IN THE UNITED STATES DISTRICT COURT
FOR THE DISTRICT OF MASSACHUSETTS

PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE, *Plaintiff*, v. UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH AND HUMAN SERVICES, et al., *Defendants*.	Case No. 1:25-CV-11048-ADB
AMERICAN ASSOCIATION OF UNIVERSITY PROFESSORS—HARVARD FACULTY CHAPTER, et al., *Plaintiffs*, v. UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE, et al., *Defendants*.	Case No. 1:25-CV-10910-ADB

JOINT REDACTED ADMINISTRATIVE RECORD ON BEHALF OF PLAINTIFFS AND DEFENDANTS

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From: [redacted]
To: [redacted]
Cc: [redacted]
Subject: Released Mod P00001 Grant No. FA2386-24-1-4070, R&D 24IOA070, Termination, Towards a New Quantum Platform Based on Ultracold Molecules, PI: [redacted]
Date: Thursday, May 15, 2025 2:23:00 PM
Attachments: 26_24IOA070_FA2386-24-1-4070_P00001_Termination_Digital.pdf

[redacted]

We regret to inform you this, but per direction from our Headquarter which is also directed thru White House guidance, we need to terminate the subject grant.

Please find the attached modification document P00001 for R&D grant no. FA2386-24-1-4070 to terminate the grant. Since this is unilateral modification, your signature would not be required. Please just give us your confirmation of receipt and acceptance of this email.

As the attached modification stated, all costs incurred up to the date of this notification must be submitted no later than 30 calendar days from the termination date. Also, please ensure that the reporting requirements are changed by this action.

You do have the option to follow-up with the ombudsman per the terms of the original grant award. Per the terms and conditions of the grant, concerned parties may contact the AFRL Ombudsman, Director of Contracting, HQ AFRL/PK. The AFRL Alternate Ombudsman is the Deputy Director of Contracting, HQ AFRL/PK. Please send an email to: afrl.pk.workflow@us.af.mil, with the subject of "Ombudsman."

V/R,

//SIGNED//

[redacted]
Grants Officer / Purchasing and Contract Specialist
Asian Office of Aerospace Research and Development (AOARD)
Detachment 2 of the Air Force Office of Scientific Research
Unit 45002, APO AP 96337-5002
[redacted]

[redacted]

Grant/Cooperative Agreement Modification

1. AWARD NO.	2. MODIFICATION NO.	3. EFFECTIVE DATE	4. PURCHASE REQUEST NO.	PAGE OF
FA2386-24-1-4070	P00001	15 MAY 2025	See Block 9	1 3

5. ISSUE BY AOARD CODE FA2386
ASIAN OFFICE OF AEROSPACE R&D
[redacted]

6. AWARDED TO CAGE CODE 1NQH4
PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE
OFFICE FOR SPONSORED PROGRAMS
1033 MASSACHUSETTS AVE STE 3
CAMBRIDGE MA 02138-5366
(617) 495-1817

9. ALLOCATED FUNDING: The following funds with associated Accounting Classification reference number(s) (ACRNs) are allotted to this agreement:

ACRN	FUND CITATION(s)	AMOUNT

SPECIAL INSTRUCTIONS: N/A
PAYING OFFICE INSTRUCTIONS: N/A
PAYMENT SCHEDULE (if applicable): N/A

10. FUNDING HISTORY:	Government Share	11. Recipient Share	12. Total
Previously Obligated:	$200,000.00	$0.00	$200,000.00
Obligated by this Action:	$0.00	$0.00	$0.00
Total Obligated to date:	$200,000.00	$0.00	$200,000.00
13.TOTAL AWARD AMOUNT CHANGE	$0.00	$0.00	$0.00

14. DESCRIPTION OF MODIFICATION

SEE SCHEDULE

FOR THE RECIPIENT		FOR THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA	
15. SIGNATURE		16. SIGNATURE	
17. NAME AND TITLE	18. DATE SIGNED	19. NAME AND TITLE [redacted] GRANTS OFFICER	20. DATE SIGNED 15 MAY 2025

ConWrite Version 7.7.4.0
Created 15 May 2025 2:10 PM

The subject grant award no longer effectuates the program goals or agency priorities as found in 2 CFR 200.340(a)(4) as incorporated into the DoD Research and Developmental General Terms and Conditions for grants by reference. This Grant is hereby terminated.

All costs incurred up to the date of this notification must be submitted no later than 30 calendar days from the termination date.

As a result, the period of performance is reduced from 36 months to 8 months as follows:
FROM: 25 SEP 2024 through 24 SEP 2027 TO: 25 SEP 2024 through 15 MAY 2025

As the subject grant no longer effectuates the program goals or agency priorities, the closeout requirement for a final tehcnial report is hereby waived. Reporting requirements are revised as below.

Also, the Government program manager is changed as follows:
FROM: [redacted]
TO: [redacted]

All other closeout requirements remain unchanged. All other terms and conditions remain the same.

RESEARCH TITLE: Quantum sensing for entangled millimeter-wave photons
PI: [redacted]
PO: [redacted]

REPORTING REQUIREMENTS

The following reports must be submitted. Reports are due on or before the following dates.

Interim and Final Interim Research Performance Progress Reports (RPPR): You must submit reports in accordance with the chart below.

TYPE OF REPORT	DUE DATE	SUBMIT TO
Final Invention Report	13 AUG 2025	Program Officer**, Grants Officer & afosr.aoard.deliverables@us.af.mil
Final Federal Financial Report, *including line item 11*	14 JUN 2025	Program Officer**, Grants Officer, afosr.aoard.deliverables@us.af.mil & Grant Admin Office (Block 12 of Grant Award Form)
Quarterly Federal Financial Report (SF 425)	*See below	Grant Admin Office (Block 12 of Grant Award Form)

* SF425 Quarterly Federal Financial Reports are required if any payment is made by an advance. The quarterly end dates that must be used are 31 Mar, 30 Jun, 30 Sep, and 31 Dec. The reports must be submitted within thirty (30) days after the end of each reporting period.

Quarterly Federal Financial Reports (SF 425) are not required if all payments are by reimbursement.

** The Program Manager/Officer is shown on page 1 of the basic Grant award in Block 15.

All records pertinent to this award must be retained for a period of at least three years from the date of submission of the Final Federal Financial Report.

