses are antisemitic in defending the maniacal Hamas agenda.

The world should know the Hamas covenant of August 18, 1988, declares in the midst of insane provisions, Article VII, "The day of judgment will not come about until Muslims fight the Jews, killing the Jews. When the Jew will hide behind stones and trees.

These stones and trees will say oh, Muslim, there is a Jew behind me, come and kill him." That's their ideology. Free Palestine from the river to the sea is a code for death to Israel, death to America. We know that anti-Zionism is antisemitism. I'm very grateful that I grew up in South Carolina and represent South Carolina.

At the time of the American Revolution, the largest Jewish population in the New World was in Charleston, South Carolina. The very first Provincial Constitution recognized Judaism was the Provincial Constitution of South Carolina. The first Jewish American elected official in the New World was the Provincial Assembly of South Carolina, and sadly the first Jewish American killed in the Revolution was in Charleston, South Carolina.

That is the environment I grew up. In South Carolina we do not tolerate antisemitism. We promote diversity of ideology, equality, and we promote—additionally, ideologically inclusion. President Raymond, we know that unfortunately antisemitism has existed long before the murderous atrocities of October 7th, and sadly, I had the—I visited Kibbutz Nir Oz.

I visited the music site where the slaughters occurred, the mass slaughters. The Committee recently learned that in 2020 you met with a Jewish student about the severe harassment and cyberbullying that he was experiencing at Haverford because of his Jewish identity.

In response, you allegedly gave him a book by a Buddhist Monk, and told him that he should accept the harassment, and "let it wash over." Should Jewish students at Haverford simply let the experience of antisemitism wash over them?

Ms. RAYMOND. Our Jewish students, and our Jewish community are highly valued at Haverford. They have been an important part of our community for a long time. My top priority is ensuring the well-being and safety of all of our students.

Mr. WILSON. I am confident you had changed policies since then. With this, Dr. Armstrong, you identified as an outspoken DEI proponent. I believe that DEI, it chills, and actually restricts and restrains academic freedom. It has been my view that diversity means no ideological diversity, no conservative.

I remember in college with my national review, I folded it in half, because I did not want my professors to see. I was reading the writings of William F. Buckley, Jr., Seditious, with the equity. What that means is that all are the same regardless of what is the achievement level, and it denies equality of opportunity.

Inclusion, again, is so political. That means no Republicans. I remember that I have, in my undergraduate and law school, one Republican professor, Professor J.D. Fudge, III, of Baltimore, and I knew where the others were coming from, and so what is your interpretation of DEI because as it is being experienced, it is chilling, as Mr. Cole said. What is your experience?

Mr. ARMSTRONG. Well, thank you for your question. You know, I got back to Cal Poly, since I have been there, we have focused on student success and all student success, so we can——

Mr. WILSON. Does that mean equity for everybody? They all get the same grade?

Mr. ARMSTRONG. Oh, no, sir. Cal Poly is a very competitive university.

Mr. WILSON. You should be.

Mr. ARMSTRONG. We have been admitting students under Prop 209 has been in existence for more than 25 years in California, so we have been operating under an affirmative action ban during that time, and we have had significant changes in the makeup of our population because we have increased financial aid, and made students more able to——

Mr. WILSON. Perhaps we can conclude. I would really like to know the percentage of conservatives on your—of professors, the percentage of Republicans, because I am sadly concerned there are none, or very few. Thank you. I yield back.

Chairman WALBERG. I thank the gentleman. I recognize the gentlemen from California, Representative Takano.

Mr. TAKANO. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. First of all, I want to associate myself with the remarks of my colleague, Suzanne Bonamici. I know of no member who exemplifies more the principle of Tikkun Olam than her, to repair the world. I saw some rolling of the eyes, which is of course, people are entitled to their opinions, and we are a country that have different viewpoints.

We must seek not only tolerance, but encouragement of a difference of a point of view. I too condemn antisemitism. Unequivocally. I condemn Islamophobia unequivocally. I condemn all discrimination based on religion. Universities must set that principle, but you know, we have a system. We have in place legal mechanisms to hold the universities accountable who receive Federal money to hold them accountable for discrimination that occurs on the basis of religion.

Mr. Cole, if a student or faculty member feels that their Title VI Civil Rights, their ability to not be discriminated based on their religion, that those Title VI rights have been violated, what Federal agency is tasked with the investigation of their claim, and enforcement of the Civil Rights law?

Mr. COLE. The Office of Civil Rights of the Department of Education.

Mr. TAKANO. The Department of Education's Office of Civil Rights, which prior to the Trump administration was the largest Federal agency tasked with the enforcement of civil rights in the country, and that would include Title VI rights, which involve religious discrimination?

Mr. COLE. That is right.



Mr. TAKANO. How many OCR field offices have been closed under the Trump administration?

Mr. COLE. My understanding is 7 of the 12, so more than half have been closed.

Mr. TAKANO. 7 of the 12, and the remaining offices we hear anecdotally that some attorneys are being tasked with up to 300 cases per staffer. How long typically does one case take to get resolved?

Mr. COLE. It can take a very long time to get resolved, and if you cut the staff in half, it is going to take twice as long.

Mr. TAKANO. Why does it take so long? You mentioned earlier in your testimony—

Mr. COLE. It takes so long for a couple of reasons. One, is you actually have to look at the facts, not make broad allegations as this Committee seems to do but rather look at the actual facts of what happened, assess both sides of the story, not just one, then make a determination as to whether it is actually discrimination. Then if it actually constitutes discrimination, then you go to the university and you say how did you respond?

If the university responded by holding a hearing and making an assessment, no violation has occurred. Only if the university was deliberately indifferent—ignored the violation, an established violation, is it ultimately responsible. You have to actually have a fair hearing. You have to look at the facts.

You have to hear both sides, not simply come into a committee room and make broad allegations without any assessment of what the actual facts are.

Mr. TAKANO. Thank you, Mr. Cole. I note here that we have universities that are near San Francisco, Chicago and Philadelphia, all three of those offices of OCR, Office of Civil Rights for the Department of Education, those field offices have been closed, so what would happen to a student who had a claim of religious discrimination in any one of these three universities? What is their recourse now?

Mr. COLE. I do not think they have much recourse.

Mr. TAKANO. The concern over this Committee about anti-semitism, in reality seems to be very hollow and empty because they are not concerned about how you actually investigate and adjudicate a claim of religious discrimination. Am I correct?

Mr. COLE. Right. They should be calling Secretary of Education McMahon before the Committee and asking her why she has decimated the very office that is supposed to be enforcing antidiscrimination law.

Mr. TAKANO. Mr. Cole, do you view universities as kind of places of independence that government should not be imposing its politics on a university? I mean, I heard implied here that maybe there should be some influence over who gets hired as faculty?

Mr. COLE. Yes. Not only do I believe that, but the Supreme Court believes that. It has said that academic freedom is a special concern of the First Amendment. What academic freedom means is that government officials, including Members of Congress, do not have the power to decide that a particular university has too many liberal professors, or too many conservative professors. That is for the university to decide.

It does not empower members of this Committee to complain about DEI programs that they do not like. That is for the university to decide under academic freedom, under the core principle of the First Amendment that universities make these decisions, not politicians.

Mr. TAKANO. I yield back. Thank you.

Chairman WALBERG. I thank the gentleman. I now recognize the gentlelady from New York, Ms. Stefanik.

Ms. STEFANIK. Thank you, Mr. Chairman, thank you. A question for each of you. Is calling for the genocide of Jews protected speech on your campus, starting with Haverford?

Ms. RAYMOND. No. Of course not.

Ms. STEFANIK. What disciplinary action has been taken, or would be taken if someone made that call?

Ms. RAYMOND. Representative, there have been no such calls, and we would use all of our disciplinary actions to follow through on any such call. I would never expect that to happen at Haverford, and if it would, we would deal with that swiftly.

Ms. STEFANIK. Well, let me ask you a specific question then. There was a student group on Haverford's campus who called for the complete dismantling of the Apartheid settler colonial State of Israel by all means necessary. What does by all means necessary mean to you?

Ms. RAYMOND. Invoking that kind of terminology is repugnant because of what it can mean, and I will not—

Ms. STEFANIK. So, does that depend on the context?

Ms. RAYMOND. I will not defend that statement.

Ms. STEFANIK. What disciplinary action was taken against that group for those individuals who made that call? Any disciplinary action? Was there any disciplinary action taken against that group, or those individuals?

Ms. RAYMOND. Those kinds of statements are—

Ms. STEFANIK. I am not asking you if they are repugnant, I am asking about the disciplinary action. You were the one university President who failed to lay out if any disciplinary action has been taken, if any suspensions or expulsions, so I am asking you was there any disciplinary action taken?

Ms. RAYMOND. Disciplinary action can include expulsion and—

Ms. STEFANIK. I am not asking what it can include. I am asking was it taken?

Ms. RAYMOND. I will not be talking about individual cases here, and I am saying that that is—

Ms. STEFANIK. Have there been any disciplinary actions taken by Haverford related to antisemitism? Any?

Ms. RAYMOND. Disciplinary actions are absolutely in our work—

Ms. STEFANIK. Have they been taken?

Ms. RAYMOND [continuing]. Against antisemitism.

Ms. STEFANIK. Have they been taken by Haverford?

Ms. RAYMOND. Yes, there have been some.

Ms. STEFANIK. I want to ask you another example. There was a professor of mathematics and statistics, who posted after the October 7th Hamas terrorist attacks, "We should never have to apologize for celebrating these scenes of an imprisoned people breaking

free from their chains. This was a historic moment to be recorded in their history books.”

Jewish students have reported that you said this post could be “perceived in many ways.” Does this post simply depend on the context, President Raymond, and were there any disciplinary actions taken against this professor?

Ms. RAYMOND. Such posts have been incredibly harmful to our entire community, and I disavow them, and that outcome for us.

Ms. STEFANIK. Was there an investigation of the professor?

Ms. RAYMOND. Investigations happen in all such cases.

Ms. STEFANIK. Yes, in this case?

Ms. RAYMOND. Investigations happen in all such cases, as I have said, and we follow——

Ms. STEFANIK. This is a simple question. The other Presidents are answering this straightforward as to disciplinary action. Again, these university Presidents who are former Presidents, failed to answer these direct questions. In this case, was there disciplinary action taken on investigation of this professor?

Ms. RAYMOND. Respectfully, Representative, I will not be talking about individual cases.

Ms. STEFANIK. Respectfully, President of Haverford, many people have sat in this position who are no longer in the position as President of a university for their failure to answer straightforward questions. Another question I have, because this is a theme at Haverford. There was an administrator who said that “Racial minority students have never felt safe at Haverford, and that Jewish perspective students should not expect to feel safe and should instead be brave.”

This was according to litigation against your college. Was there any investigation into this administrator for making those statements?

Ms. RAYMOND. That report does not reflect the administrators that I know who stand strongly with me, and the entire college, against antisemitism.

Ms. STEFANIK. That did not happen is your position? Was that statement not made by that administrator?

Ms. RAYMOND. That statement does not comport with those administrators that I know. No.

Ms. STEFANIK. I am not asking if it comports with the administrators that you know. I am saying is it your testimony that that statement did not happen, even though it is coming out in litigation? Are you saying it did not happen?

Ms. RAYMOND. What I am saying is that I cannot imagine that happening from those colleagues of mine.

Ms. STEFANIK. Well, let me ask you, if it did happen, what disciplinary action would Haverford take against that administrator?

Ms. RAYMOND. At Haverford, we do not tolerate discrimination or harassment, or bias.

Ms. STEFANIK. What does that mean, “not tolerate?” Does that mean suspension, firing of that individual? What does that mean?

Ms. RAYMOND. It means following all of our policies, which begin with investigation, and then can lead to any of the aspects that you listed.

Ms. STEFANIK. For the American people watching, you still do not get it, Haverford still does not get it. It is a very different testimony than the other Presidents who are here today who are coming with specifics, so again, this is completely unacceptable, and it is why this Committee has stepped in because higher education has failed to address the scourge of antisemitism, putting Jewish students at risk at Haverford and other campuses across the country. I yield back.

Chairman WALBERG. I thank the gentlelady. I recognize now the gentlelady from North Carolina, Ranking Member Adams.

Ms. ADAMS. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. I mean as a former college professor, I really hate to see we are threatening our leadership of these schools, but thank you Mr. Chair. We are here today to discuss something that should never be up for debate. Every student, regardless of background deserves to feel safe and welcome and protected on campuses, on all campuses, and that includes Jewish students. That includes Muslim students. That includes every student.

Antisemitism is real, it is rising, and it has no place in our schools, our communities, or in our country. I want to be real clear about that. This week my office and I met with a group of Jewish students from Columbia, students who came to Washington, not to cause controversy, but to be heard.

They told me what they are living through. Jewish students denied housing after participating in a protest, religious observances disrupted, students locked out of dining halls during Kosher, Passover, or unable to gather for Shabbat.

Others disciplined for simply wearing shirts that say ICE off campus. Perhaps most troubling, students forced into antisemitism training, led by someone who really was not even Jewish. I share these stories not to spark outrage, but because they are real.

I believe that we cannot confront hate unless we listen to the people living with it. When Jewish students say that they feel unsafe, we have to take that seriously. That also means upholding civil rights under Title VI, not replacing legal standards with partisan scorecards. That means that resourcing the Office for Civil Rights, not cutting it.

That means fostering interfaith efforts that build bridges, not eliminating DEI programs that were designed to create belonging for everyone. Let me just say that plainly, Jewish safety and free expression are not mutually exclusive. We can, and we must protect both, and that is why I was encouraged to hear about Cal Poly's interfaith center, a space designed to include Jewish students, not just in name, but in purpose.

When students gather across faiths and backgrounds to talk, to grieve, to organize together, that is how we build resilience, and that is how we push back against hate. That is how we remind each other that the loudest voices are not always the ones speaking for all of us.

Today I do want to urge our committee to move forward carefully. Let us not act on fear, not fear. Let us not address hate, not weaponize it, or let us address hate and not weaponize it, and let us protect students, not politicize their pain. It is prevention, it is

education, and it is showing every student from the Ivy League to the community college that they belong.

Dr. Raymond, we have seen members of this Committee, and even the President, blame diversity, equity and inclusion efforts for the rise of antisemitism on college campuses, but I have always believed DEI when done right, help build understanding and safety for all students. My question, how is your campus making sure that antisemitism is directly addressing your inclusion efforts, not ignored or sidelined?

How do you ensure that Jewish students feel seen, included and protected in these efforts? Have you found that this kind of work supports Jewish students' safety, rather than undermines it?

Ms. RAYMOND. Inclusion work at Haverford is just that. It includes everyone. We are committed to supporting all students in our Jewish community, and all of our Jewish community, and our work in inclusion and belonging is exactly that.

We have three Jewish student groups on the campus who are very active. We have an active staff and faculty Jewish group, and all those come under the arch and the arc of inclusion and belonging.

Ms. ADAMS. Thank you very much. Dr. Armstrong, in your written testimony you noticed that Cal Poly is establishing an interfaith center, which includes participation from Jewish students, and I have heard from students across the country who said that their interfaith spaces, when done thoughtfully, can make a real difference.

Could you share a little bit more about how that initiative was developed, who was involved, and how has it helped build trust, or provide support for students who may feel targeted, especially in this tense moment on so many campuses?

Mr. ARMSTRONG. Well, thank you for that question. We have been working over a number of years to make sure all students have a way to connect. We have been talking with Chabad and Hillel about this project, as well as other religious leaders for several years, and you know, COVID, like anything, slowed us down a bit, but we view that as an opportunity where students can come together, where they could have the dialog.

We recently had a presentation that brought together a Palestinian and an Israeli view, and it was university and Chabad and Hillel participating in that.

Ms. ADAMS. Thank you, sir. I am out of time, and Mr. Chairman, I am going to have to yield back.

Chairman WALBERG. I thank the gentlelady. She yields back, and I now recognize Representative Miller, the gentlelady from Illinois.

Mrs. MILLER. Thank you. President Manuel, of the three schools represented here today, DePaul had the worst encampment. From the days the tents went up, the encampment on DePaul's campus was a hotbed of antisemitism. Signs featuring terrible, antisemitic slogans and images glorifying terrorism were displayed in the encampment.

We saw images of a flag depicting the spokesman of the terrorist group Hamas. We saw a sign that said, "Jewish safety cannot be achieved until Palestine is free." There were reports of people at the encampment threatening to slit Jews throats. One student

walking through the university—well, there were 1,000 complaints from students and the community.

The encampment remained in place for 17 days. President Manuel, how many students were suspended for their conduct at the encampment?

Mr. MANUEL. Thank you for the question. Security and safety of our students is the top priority in that moment, the moment we realized that safety was being jeopardized, we moved with Chicago Police Department to abandon the encampment. Please know that our public safety officers are not sworn officers, and we need to work with CPD to make that happen.

In review of the encampment, there were eight groups, eight student groups that were brought in for investigation, two of them were immediately suspended, and put on probation, which means they cannot access university resources, including financial resources. There were two students—I am sorry, there were two people that were arrested. I believe one of them was a student in the aftermath of that.

What happened in the aftermath of that is we realized our inadequacies in that moment and were able to put together a culture of accountability that includes new masking and ID policies, new time, place and manner policies. Since that moment, we have been able to repel four such efforts for outside entities to come and take over campus properties.

Mrs. MILLER. I am glad to know that you are moving forward on better policies. You are saying that this encampment remained in place for 17 days, and over \$500,000 worth of property damage, and you were only able to suspend two students?

Mr. MANUEL. I am saying that the lessons we learned from that moment activated it.

Mrs. MILLER. Two students—two students were arrested. I mean not arrested, suspended?

Mr. MANUEL. Two student groups were suspended. Two people were arrested, I believe one was a student.

Mrs. MILLER. For \$500,000 worth of damage in 17 days. You got two. Woo. OK. The DePaul Student Conduct Code also states dismissal is a permanent separation from the university. How many students were dismissed from DePaul as a result of the encampment?

Mr. MANUEL. Our codes have been updated as a result of what we have learned from the encampment. From that encampment, I do not believe any students were permanently dismissed or expelled, but the new accountability code we have has prevented these actions from happening again.

Mrs. MILLER. Before you have your new accountability code, you did not have anything in place where a student was—could be dismissed for violence, violent speech, and for causing \$500,000 worth of damage?

Mr. MANUEL. Anybody who caused violence or damaged property could go through that process. Regarding the encampment, that is where we learned we need to do better at applying ourselves to those policies, and that is where the policy engagements came in place, that is where the changes.

Mrs. MILLER. There were 1,000 complaints, 16 instances of intimidation, 4 credible threats of violence, 77 reports of individual safety concerns, 4 allegations of battery, 13 harassment allegations, and at least one death threat, and you allowed this encampment to continue for 17 days and two people were suspended, none were dismissed.

Again, President Manuel, during the encampment, one Jewish student told our committee last month that when she reached her dorm lobby, two students shouted at her, "We don't F with the Zionists," even though she was not wearing anything to publicly indicate a Jewish or Israeli identity.

She did not know either of them, but the incident made her think that they knew who she was. Were these individuals disciplined?

Mr. MANUEL. Every individual that was reported that came through our system was investigated and results happened. I agree with you, Representative.

Mrs. MILLER. Were they disciplined, suspended or dismissed?

Mr. MANUEL. I gave you the result of our—of who was suspended and arrested. I do not know of all the incidents that were there. I will tell you that the numbers that you mentioned were on a website that I released, so that I could educate the community about the dangers of that encampment. That is when we learned we had to do better, and we had to create a culture of accountability.