[redacted]

From: [redacted]
Sent: Thursday, May 15, 2025 1:54 PM
To: [redacted]
Cc: [redacted]

Subject: Released Mod P00001 Grant No. FA2386-24-1-4073 R&D 24IOA073, Quantum sensing for entangled millimeter-wave photons, PI: [redacted]
Attachments: 26_24IOA073_FA2386-24-1-4073_P00001_Termination_Digital.pdf

Dear [redacted]

Please find attached the official grant modification document, reflecting the termination of the subject grant.

1. Attached is a copy of the grant termination notice. Please ensure the Principal Investigator, courtesy copied herein, receives a copy of this document.
2. Should you have any questions regarding this action, please contact me.

We appreciate your attention to this matter.

Very respectfully,

[redacted]
Asian Office of Aerospace Research and Development (AOARD) Detachment 2 of
the Air Force Office of Scientific Research Unit 45002, APO AP 96337-5002
[redacted]

CONFIDENTIALITY: This email is intended solely for the person(s) named and may be confidential and/or privileged. If you are not the intended recipient, please delete it, notify us and do not copy, use, or disclose its content.

Grant/Cooperative Agreement Modification

1. AWARD NO.	2. MODIFICATION NO.	3. EFFECTIVE DATE	4. PURCHASE REQUEST NO.	PAGE OF
FA2386-24-1-4073	P00001	15 MAY 2025	See Block 9	1 3

5. ISSUE BY AOARD CODE FA2386
ASIAN OFFICE OF AEROSPACE R&D
[redacted]

6. AWARDED TO CAGE CODE 1NQH4
PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE
OFFICE FOR SPONSORED PROGRAMS
1033 MASSACHUSETTS AVE STE 3
CAMBRIDGE MA 02138-5366
(617) 495-1817

9. ALLOCATED FUNDING: The following funds with associated Accounting Classification reference number(s) (ACRNs) are allotted to this agreement:

ACRN	FUND CITATION(s)	AMOUNT

SPECIAL INSTRUCTIONS: N/A
PAYING OFFICE INSTRUCTIONS: N/A
PAYMENT SCHEDULE (if applicable): N/A

10. FUNDING HISTORY:	Government Share	11. Recipient Share	12. Total
Previously Obligated:	$200,000.00	$0.00	$200,000.00
Obligated by this Action:	$0.00	$0.00	$0.00
Total Obligated to date:	$200,000.00	$0.00	$200,000.00
13.TOTAL AWARD AMOUNT CHANGE	$0.00	$0.00	$0.00

14. DESCRIPTION OF MODIFICATION

SEE SCHEDULE

FOR THE RECIPIENT		FOR THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA	
15. SIGNATURE		16. SIGNATURE	
17. NAME AND TITLE	18. DATE SIGNED	19. NAME AND TITLE [redacted] GRANTS OFFICER	20. DATE SIGNED 15 MAY 2025

ConWrite Version 7.7.4.0
Created 15 May 2025 11:41 AM

The subject grant award no longer effectuates the program goals or agency priorities as found in 2 CFR 200.340(a)(4) as incorporated into the DoD Research and Developmental General Terms and Conditions for grants by reference. This Grant is hereby terminated.

All costs incurred up to the date of this notification must be submitted no later than 30 calendar days from the termination date.

As a result, the period of performance is reduced from 36 months to 8 months as follows:
FROM: 23 SEP 2024 through 22 SEP 2027 TO: 23 SEP 2024 through 15 MAY 2025

As the subject grant no longer effectuates the program goals or agency priorities, the closeout requirement for a final tehcnial report is hereby waived. Reporting requirements are revised on the continuation page (pg. 2).

Also, the Government program manager is changed as follows:
FROM: [redacted]
TO: [redacted]

All other closeout requirements remain unchanged. All other terms and conditions remain the same.

RESEARCH TITLE: Quantum sensing for entangled millimeter-wave photons
PI: [redacted]
PO: [redacted]

REPORTING REQUIREMENTS

The following reports must be submitted. Reports are due on or before the following dates.

Interim and Final Interim Research Performance Progress Reports (RPPR): You must submit reports in accordance with the chart below.

TYPE OF REPORT	DUE DATE	SUBMIT TO
Final Invention Report	13 AUG 2025	Program Officer**, Grants Officer & afosr.aoard.deliverables@us.af.mil
Final Federal Financial Report, *including line item 11*	14 JUN 2025	Program Officer**, Grants Officer, afosr.aoard.deliverables@us.af.mil & Grant Admin Office (Block 12 of Grant Award Form)
Quarterly Federal Financial Report (SF 425)	*See below	Grant Admin Office (Block 12 of Grant Award Form)

* SF425 Quarterly Federal Financial Reports are required if any payment is made by an advance. The quarterly end dates that must be used are 31 Mar, 30 Jun, 30 Sep, and 31 Dec. The reports must be submitted within thirty (30) days after the end of each reporting period.

Quarterly Federal Financial Reports (SF 425) are not required if all payments are by reimbursement.

** The Program Manager/Officer is shown on page 1 of the basic Grant award in Block 15.

All records pertinent to this award must be retained for a period of at least three years from the date of submission of the Final Federal Financial Report.

From: [redacted]
To:
Cc: [redacted]
Subject: Distribution for Termination of FA9550-20-1-0323 P00005
Date: Wednesday, May 14, 2025 9:43:00 AM
Attachments: FA9550-20-1-0323 P00005 Signed.pdf

Dear Sir/Madam,

1. Attached is a copy of subject grant document. Request a copy of the award document be forwarded to the principal investigator as necessary.
2. Any questions concerning this award may be directed to the AFOSR PK Grants Officer monitoring this grant.

Regards,
[redacted]

[redacted]
Contracting Specialist
Air Force Research Laboratories
Office of Scientific Research (AFOSR)
[redacted]

Grant/Cooperative Agreement Modification

1. AWARD NO.	2. MODIFICATION NO.	3. EFFECTIVE DATE	4. PURCHASE REQUEST NO.	PAGE OF
FA9550-20-1-0323	P00005	14 MAY 2025	See Block 9	1 2

5. ISSUE BY AFRL/RBKR1 CODE FA9550
USAF, AFRL DUNS 143574726
AF OFFICE OF SCIENTIFIC RESEARCH
[redacted]

6. AWARDED TO CAGE CODE 1NQH4
PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE
OFFICE FOR SPONSORED PROGRAMS
1033 MASSACHUSETTS AVE STE 3
CAMBRIDGE MA 02138-5366
(617) 495-5501

9. ALLOCATED FUNDING: The following funds with associated Accounting Classification reference number(s) (ACRNs) are allotted to this agreement:

ACRN	FUND CITATION(s)	AMOUNT

SPECIAL INSTRUCTIONS: PAYMENT WILL BE MADE BY ELECTRONIC FUNDS TRANSFER.
PAYING OFFICE INSTRUCTIONS: Use Earliest Cited Funds First for Payment
PAYMENT SCHEDULE (if applicable): N/A. Submit an SF 270 Request for Reimbursement through WAWF iRAPT at https://piee.eb.mil for payment.

10. FUNDING HISTORY:	Government Share	11. Recipient Share	12. Total
Previously Obligated:	$7,500,000.00	$0.00	$7,500,000.00
Obligated by this Action:	$0.00	$0.00	$0.00
Total Obligated to date:	$7,500,000.00	$0.00	$7,500,000.00
13.TOTAL AWARD AMOUNT CHANGE	$0.00	$0.00	$0.00

14. DESCRIPTION OF MODIFICATION

The subject grant award no longer effectuates the program goals or agency priorities as found in 2 CFR 200.340(a)(4) as incorporated into the DoD Research and Development General Terms and Conditions for grants by reference. This grant is hereby terminated.

All costs incurred up to the date of this notification must be submitted no later than 30 calendar days from the termination date. As a result, the period of performance is reduced as follows:

FROM: 01 SEP 2020 - 31 AUG 2025
TO: 01 SEP 2020 - 14 MAY 2025

As the subject grant no longer effectuates the program goals or agency priorities, the closeout requirement for a final technical report is hereby waived. All other closeout requirements remain unchanged.

Reporting requirements are revised on the continuation page (pg. 2).

FOR THE RECIPIENT		FOR THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA	
15. SIGNATURE		16. SIGNATURE	
17. NAME AND TITLE	18. DATE SIGNED	19. NAME AND TITLE [redacted] GRANTS OFFICER	20. DATE SIGNED 14 MAY 2025

ConWrite Version 7.7.4.0
Created 14 May 2025 9:35 AM

Grant/Cooperative Agreement Modification

1. AWARD NO.	2. MODIFICATION NO.	3. EFFECTIVE DATE	4. PURCHASE REQUEST NO.	PAGE OF
FA9550-22-1-0345	P00003	14 MAY 2025	See Block 9	1 2

5. ISSUE BY AFRL/RBKS1 CODE FA9550
USAF, AFRL DUNS 143574726
AF OFFICE OF SCIENTIFIC RESEARCH
[redacted]

6. AWARDED TO CAGE CODE 1NQH4
PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE
OFFICE FOR SPONSORED PROGRAMS
1033 MASSACHUSETTS AVE STE 3
CAMBRIDGE MA 02138-5366
(617) 495-5501

9. ALLOCATED FUNDING: The following funds with associated Accounting Classification reference number(s) (ACRNs) are allotted to this agreement:

ACRN	FUND CITATION(s)	AMOUNT

SPECIAL INSTRUCTIONS: Payment will be made by Electronic Funds Transfer (EFT).
PAYING OFFICE INSTRUCTIONS: Use Earliest Cited Funds First for Payment.
PAYMENT SCHEDULE (if applicable): N/A. Submit a SF 270 Request for Reimbursement through WAWF at https://piee.eb.mil for payment.

10. FUNDING HISTORY:	Government Share	11. Recipient Share	12. Total
Previously Obligated:	$663,231.00	$0.00	$663,231.00
Obligated by this Action:	$0.00	$0.00	$0.00
Total Obligated to date:	$663,231.00	$0.00	$663,231.00
13.TOTAL AWARD AMOUNT CHANGE	$0.00	$0.00	$0.00

14. DESCRIPTION OF MODIFICATION

The subject grant award no longer effectuates the program goals or agency priorities as found in 2 CFR 200.340(a)(4) as incorporated into the DoD Research and Development General Terms and Conditions for grants by reference. This grant is hereby terminated.

All costs incurred up to the date of this notification must be submitted no later than 30 calendar days from the termination date. As a result, the period of performance is reduced as follows:

FROM: 01 SEP 2022 - 31 AUG 2025 TO: 01 SEP 2022 - 14 MAY 2025

As the subject grant no longer effectuates the program goals or agency priorities, the closeout requirement for a final technical report is hereby waived. All other closeout requirements remain unchanged. Reporting requirements are revised on the continuation page (pg. 2).

FOR THE RECIPIENT		FOR THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA	
15. SIGNATURE		16. SIGNATURE	
17. NAME AND TITLE	18. DATE SIGNED	19. NAME AND TITLE [redacted] GRANTS OFFICER	20. DATE SIGNED

ConWrite Version 7.7.4.0
Created 13 May 2025 3:48 PM

REPORTING REQUIREMENTS (REVISED)

TYPE OF REPORT	DUE DATE	SUBMIT TO
Final Federal Financial Report, (SF 425) including line item 11	13 JUN 2025	Grant Admin Office (Block 12 of Grant Award Form) & afrl.afosr.pkcontracting@us.af.mil
Quarterly Federal Financial Report (SF 425)	*See below	Grant Admin Office (Block 12 of Grant Award Form)

** The Program Manager/Officer is shown on page 1 of the basic Grant award in Block 15.

* SF 425 Quarterly Federal Financial Reports are required if any payment is made by an advance. The quarterly end dates that must be used are 31 Mar, 30 Jun, 30 Sep, and 31 Dec. The reports must be submitted within thirty (30) days after the end of each reporting period.

Quarterly Federal Financial Reports (SF 425) are not required if all payments are by reimbursement.

AFOSR prefers Performance Reports be submitted electronically, however, if the awardee does not have access to electronic means, send paper copies of Performance Reports to the appropriate Program Manager and office symbol listed in Block 15 of page 1 of the basic grant award at the following address: [redacted]

All records pertinent to this award must be retained for a period of at least three years from the date of submission of the Final Federal Financial Report.

The remainder of this page is intentionally left blank.

From: [redacted]
To:
Cc:
Subject: Distribution of Award FA9550-23-1-0040 P00004 Termination
Date: Tuesday, May 13, 2025 5:58:00 PM
Attachments: FA9550-23-1-0040 P00004.pdf

Good evening,

Please find attached the subject grant modification. If you have any questions regarding this grant please let me know.