Mrs. MILLER. Much of the information I read earlier regarding hundreds of complaints and violent antisemitic signage had been posted online, however, the university has taken that website down.

Chairman WALBERG. The gentlelady's time has expired.

Mrs. MILLER. Thank you.

Chairman WALBERG. Let me move on. I recognize the gentlelady from Georgia, Mrs. McBath.

Mrs. MCBATH. Thank you, Mr. Chair. Thank you, Mr. Chair, and also Ranking Member Scott, and thank you to our witnesses for taking the time to be with us here today. I also want to thank the students, any students that are with us, any students that are watching this morning. I do say that I am very, very sorry to those who are victims of hate crimes.

My son, Jordan, was unfortunately killed in a racially motivated shooting, so I know what it is like for your family to be attacked solely because of who you are, or how you were born.

Antisemitism remains a growing threat on college campuses today, but the actions taken by President Trump and House Republicans seem to be motivated more by going viral on social media, than rooting out antisemitism and other forms of hatred on campus and in our society.

The actions taken and supported by the majority will not improve this situation. They will only foster distrust between ethnic and religious groups on and both off campus. Instead of taking real steps to address antisemitism, the majority has chosen to cut the funding and fire the Federal employees that are tasked with responding to these incidents on our school grounds.

They have paused, and threatened funding meant to protect synagogues, and other Jewish community centers from shootings and other threats through the nonprofit security and targeting violence and terrorism prevention grant programs.

They have pardoned and defended the actions of violent felons and rabid antisemites, criminals that were directly involved in attacking police and killing an officer here on Capitol Hill January 6th.

When white supremacists marched through the University of Virginia wielding torches with the purpose of publicly intimidating Jews and other minorities, the President said that they were very fine people on both sides. They are not the actions of a party or a President who is engaging in good faith to address this very real crisis and problem.

Any attempt to explain away one of the oldest forms of ethnic and religious hatred, solely for political gain is truly a disservice to the American people. It cheapens and it undermines the centuries of sacrifice and interfaith struggle to build bridges, and take the difficult, but very necessary steps that will bring peace, and allow people to practice their faith free from intolerance.

Fighting antisemitism should not be used as a political tool. The work is simply too important, and the stakes are simply too high. Today, my State is home to the largest Jewish population in the deep south. Georgia has become a beacon of prosperity for Jewish families, hoping to live together in peace, free from judgment regarding their faith, but it has not always been this way.

I live just a few miles from the site of one of the most heinous and violent acts of antisemitism in the history of this country, the lynching of Leo Frank. I have been to the halls of names at Yad Beshim in Jerusalem a number of times. It takes commitment from every single one of us to ensure that the atrocities of the past never repeat themselves.

I ask the American people, and all those who care, truly care about religious freedom in this country, all those who want this country to live up to the promise that all of us, every single one of us is created equal, to compare what they hear from my Republican colleagues today, to the actions that they take when the cameras are not rolling, and I yield back.

Chairman WALBERG. I thank the gentlelady. I thank the gentlelady for her experience that informs her as well. Now, I recognize the gentlewoman from Michigan, Ms. McClain.

Ms. McCLAIN. Thank you, Mr. Chairman, and I happen to agree with my colleague, actions speak louder than words, and we need action. That is what I hope that we see here today, not just, you know, in the week leading up to this hearing we all of a sudden find a conscious and start action.

Let me start with you, Dr. Manuel. On October 18th, 1923, DePaul Students for Justice in Palestine held a rally calling for the Intifada Revolution, encouraging terrorist attacks to be perpetuated against Jewish civilians.

On the same day, Jewish student leaders contacted DePaul administrators, expressing feelings of increasingly—saying that they were increasingly scared that the safety, and for the safety of the Jewish community. Does that ring a bell?



OK. The following day, October 19th, 2023, Pro Hamas rallies on campus resulted in the physical assault of a Jewish student. Sound familiar? Six months later, on April 29, 1924, a Pro Palestinian and Pro Hamas mob occupied DePaul's Lincoln Park Campus, so there was an encampment on April 29th, correct?

Mr. MANUEL. Correct.

Ms. MCCLAIN. Did you remove or disable it on that day?

Mr. MANUEL. No, we did not.

Ms. MCCLAIN. OK. Why?

Mr. MANUEL. Representative, we learned an awful lot from—

Ms. MCCLAIN. I am not asking what you learned. I am asking why you made the decision because I am going to refer you to your policy that you have in place. Why did you not follow your policy?

Mr. MANUEL. Our immediate instinct was to work with our students, the reference—

Ms. MCCLAIN. How did that go?

Mr. MANUEL. Not very well.

Ms. MCCLAIN. Do you want to ask Michael how that went?

Mr. MANUEL. Yes. It did not go very well.

Ms. MCCLAIN. Thank you.

Mr. MANUEL. I apologize for that.

Ms. MCCLAIN. Your apologies are a little hollow. On May 10th, you issued a statement, so the encampment is still there, April 29th, it is now May 10th. On May 10th you issued a statement titled quad safety concerns, so you knew there was a safety issue, hence, issuing the statement. Here was the statement, you urged all members of the DePaul community to avoid the quad.

Well, that is great. Again, hey, let us make sure that we attack the law-abiding citizens, but not deal with the problem of the encampment. You knew yourself there was a problem but decided not to remove it. Why?

Mr. MANUEL. At that moment we realized that the security and safety of everybody was in jeopardy. That is the moment that we decided to work with CPD.

Ms. MCCLAIN. It took you 6 days?

Mr. MANUEL. Our public safety officer—

Ms. MCCLAIN. I mean no, it took you 6 days because you knew it was dangerous. You did not remove it on the 10th. You did not remove it until 6 days later, so it took you 6 days to coordinate an effort to remove an encampment?

Mr. MANUEL. It took us, the moment we realized, we went to CPD, and asked for their—

Ms. MCCLAIN. Which was when? When did you realize you had a problem?

Mr. MANUEL. We started working with CPD from the first day, so that they were aware of those situations.

Ms. MCCLAIN. OK, so 3 weeks. It took you 3 weeks?

Mr. MANUEL. It took us from the time you mentioned until the 16th or 17th to coordinate with CPD to get them.

Ms. MCCLAIN. Do you think that is acceptable?

Mr. MANUEL. I do not.

Ms. MCCLAIN. OK. Wonderful, wonderful, wonderful. I don't think the issue is more policies, I think the issue is action, so the

people that are in charge, would you say that that is an acceptable amount of time for action?

Mr. MANUEL. I would agree with you that we need to do better.

Ms. MCCLAIN. Great. Would you agree with me also that almost 3 weeks from the 29th to the 16th is not an acceptable time for security to take action to disassemble an encampment? Would you agree with me on that?

Mr. MANUEL. I would, and——

Ms. MCCLAIN. Thank you very much. Who has been fired, or who has been replaced, because that does not seem real tough to me. Anybody?

Mr. MANUEL. What we have learned——

Ms. MCCLAIN. Anybody been replaced?

Mr. MANUEL. There has been turnover.

Ms. MCCLAIN. I am not asking turnover. What consequences happened for the people who were supposed to be in charge?

Mr. MANUEL. The development of our accountability——

Ms. MCCLAIN. Any consequences? Yes? Were there—just, let us start with a simple, let us start with a simple one. Any consequences?

Mr. MANUEL. To student groups, yes.

Ms. MCCLAIN. No, not just, I am talking to the people who did not follow your procedures of 3 weeks because let me just read it just in case you do not know your policy but let me read it. This is from your policy. “May not impede passage in or out of any facility, may not involve activity that is violent, or otherwise threatens the safety of demonstrators, or any members of the community.

May not interfere with business or academics of the university. These are your policies that—did anyone get like reprimanded for that?

Mr. MANUEL. What I mentioned is that we had done significant review and learned from this. Our——

Ms. MCCLAIN. You do not need to do review. Did anyone, was anyone held accountable, other than Michael, and his friend that sustained a concussion and a broken wrist? What actions changed? You have got great policies, and you have got great lip service.

The problem is you need action, and unless you, as the President of the university is willing to take action, not lip service, I can talk about working out all day long, but there is a lot of difference between me working out, and me talking about it.

My question is——

Chairman WALBERG. The gentlelady’s time has expired.

Ms. MCCLAIN. If there is another encampment on it, are you taking it down that next day?

Chairman WALBERG. The gentlelady’s time has expired.

Mr. MANUEL. Yes.

Ms. MCCLAIN. Thank you.

Chairman WALBERG. I thank the gentlelady, now I recognize the gentlewoman from Connecticut, Representative Hayes.

Mrs. HAYES. Good morning, and thank you to our witnesses for being here, and to all of the students who are following along and paying attention to this hearing. It is incredibly painful for me as a Member of Congress to sit and witness antisemitism and dis-

crimination against students on college campuses being politicized over and over and over again.

As the Ranking Member stated, we have had eight hearings on this topic. There are members on the other side who only show up for hearings on this topic, and yet, no real action has been done. When we talk about actions that are taken, I heard members talking about property damage.

There was over 2 billion dollars in property damage and expenses to taxpayers as a result of the January 6th insurrection, and the President gave sweeping clemency to 1,600 people, and it has been celebrated by the other side.

A Confederate flag was flown inside of the United States Capitol for the first time in our history, and the people who did that are being celebrated. We have to take a stand against discrimination in all forms on this Committee, and all students on all campuses should feel free from discrimination, and protected, and have the right to learn in an environment.

To the college Presidents, you will find no safe harbor here if you have not taken actions, and steps to ensure that students are safe on your campuses, all students. Hostility and prejudice against Jewish students is wrong, and similarly other students who are not feeling safe on campuses is also wrong, and this Committee has done nothing.

Actually, some of the actions taken by this Committee have targeted some of those students and literally made them unsafe on campus. We need to all agree that discrimination is intolerable on college campuses, and you have a duty and a responsibility to ensure that the civil rights of students are protected.

I have a bunch of questions, but because I want to know about actions, but just please yes, or no. I am going to just go down. Dr. Raymond, are you prioritizing the physical safety of students on your campus today?

Ms. RAYMOND. Yes. Safety is top priority.

Mrs. HAYES. Dr. Manuel, do you believe that teaching the history of discrimination, even when it is painful is incredibly important for our institutions of higher education?

Mr. MANUEL. Yes.

Mrs. HAYES. Dr. Cole, have you clarified and publicized the rules surrounding campus protests for all students to see?

Mr. COLE. I am not speaking here on behalf of Georgetown, but we have a clear policy at Georgetown.

Mrs. HAYES. Is it publicized?

Mr. COLE. Absolutely. It is on our website. I was the Chair of the working group on free speech and campus culture. We believe in free speech, and we believe in protecting people from discrimination, and we believe in making a distinction between the two, which unfortunately, many members of this Committee do not believe in.

Mrs. HAYES. Thank you. Dr. Armstrong, have you implemented reporting mechanisms for incidents of bias on your campus?

Mr. ARMSTRONG. Yes.

Mrs. HAYES. Dr. Raymond, have you clarified and raised awareness around university standards for anti-discrimination educational programs?

Ms. RAYMOND. Yes, we have.

Mrs. HAYES. Dr. Manuel, do you believe that it is important that students see themselves reflected in the faculty at your university?

Mr. MANUEL. I do. Ideologically, and every other category as well, yes.

Mrs. HAYES. Dr. Cole, not on behalf of your university, but are students allowed to connect and engage with members in faith-based groups on campus, so that they can express their ideas and ideologies in a protected way?

Mr. COLE. On every campus that I am aware of, yes.

Mrs. HAYES. Thank you. Dr. Armstrong, have you convened a task force to combat anti-discrimination on campus?

Mr. ARMSTRONG. Yes.

Mrs. HAYES. Dr. Manuel, do you understand the role of the Office of Civil Rights—the role that the Office of Civil Rights at the Department of Education plays in protecting students from discrimination at colleges and universities, and do you think that this would be helpful as you move forward trying to keep students safe on campus?

Mr. MANUEL. I do, and the OCR has been very helpful in helping us understand how to comply with the law.

Mrs. HAYES. Thank you. With that, I think that this Committee should be working on keeping OCR together to help you enforce these policies moving forward, so that all students are protected on college campuses. With that I yield back.

Chairman WALBERG. I thank the gentlelady. I now recognize the gentleman from North Carolina, Representative Harris.

Mr. HARRIS. Thank you, Mr. Chairman, and I thank you to all the panelists that have been a part of this day, for your perseverance and your time. I want to address a question to President Raymond. President Raymond, days after the October 7th attack on Israel, Haverford College released a statement that highlighted tragedies across the globe that occurred, “since the start of the semester.”

The email mentioned earthquakes in Morocco and Afghanistan, wildfires in the United States and Canada, and a 2-year long war in Ukraine. The email only made a passing reference, and I quote, “The outbreak of war in Israel and Gaza that had taken place just 48 hours before.”

We all know in this room October 7th, was not a mutual “outbreak of war between two countries.” In fact, it was a terrorist attack by Hamas on Israel. Babies were butchered. Women were raped. 1,200 innocents were slaughtered, and over 250 people were kidnapped.

I have to ask, why did Haverford lack the moral clarity to immediately and clearly condemn the attack on Israel?

Ms. RAYMOND. Representative Harris, we did condemn the attack by Hamas on Israel, and it was not—you are correct, in that email, which I was responsible for. I would do it differently now. This is an example of a difficult period of learning where I did not get it right.

Mr. HARRIS. OK. You say in your testimony, and I have read your testimony beforehand, the written testimony we received, that “any failures and fractures at Haverford are ultimately my respon-

sibility as President.” Do you take responsibility for this failure to call the attack what it was immediately?

Ms. RAYMOND. I take responsibility for the judgment about that communication, that is right.

Mr. HARRIS. OK. Well, on January 4th, 2024, an anonymous author, presumably a Haverford student, published an article on the political science department website, expressing dismay for the response of the campus to October 7th.

The article highlights the morally bankrupt responses of students to the violence, for example, sharing how students posted phrases like, “Freedom has only ever been achieved through resistance. Stand with Palestinian resistance.”

The author wrote in reaction to seeing these statements posted on his or her classmates that, “Up until October 7th, I had truly believed that at a liberal arts institution like Haverford, there was no place for antisemitism, but I do not know how else to label cheering the death of innocent Jews.”

Many student activists across the country have used the slogan, “Resistance is justified when people are occupied,” as their motivation for praising the violence that was perpetrated against Israel. I ask you, President Raymond, yes or no, was the October 7th attack on Israel justified?

Ms. RAYMOND. Absolutely not.

Mr. HARRIS. Thank you, ma’am.

Ms. RAYMOND. No.

Mr. HARRIS. I agree, and it is good to hear you confirm that, and I certainly hope and pray that students around the country, including those enrolled at Haverford, come to realize this very thing as well. I want to turn in my last minute or so to President Manuel. I want to ask you a series of questions if I will.

Have there been violent protests on your campus in response to the war in Sudan?

Mr. MANUEL. Not that I am aware of.

Mr. HARRIS. Did DePaul experience encampments over the war in Ukraine?

Mr. MANUEL. Also, not that I am aware of.

Mr. HARRIS. Have there been chants calling for the eradication of other people groups on your campus besides the Jewish people?

Mr. MANUEL. Again, not that I am aware of.

Mr. HARRIS. Thank you, sir. I think we all know why there is no such focus on the world. Well, there is such a focus on the world’s only Jewish State. Unfortunately, antisemitism has been spreading like wildfire among our Nation’s campuses, and as a result, anything Israel does to defend itself and its people faces increased scrutiny that no other nation on earth seems to face.

I am glad we are having this hearing today, and I commend our chairman for helping us shine a light on this very important problem that is plaguing American higher education. With that, Mr. Chairman, I yield back my time.

Chairman WALBERG. I thank the gentleman, and I recognize the gentleman from Texas, Mr. Casar.

Mr. CASAR. The Republican majority has called a hearing on antisemitism, and so I have some questions for my colleagues on the Committee. Donald Trump said after neo-Nazis marched

through Charlottesville that they were, “very fine people on both sides.”

If you condemn Donald Trump saying this, will you raise your hand? RFK, the head of Health and Human Services, spread an antisemitic conspiracy theory that COVID was engineered to target white and black people, but spare Jewish people. If you condemn the head of the U.S. Health and Human Services for spreading this antisemitic conspiracy theory, will you please raise your hand? Nobody.

Chairman WALBERG. I suggest the hearing is to question the witnesses that are here who have spent time and energy to come here today.

Mr. CASAR. I have a question for you, Mr. Chairman.

Chairman WALBERG. I think the questioning is—I am not on the witness stand.

Mr. CASAR. Mr. Chairman, this is my time, and I am happy to ask you then. Would you condemn Donald Trump for pardoning a January 6th rioter who praised Hitler, and encouraged more killing of Jewish people? Mr. Chairman, since you just used some of my time, you can use more of it. Will you condemn Trump for pardoning an antisemitic rioter?

Chairman WALBERG. I am seeing four witnesses waiting for your question.

Mr. CASAR. I am asking you a question, Mr. Chairman. Your microphone works. Do you condemn this?

Chairman WALBERG. I will yield time to the witnesses to answer questions that are pertinent.

Mr. CASAR. Clearly, Mr. Chairman, not a single Republican today has been willing to condemn any of this antisemitism. Unfortunately, the party of very fine people on both sides, or Jewish space lasers, does not give a damn about stopping antisemitism.

If my Republican colleagues want to stop the spread of antisemitism, maybe they should stop apologizing for and promoting antisemitism. With all due respect to the Congresswoman from New York, who is back to join us, if Republicans want to fight antisemitism, they should not go groveling to the most antisemitic President in modern American history.

They should not be trying to quell questions about the antisemitism that we see at the White House and in the cabinet at the Department of Health and Human Services. In my city of Austin, Swastikas have been drawn on the doors of schoolhouses. Synagogues have been firebombed. Antisemitism is an assault on our community safety, and on all of our values.

We could do something to combat antisemitism. In Congress, we could strengthen the Department of Education’s Office of Civil Rights, but instead, Trump has cut it, and my Republican colleagues have done nothing about it. Congress could strengthen anti-hate crime programs, to address antisemitic violence.

Trump has cut those programs. Again, Republican Members of Congress have done nothing about it. We could fully fund the security programs we have for Jewish nonprofits and synagogues, but Trump has frozen those programs.

Republicans have called this hearing on antisemitism, but they have cut back our ability to address hate crimes, have cut back our

ability to protect synagogues, have cut back our ability to protect students from discrimination.

What they have ramped up is deporting students for writing op-eds in their campus newspaper advocating for peace. What they have ramped up is arresting nonviolent professors and students, Jewish and not Jewish, just because they dare talk about the killing and starvation in Gaza.

This hearing, called by the Republican majority, is all about Trump Republicans distorting the definition of antisemitism to silence anyone, including Jewish students, who speak out non-violently against what the Israeli government is doing. The Republican plan is not about keeping Jewish students safe. It is about keeping the Israeli government safe from any form of criticism.

That is a disservice to the truth. It is a disservice to us and our job as Members of Congress, and it is a disservice to the safety of everyone, including and especially Jewish Americans. I yield back.

Chairman WALBERG. The gentleman yields, and now I recognize the Chairman Emeritus of this Committee, the gentlelady from North Carolina, Ms. Foxx.

Mrs. FOXX. Thank you, Mr. Chairman, and I thank our witnesses for being here today. President Raymond, in August 2024, Guangtian Ha, a religious professor at Haverford wrote on X that, "The State of Israel must be dismantled, and the society denazified. Zionism is Nazism, it is Fascism, Zionists are racist."

Professor Ha also wrote, "The only way to deal with Zionists is to stop talking to them and refuse to let them waste your time. Liberal Zionists, in particular. And I learned a new term, reluctant Zionist, and I guess there were plenty of reluctant Nazis too, perhaps the majority of them were."

Do you believe there is a distinction between anti-Zionism and antisemitism?

Ms. RAYMOND. Representative Foxx, first I want to—

Mrs. FOXX. Just a quick answer, yes or no.

Ms. RAYMOND. I want to say that we support all of our Zionist students, staff and faculty at Haverford, and we are squarely against antisemitism.

Mrs. FOXX. Do you believe anti-Zionism is any more acceptable than antisemitism?

Ms. RAYMOND. Antisemitism is unacceptable. There is no place for it.

Mrs. FOXX. How about anti-Zionism?

Ms. RAYMOND. There is room for criticizing the government of any nation.

Mrs. FOXX. The State of Israel has existed for almost 80 years. Under the premise of anti-Zionism, the Jewish State as it exists today should not exist. Is that what you believe that Israel should not exist?

Ms. RAYMOND. Pardon me, that is not at all what I said, or what I meant here.

Mrs. FOXX. OK. What are anti-Zionists actually advocating for when the Jewish State has existed for nearly 80 years? 80 decades, excuse me, 8 decades?

Ms. RAYMOND. I do not support those statements at all.

Mrs. FOXX. That is a professor at your university. On the extreme, this means the genocide of Israelis. At the very least it reveals national origin discrimination violations done in programs or activities in higher ed. Dr. Raymond, do you believe that Professor Ha's instance that Zionists should not be engaged with, and that they should be compared to Nazis, could be a violation of the Department of Education Civil Rights protections, yes or no?

Ms. RAYMOND. We do not tolerate discrimination, harassment or bias at Haverford College, and—

Mrs. FOXX. For Dr. Armstrong, according to reports, Cal Poly's history department hosted U.C. Berkeley Professor Ussama Makdisi, a self avowed anti-Zionist. Do you believe anti-Zionism could constitute national origin discrimination, yes or no?

Mr. ARMSTRONG. Yes.

Mrs. FOXX. Dr. Manuel, does DePaul University support BDS?

Mr. MANUEL. We do not, and we have come out strongly against it, at least in the two and half years that I have been there including a rebuke of a student government.

Mrs. FOXX. Will you supply that statement to me after this?

Mr. MANUEL. I would be happy to.

Mrs. FOXX. Dr. Armstrong, does Cal Poly support BDS?

Mr. ARMSTRONG. No.

Mrs. FOXX. Dr. Manuel, it is my understanding you gave in to some demands made by the student coalition behind DePaul's violent antisemitic May 24 encampment, even though the encampment had to be forcibly removed. The encampment coalition demanded that DePaul eliminate, "Discriminatory study abroad programs, trips to Israel, that propagandize and normalize that occupation."

As you may know, this has been a key goal of antisemitic BDS activists at universities across the U.S. In June, DePaul said it agreed to discuss inclusivity with regard to its Israel study abroad program. Does inclusivity mean—what does it mean in this context?

Mr. MANUEL. Thank you for the question. The ten demands that were delivered by the students were rejected, and none of them were adhered to. None of them were agreed to.

Mrs. FOXX. OK. What my question is, what does inclusivity mean?

Mr. MANUEL. I believe that the program you are talking about, students were concerned that there was a limitation on who could take it based on visas given from Israel, and we still support that program.

Mrs. FOXX. Do you commit to continuing the university study abroad program in Israel?

Mr. MANUEL. I commit to studying—to continuing all study abroad programs through and compliant with the law.

Mrs. FOXX. Do you reject—do you commit to rejecting changes that demonize or delegitimize Israel?

Mr. MANUEL. Yes.

Mrs. FOXX. Do you commit to ensuring that the study abroad program affirms the Jewish people's right to self-determination?

Mr. MANUEL. Yes. I believe self-determination and the right for Israel to exist is a primary function.



Mrs. FOXX. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. I yield back.

Chairman WALBERG. I thank the gentlelady, and I recognize the gentleman from Georgia, Representative Allen.

Mr. ALLEN. Thank you, Mr. Chairman, and I want to thank our witnesses for being here today. Obviously, and you have heard this over and over, we are all extremely troubled by the antisemitic activities occurring on college campuses across the country. Our country has made tremendous strides in hopefully getting along with our friends from all over the world.

Our institutions of higher education seem to be serving as breeding grounds for antisemitic activities. This antisemitic rhetoric has reached institutions beyond just the so-called elite schools, like Columbia or Harvard, which we had questioned some time ago.

As I stated before, as the oldest and most established democracy in the region, Israel exemplifies the core values of freedom and democracy. Jerusalem is the center of the universe. A lot of people think Washington is, but that is where it is going to happen.

Of course, you know, for those who are familiar with the Bible, the book of the Word of God, Genesis 12:3 states, "I will bless those who bless you," talking about Israel. "And whoever curses you I will curse." And that is a serious issue. In fact, it also goes on to say that all nations will be blessed through Israel.

In fact, in John 4:22, Jesus said, "Salvation, even for gentiles will come through the Jews." Dr. Cole, this is a serious, serious issue we are talking about. In fact, it has eternal consequences, and I mean DePaul President, Dr. Robert Manuel, with that being said, antisemitic extremist group behind enemy lines continues to trespass on DePaul's campus and harass Jewish students.

This is the same group that made a wanted poster featuring a Jewish Israeli student at DePaul. In January, the group handed out flyers on campus that urged students to get dangerous. Then, just this past March the group was able to infiltrate a DePaul building as part of its week of defiance.

Dr. Manuel, were any arrests made in either of these instances?

Mr. MANUEL. Thank you for the question, Representative. Once we saw that post we immediately trespassed BEL from our campus. We are an urban campus with many public streets and right of ways. We are working with our elected officials to see if there is not more we can do to stop the harassment of BEL against our students.

Mr. ALLEN. Were any of these students arrested?

Mr. MANUEL. We can be—we kept BEL from being on our campus. We had a number of occasions where they were involved in protests. Our relationship with CPD prevented them from coming onto our campus to engage our students.

Mr. ALLEN. What are you doing to prevent this from happening again?

Mr. MANUEL. We are training our public safety officers. We are working with the aldermen, the elected officials in our area to see if we cannot get broader protections in the public space, and we continue to report things like you mentioned in social media both to the FBI and to the CPD, and to the Chicago Police.

Mr. ALLEN. President Raymond let us talk about restorative practices, a group to resolve disciplinary issues in your university.

Directors of the group, Dr. Mahn McHenry and Dr. Jill Stauffer, both publicly support the academic boycott of Israel, and Dr. McHenry is a member of the Haverford Faculty for Justice in Palestine.

On December 24 liked an Instagram post glorifying a member of the popular front of the liberation of Palestine, a U.S. designed terrorist organization with a history of murdering Jews. The caption reading, "From the River to the Sea, Palestine will be free." Would a Jewish student feel comfortable with Dr. McHenry leading restorative practice, given her glorification of violence against Israel?

Ms. RAYMOND. Representative, we are committed to supporting our entire Jewish community. We are proud of it, and intersections with all aspects of our disciplinary processes are ones that I take very seriously. They must be done well.

Mr. ALLEN. Well, it would seem that you would put into practice those things that I mean, your—I mean we are hearing, and it has been, if the testimony is correct about what is going on in these campuses, but you know, the action that we are hearing, you know, like I said we have got to fix this, and so with that I yield back, Mr. Chairman.

Chairman WALBERG. I thank the gentleman. I now recognize the gentleman from Utah, Vice Chairman of this Committee, Representative Owens.

Mr. OWENS. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. It is really unfortunate that it has been over a year since our first hearing on antisemitism, a year and a half since October 7th. It was talked about and still talk about rooting out antisemitism on our college campuses.

The division of our educational institutions from our very founding has been taxed, and aspirations of our Nation State in the Preamble of the Constitution to become a more perfect union. We are failing our kids. What we are getting instead, students graduate with enormous debt, knowing nothing about our country's history, culture, vision, or sacrifices.

Students are angry, lacking common sense and common decency toward anyone who looks different than them, or holds a different opinion. Our education institutions become the feeding grounds for Marxists, an ideology that abhors our culture of faith, family, the free market and wisdom through education. Young people who supposedly are our future leaders, are being taught to hate America, hate Israel.

They have no shame in running around in gangs, hiding their faces as they burn and break other people's property. They intimidate, threaten and attack people who they do not know, because they have been taught to hate by their college professors. These cowardly bullies feel no threat about accountability because apparently the adults in charge have empowered them to negotiate the antisemitism, antisemitic views on their terms.

We are seeing too many words, and too little action. As an observation as someone who grew up in the deep south, 1960's Jim Crow's deep south, the KKK will love the environment that we are now seeing on too many of our colleges. Many of them would have graduated with honors.

With our new administration and a majority in the House and the Senate, this is going to come to a screeching halt. Accountability is back. Dr. Raymond, Haverford's social honor code, where students are required to place to the net, states that the acts of discrimination, micro-aggression and harassment, including and not limited to acts of racism, sexism, homophobia, transphobia, classism, ablism, which I have no idea what that is;

Tokenism, coach or insensitivity, discrimination based on citizenship status, discrimination based on religion, and discrimination based on natural origin, accent, dialect, or usage of the English language are devoid of respect, and therefore by definition violate this code.

First of all, Dr., who made this code? Who are the authors of this code of conduct?

Ms. RAYMOND. Our Honor Code, which is both governing our social action and academics at Haverford, is written by students and approved by students, and I take responsibility.

Mr. OWENS. It sounds like it. OK, yes. Thank you. Thank you. It sounds like students that have been taught how to be Marxists by the way. Part of this—the uses of the English language, is that now a form of discrimination? I see this in the code. The usage of the English language. What does that have to do with the Code of Conduct?

Ms. RAYMOND. We are actively revising that code to better meet the moment.

Mr. OWENS. All right. They also State that Haverford students commit to being—just a second here, commit to being actively anti-racist, and particularly commit to reject an anti-blackness, recognizing white privilege, challenging structures of whiteness and white comfort, and crediting the work of black, indigenous and people of color, and especially women of color.

Are Jewish people considered white privileged by chance?

Ms. RAYMOND. We do not tolerate any discrimination or bias at the college, and as I said, that code is under active revision.

Mr. OWENS. I would suggest that you put somebody in charge that are adults, all right, because obviously, this is from folks who have been trained how to hate. Now it is becoming a policy of the college, it should not be acceptable.

Dr. Manuel, first of all I am impressed with the actions you are saying you are going to take. We look forward to following up on that. I think part of the problem is what is the teaching that is going on in between.

You have someone, Terrin Webb, who made some very appalling statements about Jewish people—says, “The historical fact that American Jewish immigrants have always been the foundational building block for white supremacist infrastructure in this country.”

He also said, “The State of Israel, much like U.S., is facilitating a white supremacist racial cast.” Let me just say this. Leadership has to figure out how to get rid of this rot within your colleges. It is great to say these great things, but if you have people that hate our kids, and hate each other, and teach that, this has not changed.

We will have to address it on the Federal level if we cannot change it on your area, OK, so with that I yield back. I yield back.

Chairman WALBERG. I thank the gentleman. I now recognize the gentleman from Indiana, Mr. Messmer.

Mr. MESSMER. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. Thank you for the witnesses for being here today. President Raymond, despite your opening statement that you condemn antisemitism, multiple Jewish students on the campus you preside over report feeling ostracized by the sole fact they are Jewish. Do you think Haverford still has an antisemitic problem?

Ms. RAYMOND. Representative, I know that the effects of what has happened at Haverford have been very concerning, to me and to many of our Jewish students, staff and faculty. It has been a troubling time for many of us, and we are working to combat antisemitism.

Mr. MESSMER. OK. Well, other than describing as being antisemitic, how else would you describe the campus where a Jewish student wrote that multiple classmates have refused to speak to me after learning I am Jewish, or how could you possibly interrupt signs at a protest that say, "Decolonization is not a metaphor."

Those Harvard faculty and students participating in these acts are sending a clear message to the Jewish student body, or anyone, any student with ties to Israel. You are not welcome here, and its termination of Israel and the Jewish people who sought refuge there is our goal." This is a very serious matter.

One student said they felt safer in Israel, which is a combat zone, than attending your school in the fall. They wrote, "I'm scared. I'm not going to learn, and I'm not going to be safe." President Raymond, are you comfortable with Haverford driving away Jewish students that have been accepted for admission, or are you going to establish more useless listening sessions, and ad hoc committees, or putting out bland statements approved by lawyers to cover your legal obligations?

Is that really what your students at Haverford deserve?

Ms. RAYMOND. What you read, Representative, pains me deeply. Those experiences of our Haverford students are not experiences that they should have on our campus or anywhere. I commit to the work of this campus to making it a much more welcoming place for all of our Jewish students, and staff and faculty.

Mr. MESSMER. Thank you. Are protests calling for the genocide of Jews a violation of your university's rules or code of ethics? If they are, and such statements are made, what is the repercussion for students and faculty who make them?

Ms. RAYMOND. Such calls are horrific, and absolutely not acceptable anywhere in the world. No such calls have been made at Haverford College. Any such calls would be, of course, followed up immediately with all of our disciplinary processes.

Mr. MESSMER. What would that discipline be?

Ms. RAYMOND. The discipline would be what that process would eventually call for.

Mr. MESSMER. All right. Dr. Manuel, how about at your university? If there is a protest calling for the genocide of Jews, what would be the repercussion for a student or faculty that made them?

Mr. MANUEL. Thank you. Representative, anybody who would make those kinds of statements for the genocide or killing of anybody would be immediately brought in through our adjudication processes. The result would be anything up to and including an expulsion.

Mr. MESSMER. Dr. Armstrong, same thing?

Mr. ARMSTRONG. Yes, sir. Anyone calling for the deal of any group or harassing or discriminating would be subject to discipline.

Mr. MESSMER. What would that discipline be?

Mr. ARMSTRONG. Well, for students it could be suspension. It could be, if repeated, expulsion, and then we also have procedures for our faculty and staff that result in discipline.

Mr. MESSMER. Thank you. Dr. Manuel, instead of checking IDs for protectors that are wearing masks, why not prohibit the wearing of masks for those that are protesting? How is that part of their free speech rights?

Mr. MANUEL. Thank you. We have people on our campus who are immunocompromised, folks have religious beliefs, we wanted to accommodate that. We also wanted to prevent people from evading identification during critical moments on campus.

What I mentioned in my ID masking policy that we adopted, is part of the larger culture of creating accountability, the changes in our time, place and manner, the additional 30 percent spent on our public safety, the bringing in of the ADL expert to help a Jewish engagement.

Together they represent a changed action in the way that we hold ourselves accountable to our community.

Mr. MESSMER. I thank you, Mr. Chairman. I thank you for all being here, and I yield back my time.

Chairman WALBERG. I thank the gentleman, and I recognize the gentlelady from Minnesota, Ms. Omar.

Ms. OMAR. Thank you, Chairman. It is abundantly clear that the cynical work of the majority party on this Committee is now being expanded and weaponized by the administration seeking to squash dissent. We are seeing the heavy hand of the State through this administration and the body being brought down against students and faculty for engaging in protected speech.

We saw this in the case of Mahmoud Khalil, who on March 8th became one of the first student activists to be detained by ICE, despite not being criminally charged, and despite the agents lying about having a warrant.

We saw this in the case of Mohsen Mahdawi who was abducted by ICE at a citizenship neutralization interview for his role in campus protests. We saw this in the case of Rumeysa Ozturk who was accosted in broad daylight by a group of masked, and unidentified agents after writing a critical article in her student newspaper last year.

There have been more. Georgetown Professor Badar Khan Suri, Ph.D. candidate, Ranjani, Sherif Ni Vassan, a 21 year-old student, Yu Son Jang, and many more. Political protests, antiwar protests, Pro-Palestinian protest.

This is all protected speech under the First Amendment, regardless of citizenship status. Using immigration authorities to target, abduct, and illegally detain non-citizens for their activism is a clear

violation of their rights and a hallmark of an authoritarian government.

As Mahmoud Khalil wrote, from inside the Louisiana Detention Center where he remained for 60 days, who has the right to have rights? As Mohsen Mahdawi wrote after being freed from detention, when they look at my case all Americans should ask themselves what is left of our democracy, and who will be targeted next?

In 1987, almost 40 years ago, eight immigrants in Los Angeles were arrested as a result of their pro-Palestinian activism. In a shockingly similar circumstances, as the arrests and abductions by ICE that we are seeing today. Professor Cole, you legally represented the LA8 for 20 years against the U.S. Government, as the charges were dismissed. The Judge called the proceedings an embarrassment to the rule of law.

What similarities have you seen between that cold war Era case and the cases we are seeing today, and what findings were made at the time regarding the First Amendment rights of noncitizens?

Mr. COLE. Thank you for that question. There are many parallels. The charges actually against the group of Palestinian students back then, the initial charges were being advocates of world communism. The McCarthyism trope was used against them at that time.

We challenged that provision of the McCarran-Walter Act in Court, arguing that all people in the United States have First Amendment rights, whether you are a citizen or a noncitizen. The Supreme Court has said even corporations have speech rights because the First Amendment protects speech, not speakers, and the Court agreed, and struck down that provision of the McCarran-Walter Act, saying all persons, including foreign nationals in this country have the same First Amendment rights.

Mahmoud Khalil has the same First Amendment rights. Badar Khan Suri has the same First Amendment rights, and yet this administration is targeting them for nothing more than speaking out in ways that the administration disagrees with. That is contrary to the core principle of the First Amendment.

In the same way that the effort to use charges of antisemitism to target universities and try to micromanage how they discipline particular incidents is contrary to the core conception of the First Amendment.

Ms. OMAR. Mr. Cole, it is refreshing. Professor Cole, it is refreshing to have a witness who understands the legitimate McCarthy-like approach the majority is taking on this Committee. For them it is easy to target peoples' rights to speech and to assemble when they advocate for Palestine. It is easy to dismiss the rights of those who are not yet citizens.

Professor Cole, from your decades of experience as a First Amendment scholar and champion, does it ever stop at the easy targets?

Mr. COLE. No, it does not stop at the easy targets. You could again, look back at McCarthyism. It was targeted at a problem. There were Communists in this country that were spying for our enemy, but that is not what the McCarthyism was about. It was not about identifying those spies. It ultimately reached millions of Americans who were subjected to investigations.

People lost their jobs, were black-listed merely for their ideas.

Chairman WALBERG. The gentlelady's time is expired.

Ms. OMAR. I will say those who do not learn from history repeat it, so thank you so much.

Chairman WALBERG. I thank the gentlelady. Now, I recognize the gentleman from California, Mr. Kiley.

Mr. KILEY. President Raymond, there is a professor in your faculty, Professor Mendelson, is that correct?

Ms. RAYMOND. Yes.

Mr. KILEY. He is an Israeli professor, and he has posted that Haverford College's study body is led by Hamas apologist and tainted by antisemitism. He said if I am a parent of a Jewish student, I will not send them to Haverford College. Do you think there is reality reflected in his sentiments?

Ms. RAYMOND. I am sorry, I did not hear you. Do I—

Mr. KILEY. Do his sentiments reflect the reality on that campus?