Thank you

[redacted]

[redacted]
Grants, OT, & Contracting Officer
Air Force Office of Scientific Research
[redacted]

Grant/Cooperative Agreement Modification

1. AWARD NO.	2. MODIFICATION NO.	3. EFFECTIVE DATE	4. PURCHASE REQUEST NO.	PAGE OF
FA9550-23-1-0429	P00002	14 MAY 2025	See Block 9	1 2

5. ISSUE BY AFRL/RBKS1 CODE FA9550
USAF, AFRL DUNS 143574726
AF OFFICE OF SCIENTIFIC RESEARCH
[redacted]

6. AWARDED TO CAGE CODE 1NQH4
PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE
OFFICE FOR SPONSORED PROGRAMS
1033 MASSACHUSETTS AVE STE 3
CAMBRIDGE MA 02138-5366
(617) 495-5501

9. ALLOCATED FUNDING: The following funds with associated Accounting Classification reference number(s) (ACRNs) are allotted to this agreement:

ACRN	FUND CITATION(s)	AMOUNT

SPECIAL INSTRUCTIONS: PAYMENT WILL BE MADE BY ELECTRONIC FUNDS TRANSFER.
PAYING OFFICE INSTRUCTIONS: Use Earliest Cited Funds First for Payment
PAYMENT SCHEDULE (if applicable): N/A. Submit a SF 270 Request for Reimbursement through WAWF at https://piee.eb.mil for payment.

10. FUNDING HISTORY:	Government Share	11. Recipient Share	12. Total
Previously Obligated:	$233,624.00	$0.00	$233,624.00
Obligated by this Action:	$0.00	$0.00	$0.00
Total Obligated to date:	$233,624.00	$0.00	$233,624.00
13.TOTAL AWARD AMOUNT CHANGE	-$122,366.00	$0.00	-$122,366.00

14. DESCRIPTION OF MODIFICATION

The subject grant award no longer effectuates the program goals or agency priorities as found in 2 CFR 200.340(a)(4) as incorporated into the DoD Research and Development General Terms and Conditions for grants by reference. This grant is hereby terminated.

All costs incurred up to the date of this notification must be submitted no later than 30 calendar days from the termination date. As a result, the period of performance is reduced as follows:

FROM: 01 JUL 2023 - 30 JUN 2026 TO: 01 JUL 2023 - 14 MAY 2025

As the subject grant no longer effectuates the program goals or agency priorities, the closeout requirement for a final technical report is hereby waived. All other closeout requirements remain unchanged. Reporting requirements are revised on the continuation page (pg. 2).

FOR THE RECIPIENT		FOR THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA	
15. SIGNATURE		16. SIGNATURE	
17. NAME AND TITLE	18. DATE SIGNED	19. NAME AND TITLE [redacted] GRANTS OFFICER	20. DATE SIGNED

ConWrite Version 7.7.4.0
Created 13 May 2025 4:02 PM

REPORTING REQUIREMENTS (REVISED)

TYPE OF REPORT	DUE DATE	SUBMIT TO
Final Federal Financial Report, (SF 425) including line item 11	13 JUN 2025	Grant Admin Office (Block 12 of Grant Award Form) & afrl.afosr.pkcontracting@us.af.mil
Quarterly Federal Financial Report (SF 425)	*See below	Grant Admin Office (Block 12 of Grant Award Form)

** The Program Manager/Officer is shown on page 1 of the basic Grant award in Block 15.

* SF 425 Quarterly Federal Financial Reports are required if any payment is made by an advance. The quarterly end dates that must be used are 31 Mar, 30 Jun, 30 Sep, and 31 Dec. The reports must be submitted within thirty (30) days after the end of each reporting period.

Quarterly Federal Financial Reports (SF 425) are not required if all payments are by reimbursement.

AFOSR prefers Performance Reports be submitted electronically, however, if the awardee does not have access to electronic means, send paper copies of Performance Reports to the appropriate Program Manager and office symbol listed in Block 15 of page 1 of the basic grant award at the following address: [redacted]

All records pertinent to this award must be retained for a period of at least three years from the date of submission of the Final Federal Financial Report.

The remainder of this page is intentionally left blank.

[redacted]

From: [redacted]
Sent: Tuesday, May 13, 2025 2:07 PM
To: [redacted]
Cc: [redacted]

Subject: SUSPENSION OF WORK NOTICE FA8750-22-1-0500

Good afternoon,

Given this is an assistance instrument governed by the Code of Federal Regulations, Title 32, Subchapter C, DoD Grant and Agreement Regulations, there is no formal stop work order clause to enforce. However, please be advised that this email serves as a suspension of work notice effective immediately and notice that a termination mod is forthcoming per direction of SecDef.

Please confirm receipt of this email.

Thank you,

[redacted]
Contracting Officer
AFRL/RIKF
[redacted]

Grant/Cooperative Agreement Modification

1. AWARD NO.	2. MODIFICATION NO.	3. EFFECTIVE DATE	4. PURCHASE REQUEST NO.	PAGE OF
FA8750-22-1-0500	P00008	13 MAY 2025	See Block 9	1 2

5. ISSUE BY AFRL/RIKF CODE FA8750
USAF, AFMC
AIR FORCE RESEARCH LABORATORY
[redacted]

6. AWARDED TO CAGE CODE 1NQH4
PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE
OFFICE FOR SPONSORED PROGRAMS
1033 MASSACHUSETTS AVE STE 3
CAMBRIDGE MA 02138-5366
(617) 495-5501

9. ALLOCATED FUNDING: The following funds with associated Accounting Classification reference number(s) (ACRNs) are allotted to this agreement:

ACRN	FUND CITATION(s)	AMOUNT

SPECIAL INSTRUCTIONS: PAYMENT WILL BE MADE BY ELECTRONIC FUNDS TRANSFER.
PAYING OFFICE INSTRUCTIONS:
PAYMENT SCHEDULE (if applicable):

10. FUNDING HISTORY:	Government Share	11. Recipient Share	12. Total
Previously Obligated:	$456,000.00	$0.00	$456,000.00
Obligated by this Action:	$0.00	$0.00	$0.00
Total Obligated to date:	$456,000.00	$0.00	$456,000.00
13.TOTAL AWARD AMOUNT CHANGE	$0.00	$0.00	$0.00

14. DESCRIPTION OF MODIFICATION
The purpose of this modification is to terminate the Grant in accordance with Article 2.011.

FOR THE RECIPIENT		FOR THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA	
15. SIGNATURE		16. SIGNATURE	
17. NAME AND TITLE	18. DATE SIGNED	19. NAME AND TITLE [redacted] GRANTS OFFICER	20. DATE SIGNED 13 MAY 2025

ConWrite Version 7.7.4.0
Created 13 May 2025 2:41 PM

1. In accordance with Article 2.011 TERMINATION, this Grant is hereby terminated due to Secretary of Defense notification dated 13 May 2025.