Ms. RAYMOND. I think that Professor Mendelson has the right to express himself as he wishes, and I do not think that expresses the overall reality of Haverford.

Mr. KILEY. Was he investigated by your administration?

Ms. RAYMOND. I will not talk about individual investigations.

Mr. KILEY. OK. I am not asking you the content of the investigation, I am saying yes or no, was this professor investigated?

Ms. RAYMOND. I will not talk about whether an individual—

Mr. KILEY. I think we will take that as a yes. You have professors who are making antisemitic comments, who are inciting violence, rather than investigate them, you investigate the Israeli professor who is calling attention to the horrors that are taking place on the campus.

There was an incident in 2024 where you had posters for Chabad events, for other events in the Jewish community for antisemitism events that disappeared. You said that this was from benign mechanisms, and you said it was the wind. Was it the wind that caused the posters to come down?

Ms. RAYMOND. We do not tolerate any discrimination or bias, which—

Mr. KILEY. That was nowhere close to my question. Was it the wind that caused these posters to come down? What you said it was.

Ms. RAYMOND. When posters are taken down intentionally, not by the wind, then that would be antisemitism.

Mr. KILEY. Not the kind of wind that only goes after one particular type of poster. There was also an event on your campus that you have acknowledged by the ADL, the Anti-Defamation League that was disrupted, at an event specifically designed to counter antisemitism. You had antisemites that came and disrupted it.

Apparently, the only thing you had them do was write a letter of apology. Is that correct?

Ms. RAYMOND. Having the disruption of that antisemitism awareness event was not acceptable, and a horrible moment.

Mr. KILEY. All they had to do was write a letter of apology. There was also apparently doughnuts were going to be ordered for commencement from a Jewish bakery. A group of antisemites on cam-

pus asked for a boycott saying, "Say no to blood doughnuts." Did you abide by their calls for a boycott?

Ms. RAYMOND. We purchased and enjoyed those doughnuts.

Mr. KILEY. Did the students receive the doughnuts?

Ms. RAYMOND. They were eaten at commencement.

Mr. KILEY. They were eaten. That is an odd passive way. Did the students get any?

Ms. RAYMOND. Pardon me. They were available at commencement.

Mr. KILEY. To students?

Ms. RAYMOND. Yes, they were available during the commencement.

Mr. KILEY. OK. To students. We also had a takeover of Founder's Hall take place on your campus, and you said that you negotiated with those who were involved in this, did you not?

Ms. RAYMOND. I had conversations with those students when we brought that to a close.

Mr. KILEY. Students who physically took over this building, and in fact you said that the only punishment, the only consequences for them were restorative, not punitive action. Is that right? Restorative, not punitive?

Ms. RAYMOND. When that disruption disrupted our campus activities, according to our policies and our practices, we took—we closed that off and it ended.

Mr. KILEY. There was also an antisemitism awareness basketball game that was organized, but the organizers were told that this might prove too antagonistic to the pro-Palestinian students, and the game did not happen. Is that correct?

Ms. RAYMOND. We are committed to fighting antisemitism.

Mr. KILEY. That was not the question. Was the game canceled? Were the students told it would be too antagonistic to pro-Palestinian students?

Ms. RAYMOND. That is not what happened.

Mr. KILEY. Can you look—would you be able right now to look the parents of a perspective Jewish student in the eye, and assure them that their son or daughter would feel safe and welcome on your campus?

Ms. RAYMOND. I can assure all applicants to Haverford College that we are a place that promotes inclusion and belonging for all.

Mr. KILEY. Would you be able to look the parents of a perspective Jewish student and say your son or daughter will feel safe and welcome on my campus?

Ms. RAYMOND. Yes, I would.

Mr. KILEY. This is all, Mr. Cole, just McCarthyism to you, right? You have testified, you have likened our committee's antisemitism investigation to the House Un-American Activities Committee, is that right?

Mr. COLE. That is absolutely right.

Mr. KILEY. Have you forgotten the hearing with say the Columbia President where during her testimony there was an illegal encampment that had taken over that campus. The House Un-American Activities Committee's problem was that it was dredging up distant affiliations, real or imagined, in order to impugn people.



Nothing could be more different than what is going on. I do not know if you have talked to the students at places like Haverford, or Harvard, or Northwestern, or UCLA, who are afraid to wear a Star of David, afraid to wear a Yarmulke, or are afraid to express their identity in any way because they will be ostracized.

They will be subject to discrimination and potentially acts of violence, who have to face checkpoints from antisemitic lunatics on the campus, not letting them even access public facilities, or cross the quad. Nothing could be more different. This is a shocking problem that has engulfed much of higher education, and had been building for many years, but in particular, over the last year and a half.

I simply cannot believe that you would say that, that the Democrat witness from the ACLU would come here and liken this to McCarthyism. We have a long way to go in reforming higher education. I yield back.

Mr. COLE. Can I respond?

Chairman WALBERG. I thank the gentlemen—

Mr. COLE. Do I get to respond, or, no?

Mr. SCOTT. Could the gentleman respond?

Chairman WALBERG. The gentleman can respond when he is given the opportunity. I now recognize the gentleman from California, Mr. DeSaulnier.

Mr. DESAULNIER. Mr. Cole, I want to give you a chance to respond on my time, and I just want to agree with your sentiment, and taken by a comment in that point of history, have you no shame, and sorry he is leaving.

It is a shameless behavior, so I will give you a few minutes to explain.

Mr. COLE. I guess he did not want to hear the answer.

Mr. DESAULNIER. Apparently, so go ahead. If you need more time, it is on me.

Mr. COLE. The answer is of course there is a problem with anti-semitism. There is a problem with Islamophobia. There is a problem with racism. There is a problem with sexism. This hearing, this set of hearings that this Committee has engaged in, is not a solution to that problem, just as there was a problem with Communist spies.

We now have evidence that there were in fact Communist spies, but the McCarthy Era and the HUAC hearings were not about that. They were about bringing people in, condemning them, not looking into the facts, but making broad accusations, and I have heard that again here today, again and again.

Lumping together criticism of Israel, which is protected speech, with antisemitism. Criticism of Zionism, which is protected speech, with antisemitism. No effort to discern the difference between protected speech and discrimination. Our Constitution requires that we make that distinction. This Committee has not made any effort to make that distinction.

That is why I draw the comparison to HUAC.

Mr. DESAULNIER. I completely agree with you, and that comment to Senator McCarthy at that time I think is appropriate today. "After all this, sir, do you have no shame?" Because I actually think it makes a higher risk for violence on the campuses.

Mr. COLE. Exactly, and we did ultimately recognize that Joe McCarthy made a mistake, and I think history will show that this Committee followed and repeated that same mistake.

Mr. DESAULNIER. Absolutely, absolutely. Appreciate it. President Armstrong, I want to talk about what we have done in California in the University of California system that some of my colleagues are anxious to criticize.

In your instance, as a member of the Transportation Committee, you are getting people out to help us spend that money that we did not in the Biden administration, to provide valuable resources to the economy and transportation. You have one of the highest returns on investment for students.

When your graduates get out, they go out to work and make a good return on investment. Thank you for that, and you have done really good work on this instance. Mr. Chair, I would like to ask unanimous consent to enter into the record two letters from students and organizations at Cal Poly, St. Luis Obispo, which speak positively about President Armstrong's leadership and the atmosphere the school has created for Jewish students. I would ask unanimous consent, Mr. Chairman, to submit those to the record.

Chairman WALBERG. Without objection, they will be submitted.  
[The Information of Mr. DeSaulnier follows:]

Avi L. Shapiro  
Benjamin A. Broudy

May 2, 2025

The Honorable Tim Walberg  
Chairman  
Committee on Education and Workforce  
United States House of Representatives  
2176 Rayburn House Office Building  
Washington, D.C. 20515-6100

The Honorable Robert C. "Bobby" Scott  
Ranking Member  
Committee on Education and Workforce  
United States House of Representatives  
2101 Rayburn House Office Building  
Washington, D.C. 20515-6100

The Honorable Burgess Owens  
Chairman  
Subcommittee on Higher Education and  
Workforce Development  
Committee on Education and Workforce  
United States House of Representatives  
2176 Rayburn House Office Building  
Washington, D.C. 20515-6100

The Honorable Alma S. Adams  
Ranking Member  
Subcommittee on Higher Education and  
Workforce Development  
Committee on Education and Workforce  
United States House of Representatives  
2101 Rayburn House Office Building  
Washington, D.C. 20515-6100

RE: May 7, 2025 Hearing  
Beyond the Ivy League: Stopping the Spread of Antisemitism on American Campuses

Dear Representatives Walberg, Scott, Owens, and Adams:

Thank you for the time you and your Committee and Subcommittee have spent and are continuing to spend on talking about the issue of antisemitism on U.S. college campuses. As Jewish students deeply involved and active with Jewish life here at California Polytechnic State University, San Luis Obispo (Cal Poly), this issue is both important and personal. Since the October 7th massacre of over 1,200 Israelis and citizens of the world by Hamas, we have seen a sharp increase in blatant antisemitism across the U.S., and specifically on university campuses. As Jewish students in America we can confirm that antisemitism is alive, well, and growing in all aspects of our lives. We have seen it everywhere - our hometowns, in San Luis Obispo, and even on Cal Poly's campus.

The work that the Subcommittee on Higher Education and Workforce Development and the House Committee on Education and Workforce is doing to publicize and help prevent future antisemitic incidents is incredibly important in keeping Jewish college students safe and comfortable; when university students are not doing well, universities are not doing well. It is necessary, and a huge step in the right direction, to put a spotlight on universities that have failed their Jewish students and who have made zero effort to combat antisemitism on their campuses.

Antisemitism is present on many, if not most, campuses across the country, and while we do occasionally experience it here, it occurs far less frequently than at many other campuses. The two of us both publicly wear kippot (yarmulkes) and have never felt in danger or attacked. At Cal Poly, there are no encampments or regions of campus we avoid. We speak Hebrew in the dining halls and talk about Shabbat dinner between classes and feel no animosity from our peers. We table on campus in support of Jewish and Israeli causes. Sometimes we are asked about why we miss class for Jewish holidays - not because people are seeking to ostracize us, but rather to learn more about our traditions. On the whole, the two of us do not see systemic or systemized antisemitism on Cal Poly's campus. We are not claiming our experiences at Cal Poly have been perfect, but we believe the fault does not lie with the administration. Our times on campus have been safe with minimal incidents, almost all of which have been dealt with in full, and promptly, by the administration led by President Armstrong.

In contrast to the administrations at many other universities, we have seen the Cal Poly administration take on the vitally important work of fighting antisemitism on our campus. We have observed President Armstrong clearly communicate with the campus about the need to fight antisemitism. President Armstrong has stood with us; he has never backed away from the safety and security of his students. The administration, and President Armstrong himself, have contacted us personally when incidents have occurred, provided security for our events on campus, and put in place preventative police forces at potentially violent or disruptive anti-Israel protests. If there is someone to blame for these protests, it is likely social media and disinformation, not the work of Cal Poly.

We do want to briefly share some of our personal experiences to highlight specific incidents on our campus about which the committee requested information. Both of us have personal knowledge about some of the incidents of inquiry, and we share that here.

Benjamin Broudy was present for the Heroes of the IDF event on April 4, 2024. He passed by and saw the protest happening outside of the Warren J. Baker Center for Science and Mathematics and stopped to observe. The Cal Poly professor identified in your letter initiated a five minute long verbal confrontation with Benjamin and shoved a Palestinian flag up to his face, violating his personal space. Following that, Benjamin saw a Cal Poly police officer confront the professor and instruct him that he could not get that close to others. Although what the professor said and did was incredibly hurtful, at no time did Benjamin feel like he was in danger or unsafe. Instead, Benjamin thinks that Cal Poly acted appropriately, sending a large police presence to enforce safety as well as Cal Poly Peace Officers from the Dean of Students Office.

As people migrated indoors because it started raining, Benjamin went along with them where he was confronted by a masked protester holding a very large Palestinian flag. Benjamin and the protester had a civil conversation with police standing around the two the entire time to ensure safety. From Benjamin's perspective, the incidents that took place on that day were handled properly and safely by Cal Poly without allowing any Jewish students to be in danger, even if the subjects of the conversation were often uncomfortable.

Avi Shapiro was part of the team that dealt with the vandalism on October 31, 2024, in which hateful messages were spray-painted around the campus. Avi was first made aware of one of the vandalized locations, Engineering 4, by a Jewish student who had walked by and seen the vandalized location. That student did not want to report it, so Avi drove to the campus police department to give an official statement. At that time, the police department had already been made aware of the vandalism at that location and had someone on scene to investigate. While with the police, Avi received reports of further vandalism at the university bookstore. After Avi and an officer arrived at the bookstore, Avi then travelled to the Grand Ave entrance sign to stand guard over a third location of vandalism to protect the evidence until police officers showed up. That night the university not only documented all vandalism, it also removed all traces of the spraypaint and did such a good job that many at the university did not even know what had happened. In short, the university could not have handled the situation any better. The perpetrators of the vandalism wanted to spread their message of hate, and any delay by the university to act, or issuing a statement by the administration, would have only helped spread that very hate.

In all, Cal Poly is appropriately handling these issues; Cal Poly has the back of its Jewish students. The administration has an open door for Jewish students that have any concerns. President Armstrong attends events such as Mega Shabbat to celebrate with Jewish students and the larger Jewish community. While spotlights can be helpful, in this case we do not believe that Cal Poly needs additional attention on this difficult topic. We have an immense amount of appreciation for the Committee's and the Subcommittee's efforts to spotlight universities that are not combating campus antisemitism, but Cal Poly is not the place where that spotlight is needed. The environment at Cal Poly has not been perfect, but throughout the last two academic years the administration has been there for us. It has been continuously improving and communicates transparently with the Jewish community. We hope that you will use your hearing to share with the world the good work of President Armstrong and the safe environment that we enjoy at Cal Poly. We encourage you to ask President Armstrong about his work so that it can be a model for other universities that are failing their Jewish students.

If you wish to contact us, please do so through President Armstrong's office.

Sincerely,

Avi L. Shapiro, '25  
Benjamin A. Broudy, '27

U.S. House Committee on Education & Workforce  
Chairman Tim Walberg  
2176 Rayburn House Office Building  
Washington DC 20515

Since October 7th 2023, there has been much attention given to actions that have been taking place at Universities and campuses around the country.

Antisemitism is a pervasive issue around the world, including within the United States. We are well aware that this unfortunate reality has led to hostile environments for Jewish students, faculty, and staff on many university campuses.

Cal Poly is not one of those campuses. As leaders of organizations supporting the Jewish experience at Cal Poly, we have consistently found that the university's culture enables Jewish students, faculty, and staff to thrive. Cal Poly President Armstrong, along with his administration, are very supportive of Jewish students. Examples include meeting with students and leaders when concerns arise, partnering on bringing kosher food to campus, and committing to building a multi-faith center.

We take pride in our university's dedication to the success and well-being of every student, including Jewish students. We echo the sentiments expressed by President Armstrong emphasizing that Cal Poly remains committed to partnering with us in improving our campus environment.

We are grateful to work in collaboration with university leadership and other student organizations to ensure a welcoming and supportive environment for all. We look forward to continuing these efforts and building upon the foundation of mutual respect that defines Cal Poly.

Thank you for your time and consideration.

Sincerely,  
Rabbi Chaim Hilel  
Chabad of SLO & Cal Poly



Lauren Bandari  
Executive Director, SLO Hillel



Mr. DESAULNIER. Can you followup on your work with local police, who have jurisdiction over this at Cal Poly, that has been successful to protecting all of your students, particularly Jewish students?

Mr. ARMSTRONG. Yes, thank you for that question. We work very hard to make sure all students have a safe learning environment. We want to make sure they are free from harassment and discrimination, but we also balance that with free speech. Our university policy partner with off campus, the city police in a very positive way.

First, we make sure that our students who have invited speakers or departments that it is done properly, and everyone is safe, so that is with our time, place and manner rules. Then we have a great relationship with the city. They provide aid. We also support them, so I appreciate that question.

Mr. DESAULNIER. Thanks. Mr. Cole, I want to ask you a question. In the area I represent, Region 9 in San Francisco, is being

cutback all the departments, but the Department of Education, so its ability to defend vulnerable students, could you speak to that? If you do not have the staff in the regions, what does that do to potential violence or protections for interest of the disabled community?

Mr. COLE. Well, it decimates the ability, the real ability of government to try to protect Jewish students. If this Committee really cared about Jewish students, it would be condemning the Department of Education. It would be bringing in the Secretary, as I suggested earlier, and saying why are you cutting in half the Office of Civil Rights? We have a problem with antisemitism, we have a problem with racism, we have a problem with sexism, let us deal with the problem.

Instead, the Committee brings in Presidents, dredges up allegations that have not been determined to be true or false, and just throw them out as if that somehow is solving the problem. It is not solving the problem in any way shape or form. What would solve the problem—

Chairman WALBERG. The gentleman's time has expired.

Mr. COLE [continuing]. Calling the Secretary of Education here.

Chairman WALBERG. I now recognize Mr. Fine.

Mr. FINE. Thank you. This has been hard to sit through, and for all the Jews that are out there, I want to apologize to you because it has been tough for me listening to a lot of the repulsive and repugnant commentary that has been made both in those asking questions, and those answering them.

God puts us where he wants us to be. My 17 year-old this morning told me to wear my kippa, which I do not do often, but that may change in honor of all of the students at these campuses that do not feel safe to wear it themselves. For anyone who doubts my commitment to fighting on these issues, no matter what side of the aisle they are on, they can go talk to the two Chairman of the Board, and the one university President in Florida who no longer have their jobs because of me.

I encourage you to keep that in mind when you answer my questions. I think we heard a lot of lip service here, and Mr. Cole talked about the importance of free speech and equal access to education, so I am going to start with those questions with Dr. Raymond.

Dr. Raymond, and I encourage you—this may be happening right now. If a student is on your campus right now with a sign that says, "No Blacks on Campus," what will happen to that student?

Ms. RAYMOND. Representative Fine, I first want to say—

Mr. FINE. I do not want to hear that. I want you to answer my question. A student—if someone, a student on your campus right now walking around campus saying, "No Blacks on Campus," what will happen to that student? They are—just allowed to walk around, "Good job. Free Speech, we love that." Is that what would happen on your campus?

Ms. RAYMOND. No.

Mr. FINE. OK, good. Would they be invited to go get an education somewhere else, which is what I hope the answer is?

Ms. RAYMOND. It would be the same as someone who is inappropriately and repugantly—

Mr. FINE. Would they be kicked out of campus if the student walked around your campus saying, “No Blacks on Campus,” or would we like sit around a drum circle and talk about how great it is? What would happen? Would they be kicked off, or is that free speech at Haverford College, no Blacks on campus?

Ms. RAYMOND. Representative Fine, there is no room for discrimination, or——

Mr. FINE. There is room, because at your campus in front of you at a protest, students held up a sign saying, “No Zionists on Campus.” They said—and there was no consequence for that, and you were at that event, and it happened on—it happened, sorry, it happened on September 30th, 2024. You were there.

My second question, I am going to go to, do you believe the Jews are responsible for COVID? Is that some sort of conspiracy that we came up with to go after people, the Jewish students on your campus, and professors, we are responsible for COVID, and it was like unleashed on people. Is that what you believe?

Ms. RAYMOND. Of course it is not.

Mr. FINE. OK. Then why did you say when a group, a terrorist group, wanted to have a presentation called “COVID in times of Genocide, How Israel uses COVID as a tool for Settler Colonialism in Palestine.” Your response to that name was that it was thoughtful and considerate.

See, we can talk about what other people did, I am interested in what you did, and in both of these instances you are the one that did it. Do you think that title, “COVID in times of Genocide, how Israel uses COVID as a tool for Settler Colonialism in Palestine?” Was that thoughtful and considerate? Do you still belief that today?

Ms. RAYMOND. I did not say that about that title, and I do not believe that today, and Zionists are welcome on our campus, and Zionists are Jews and not Jews, and to go back to your other point, we do not tolerate discrimination against——

Mr. FINE. Well, then let us get on to that. Zionists are welcome on your campus. We will now talk about a professor that is on your campus, and I am actually going to give some of my time to Mr. Cole on this one because he talked about equal access to education.

You have a professor named Guangtian Ha, and I apologize, who said in August 2024, the only way to deal with Zionists is to stop talking to them and refuse to let them waste your time. Now, I do not know what Professor Ha teaches, but I would assume there are some students in his class that are actually Zionists.

Would it be—would it reduce their access to education if their professor publicly says I should stop talking to Zionists, and I should not waste my time on them. How is that acceptable on your campus?

Ms. RAYMOND. Discrimination of any form is not acceptable.

Mr. FINE. OK. Does he still work on your campus? Does he still work there?

Ms. RAYMOND. Yes, he does.

Mr. FINE. He does, and he also said something, he said, “The State of Israel must be dismantled and society denazified. Zionism is Nazism, and is Fascism, Zionists or racists.” That is OK, and you



can continue to work on your campus when you make those statements, that is OK, keep the job.

Ms. RAYMOND. Those statements are repugnant, and I do not defend those statements.

Mr. FINE. You do because here is the last one I am going to do. You had a graduate student, let me see if I can find it here, you had a graduate student who before he was hired, made a statement—oh, can I find it here? The problem with your place is there are so many.

October 7, 2023, you had a visiting assistant professor write, “October 7th is a beautiful sight to wake up to this morning,” and after this person made this statement, your school offered them another position in June 2024. Why would you hire someone who says that October 7th was a beautiful sight to wake up to. Why would you hire that person?

Ms. RAYMOND. I am very sorry that I had someone on the faculty that would espouse those kinds of views.

Mr. FINE. Good. You can go back, and you can fire him. I yield back the balance of my time.

Chairman WALBERG. I thank the gentleman, and I would ask to submit for the record the most recent ADL Campus Antisemitism Card, that includes a report card that includes the three universities here, as well as others, including some that have been in front of us where if it is conjecture that this Committee in our activities with hearings are not having an impact, we will see that there has been impact and better grades that are coming on for some, still terrible grades for others.

Without objection, I submit this for the record.

[The Information of Chairman Walberg follows:]

5/19/25, 4:30 PM

California Polytechnic State University, San Luis Obispo | ADL

## California Polytechnic State University, San Luis Obispo

### D Deficient Approach

## 2025 Report Card

Cal Poly San Luis Obispo has a Hillel, Chabad, and Jewish Greek life.

### What's Happening on Campus?

In May 2021, the student Board of Directors at Cal Poly passed a resolution to officially condemn antisemitic acts, urging the university administration to adopt the IHRA definition of antisemitism.

In October 2023, two Jewish students were verbally harassed with the phrase "Death to Israel" from a passing vehicle.

In May 2024, a faculty member at the university received an email containing antisemitic messages. The messages claimed that "Jewish groups are paying to send U.S. police to train in Israel...to protect Illuminati Jewish elite," that "Jews control the media and own America" and that Jews "are declaring war on the entire white race." That same month, students at Cal Poly issued a 25-page document demanding the university divest from Israel, highlighting ongoing tensions on campus.

In October 2024, graffiti was spray-painted on campus buildings that read "From Gaza to Cal Poly, let the intifada spread." Also in October 2024, at an anti-Israel rally celebrating the anniversary of Hamas' October 7, 2023, antisemitic terrorist attack, protesters displayed a banner that read, "End the occupation" with inverted red triangle imagery, a symbol popularized by Hamas to mark targets.

### University Policies and Responsive Action

In October 2023, Cal Poly President Armstrong apologized for the administration's initial statement following the Hamas attacks on Israel, which was seen as lacking.

To address antisemitism and promote inclusivity, Cal Poly administration has partnered with Hillel to conduct antisemitism training and is part of the Campus Climate Initiative. Additionally, the university plans to establish an Interfaith Center to support Jewish and other faith-based students.

In March 2025, the University announced that it would be building an interfaith center on campus, establishing a Civil Discourse Panel of community members to promote awareness and education and amending their Statement on Diversity and Inclusivity to include statements regarding antisemitism, anti-Zionism and other forms of discrimination or harassment.

Critically, the University has also established a Presidential Antisemitism Task Force, which will evaluate data gathered through a Jewish climate survey this Spring and develop a campus action plan that is focused on Jewish student life, antisemitism education, and cultural awareness.

### Criteria

#### Publicly Disclosed Administrative Actions

##### Meeting Expectations

- ✓ Antisemitism included in Code of Conduct and Policies
- ✓ Clear process for reporting antisemitic incidents
- ✓ Advisory council to address antisemitism
- ✓ Clear religious accommodations policy
- ✓ Mandatory antisemitism education for students and staff
- ✓ Has an official position against **BDS**
- ✗ Publicly condemns antisemitic incidents
- ✗ Partnerships with Israeli institutions
- ✓ Conducts surveys to assess Jewish student experiences
- ✓ Civil discourse initiatives on campus
- ✓ Clear time, place and manner policies
- ✓ Participated in program to address antisemitism

#### Jewish Life on Campus

##### Excellent

- ✓ Active Hillel, Chabad, or other Jewish student organization
- ✓ Jewish Greek life
- ✗ Jewish studies program or class
- ✓ Kosher dining
- ✓ Interfaith initiatives on campus
- ✓ School promotes awareness of Jewish holidays
- ✓ Israel studies or study abroad programs
- ✓ Rabbi/Jewish educator
- ✓ Jewish religious services
- ✗ Jewish alumni group
- ✓ Jewish staff and faculty group
- ✓ Partnerships with Jewish organizations
- ✓ Active pro-Israel group

#### Campus Conduct and Climate Concerns

##### High

- ✗ Level of severe antisemitic and anti-Zionist incidents
- ✗ Level of other antisemitic and anti-Zionist incidents
- ✓ Level of hostile anti-Zionist student government activity
- ✗ Level of hostile anti-Zionist student groups
- ✗ Level of hostile anti-Zionist staff and faculty activity

5/19/25, 4:30 PM California Polytechnic State University, San Luis Obispo | ADL  
*\*Following the implementation of new policy actions, Cal Poly  
SLO's 2025 grade was revised from an F to a D on April 4, 2025.*  
California Polytechnic State University, San Luis Obispo contributed information to our assessment.  
This page was last updated on Apr 4, 2025, 7:12 am



San Luis Obispo, CA

**California  
Polytechnic  
State University,  
San Luis Obispo**



5/19/25, 4:30 PM

DePaul University | ADL

## DePaul University

**F** Failing

## 2025 Report Card

DePaul University has a Hillel, Chabad, the Jewish Life Center and Jewish Greek life on campus.

## What's Happening on Campus?

In October 2023, at an anti-Israel rally at DePaul University, protesters held signs with messages that included: "Death to Zionism." A protester also held a flag for the U.S.-designated terror group Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine (PFLP).

In May 2024, the student government passed a referendum advocating for Boycott, Divestment, and Sanctions (BDS) against Israel during its Student Government Association elections. That same month, the administration was forced to dismantle an anti-Israel encampment on campus following numerous incidents of antisemitism and conduct violations at the encampment.

In October 2024, at an anti-Israel rally organized by Students for Justice in Palestine and DePaul Divest Coalition at DePaul University, protesters displayed signs with messages that included: "By Any Means Necessary" with an image of Lella Khaled, a leader of the antisemitic U.S.-designated terrorist group Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine (PFLP). Protesters also chanted, "There is only one solution; Intifada, revolution" and "All these racist ass Zios [Zionists] we don't need 'em."

In November 2024, two Jewish students displaying support for Israel were physically attacked outside the Student Center, with both students having to go to hospital as a result of the incident. The incident is being investigated by law enforcement as a hate crime. An off-campus group, Behind Enemy Lines, referred to the hate crime as a "small taste of justice."

## University Policies and Responsive Action

In 2024, DePaul's Office of Institutional Diversity and Equity (OIDE) administered an antisemitism training program for faculty and staff, with assistance from the university's Jewish Faculty and Staff ERG. In addition, DePaul's annual, mandatory compliance training for all employees, including staff, faculty and student employees, includes anti-discrimination and anti-harassment (ADAH) modules.

In response to the BDS referendum in May 2024, DePaul University administration issued a strong statement rejecting the divestment calls and academic boycotts, emphasizing the importance of upholding academic freedom and dialogue.

Following the Spring 2024 encampment, the University also launched a comprehensive website documenting these incidents, fostering transparency and accountability. The website contained examples of discrimination, harassment, and violence and images of items that were found in the encampment while dismantling it, including knives, a pellet gun and other improvised weapons.

## Criteria

## Publicly Disclosed Administrative Actions

## Meeting Expectations

- Antisemitism included in Code of Conduct and Policies
- Clear process for reporting antisemitic incidents
- Advisory council to address antisemitism
- Clear religious accommodations policy
- Mandatory antisemitism education for students and staff
- Has an official position against **BDS**
- Publicly condemns antisemitic incidents
- Partnerships with Israeli institutions
- Conducts surveys to assess Jewish student experiences
- Civil discourse initiatives on campus
- Clear time, place and manner policies
- Participated in program to address antisemitism

## Jewish Life on Campus

## Excellent

- Active Hillel, Chabad, or other Jewish student organization
- Jewish Greek life
- Jewish studies program or class
- Kosher dining
- Interfaith initiatives on campus
- School promotes awareness of Jewish holidays
- Israel studies or study abroad programs
- Rabbi/Jewish educator
- Jewish religious services
- Jewish alumni group
- Jewish staff and faculty group
- Partnerships with Jewish organizations
- Active pro-Israel group

## Campus Conduct and Climate Concerns

## High

- Level of severe antisemitic and anti-Zionist incidents
- Level of other antisemitic and anti-Zionist incidents
- Level of hostile anti-Zionist student government activity
- Level of hostile anti-Zionist student groups
- Level of hostile anti-Zionist staff and faculty activity

5/19/25, 4:30 PM

DePaul University | ADL

Following the November 2024 attacks on Jewish students, President Manuel condemned the violence, pledged a thorough investigation and committed to ensuring campus safety. In November, after Behind Enemy Lines targeted a Jewish student, the group was banned from campus.

The University has committed to establishing a bias education and response team. The administration also meets regularly with representatives of internal and external Jewish groups.

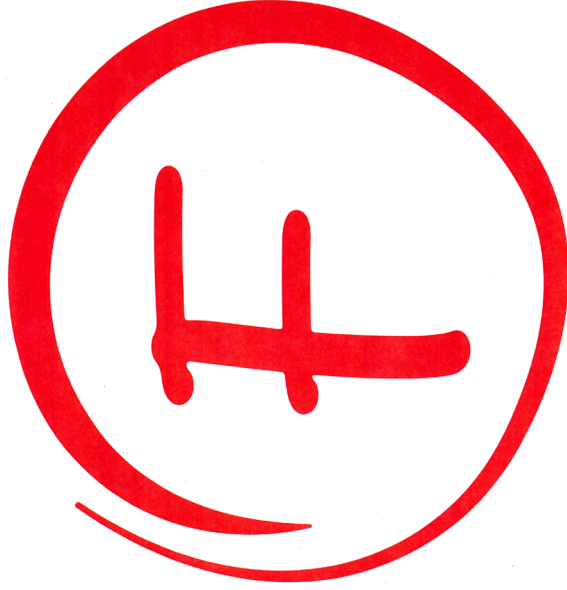
DePaul University contributed information to our assessment.  
This page was last updated on Mar 3, 2025, 10:28 am

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**ADL**<sup>®</sup>

Chicago, IL

**DePaul  
University**



5/19/25, 4:29 PM

Haverford College | ADL

## Haverford College

**F** Failing

## 2025 Report Card

Haverford College has a Hillel, Chabad and the Haverford Jewish Student Union.

### What's Happening on Campus?

In February 2024, at an anti-Israel rally organized by groups such as Students for Justice in Palestine and Jewish Voice for Peace, protesters displayed signs with messages that included: "Decolonization is not a metaphor," a slogan commonly used to support Hamas' antisemitic October 7, 2023, terrorist attack. A protester also wore a shirt depicting the slogan, "Resistance is not terrorism" alongside a photo of Leila Khaled, a leader of the antisemitic U.S.-designated terror group Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine (PFLP).

In March 2024, Haverford College Students for Peace and SJP held a teach-in as part of Israel Apartheid Month. The event 'investigated' allegations concerning "Israel's weaponization of COVID against Palestinians." In April 2024, anti-Israel protestors launched an encampment on campus.

In May 2024, a Jewish organization at Haverford College filed a federal lawsuit alleging a hostile environment for Jewish students and violations of their civil rights. The complaint highlighted incidents of antisemitic behavior which had reportedly gone unaddressed by the administration. The lawsuit was later dismissed by a federal judge.

In August 2024, an incoming student at Haverford College was allegedly ridiculed by classmates and asked whether they are a "Zionist" after the classmates discovered that the student is Jewish.

In September 2024, The Deborah Project submitted an amended complaint to the federal lawsuit, accusing the institution of failing to take the allegations seriously and exacerbating the situation by awarding individuals named in the complaint and mocking Jewish concerns. The Title VI lawsuit was rejected by the court in January 2025.

In October 2024, an ADL *Antisemitism 101* workshop for students, faculty, and staff was disrupted by anti-Zionist protestors, who shouted, banged on the windows of the room and prevented the attendees of the workshop from being able to engage with the session. The University did not condemn this incident.

### University Policies and Responsive Action

In response to the March 2024 teach-in, President Raymond addressed the event's original title, "Mass Death on All Fronts," and remarked on its offensive nature, noting concerns about its similarities to antisemitic conspiracy theories.

In April 2024, President Raymond shared an email announcing the formation of the Ad Hoc Committee on Freedom of

<https://www.adl.org/campus-antisemitism-report-card/haverford-college>

### Criteria

#### Publicly Disclosed Administrative Actions

##### Below Expectations

- Antisemitism included in Code of Conduct and Policies
- Clear process for reporting antisemitic incidents
- Advisory council to address antisemitism
- Clear religious accommodations policy
- Mandatory antisemitism education for students and staff
- Has an official position against **BDS**
- Publicly condemns antisemitic incidents
- Partnerships with Israeli institutions
- Conducts surveys to assess Jewish student experiences
- Civil discourse initiatives on campus
- Clear time, place and manner policies
- Participated in program to address antisemitism

#### Jewish Life on Campus

##### Satisfactory

- Active Hillel, Chabad, or other Jewish student organization
- Jewish Greek life
- Jewish studies program or class
- Kosher dining
- Interfaith initiatives on campus
- School promotes awareness of Jewish holidays
- Israel studies or study abroad programs
- Rabbi/Jewish educator
- Jewish religious services
- Jewish alumni group
- Jewish staff and faculty group
- Partnerships with Jewish organizations
- Active pro-Israel group

#### Campus Conduct and Climate Concerns

##### Medium

- Level of severe antisemitic and anti-Zionist incidents
- Level of other antisemitic and anti-Zionist incidents
- Level of hostile anti-Zionist student government activity
- Level of hostile anti-Zionist student groups
- Level of hostile anti-Zionist staff and faculty activity

1/2



5/19/25, 4:29 PM

Haverford College | ADL

Expression, Learning, and Community and noting that the College was organizing educational events featuring knowledgeable visitors such as Project Shema, which trains and supports the Jewish community and allies to understand and address contemporary antisemitism.

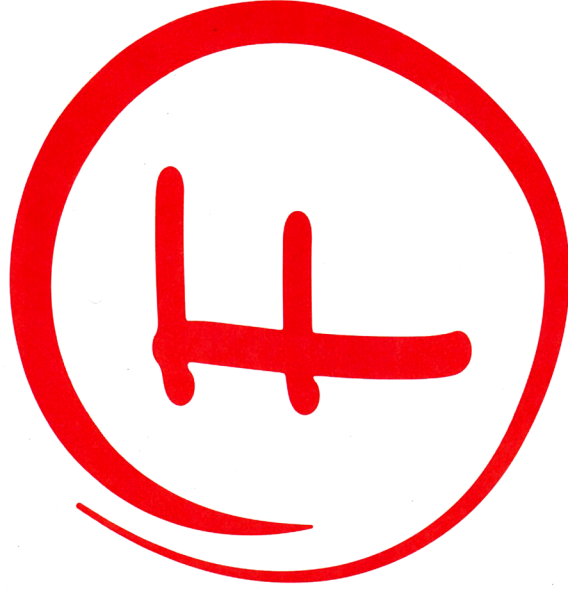
Additionally, the college initiated a program called *Meeting the Moment: Community in Dialogue* in Fall 2024. This program focuses on workshops and discussions about antisemitism, Islamophobia, and other biases.

This page was last updated on Mar 3, 2025, 10:29 am



Haverford, PA

**Haverford  
College**



Chairman WALBERG. I now recognize the gentlelady from Michigan, Ms. Stevens.

Ms. STEVENS. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. I just wanted to give the first, you know, 15 to 20 seconds to Mr. Cole to finish your last thought from the previous question if you wanted to.

Mr. COLE. From which question?

Ms. STEVENS. From Mr. DeSaulnier?

Mr. COLE. I am not even remembering.

Ms. STEVENS. Oh, well, that is good.

Mr. COLE. I think I did finish it.

Ms. STEVENS. I think the Committee wanted to make sure you could finish your thought, but if it is finished.

Mr. COLE. I think I have said what I needed to say about the analogies between this Committee's work and HUAC Committee's work, and I think history will reflect that is exactly the analogy that we should draw.

Ms. STEVENS. Yes. Well, I think we can all agree that combatting antisemitism is a nonpartisan issue, and needs to be treated as such, and this is now the fourth or fifth Committee hearing that we have held on this topic of antisemitism on our college campuses.

I do not believe it is a false obsession. We know in the United States of America that we have rising antisemitism, and it is actually exploding. Dr. Raymond, it was nice to hear you say that Zionists are welcome on campus, whether a Zionist is a Jewish student, or a non-Jewish student. That is important to hear. That is important to say and even displaying that more prominent I think for all of you, it would be certainly welcome.

I am myself a Zionist, and I am not Jewish, and I am proud of that designation. Now, there might be some people who are not Zionists, and maybe you are going to say that non-Zionists are welcome as well, anti-Zionists are welcome.

One of the challenges that those of us who have studied this issue have come across is that while it might sound good to say that non-Zionists, anti-Zionism, is not antisemitism. We have not yet really see that exist, and so we want to be very careful with, you know, embracing this modality of thinking that is anti-Zionism that very quickly bleeds into antisemitism.

The other thing that we want to respect and recognize is universities, as places of free thought and deep thinking. I myself have a master's in philosophy. I did graduate this century, that is nice. In a different time where this level of antisemitism was not at its boiling point.

We are having experiences from the Jewish community in particular, even pre 10/7 where we knew it was difficult for students—Jewish students, to be on college campuses. After 10/7 it became on some of the campuses, very difficult, and students—we had testimony in another—it was a type of hearing that we had, where a student said he was wearing his yarmulke.