2. Continuation of Block 8 is revised to read as follows:

Continuation of Block 8, Period of Performance:
Period of Performance: approximately 32 months after the effective date of agreement.
Technical Completion Date: 13 MAY 2025
Final Performance Report Due Date: NOT REQUIRED

3. LIMITATION. All other terms and conditions of this agreement remain unchanged.

[redacted]

From: [redacted]
Sent: Tuesday, May 13, 2025 2:05 PM
To: [redacted]
Cc:

Subject: Notice of Termination of Awards

[redacted]

As of today, 13 May 2025, your institution is required to stop work and cease incurring costs related to the listed awards below. These awards are terminated with an effective date of today 13 May 2025, in accordance with 2 CFR 200.340(a)(4) which states "The Federal award may be terminated in part or its entirety as follows: By the Federal agency or pass-through entity pursuant to the terms and conditions of the Federal award, including, to the extent authorized by law, if an award no longer effectuates the program goals or agency priorities."

A termination modification will be forthcoming shortly after this message. In the interim, please provide the Government with a summary of costs incurred to date so that they can be reviewed and authorized for final payment.

Please acknowledge receipt of this email and provide a point of contract related to this matter.

Awards that are terminated:
W911NF-19-2-0168
W911NF-20-1-0021
W911NF-20-1-0082
W911NF-20-1-0163
W911NF-21-2-0146
W911NF-21-2-0147
W911NF-22-1-0219
W911NF-22-1-0248
W911NF-23-2-0219
W911NF-24-1-0079
W911NF-24-2-0195

If you have any questions, please let me know.

[redacted]
Procurement Contracting/Grants/Agreements Officer
US Army Contracting Command -APG-RTP Division (CCAP-MDR)
[redacted]

DEPARTMENT OF THE NAVY

[redacted]

IN REPLY REFER TO:

ONR 253
ONR Grants
May 13, 2025

Harvard University
Attn: [redacted]
1033 Massachusetts Ave Ste 3
Cambridge MA

Subject: ONR Grants for Termination

Dear [redacted]

On May 13, 2025, the Secretary of Defense identified grants that are not aligned with DoD priorities and directed termination. The terminations will either be issued unilaterally by the Government or by mutual agreement based on the terms and conditions in the grant.

In accordance with Section C. Termination, OAR Article III of the DoD Research and Development General Terms and Conditions (SEPT 2023), the grants listed below are hereby unilaterally terminated in their entirety as they no longer effectuate the program goals or agency priorities.

Grants with Sept 2023 T&C's

Principal Investigator	Grant number	Title
[redacted]	N000142312684	FISH SKIN AS A MULTIFUNCTIONAL HYDRODYNAMIC MATERIAL
[redacted]	N000142312802	TOWARDS DISTRIBUTED AND ONLINE PARTIALLY OBSERVABLE STOCHASTIC CAMOUFLAGE GAMES
[redacted]	N000142412081	NON-ABELIAN ANYON BRAIDING IN CORBINO TOPOLOGICAL JOSEPHSON JUNCTIONS
[redacted]	N000142412282	MICROPOROUS WATER FOR IN VIVO GAS ABSORPTION
[redacted]	N000142412704	COLLECTIVE DECISION MAKING WITH LARGE LANGUAGE MODELS
[redacted]	N000142412726	SUPPORTING HUMAN LEARNING IN THE CONTEXT OF AI-ASSISTED DECISION-MAKING

Recipients should terminate any further actions to limit expenses incurred as of the date of receipt of this notice of termination. The recipient remains responsible for compliance with the post award requirements of OAR Articles VI and VII of the DoD Research and Development General Terms and Conditions (SEPT 2023).

In accordance with DoD Research and Development General Terms and Conditions, OAR Article III. Remedies and Termination. (T&C Date see list below) Section C.1.b, the grants listed below are being mutually terminated. Therefore, you are asked to reply by May 20, 2025, with proposed termination conditions, including a reasonable effective date for consideration and discussions, as necessary, to reach an agreement quickly.

Grants and T&C dates are listed below.

Principal Investigator	Grant Number	Title	T&C date
[redacted]	N000142112478	MATERIALS DESIGN FOR THERMAL RADIATION BLOCKING THERMAL BARRIER COATINGS	Mar-21
[redacted]	N000142112664	EXPLORATION OF KACS WALK AND ANALYSIS OF BAYESIAN DISTRIBUTED COMPUTING	Mar-21
[redacted]	N000142112958	PROGRAMMABLE ASSEMBLY OF FUNCTIONAL HUMAN TISSUES	Mar-21
[redacted]	N000142212470	CARBON DIOXIDE REDUCTION CATALYSIS TO ELIMINATE THE NEED FOR REBREATHERS IN DIVING OPERATIONS	Sep-21
[redacted]	N000142212739	AQUEOUS POROUS LIQUIDS FOR UNDERSEA MEDICINE	Sep-21
[redacted]	N000142312051	BRAIN INSPIRED NEURAL COMPUTATION OF STRUCTURED KNOWLEDGE	Sep-21
[redacted]	N000142312489	ESTIMATING THE TREATMENT EFFECT IN HIGH-DIMENSIONS UNDER INTERFERENCE	Sep-21
[redacted]	N000142512128	SELF-REGULATING SURFACES THAT MITIGATE DETRIMENTAL CHANGES IN MARINE CONDITIONS	Oct-24
[redacted]	N000142512129	DURIP: ENHANCING ELECTROMAGNETIC WAVE COUPLING TO TOPOLOGICAL QUANTUM STATES IN LOW DIMENSIONAL MATERIALS	Oct-24
[redacted]	N000142512152	GENERATING BREATHABLE OXYGEN FROM SEAWATER FOR UNDERWATER OPERATIONS	Oct-24
[redacted]	N000142512153	SOCIAL CHOICE FOR AI ALIGNMENT	Oct-24

If you have any questions, please contact [redacted]

Sincerely,

[redacted]
Grants Officer

Cc: (PI's)
(PO's)
[redacted]

From: [redacted]
To: [redacted]
Cc:
Subject: RE: Termination Notice for HR00112220036-ASKEM
Date: Thursday, May 15, 2025 10:00:08 AM

Dear [redacted]

Thank you for contacting me. I am writing to confirm receipt of this termination notice.