He was raised by a single mother in Brooklyn, openly Jewish, had never been to Israel, and is now being attacked on his college campus. We all have to ask ourselves why that is happening, and we have to do the work to make sure that it does not happen.

Now, I also want to devote my energy and my time as a Member of Congress who cares, I am a Cochair of the Antisemitism Task

Force, so I do deeply care about this issue, tremendously. I am going to reflect on another period of hearing that we had where we shared the mental health resources that get made available to college campuses.

We had a couple of terms ago, when the Democrats were in the majority, a hearing about this, and we were going to allocate more mental health resources on the college campuses. A colleague from the other side of the aisle put in an amendment that said if you are gay, you cannot access these mental health resources.

I do not know why that would happen. I do not know why that was a vote we had to take in this Committee hearing. I found that really biased, and lacking in inclusion. To your point, Mr. Cole, about taking very seriously what our colleges need to combat hate, to combat antisemitism, we need a civil rights office, and we need a functioning Department of Education.

Thank you to everybody in the audience who is here as well, wearing their yellow pins. I am also the Cochair of the Hostage Task Force. We need to bring the hostages home, we need to see this war come to an end, and Hamas needs to surrender. With that, Mr. Chair, thank you, I yield back.

Chairman WALBERG. I thank the gentlelady. I recognize the gentleman from Missouri, Mr. Onder.

Mr. ONDER. Thank you, Mr. Chairman, thank you to the witnesses for coming to the Committee today. Ms.—President Raymond, as you mentioned in your testimony on September 30, 2024, the Anti-Defamation League held a presentation on Haverford's campus entitled, "Antisemitism 101," unfortunately many of your students decided to disrupt the event, for example, by chanting through a megaphone, "From Gaza to Lebanon, Israel will still be gone—will soon be gone," banging pots and pans, and holding signs with statements, including, "No Zionists on Campus."

President Raymond, yes or no, do you believe that is an incident of intimidating Jewish students, and an incident of antisemitism?

Ms. RAYMOND. I do believe that is an act of intimidation, yes.

Mr. ONDER. You know, I understand that it is not necessarily antisemitic to condemn particular aspects of Israeli foreign policy, but in context, would you agree that using the term Zionist in that context, it is a synonym for Jew?

Ms. RAYMOND. I am committed to supporting our Jewish community.

Mr. ONDER. Do you think those protestors knew the foreign policy views of every Jewish student on campus? I mean in context, no Zionists on campus. No Republicans on campus, no libertarians on campus. I do not think they are talking about Jews. They are talking—no Jews on campus is what those protestors mean.

Ms. RAYMOND. The representative before me, and I said also myself, that Zionists, and I think you know this too, Zionists are Jews and not Jews, and we do not accept discrimination against anyone at Haverford.

Mr. ONDER. Were any students involved in that incident disciplined? Were any expelled, suspended, or otherwise subject to discipline?

Ms. RAYMOND. We did put through discipline, some of the students that were involved in disrupting that event, and we learned

from that event to have clearer policies, which we now have on what it means to disrupt through noise outside an event.

Mr. ONDER. Can you give us numbers of how many students were disciplined and in what ways?

Ms. RAYMOND. I will not give numbers or specifics.

Mr. ONDER. Yes. You were similarly evasive with Chairman Walberg, but your colleagues, your colleagues gave us numbers. Why are you not? Can you cite a Federal law that does not allow you to do so, or are you more ethical than they are because you are protecting students' privacy better?

We are not asking for names. We are not asking for social security numbers, or dates of birth, we are asking for numbers.

Ms. RAYMOND. My top priority is the safety and well-being of our students.

Mr. ONDER. You are not going to give us the information?

Ms. RAYMOND. We follow all of our disciplinary practices, which can, depending on what has happened, result in suspension or expulsion when appropriate.

Mr. ONDER. President Raymond, last year when Jewish community leaders pressed Haverford DI administrator, this is Nicky Young, VP for Institutional Equity and Access, and Professor of Gender Studies, when they asked her about the antisemitic climate on campus, she is quoted as saying, "Blacks and gays have in the past not felt safe on campus. It is now the turn of Jewish students to experience that feeling."

Were you aware of her making that statement?

Ms. RAYMOND. That is not a statement that she made.

Mr. ONDER. She did not?

Ms. RAYMOND. No, she did not, and that does not sound like the Dr. Young that I know who was committed against antisemitism as am I.

Mr. ONDER. If someone made such a statement, should they be fired?

Ms. RAYMOND. We follow—when that—any such statement that is discriminatory—

Mr. ONDER. If someone made such a statement, should they be suspended?

Ms. RAYMOND. We would follow our practices to, and have as a consequence, an appropriate outcome.

Mr. ONDER. If such a statement was made, should they be fired, suspended or disciplined in some other way? Are such statements unacceptable at Haverford?

Ms. RAYMOND. Statements of discrimination and harassment are unacceptable.

Mr. ONDER. OK. Fine. I suppose it is your First Amendment right to be evasive, but it is also our right to decide that such institutions are not deserving of taxpayer money. Thank you, I yield back, Mr. Chairman.

Chairman WALBERG. I thank the gentleman, and I recognize the gentlelady from Pennsylvania, Ms. Lee.

Ms. LEE. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. Our nation is undoubtedly at an inflection point, politically, culturally, socially. College campuses have always been the place where those tensions collide

more visibly, and more profoundly than almost anywhere else in our country.

It is precisely because of that role that these institutions play in our society. Throughout history, college campuses have been the places where world views, politics, cultures, meet. Students are introduced to ideas and thoughts, some they accept and agree with, and others they vehemently disagree with, but it is where they encounter ideas that tests their values, where they are pushed out of the comfort zones, and where they begin to define not, just what they think, but who they are and who they want to be.

Some of the most transformative movements for justice in this country were ignited by students on college campuses, from the citizens of the Civil Rights Movement, and the Antiwar Administrations to campaign against South African Apartheid, and the many other student-led movements for racial, gender and economic justice.

Those movements did not just happen to take place on campuses, they happened because of what those campuses seek to foster, spaces for critical thinking, opportunities for students to learn, to meet with diverse people, to be empowered, and to question existing social and societal structures.

Students will not get everything right, and we should all unequivocally say that antisemitism, anti-blackness, Islamophobia, homophobia, and any form of hatred, are not acceptable ways to engage on a college campus, and movement spaces and activism, or in any other existing place in our societies.

Students will not get everything right, and we should also say unequivocally, or excuse me, but we should also recognize that discomfort is sometimes having your worldview question, and that it is sometimes conflated as being a threat to safety. There are differences.

We all have a right to critique and disagree with the policies and actions of governments. It is in the Constitution. Students have a right to protest, and advocate on behalf of Palestinian existence, rights and self-determinations, just as students have the right to protest and advocate on behalf of Israel.

Now, that tradition of protest, academic freedom, and the core principle of free speech is under attack, not genuinely in the name of safety or student well-being, but under the guise of control, used to suppress the voices of marginalized groups, and criminalized dissent.

The colleges and universities before us today have a dual obligation to both ensure the safety of their students from antisemitism and all forms of hatred, while allowing critical discourse to continue. Suppressing student's right to protest is an entry point for the erosion of civil liberties, and that is how democracies die.

That brings us to why we are here today. The majority in this Committee convened us because they, even if people who really are impacted by this, but they are further villainizing higher education while using Jewish students and antisemitism as a scapegoat.

I have a question. It is imperative that we create a campus environment that is diverse, inclusive, safe, equitable without compromising free speech and academic freedom. Mr. Cole, do you agree that they can, that universities can and must do both?

Mr. COLE. Absolutely. They can and must do both, and in some instances where there are State universities, they are compelled by the constitution to respect free speech and not treat every antisemitic comment as discrimination because most of them are protected speech.

On private universities that are not bound by the Constitution, many and indeed most of them, have adopted free speech policies precisely for the reasons you suggest that it is critical to an education. For years, conservatives complained about universities not being open enough, not being tolerant enough, condemning speech, which was only racist or only sexist.

Now, suddenly, they have switched entirely.

Ms. LEE. All right. If I may, to add to that, every student deserves to be safe, and have their humanity recognized. This administration has done nothing to warrant that end. If they actually cared about campus safety and protecting students, then in addition to acknowledging the real rise in antisemitism, we would also be talking about the rise of Islamophobia, and the persistent anti-blackness, the degradation of rights of trans students.

Since my tenure we have had zero hearings, resolutions or acknowledgements of any of the many intertwined ills that plague our college campuses in larger society. Has anyone—just a yes or a no, is anyone on this Committee, from the majority on our committee, has anyone from the Trump administration asked you about racist, Islamophobic or Homophobic incidents on your campus, yes, or no? Probably not, just for time.

I would say they probably have not because what has become clear is that the concern here is selective. Only appearing when it can be weaponized for political gain. Instead, what we are seeing is a deliberate effort to dividemarginalized people. My colleagues are weaponizing—attempts to weaponize learning is transparent and pathetic.

It is clear that my colleagues have real issues with free speech and education, not antisemitism. We should not fall for it. It is clear that they do not care about it because they have dismantled and closed regional offices for the Office of Civil Rights, where we are tasked with investigating antisemitism.

That they have not spoken out against the Nazi salutes of Elon Musk, or the Great Replacement Theory that led to the largest antisemitic massacre in my district, in the Pittsburgh Synagogue shooting, that they have done nothing about anti-blackness, I will not hold my breath for a hearing on that.

That we have not acknowledged that our safety and our liberation is tied together. That is not actually student safety that they care about. We have to fight back against our attempts to erode our civil liberties. We cannot allow them to use efforts to divide our marginalized communities against each other in that fight.

Chairman WALBERG. The gentlelady's time has expired.

Ms. LEE. We are the closest we have ever been—ever been to losing our civil liberties. We have to fight against it.

Chairman WALBERG. I recognize the gentleman from Pennsylvania, Mr. Mackenzie.

Mr. MACKENZIE. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. I appreciate today's hearing on stopping the spread of antisemitism on American cam-

puses because we do see a very real problem that is occurring all across the country. Antisemitism has been around for a long time, but ever since October 7th it has come out into the light in a much more shocking and offensive fashion, particularly on our university campuses.

When it presents itself, we appreciate that some of the university Presidents are willing to identify those situations, and call them out, and when discrimination like this goes through a process that you have on your campus, and a violation is determined that it has actually occurred, appropriate punishment is being met out.

That is important that we recognize that as well. Then accountability for us as legislators, is making sure that those institutions that actually go through that process, recognize the discrimination that is occurring on their campus, hand out punishment. We want to make sure that that is actually the course of events that is playing out.

During the course of this testimony today, two of the university Presidents have been very transparent with the aggregate information that they were willing to share about the punishments that were handed out on their university campus. One was not. One has debated that conversation a number of times, saying that she was unable to provide that information.

Under pressured testimony, twice though, you have acknowledged that punishment has occurred, so you have violated your own standard, that you would not disclose or discuss any punishments that were occurring on your university campus. My question to you, to the President, Dr. Raymond, from Haverford College, is will you go back to your college campus, collect that aggregate information.

We do not need any personal information, and share it with this Committee about the punishments that have been handed out from your university to students, or others who were involved in this discriminatory practice on your college campus?

Ms. RAYMOND. Representative Mackenzie, I appreciate your requesting that. I can commit to our practices around this. We do not share our results of our disciplinary processes on our campus or publicly.

Mr. MACKENZIE. That is a problem. That is a problem. You do receive Federal money, do you not? In some way, either directly or indirectly through student loans or grants to your university?

Ms. RAYMOND. We do, in a wonderful partnership with the Federal Government.

Mr. MACKENZIE. Well, that partnership may be in jeopardy because if you will not provide transparency and accountability like your other colleagues here, it calls into question your actions on your campus. When people are concerned about discrimination that is happening on your college campus, which the list is pretty long at this point.

It is very concerning the amount of incidents that are piled up at your college campus under your tenure, and yet you will not share any information about the punishment that has been handed out when discrimination that you acknowledged, has happened on your campus. You will not share that anybody has actually been punished for that?



Ms. RAYMOND. Representative, the effects of what have happened at Haverford on our Jewish students and community are real, and deeply troubling to me, and I am in this work committed to getting it right. We have had many policy changes since October 7th in order to do this work better than we were able to do then.

I commit to that work in an ongoing basis with deep empathy and care for all of our Jewish students, staff and faculty.

Mr. MACKENZIE. I appreciate that statement, but it is lacking in transparency and accountability about the end results of punishment that are handed out to students and faculty that are on your campus, that participate in discriminatory actions. That should just be a baseline for receiving Federal funding.

You are willing to acknowledge that discriminatory actions have happened on your campus. You are willing to say that we are going to take some kind of action. When that does occur, you are going to go through a process, but then you will not actually show those of us that are responsible for providing Federal funding, that you have actually done anything at the end of the day.

That is a very concerning course of action, and I think it is something that Congress should probably look into, saying that there needs to be transparency, there needs to be accountability, and those institutions that do not want to provide that, and want to be evasive in remarks before Congress, want to avoid transparency and accountability in the actual publishing of the results of in aggregate numbers.

The fact that they have taken action against discriminatory behavior, I think that that probably warrants a further investigation. The Department of Education should be looking into that, and ultimately, they should be withholding funds from somebody who does not want to provide transparent and accurate information about how they are handling discrimination on their college campus. Thank you and I yield back.

Chairman WALBERG. The gentleman's time has expired. I thank the gentleman. I recognize the gentleman from Washington, Mr. Baumgartner.

Mr. BAUMGARTNER. Thank you, Mr. Chair. Dr. Raymond, how many Americans were killed on October 7th?

Ms. RAYMOND. I do not know.

Mr. BAUMGARTNER. Dr. Raymond, how many—

Ms. RAYMOND. There were some in Israel.

Mr. BAUMGARTNER. How many Americans were taken hostage on October 7th?

Ms. RAYMOND. I know that some were, I do not know the number.

Mr. BAUMGARTNER. Do you know how many Americans are currently held hostage by Hamas?

Ms. RAYMOND. No, I do not.

Mr. BAUMGARTNER. You do condemn Hamas as a terrorist group?

Ms. RAYMOND. Yes, I do.

Mr. BAUMGARTNER. Well, do you think you do not know these numbers because these American victims are Jewish?

Ms. RAYMOND. Of course, that is not the reason.

Mr. BAUMGARTNER. Do you think there has been sufficient sympathy for the Jewish Americans who have been killed and taken hostage by Hamas on your campus?

Ms. RAYMOND. We are all bereft around what happened on October 7th in Israel, and for all that were impacted, whether it is a period—it is a horrific time in history, but yes, we have—

Mr. BAUMGARTNER. Well, see, October 7th was the greatest terrorist attack on American citizens since 9/11, and yet, you do not know how many Americans were killed, you do not know how many were taken hostage, and you have an antisemitism problem on your campus.

It is hard to conclude, and I appreciate that you come here today acknowledging that you yourself have personally made mistakes when it comes to antisemitism, and that Haverford College has made mistakes, but those apologies ring a little hollow if we do not even know the basics of sympathy for how many American Jews were killed on October 7th.

Do you—now, you did not write a letter, or make a strongly worded statement after October 7th, is that correct?

Ms. RAYMOND. I would like to say to your last question, my empathy and my deep sorrow is to all of the victims of that day. You asked me questions about Americans.

Mr. BAUMGARTNER. Did you make a strongly worded statement, or something written after the attacks of October 7th?

Ms. RAYMOND. Yes, I did.

Mr. BAUMGARTNER. You did. You also made—I want to question whether you actually understand what antisemitism is. Can you define antisemitism?

Ms. RAYMOND. Antisemitism is hatred of Jews.

Mr. BAUMGARTNER. OK. Now, you did issue a statement very quickly after the protests and riots of January 6th, did you not?

Ms. RAYMOND. I did.

Mr. BAUMGARTNER. You did. In those you described specifically the protestors on January 6th as being antisemitic. In that same statement, did you not? I can read it to you if you would like me to?

Ms. RAYMOND. Pardon me. I am sorry. I thought I heard January 6th?

Mr. BAUMGARTNER. Yes, January 6th, so you did not issue a very strongly worded statement after October 7th, but you did after January 6th. You describe the January 6th protestors at the Nation's Capital as antisemitic. In that same statement you also said that Black Lives Matter is a peaceful organization. Is that true?

Do you see Black Lives Matter as a peaceful organization?

Ms. RAYMOND. I think that I am being misquoted by what you said.

Mr. BAUMGARTNER. I will read it to you. It says, "Incited by the President's words and parading explicitly antisemitic symbols, these rioters violently attempted to add another obstruction to the Presidential election." You also said, "Many have noted the conduct of Capital employees and the contrast, the aggressive treatment of peaceful assemblies of Black Lives Matter protestors."

Is Black Lives Matter protestors, is Black Lives Matter a peaceful organization?

Ms. RAYMOND. It is a non-violent organization.

Mr. BAUMGARTNER. Was there any antisemitism exhibited by Black Lives Matter?

Ms. RAYMOND. I am not aware of that.

Mr. BAUMGARTNER. You are not aware. The President of a university that does not know how many American Jews were killed on October 7th, and a President who does not know of any antisemitic behavior by Black Lives Matter. Are you aware that Black Lives Matter committed over 2 billion dollars in damage?

This is the organization that you describe as peaceful?

Ms. RAYMOND. Representative, I may not know those facts that you have asked me about. What I do know, is that as President of Haverford College, I am committed to creating——

Mr. BAUMGARTNER. What I think is that your apology rings hollow. I think it is politically convenient for you now to come cap in hand to when folks like Republicans are serious about antisemitism, and you have Federal funding on the line, you will come here, and yet in your background you displayed behavior, failing to significantly condemn the attacks of October 7th.

Not as a university President at a prestigious university, not being aware of the suffering that American Jews have suffered because, perhaps, because they are Jewish, and then describing an antisemitic group like Black Lives Matter as a peaceful group, when anybody who even turned on the television and watched the news, knew that they were committing billions of dollars in damage, and violence across this country, and they have deep antisemitic roots. I yield back.

Chairman WALBERG. I thank the gentleman. I recognize now the gentleman from Wisconsin, Mr. Grothman.

Mr. GROTHMAN. Mr. Cole, if somebody issued statements which are critical of Islam as a religion, is that protected speech under the First Amendment?

Mr. COLE. Sure.

Mr. GROTHMAN. If a Christian minister attacks the gay lifestyle, is that protected speech under the First Amendment?

Mr. COLE. Yes. I am sorry?

Mr. GROTHMAN. I said wow. OK, thank you. Now, by the way you got those answers right.

Mr. COLE. Thank you.

Mr. GROTHMAN. I would like to ask our professor something. I have had this job now a little over 10 years, and I get around to all sorts of groups, and talk to people. The number of people I talk to just beyond belief. I have yet to hear here, and I think I would have remembered if I heard it, any, what I would call, antisemitic remarks.

Nevertheless, we seem to have a problem in all these universities in which antisemitism seems to be somewhat prevalent. Do you want to take a crack as to why antisemitism is I think right now tiny in the United States, but the only place it seems to be common is on university campuses.

Mr. COLE. Well, I do not—I——

Mr. GROTHMAN. Not you. The experts, we are done with you, so that is it.

Mr. COLE. Oh, I thought you said professor, I am sorry.