Yours,

[redacted]

[redacted]
Harvard Medical School | **Office of Research Administration (ORA)**

Please note: my standard hours are 9:30am-5:30pm EST Monday-Friday

From: [redacted]
Sent: Tuesday, May 13, 2025 4:14 PM
To: [redacted]
Cc: [redacted]
Subject: Termination Notice for HR00112220036-ASKEM
Importance: High

[redacted]

As a follow up to the VM I just left you, please find the attached termination notice for the above referenced Cooperative Agreement. Thank you for the efforts Harvard as expended supporting this program. Please reach out with any questions.

Respectfully,

[redacted]
Contracting, Grants, and Agreements Officer
Defense Advanced Research Projects Agency (DARPA)
Contracts Management Office (CMO)
[redacted]



DEFENSE ADVANCED RESEARCH PROJECTS AGENCY
[redacted]

May 13, 2025

Via Electronic Mail: [redacted]

[redacted]

President & Fellows of Harvard College
Harvard Medical School
Office of Research Administration
25 Shattuck St
Boston, MA 02115-6027

Subject: Notice of Termination of Cooperative Agreement HR00112220036

Dear [redacted]

In accordance with 2 CFR § 200.341(a), this document serves as the notice of termination of the subject cooperative agreement. The Government is unilaterally terminating this cooperative agreement in whole, in accordance with 2 CFR § 200.340(a)(4), because this cooperative agreement no longer effectuates the program goals or agency priorities. This termination is also executed in accordance with OAR Article III. Remedies and Termination, Section C. Termination Paragraph 1.a.iii of DoD R&D General Terms and Conditions January 2022. This termination is effective May 13, 2025 and will be followed with a unilateral modification to the cooperative agreement for your records once a settlement agreement has been reached.

The termination of the aforementioned cooperative agreement shall be subject to the settlement of any outstanding obligations. Pursuant to 2 CFR § 200.343, the allowability of costs incurred prior to the termination date will be assessed in accordance with applicable cost principles. No additional obligations or expenditures shall be incurred on or after the termination date without express written authorization from this office. It is the Government's position to de-obligate all remaining funds.

You shall take the following steps:

(a) Stop all programmatic activities authorized under the cooperative agreement, discontinue any planned expenditures or commitments, and refrain from initiating any new work, subawards, or obligations related to the project.
(b) Keep adequate records of your compliance showing the—
    a. Date you received the Notice of Termination;
    b. Effective date of the termination; and
    c. Extent of completion of performance on the effective date.
(c) Furnish notice of termination to each immediate subawardee that will be affected by this termination. In the notice, specify your government cooperative agreement number and state that the cooperative agreement has been terminated completely. Provide instructions to stop all work, discontinue any planned expenditures or commitments, and refrain from initiating any new work, subawards, or obligations related to the project, and terminate all subawardees under the cooperative agreement; provide instructions to submit any settlement proposal promptly; and request that similar notices and instructions be given to its immediate subawardees.
(d) Take any other action required by the GO or under the Termination terms of the cooperative agreement.

Additionally, the Government asks that you adhere to the closeout guidance as provided in 2 CFR § 200.344 "Closeout". Matters not covered by this notice should be brought to the attention of the undersigned. Upon completion of the above but no later than 30 days from the date of this letter, please provide a settlement proposal for this termination. Please acknowledge receipt of this notice as provided below.

Sincerely,

[redacted]

Grants Officer
Contracts Management Office

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT OF NOTICE

The undersigned acknowledges receipt of a signed copy of this notice on _____, 20____.

_____
President & Fellows of Harvard College
Harvard Medical School

By _____
(Name)

_____
(Title)

From: [redacted]
To: [redacted]
Cc: [redacted]
Subject: Termination Notice for HR00112220036-ASKEM
Date: Tuesday, May 13, 2025 4:13:35 PM
Attachments: Termination Letter-ASKEM-HR00112220036-Signed.pdf
Importance: High

[redacted]

As a follow up to the VM I just left you, please find the attached termination notice for the above referenced Cooperative Agreement. Thank you for the efforts Harvard as expended supporting this program. Please reach out with any questions.

Respectfully,

[redacted]
Contracting, Grants, and Agreements Officer
Defense Advanced Research Projects Agency (DARPA)
Contracts Management Office (CMO)
[redacted]

From: [redacted]
To: [redacted]
Cc: [redacted]
Subject: Termination of AFOSR Grant Award: FA9550-22-1-0345 P00003
Date: Wednesday, May 14, 2025 9:02:00 AM
Attachments: FA9550-22-1-0345 P00003.pdf

Good morning:

The attached document contains the termination modification for FA9550-22-1-0345. Revised reporting requirements can be found on page 2 of the attached document.

Please let me know if you have any questions.

Thank you,

[redacted]

[redacted]
Contracting Officer | Grants Officer
Air Force Office of Scientific Research | Air Force Research Laboratory
[redacted]

From: [redacted]
To: [redacted]
Cc: [redacted]
Subject: Termination of AFOSR Grant: FA9550-23-1-0429 P00002
Date: Wednesday, May 14, 2025 9:12:00 AM
Attachments: FA9550-23-1-0429 P00002.pdf

Good morning:

The attached document contains the termination modification for FA9550-23-1-0429. Revised reporting requirements can be found on page 2 of the attached document.

Please let me know if you have any questions.

Thank you,

[redacted]

[redacted]
Contracting Officer | Grants Officer
Air Force Office of Scientific Research | Air Force Research Laboratory
[redacted]

Grant/Cooperative Agreement Modification

1. AWARD NO.	2. MODIFICATION NO.	3. EFFECTIVE DATE	4. PURCHASE REQUEST NO.	PAGE OF
FA9550-23-1-0040	P00004	14 MAY 2025	See Block 9	1 2

5. ISSUE BY AFRL/RBKS2 CODE FA9550
USAF, AFRL DUNS 143574726
AF OFFICE OF SCIENTIFIC RESEARCH
[redacted]

6. AWARDED TO CAGE CODE 1NQH4
PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE
OFFICE FOR SPONSORED PROGRAMS
1033 MASSACHUSETTS AVE STE 3
CAMBRIDGE MA 02138-5366
(617) 495-5501

9. ALLOCATED FUNDING: The following funds with associated Accounting Classification reference number(s) (ACRNs) are allotted to this agreement:

ACRN	FUND CITATION(s)	AMOUNT

SPECIAL INSTRUCTIONS: PAYMENT WILL BE MADE BY ELECTRONIC FUNDS TRANSFER.
PAYING OFFICE INSTRUCTIONS: Use Earliest Cited Funds First for Payment
PAYMENT SCHEDULE (if applicable): N/A. Submit a SF 270 Request for Reimbursement through WAWF at https://piee.eb.mil for payment.