Mr. GROTHMAN. You passed your test. Any of the other three want to take a crack as why we seem to have antisemitism on American college campuses, but you know, we do not have antisemitism at, from what I can tell, I talk to people all the time, not, you now, a big problem in America as a whole? Nobody has a reason why that is so? You must think when these incidents happen on your campuses, why is this happening? You do not think at all? Your mind is a blank? I guess your mind is a blank.

I do not really think of University Presidents, the mind is a blank, but apparently, they are. It is my belief that the reason you see more antisemitism on campuses is because there is a lack of thought on the campuses, and the campuses are the home to the hard left of this country.

If there is an odd campus that is the home of the odd left, but you know, we have got some, you know, Presidents here of big, huge universities. I mean DePaul, Cal Poly, big universities. I think there is, for example, very little people could be described as Christian conservatives, or Republican, and I think that is the gist of the more liberal element right now in this country is including antisemitism, or a bizarre obsession with protecting Hamas, I guess I will put it that way.

Do you feel—are you making—do you say if you had to take a shot, we will start out with Ms. Haverford here, or Ms. Raymond, Dr. Raymond. Do you have a crack of your professors, what percents you think would vote for say a Donald Trump, and what percent would vote for a Kamala Harris, or even further left-wing type candidate?

Ms. RAYMOND. Representative, we do not ask—

Mr. GROTHMAN. You must have an idea. You must have an idea. You talk to people. You have no idea? No, no idea, we do not know, maybe 80 percent were for Trump. You have no idea? Not even in the individual departments, you have any idea?

Ms. RAYMOND. I do not, and I am not interested in that kind of question.

Mr. GROTHMAN. I do not believe that, but, OK. You can say that. How about Mr. Manuel?

Mr. MANUEL. Thank you. Like Haverford, we do not track—

Mr. GROTHMAN. I know you do not track, but you must have an opinion.

Mr. MANUEL. 1,200 faculty, on campus, and I can tell you that our practices are protected both conservative, and progressive voices in their work.

Mr. GROTHMAN. You have no idea, OK. Mr. Armstrong, you must talk to people. Everybody talks about the election last October. Do you feel you have kind of an angle into the left side big time on your campus there in California?

Mr. ARMSTRONG. We have the majority of—vast majority of our faculty and staff, they really focus on student success. We have a high STEM population.

Mr. GROTHMAN. Nobody wants to take a crack at it. Well, OK. I think the problem we have antisemitism on our campus is because odd, offbeat, hateful ideas fester in a place of extreme leftism, and I think universities in this country have become fanatic-

ical left wingers, and I do not know what we can do about it as a country.

We are going to have to talk and see what we can do about it because we sure funnel money into the universities, and I do not think the——

Chairman WALBERG. I thank the gentleman. His time has expired. Thank you. I now recognize the Ranking Member, the gentleman from Virginia, Mr. Scott.

Mr. SCOTT. Thank you. Mr. Cole, can you say what the effect on effectively addressing antisemitism is when you ignore race, national origin, disability, gender, and other religion forms of hate?

Mr. COLE. Well, you are not addressing the problem in a neutral, across the board way, and that calls into question the genuineness of your concern for discrimination.

Mr. SCOTT. Thank you. You talked about the hearings like this being problematic because there has been no factual investigation, jobs have been threatened. Can you say another word about why we need an actual investigation, rather than hearings like this?

Mr. COLE. Yes. The line between protected speech that is antisemitic, and discrimination that is antisemitic, is a hard line to draw. It is a line that our Constitution compels us to draw. It is not a line that I have heard a single Republican care about on this Committee, but it is a line that the Constitution requires us to draw.

How do you draw that line? You engage in close consideration of all the facts and circumstances around an incident. You do not just take a letter from a student. You call in the student. You call in other people who witnessed the incident. You determine what actually happened based on competing, often competing accounts, and then you make a determination based upon those facts.

That is what faculty committees do when they consider these kinds of complaints. That is what OCR did until it was decimated by this administration. That is not what I have seen this Committee do in eight hearings. I have not seen them do that in a single instance. Instead, all they have done is bring in Presidents, and berate them based on the Committee's version of the facts, which may or may not be true.

Mr. SCOTT. Thank you. You have made the point that you have complain and blame without facts, cutbacks on the Office of Civil Rights. Are you familiar with the Community Relation Service at Department of Justice?

Mr. COLE. Absolutely.

Mr. SCOTT. How could they be helpful?

Mr. COLE. They are helpful because they are—they were designed to get at to affirmatively proactively get at discrimination by getting people to work together by supporting, not by prosecuting, but by going in and affirmatively supporting areas and communities where there is division. That is what we need.

We do not need, you know, speechifying by Republicans. We need actual efforts on the ground to deal with the problem.

Mr. SCOTT. Of course that is under attack, and in the President's budget, it seems to be left out.

Mr. COLE. Absolutely.

Mr. SCOTT. I would ask the Presidents, the first question that was posed to you was something along the lines of in so far as each of your campuses are hotbeds of antisemitism. Can you give us some statistics. I forget what the rest of the question was. Each of you went right to the statistics and left us to assume that you agreed with the premise that your campuses were hotbeds of antisemitism.

Does anybody want to make a quick comment on whether or not that assumption is accurate?

Ms. RAYMOND. That is not a description that I would use.

Mr. SCOTT. OK, thank you.

Dr. MANUEL.

Mr. MANUEL. I would not use that description either and I would note that our retention rates for Jewish students are up slightly over 5 years, as are our—

Mr. SCOTT. Well, I am just talking about the question, you let it slide by.

Dr. ARMSTRONG.

Mr. ARMSTRONG. No. I would not agree with that statement.

Mr. SCOTT. Mr. Cole, in the last minute, can you just say a word about the tension between free speech and when it gets into speech, can it get into criminal law, a violation of Title VI, and possible campus code violations?

Mr. COLE. Again, the reason that Title VI has very high standards for when speech actually constitutes discrimination, is because the Constitution protects all kinds of hateful speech. We can condemn that speech. We should condemn that speech, but we cannot punish people for engaging in that speech.

That is why Title VI says it is not discrimination to say something criticizing Israel at a protest. It is discrimination if you target a particular individual because of his Jewish identity, for individually targeted harassment, and it is a violation of Title VI if the university is deliberately indifferent to that, meaning they ignore the problem. I have not heard any evidence.

Mr. SCOTT. What is a hostile environment?

Mr. COLE. A hostile environment is only where the speech is so severe, pervasive and objectively offensive that it denies equal access to education, a standard that is extraordinarily high, has rarely been met in any case in this country. Again, it is because if you define discrimination through speech too broadly, you chill speech.

That is precisely what this effort of this Committee has done, is to chill speech. Speech that criticizes Israel, is protected—

Chairman WALBERG. The gentleman's time is expired again, and we will move on. Thank you, Mr. Cole. You have made your point pretty clear several times.

Mr. COLE. Thank you.

Chairman WALBERG. So, I now recognize—I do not agree with it, but I now recognize the gentleman from Ohio, Mr. Rulli.

Mr. RULLI. Thank you, Chairman, and I want to thank all of you for coming. I know it cannot be easy to be on that side. This is not a persecution, this is a learning curve, and I have to condemn the other side of the aisle that they dilute the fact that this is about October 7th and antisemitism.

I live about 38 miles away from Kent State University. We just had our observation of the anniversary of the shooting. The girl that was 18 that got killed, shopped through my family's stores. It is very personal to us. In my political world, and in my philosophy of life, we celebrate protesting.

There is nothing wrong with protesting. It is what our country is based on by the founders. However, there is a difference between protesting and safety. There is a difference between protesting and highlighting antisemitism. I think that, you know, when we were raised and we are all probably close to the same age bracket.

When we were raised, and we were in high school, and we were in college, we heard a phrase calling, "Never again." Now the four of you are at the heights of power, and never again happens to be right now. We all saw the videos on TV, on YouTube, they are right now, I can pull them up on my phone, and Harvard Square, when I went to school at Emerson, so I was in Boston. I know Harvard Square really well, where literally Jewish kids were afraid to go to school. They were pushed on the ground, and they were harassed.

Now, when I was in the Ohio Senate, I dealt with President Carter of the Ohio State University, and we had meetings with him before the protest, which he allowed to happen, which were very safe. Nobody was threatened. The campus was cleaned up, and I think the Palestinian protestors did a great job of their protesting.

However, a lot of these universities throughout this country have not performed like that. My focus goes to Dr. Manuel. Like I said, this is more of a learning curve. I do not want you to feel that we are here to persecute you, but I do want to do better.

When we look at, Mr. Manuel, and we look at your university, and we look at the reflection on it, police reports have that 17-day encampment was allowed, with over 1,000 submitted complaints, including reports of safety concerns, harassment concerns, threats of violence to Jewish students, and even several death threats.

Individuals allegedly threatened to slit the throats of Jewish students supporting Israel, allowed faculty members, if I am saying her name right, Lila Farrow, who supported the release of a terrorist that killed people in Jerusalem, and to serve as an advisory to SJB.

It did not clear the encampments until 5 days after negotiations with the leaders broke down. Having said all that, what would you do different and from the heart, how can we do better because I think hey, listen. We all have concerns for everyone that goes to your school, both you know, if they are pro-Palestinian, or if they are pro-Jewish.

How do we do better? How do we make Jewish kids feel safe to go to your school in the future?

Mr. MANUEL. Thank you for that question, and I appreciate the time to explain. We needed to do better. In our review, we understood that the length of time of that encampment created dangers. The numbers that you referenced in the end was a website that I released to show the community the dangers of what were happening in that space.

We worked with, after the fact, we worked with the Jewish United Fund, with Chicago's Metro Halal, with many of our own Jewish faculty staff, and students to understand how we could be

better at creating a culture of compliance. This included creating a Jewish alumni group, a Jewish faculty staff alliance, working on time, place and manner restrictions.

Figuring out that we need to do training using that data and that website to help people understand the modern interpretation of the antisemitism. I admit thoroughly that we could do better, and I know that with our changes today, the results of a future encampment would be different.

I would also add, if you give me the time, to say since that moment, we have prevented overtakes of our campus by outside protestors, and we have a better sense of how to manage the balance between the protest and the safety and the welcomeness of our campus.

Mr. RULLI. Truly, I respect and appreciate that response, and with that I yield my time back to the Chair.

Chairman WALBERG. I thank the gentleman, and I thank the panel for being here today. It is not whether we agree or disagree. It is the fact you are here. We appreciate that fact. It has been long. It has been arduous, it has been emotional. It has been purposeful, and I will get to that in my closing statement, but now I recognize the Ranking Member, my friend from Virginia, Mr. Scott, for his closing remarks.

Mr. SCOTT. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. Comments have been made about whether or not this is just happening on campus. I would like to enter into the record a press release from the ADL entitled, "U.S. Antisemitic Incidents Skyrocketed 360 percent in the Aftermath of the Attack on Israel."

According to the latest ADL data, the release makes it clear the majority of incidents that ADL tracked, over 75 percent, happened in places other than college campuses. I would like to enter into the record, an NBC News Article, "January 6th Rioter in Camp Auschwitz," sentenced to 75 days in prison.

Chairman WALBERG. Without objection, the articles will be accepted.

[The Information of Mr. Scott follows:]







Mr. SCOTT. Thank you. Thank you, Mr. Chairman, I again thank our witnesses for being here today. Today marks the eighth time the Committee has held a hearing on antisemitism since October 7th. In all that time there has been no concrete action to actually protect any students from discrimination.

Despite my multiple requests in that time, we have held no hearings on other forms of hate and discrimination, such as racism, Islamophobia, sexism, and violation of Title IX, homophobia, or challenges of students with disabilities, all of which also pose major problems for students.

Here we are again, complaining about the problem without offering real solutions. All the while, the administration ignores due process and takes a chainsaw to the Office of Civil Rights, the very office responsible for investigating and addressing antisemitism, and putting the Community Relations Service at the Department of Justice, also on the chopping block.

That could be very helpful under these circumstances. Our priorities must align with the students. The Trump administrations dismantling of the Office of Civil Rights, and relentless attacks on institutions of higher learning will not make students' lives better, and students will pay the price of these cuts as schools struggle to function without Federal funding.

The last seven hearings, I will reiterate, physical violence, and verbal harassment directed toward students should not be tolerated. That said, college campuses have always been venues where individuals can debate difficult topics, or you might hear opinions which you disagree. It is vitally important to protect the sanctity of free speech, and ensure that students do not suffer from discrimination, and that is a difficult balance to achieve, and that is why dedicated investigators are key to keeping campuses both free and safe.

As Professor Cole said in his written testimony, we must tolerate offensive speech, even when listeners experience it as deeply harmful, because giving government officials to determine whose views can be heard, and whose should be silenced, is a greater danger.

I do not want you to be discriminated against who they are or how they worship, but ignoring due process and undermining the future of higher education will only make things worse, and it does not make Jewish students, or anyone else on campus safer. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. I yield back.

Chairman WALBERG. I thank the gentleman. Let me State for the record, and I wish some of my Democrat colleagues were still here to hear me say this. I oppose discrimination of all kinds, antisemitism, racism, sexism, discrimination of all kinds. I believe this Committee will stand in that same light.

We are here today talking about antisemitism that has wrapped up multiple college and university campuses, and it is not just speech. I support free speech and always will. The free speech sometimes leads to the results of actions, and that is why we are here today and the eight preceding times.

When Jewish students cannot feel safe, or have the ability to experience all that they expect on their university or college campus because of antisemitism, anti-Zionism that blocks them, including faculty members, that will block them from having the meaningful

experience that they paid for at the very least on their college campuses, or even worse, being beat upon and injured as a result of what? Being a Jew.

That is what we are talking about. That is what these hearings are for. They are not for free speech. We believe in that. It is not too hard to tell when someone is injured, and has a surgery because of that, but it is actions that are impacting freedom of education.

I would suggest as well that the entities that have been responsible for civil rights issues on campus have failed. This has been developing, OCR and others have not done their job. I hope in the process of what this administration is doing, and we will be asking questions. We will have an entity that will actually function for all students, all faculty on campuses. Remember, this happened before this administration took office.

We want it to end. Any suggestion that this is McCarthy-like is radically false. We are going to come to a solution, and thankfully, I can say as a result of these we are seeing campuses around the United States taking action. I thank the two campuses here today, DePaul, and Cal Poly, for being able to demonstrate, at least in words, and of course we were looking for the policy and the outcomes.

You were able to tell us of mistakes, and now what you are doing to remedy that. We wish you all well. For the good of this country, we need academic institutions that allow freedom of speech, but opportunity to experience it equally like all other students on campus, regardless of who you are, where you come from, your nationality, your gender, your faith.

It is sad that we have seen the education of college students hindered far too often. In this case the hearing was on antisemitic disruptions. The blocking of access to the buildings, interruption of lectures, hateful, violent slogans that were put in place to incite violence, not just free speech.

We have heard today of some modest changes made in recent months. We want them to be meaningful, but meaningful accountability means taking the risk of being unpopular and asking hard questions. Yes, it was passionate today. Sometimes it was emotional, I get that.

At least on this side of the aisle we are taking it in a significant, meaningful and purposeful way, and I would expect that a majority of my colleagues on the other side of the aisle take it purposeful as well. Hard decisions have to take place. We are wishing you success. We will be watching, and I hope we will be watching other universities and colleges around this country also saying I do not want to be part of the problem.

I am going to take the example of what is going on in our eight hearings, and we will work for change as well, so that all students, those who come on a visa, or those who have been blessed, who have been blessed beyond measure to be born here as part of this great American experiment.

We will all experience academic freedom and greater opportunity in the future. I thank you. I thank you for being here today. I thank you to my colleagues on both sides of the aisle and being

that there is no further action to be taken, the hearing is adjourned.

[Whereupon, at 1:35 p.m., the Education and Workforce Committee was adjourned.]

[Additional submissions from Chairman Walberg follows:]

May 16, 2025

Committee on Education and Workforce  
United States House of Representatives  
2176 Rayburn House Office Building  
Washington, D.C. 20515-6100

Re: May 7, 2025 Hearing, "Beyond the Ivy League: Stopping the Spread of Antisemitism on American Campuses"

Honorable Members of the House Committee on Education and the Workforce,

Thank you for the time and effort you have spent investigating and discussing the scourge of antisemitism that currently plagues campuses throughout our country. I am a Jewish student at California Polytechnic University, San Luis Obispo (Cal Poly), one of the universities whose president was called to testify on the May 7, 2025 hearing, "Beyond the Ivy League: Stopping the Spread of Antisemitism on American Campuses."

I am active in Jewish life at Cal Poly, currently serving in leadership roles as the Vice President of Hillel and the Vice President of Mustangs United for Israel. I also have firsthand knowledge of several antisemitic incidents on my campus, one of which the Committee Chairman mentioned in his opening remarks. It was a difficult decision to write this letter, knowing that doing so may make me a target for retaliation by fellow students, faculty, or even administrators, but given the importance of this issue, I feel compelled to address the subject of this hearing on behalf of myself and other students who believe that Cal Poly currently has an antisemitism problem—despite recent news reports that they believe they are beyond reproach.

On April 4, 2024, I attended a lecture entitled, "Heroes of the IDF: Finding Meaning Among Tragedy," which was given by a veteran of the IDF to discuss incredible rescue missions Israel has undertaken in countries such as Turkey. This event was cosponsored by Mustangs United for Israel and Hillel. Prior to the start of the lecture, a group of masked individuals gathered outside, apparently led by a Cal Poly faculty member. During the next two hours, this group chanted calls for violence against Israelis and Jews like me, including "From the River to the Sea, Palestine will be Free" and "There is only one solution, Intifada Revolution."

As I stood in the lobby of the Warren J. Baker Center for Science and Mathematics prior to the start of the lecture, the Cal Poly professor leading the group of protesters entered the building, approached me and my Jewish friends, and said, "You are Zionist, you are part of the KKK." In reaction to this comment, I heard my friend respond in shock to the professor's words, "Me? A student at Cal Poly?!" He then proceeded to wave a Palestinian flag in our faces. The

confrontation was especially shocking and felt threatening to me in light of both the mask the professor was wearing at the time, his close proximity to us, the fact that I saw him shove a Palestinian flag in other attendees' faces, and the fact that he was a middle-aged man wearing a sweatshirt with his Cal Poly department name on it – signaling his role as a faculty member – targeting freshman girls with such hostile verbal attacks and harassment.

I had never met the professor before this incident, nor had I ever discussed my political views with him, but the professor somehow identified me as a Zionist and targeted me with this invective. I am proudly and openly Jewish and consider Zionism an integral part of my Jewish ethnic and national origin identity. However, the professor's conduct is unlawful harassment if that is the reason he targeted me. For the first time in my life, I had been harassed because of my Jewish identity, not by an unidentifiable stranger, but rather a visibly-identifiable Cal Poly faculty member.

I've since learned that this professor has a history of troubling public statements that give context to this conduct, including saying shortly before the April 4 incident that he “support(s) the resistance,” and that “resistance is justified.” In those statements, he seemed to defend violence against Israelis committed by a US-designated Foreign Terrorist Organization, Hamas, and deny the legitimacy of Israel's existence, referring to it as an occupation of 75 years:

[R]esistance is always a pride when you have to kick out your enemy off of your land; it is your duty, and it is your right to do that. And Hamas has been doing that... Maybe they committed mistakes. Mistakes happen everywhere, and I'm not really defending Hamas here, but when you have occupation that's been going on for 75 years...

I do not feel safe on a campus where such a professor is allowed to harass Jewish students with apparent impunity, where even a credible complaint of antisemitic harassment with incontrovertible evidence takes more than a year to “investigate”—and is still ongoing!