10. FUNDING HISTORY:	Government Share	11. Recipient Share	12. Total
Previously Obligated:	$675,915.00	$0.00	$675,915.00
Obligated by this Action:	$0.00	$0.00	$0.00
Total Obligated to date:	$675,915.00	$0.00	$675,915.00
13.TOTAL AWARD AMOUNT CHANGE	$0.00	$0.00	$0.00

14. DESCRIPTION OF MODIFICATION

The subject grant award no longer effectuates the program goals or agency priorities as found in 2 CFR 200.340(a)(4) as incorporated into the DoD Research and Development General Terms and Conditions for grants by reference. This Grant is hereby terminated.

All costs incurred up to the date of this notification must be submitted no later than 30 calendar days from the termination date.

As a result, the period of performance is reduced from 36 months to 29 months as follows:
FROM: 15 DEC 2022 through 14 DEC 2025 TO: 15 DEC 2022 through 14 MAY 2025

As the subject grant no longer effectuates the program goals or agency priorities, the closeout requirement for a final technical report is hereby waived. Reporting requirements are revised on the continuation page (pg. 2).

All other closeout requirements remain unchanged. All other terms and conditions remain the same.

FOR THE RECIPIENT		FOR THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA	
15. SIGNATURE		16. SIGNATURE [redacted]	
17. NAME AND TITLE	18. DATE SIGNED	19. NAME AND TITLE [redacted] GRANTS OFFICER	20. DATE SIGNED 13 MAY 2025

ConWrite Version 7.7.4.0
Created 13 May 2025 5:51 PM

BLOCK 14 CONTINUED

REPORTING REQUIREMENTS (REVISED)

The following reports must be submitted. Reports are due on or before the following dates.

TYPE OF REPORT	DUE DATE	SUBMIT TO
Interim Research Performance Progress Reports	14 DEC 2023	Pgm Mgr* & https://community.apan.org/wg/afosr/p/deliverables
Interim Research Performance Progress Reports	14 DEC 2024	Pgm Mgr* & https://community.apan.org/wg/afosr/p/deliverables
Final Invention Report	14 AUG 2025	afrl.afosr.pkcontracting@us.af.mil
Final Federal Financial Report, including line item 11	14 JUN 2025	Grant Admin Office (Block 12 of Grant Award Form) & afrl.afosr.pkcontracting@us.af.mil
Quarterly Federal Financial Report (SF 425)	*See below	Grant Admin Office (Block 12 of Grant Award Form)

* The Program Manager/Officer is shown on page 1 of the basic Grant award in Block 15.

** SF 425 Quarterly Federal Financial Reports are required if any payment is made by an advance. The quarterly end dates that must be used are 31 Mar, 30 Jun, 30 Sep, and 31 Dec. The reports must be submitted within thirty (30) days after the end of each reporting period.

Quarterly Federal Financial Reports (SF 425) are not required if all payments are by reimbursement.

AFOSR prefers Performance Reports be submitted electronically, however, if the awardee does not have access to electronic means, send paper copies of Performance Reports to the appropriate Program Manager and office symbol listed in Block 15 of page 1 of the basic grant award at the following address: [redacted].

All records pertinent to this award must be retained for a period of at least three years from the date of submission of the Final Federal Financial Report.

From: [redacted]
To:
Subject: FW: Termination of Harvard University grants
Date: Tuesday, May 13, 2025 11:53:46 AM
Attachments: Harvard Grants for Termination vF.pdf
Importance: High

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fysa

From: [redacted]
Sent: Tuesday, May 13, 2025 11:41 AM
To: [redacted]
Cc: Buria, Ricky D SES (USA) <Ricky.Buria@sd.mil>; [redacted]
Subject: Termination of Harvard University grants
Importance: High

ALCON –
SecDef has directed termination of the attached grants to Harvard University. Please issue SWO+termination notice by EOD today, 5/13, for the grants in your respective portfolios, and note in shared spreadsheet tracker (Column V) once sent.

Thank you for your prompt action on this directive.

VR
[redacted]

SECRETARY OF DEFENSE
1000 DEFENSE PENTAGON
WASHINGTON, DC 20301-1000

MAY 12 2025

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

Dear Dr. Garber:

The Department of Defense (DoD) is hereby providing notice that funding for the projects in the enclosed spreadsheet will be terminated pursuant to 2 C.F.R. § 200.340(a)(4). At the time the Notices of Award were issued, 2 C.F.R. § 200.340(a) permitted termination "by the Federal awarding agency or pass-through entity, to the greatest extent authorized by law, if an award no longer effectuates the program goals or agency priorities."

These awards to Harvard University no longer effectuate agency priorities of the DoD. DoD is responsible for ensuring that its limited resources are appropriately allocated, and DoD priorities include ensuring that grant dollars should only support institutions that comply with principles and laws of nondiscrimination.

In context of these policies and priorities, we understand that Harvard continues to engage in race discrimination, including in its admissions process, and in other areas of student life, such as access to the Law Review at Harvard Law School. We are also aware of recent events at Harvard University involving antisemitic action that suggest the institution has a disturbing lack of concern for the safety and wellbeing of Jewish students. Harvard's ongoing inaction in the face of repeated and severe harassment and targeting of Jewish students has ground day-to-day campus operations to a halt, deprived Jewish students of learning and research opportunities to which they are entitled, and brought shame upon the University and our nation as a whole. Indeed, as the Harvard Presidential Task Force on Combating Antisemitism and Anti-Israeli Bias concluded, actions at Harvard during the 2023-2024 academic year resulted in widespread abuse of Jewish and Israeli students by an institution "that mainstreamed and normalized what many Jewish and Israeli students experience as antisemitism and anti-Israeli bias." Supporting research in such an environment is plainly inconsistent with DoD's priorities.

Costs resulting from financial obligations incurred after termination are not allowable.[1] Nothing in this notice excuses either DoD or you from complying with the closeout obligations imposed by 2 C.F.R. § 200.344. DoD will provide any information required by the Federal Funding Accountability and Transparency Act or the Office of Management and Budget's regulations to *USAspending.gov*.[2]

[1] *See* 2 C.F.R. § 200.343.
[2] 2 C.F.R. § 200.341(c).

Administrative Appeal (if applicable)

If applicable, you may object and provide information and documentation challenging these terminations.