As my fellow Cal Poly students suggested in their letter to the Committee, Cal Poly's police officers were present when the April 4, 2024 incident happened. They were also present when the professor shoved a Palestinian flag in Jewish attendees' faces and when he said “F\*\*\* Israel!” They were present when Jewish attendees exited the classroom after the lecture and the professor targeted them by repeatedly asking, “How many children did you kill today?” They were present when a female individual, possibly another Jewish Cal Poly student, responded, “I'm not even from Israel, I'm from America, I'm from Philadelphia,” and when the professor responded, “You're from Germany, that's where you should go back.” The Cal Poly campus police were indeed there and witnessed it all.

The Cal Poly police captured it all on video, so the university not only had knowledge about the professor's conduct, but actual video evidence of it in its possession from Day 1. Yet more than a year later, it has still done *nothing* to sanction the professor. I understand the Committee requested the video footage captured that day by the Cal Poly police prior to the hearing, and I

hope the Committee has the opportunity to watch it to get a better sense of what happened that day and the type of antisemitic activity permitted on Cal Poly's campus.

Moreover, to my knowledge, Cal Poly has taken exactly zero action to identify any of the masked individuals who participated in the April 4, 2024 demonstration, much less to investigate their actions or hold them accountable for their actions and the antisemitic calls for violence they chanted outside a room full primarily of Jews and an Israeli guest speaker.

While I believe President Armstrong was sincere in his testimony that "calling for the death of any group or harassing or discriminating would be subject to discipline," this claim is sadly belied by my own personal experiences. How can such discipline be applied when Cal Poly will not even identify perpetrators or initiate disciplinary processes against them?

As for the professor, to my knowledge, he has yet to face any form of disciplinary consequences for his actions that day. In fact, during the time in which he has been under investigation for antisemitic harassment, he assumed the role of faculty advisor for the Cal Poly chapter of Students for Justice in Palestine. This is directly contrary to President Armstrong's statement that when "alleged antisemitism or harassment occurs, we investigate and impose immediate university discipline." It has been over a year and I am still waiting for such discipline, immediate or otherwise. I put it to the committee that in situations like these, where Jewish students witness the university's inaction for over a year, justice delayed is justice denied. Sadly, none of the new initiatives announced at the May 7th hearing by President Armstrong even begin to address this issue.

I cannot share further details about the university's investigation into this incident because it is still ongoing, but it is my impression that the university has been doing everything it can to shield the professor and protect him from accountability. This includes an outright refusal to release the Cal Poly Police Department's bodycam recording in response to several public records requests, thereby depriving me of key evidence and opportunities to identify potential witnesses for the investigation process. Ironically, Cal Poly used the very existence of this dragged-out investigation as a reason for its denial of these requests, along with some dubious privacy concerns. It is not clear to me what privacy expectation exists which might justify this refusal for the release of police body camera footage of antisemitic comments made during a public protest by an employee of a public university at an event open to the public, and this lack of transparency is yet another issue impeding any real efforts to combat Cal Poly's antisemitism problem.

Finally, I have no reason to doubt the experience of my fellow student who wrote that this professor "initiated a five minute long verbal confrontation" with him "and shoved a Palestinian flag up to his face, violating his personal space" outside the Baker building, or his assessment that the campus police acted properly in that situation. I do wonder, however, why Cal Poly's administration allows its professors to conduct themselves in such a manner toward anyone, much less toward students, without consequence. Nevertheless, the experience recounted by my



fellow Jewish student does not negate what happened afterwards to me, my Jewish friends, and other attendees of the lecture.

While I am glad to hear that these two fellow students who wrote to the Committee feel that there is no systemic antisemitism at Cal Poly in their personal experience, I respectfully disagree. One need look no further than a recent article in the campus newspaper quoting students' reactions to the hearing to find that Cal Poly is the type of place where students apparently feel no compunction about attributing their names to statements like, "All I can hope for is that [President Armstrong] does not embarrass us and actually be a Zionist on a national stage."<sup>1</sup>

President Armstrong, in response to questions from Congresswoman Virginia Foxx, acknowledged that anti-Zionism could constitute national origin discrimination. Yet when I raised concerns that the Cal Poly History Department chose to invite two speakers who openly espouse that view and inquired about inviting a speaker to present an alternative perspective, I was told that the department was not required to do so in the same way that they would not provide an alternative viewpoint on topics such as the Holocaust or racist housing policies. I understood this to mean that a belief that the Jewish state has a right to exist was morally reprehensible and therefore unworthy of academic consideration. I understand that President Armstrong was made aware of this incident due to an article I wrote about the incident,<sup>2</sup> but I have not seen any corrective measures taken.

The new initiatives announced by President Armstrong are a welcome step in the right direction, but what we need now is more than lip service or more "training sessions" to provide "awareness about antisemitism" (though that is needed too). What we need is for Cal Poly to finally take concrete action to enforce its own rules and to sanction antisemitic harassment. I believe the Committee's spotlight on our campus is exactly what we need for this to happen and I wholeheartedly thank the Committee for shining it in our direction.

Sincerely,  
Adira Fogelman, '27

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<sup>1</sup> <https://mustangnews.net/president-armstrong-is-going-to-congress-heres-what-his-students-think/>

<sup>2</sup> <https://jewishjournal.com/commentary/opinion/380224/ideology-over-inquiry-anti-israel-bias-at-cal-poly-slo/>



May 5, 2025

The Honorable Members of the House Education & Workforce Committee

2176 Rayburn House Office Building

Washington, D.C. 20515

Subject: Submission for the Record – Beyond the Ivy League: Stopping the Spread of Antisemitism on American Campuses

Dear Members of the House Education & Workforce Committee,

Chairman Walberg and Ranking Member Scott, thank you for holding this important hearing on the rise of antisemitism on college campuses across the United States. On behalf of Jewish Federations nationwide, we appreciate the opportunity to submit this letter in support of today's hearing.

We write to you today with deep concern regarding the alarming rise of antisemitism, particularly following the horrific attacks of October 7, 2023.

Jewish people are facing unprecedented levels of discrimination, harassment, and exclusion within various institutions across the United States. This issue demands urgent attention and decisive action.

Since October 7, Jewish students on college campuses across the country have experienced high levels of antisemitism and have voiced their deep dissatisfaction with the inadequate response from university administrations. An overwhelming majority of Jewish students report encountering hostility toward Israel on campus, with many feeling compelled to hide their Jewish identity due to fears of harassment or exclusion.

In student-led organizations, Jewish students have been deliberately excluded, as many groups have adopted policies—unrelated to their stated missions—that explicitly declare "Zionists" unwelcome. This type of discrimination has created a chilling environment in which Jewish students feel isolated and unwelcome within their academic communities. Jewish students who express

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**Jason Wuliger**  
Chair of Domestic Policy &  
Government Affairs Council

**Karen Paikin Barall**  
Vice President,  
Government Relations

1275 Pennsylvania Avenue  
NW, Floor 9<sup>th</sup>  
Washington DC 20004

Phone 212-284-6500  
Fax 212-284-6835  
JewishFederations.org

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support for Israel or identify as Zionists often face social ostracization, verbal harassment, and, in some cases, outright physical threats.

These conditions have led to a pervasive sense of fear and insecurity among Jewish students, severely impacting their ability to fully participate in campus life. Universities must be held accountable for ensuring that Jewish students have the same protections and opportunities as their peers—and that academic institutions do not become breeding grounds for unchecked antisemitism.

Anti-Zionism has become a proxy for antisemitism, serving as an excuse to exclude and vilify Jewish people. Given that 90% of Jews worldwide support the Zionist vision of a Jewish state in Israel, this exclusion is nothing short of discrimination. In the wake of Hamas's October 7 attack, the level of harassment, discrimination, and violence against Jews in the United States and worldwide has escalated dramatically. Today, Jews are nearly twice as likely as the general public to fear for their personal safety, with over three-quarters of American Jews feeling less secure since the attacks and nearly half altering their behavior to avoid antisemitic incidents.

Congress has a moral and legal obligation to protect Jewish Americans from discrimination. We urge the swift passage of H.R. 1007, the **Antisemitism Awareness Act**, which will ensure that the Department of Education uses the International Holocaust Remembrance Alliance (IHRA) Working Definition of Antisemitism when evaluating claims of antisemitic discrimination. Additionally, we urge other federal agencies to adopt the IHRA definition to ensure a consistent and comprehensive approach to combating antisemitism across all areas of government enforcement.

The United States has long stood as a beacon of religious freedom and equal opportunity. The alarming rise in antisemitism threatens these fundamental values and must not be tolerated. We urge the Committee and Congress to take decisive action in addressing this crisis and upholding the rights and protections of Jewish Americans.

Thank you for your time and for your commitment to addressing this urgent issue. We appreciate your consideration of this submission.



Sincerely,

**Eric D. Fingerhut**

CEO, Jewish Federations of North America

**Karen Paikin Barall**

Vice President, Government Relations, Jewish Federations of North America



[Additional submissions from Rep. Omar follows:]

**Letter from a Palestinian Political Prisoner in Louisiana**  
**Dictated over the phone from ICE Detention**  
**March 18, 2025**

My name is Mahmoud Khalil and I am a political prisoner. I am writing to you from a detention facility in Louisiana where I wake to cold mornings and spend long days bearing witness to the quiet injustices underway against a great many people precluded from the protections of the law.

Who has the right to have rights? It is certainly not the humans crowded into the cells here. It isn't the Senegalese man I met who has been deprived of his liberty for a year, his legal situation in limbo and his family an ocean away. It isn't the 21-year-old detainee I met, who stepped foot in this country at age nine, only to be deported without so much as a hearing.

Justice escapes the contours of this nation's immigration facilities.

On March 8, I was taken by DHS agents who refused to provide a warrant, and accosted my wife and me as we returned from dinner. By now, the footage of that night has been made public. Before I knew what was happening, agents handcuffed and forced me into an unmarked car. At that moment, my only concern was for Noor's safety. I had no idea if she would be taken too, since the agents had threatened to arrest her for not leaving my side. DHS would not tell me anything for hours — I did not know the cause of my arrest or if I was facing immediate deportation. At 26 Federal Plaza, I slept on the cold floor. In the early morning hours, agents transported me to another facility in Elizabeth, New Jersey. There, I slept on the ground and was refused a blanket despite my request.

My arrest was a direct consequence of exercising my right to free speech as I advocated for a free Palestine and an end to the genocide in Gaza, which resumed in full force Monday night. With January's ceasefire now broken, parents in Gaza are once again cradling too-small shrouds, and families are forced to weigh starvation and displacement against bombs. It is our moral imperative to persist in the struggle for their complete freedom.

I was born in a Palestinian refugee camp in Syria to a family which has been displaced from their land since the 1948 Nakba. I spent my youth in proximity to yet distant from my homeland. But being Palestinian is an experience that transcends borders. I see in my circumstances similarities to Israel's use of administrative detention — imprisonment without trial or charge — to strip Palestinians of their rights. I think of our friend Omar Khatib, who was incarcerated without charge or trial by Israel as he returned home from travel. I think of Gaza hospital director and pediatrician Dr. Hussam Abu Safiya, who was taken captive by the Israeli military on December 27 and remains in an Israeli torture camp today. For Palestinians, imprisonment without due process is commonplace.

I have always believed that my duty is not only to liberate myself from the oppressor, but also to liberate my oppressors from their hatred and fear. My unjust detention is indicative of the anti-Palestinian racism that both the Biden and Trump administrations have demonstrated over the past 16 months as the U.S. has continued to supply Israel with weapons to kill Palestinians and prevented international intervention. For decades, anti-Palestinian racism has driven efforts to expand U.S. laws and practices that are used to violently repress Palestinians, Arab Americans, and other communities. That is precisely why I am being targeted.

While I await legal decisions that hold the futures of my wife and child in the balance, those who enabled my targeting remain comfortably at Columbia University. Presidents Shafik, Armstrong, and Dean Yarhi-Milo laid the groundwork for the U.S. government to target me by arbitrarily disciplining pro-Palestinian students and allowing viral doxing campaigns — based on racism and disinformation — to go unchecked.

Columbia targeted me for my activism, creating a new authoritarian disciplinary office to bypass due process and silence students criticizing Israel. Columbia surrendered to federal pressure by disclosing student records to Congress and yielding to the Trump administration's latest threats. My arrest, the expulsion or suspension of at least 22 Columbia students — some stripped of their B.A. degrees just weeks before graduation — and the expulsion of SWC President Grant Miner on the eve of contract negotiations, are clear examples.

If anything, my detention is a testament to the strength of the student movement in shifting public opinion toward Palestinian liberation. Students have long been at the forefront of change — leading the charge against the Vietnam War, standing on the frontlines of the civil rights movement, and driving the struggle against apartheid in South Africa. Today, too, even if the public has yet to fully grasp it, it is students who steer us toward truth and justice.

The Trump administration is targeting me as part of a broader strategy to suppress dissent. Visa-holders, green-card carriers, and citizens alike will all be targeted for their political beliefs. In the weeks ahead, students, advocates, and elected officials must unite to defend the right to protest for Palestine. At stake are not just our voices, but the fundamental civil liberties of all.

Knowing fully that this moment transcends my individual circumstances, I hope nonetheless to be free to witness the birth of my first-born child.

5/7/25, 2:23 PM

Opinion | Mohsen Mahdawi: I Never Lost Hope in the Principles of Democracy - The New York Times

**The New York Times**<https://www.nytimes.com/2025/05/02/opinion/mohsen-mahdawi-ice-detention.html>

## GUEST ESSAY

# I Was Detained for My Beliefs. Who Will Be Next?

May 2, 2025

Listen to this article · 6:47 min [Learn more](#)**By Mohsen Mahdawi**

Mr. Mahdawi is a Palestinian human rights advocate and Columbia University student.

On April 14, 2025, I was detained during what should have been my citizenship naturalization interview. After more than two weeks of unjust imprisonment, a federal judge ruled in favor of releasing me. In a major victory for democracy, I may be the first of the many student activists who have been detained by the Trump administration to be freed from detention.

The Department of Homeland Security had effectively orchestrated a trap. It dangled the prospect of becoming an American citizen, only for masked agents to apprehend me after I finished the interview and signed a document saying I was willing to take an oath of allegiance. Government agents separated me from my lawyer, who had gone to the appointment with me. They planned to whisk me from my home state, Vermont, to a detention facility in Louisiana.

The trap was not a complete surprise to me. It came after other arrests of students for exercising their right to free speech in opposing Israel's relentless killing and destruction in Gaza. I had prepared by contacting lawyers, my Vermont senators

<https://www.nytimes.com/2025/05/02/opinion/mohsen-mahdawi-ice-detention.html>

1/5

5/7/25, 2:23 PM

Opinion | Mohsen Mahdawi: I Never Lost Hope in the Principles of Democracy - The New York Times

and my House representative, the media and a group of community members. The Department of Homeland Security's plan did not go smoothly, as we missed the flight to Louisiana by minutes. Those few minutes changed the course of my legal case and, ultimately, led to my freedom from detention because I was able to fight for my rights on fair ground. Unlike other students who continue to languish in Immigration and Customs Enforcement custody, I've been afforded the "privilege" to seek justice while not in prison.

Despite spending 16 nights in a jail cell, I never lost hope in the inevitability of justice and the principles of democracy. I wanted to become a citizen of this country because I believe in the principles that it enshrines. When Judge Geoffrey W. Crawford ruled in my favor, he reassured me, along with the American people, that there is still reason to hope in those principles. But the road to justice is long. My freedom is intertwined with the freedom of the other students, who exercised the same free speech rights as I did yet languish in jail, and is intertwined with that of the Palestinians, who are fighting for their right to life and justice, too.

The American government accuses me of undermining U.S. foreign policy, a patently absurd pretext for deportation for political speech that the Trump administration dislikes. The government is scraping the bottom of the barrel in its attempts to smear me. My only "crime" is refusing to accept the slaughter of Palestinians, opposing war and promoting peace. I have simply insisted that international law must be respected. I believe the way to a just and long-lasting peace for Palestinians and Israelis is through diplomacy and restorative justice.

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By seeking to deport me, the Trump administration is sending a clear message: There is no room for dissent, free speech be damned. It seems willing to shield an extremist Israeli government from criticism at the expense of constitutional rights,



all while suppressing the possibility of a peaceful future for both Palestinians and Israelis, a future free of trauma and fear.

I dream of justice and peace, a dream shaped by the nightmarish memories of my childhood. I was born a third-generation refugee in Al-Far'a camp in the West Bank under Israel's apartheid system. When I was 8 years old, I buried my brother when he died a few years after an Israeli military siege blocked his access to medical care, ultimately resulting in fatal health issues. Instead of celebrating my 11th birthday, I walked in my uncle's funeral procession after he was killed by the Israeli military. I witnessed an Israeli soldier kill my best childhood friend when I was 11.

When the Department of Homeland Security took me into custody, the agent apologized in advance but then handcuffed me, chained my hands to my waist and shackled my feet. I jokingly said, while taking short steps, "This is how I do walking meditation," to distract myself from thinking about helpless Palestinians in Israeli jails who were shackled just like me, some of them sexually abused and killed. "Breathe in love, breathe out love," I told myself as we drove away.

In Cell No. C38, where I spent my first night, I saw a flashlight peeking through the darkness as the night guard did his routine check. At that moment I became aware that I was now connected to my grandfather, father, uncles and cousins, who were all also unjustly imprisoned. I prayed that my future children would not suffer the same injustice. As I fell asleep, I thought of the Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King Jr.'s famous quote: "Darkness cannot drive out darkness; only light can do that. Hate cannot drive out hate; only love can do that."

Before moving to the United States in 2014, freedom was an abstract concept for me, something I could barely imagine while living under Israeli military occupation. I sang for freedom, wrote poems about it and dreamed of living it but had never experienced it. I longed for physical freedom — the ability to travel without encountering a military checkpoint — and for the right to free speech, both of which I found in America.

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Opinion | Mohsen Mahdawi: I Never Lost Hope in the Principles of Democracy - The New York Times

Ultimately, I sought American citizenship not only because I did not want to lose the freedom I enjoyed as a permanent resident but even more so because I believe in the principles and values of democracy, which this country stipulates in its founding documents. While America has not always lived up to those values, like Dr. King, I believe they serve as a promise of what's possible.

These very freedoms are under attack today, both for me and for others like me. The Trump administration is hewing to Israel's playbook: Under the thinly veiled guise of security, rights are being denied and due process eliminated. The administration is silencing its critics by deploying Immigration and Customs Enforcement to detain noncitizen dissidents and is compromising the integrity of the immigration system.

Once the repression of dissent, in the name of security, becomes a key objective of a government, authoritarian rule and even martial law are not far off. When they look at my case, all Americans should ask themselves: What is left of our democracy, and who will be targeted next?

Israel's actions in Gaza have resulted in the deaths of more than 52,000 Palestinians since Oct. 7, 2023, according to the Gazan Health Ministry. A majority of the dead are women and children, and a recent study suggests the number is likely a vast undercount. This is a war of madness and revenge that relies on American weapons, funded by U.S. taxpayer dollars and justified by American politicians.

My case reveals how the struggles for justice for Americans and Palestinians are connected. Americans must decide whether to support war or peace, oppression or democracy. If we cannot speak up against the killing of children and what human rights experts have called a genocide in Gaza, what can we speak out against?

Mohsen Mahdawi is a Palestinian human rights advocate based in Vermont. He was born and raised in a refugee camp in the West Bank, and is studying philosophy at Columbia University.

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