You must submit a request for such review to the Office of the Secretary of Defense no later than 30 days after this letter is received, except that if you show good cause why an extension of time should be granted, the DoD may grant an extension of time.

The request for review must include a copy of this decision, must identify the issue(s) in dispute, and must contain a full statement of your position with respect to such issue(s) and the pertinent facts and reasons in support of your position. In addition to the required written statement, you shall provide copies of any documents supporting your claim.

Sincerely,



Enclosure:
As stated

ENCLOSURE

Award ID (PIID)	Recipient Name	Period of Performance Start Date	Period of Performance End Date	Total Award Amount	Award Description	Awarding Agency Name	Funding Subagency Name
FA23862414070	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE	9/25/2024	9/24/2027	$200,000	TOWARDS A NEW QUANTUM PLATFORM BASED ON ULTRACOLD MOLECULES	Department of Defense	Department of the Air Force
FA23862414073	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE	9/23/2024	9/22/2027	$200,000	BASIC RESEARCH FOR AOARD PROPOSAL 24IOA073 "QUANTUM SENSING FOR ENTANGLED MILLIMETER-WAVE PHOTONS", DATED 02 JUL 2024 (THE GRANTEE'S TECHNICAL PROPOSA	Department of Defense	Department of the Air Force
FA87502210500	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE	9/20/2022	12/19/2025	$441,000	DIAL ACCELERATORS FOR DEEP NUERAL NETWORKS: DISTRIBUTED AND NETWORKED, IN-EMBEDDED-HARDWARE, ADVERSARIAL GENERATIVE, LOW-PRECISION ARI	Department of Defense	Department of the Air Force
FA95502010323	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE	9/1/2020	8/31/2025	$7,500,000	(MURI) NEW APPROACHES TO QUANTUM CONTROL WITH INDIVIDUAL MOLECULE SENSITIVITY	Department of Defense	Department of the Air Force
FA95502110429	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE	9/15/2021	9/14/2025	$6,000,000	TUNNELING PHENOMENA IN INTERFACE SUPERCONDUCTORS	Department of Defense	Department of the Air Force
FA95502210228	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE	7/1/2022	6/30/2025	$450,000	OPTICALLY-CONTROLLED, GENETICALLY-TARGETED CHEMICAL ASSEMBLY OF ELECTRICALLY FUNCTIONAL MATERIALS FOR NEUROMODULATION.	Department of Defense	Department of the Air Force
FA95502210288	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE	6/15/2022	6/14/2027	$603,134	LASER COOLING AND TRAPPING OF ASYMMETRIC TOP MOLECULES FOR QUANTUM SCIENCE	Department of Defense	Department of the Air Force
FA95502210345	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE	9/1/2022	8/31/2025	$663,231	CELLULAR FOUNDATIONS OF MEMORY	Department of Defense	Department of the Air Force
FA95502310040	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE	12/15/2022	12/14/2025	$675,915	CORRELATED TOPOLOGICAL STATES IN MOIRE SUPERLATTICES OF INTRINSIC MAGNETIC TOPOLOGICAL INSULATOR	Department of Defense	Department of the Air Force
FA95502310429	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE	7/1/2023	6/30/2026	$233,624	ANALYZING MULTI-LAYER NETWORKS VIA GRAPHEX MODELS	Department of Defense	Department of the Air Force
FA95502310538	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE	9/1/2023	8/31/2028	$955,756	INTERACTING AND ENTANGLING POLAR MOLECULES WITH SINGLE-SITE CONTROL IN 1D AND 2D ARRAYS	Department of Defense	Department of the Air Force
FA95502310699	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE	9/1/2023	8/31/2027	$233,330	CASCADED MODE CONVERTER INTEGRATED OPTICS	Department of Defense	Department of the Air Force
FA95502410060	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE	3/1/2024	2/28/2026	$1,798,146	(DURIP) QUANTUM INFORMATION SCIENCE WITH ULTRACOLD LASER-COOLED MOLECULES	Department of Defense	Department of the Air Force

FA95502410311	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE	9/30/2024	9/29/2029	$190,000	FUNDAMENTAL PHYSICS & APPLICATIONS OF ATOMIC COOPERATIVE ARRAYS IN BIO-INSPIRED GEOMETRIES	Department of Defense	Department of the Air Force
FA95502510019	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE	11/1/2024	10/31/2027	$320,000	HIGH TEMPERATURE SUPERCONDUCTOR TWISTRONICS	Department of Defense	Department of the Air Force
HDTRA12110016	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE	4/12/2021	9/30/2025	$2,000,000	FUNDAMENTAL STUDIES OF STORED ENERGY FOR PHOTOCHEMICAL DESTRUCTION OF CWA SIMULANTS	Department of Defense	Defense Threat Reduction Agency
HQ00342110012	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE	9/15/2021	9/14/2025	$5,999,407	NATIONAL DEFENSE EDUCATION PROGRAM - BUILDING A STRONGER STEM FOUNDATION: ONLINE DATA SCIENCE EDUCATION AT SCALE	Department of Defense	Immediate Office of the Secretary of Defense
HQ00342310012	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE	10/1/2023	9/30/2026	$5,981,962	NATIONAL DEFENSE EDUCATION PROGRAM SCIENCE, TECHNOLOGY, ENGINEERING, AND MATHEMATICS: EDUCATING FOR AMERICAN DEMOCRACY - A NATIONAL PROGRAM FOR CIVIC EDUCATOR PROFESSIONAL DEVELOPMENT	Department of Defense	Immediate Office of the Secretary of Defense
HR00112220036	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE	8/8/2022	6/13/2026	$3,928,164	THE PURPOSE OF THIS AGREEMENT IS TO FUND RESEARCH SUPPORTING THE DEFENSE ADVANCED RESEARCH PROJECTS AGENCY (DARPA) AUTOMATING SCIENTIFIC KNOWLEDGE EXTRACTION AND MODELING (ASKEM) PROGRAM. THIS EFFORT SHALL BE CARRIED OUT GENERALLY AS SET FORTH IN EXHIBIT B, RESEARCH DESCRIPTION DOCUMENT, DATED JULY 12, 2022 AND IN THE RECIPIENTS PROPOSAL TITLED, MIRA: MODELING WITH AN INTELLIGENT REASONING ASSISTANT, DATED FEBRUARY 7, 2022 COPIES OF WHICH ARE IN THE POSSESSION OF BOTH PARTIES	Department of Defense	Defense Advanced Research Projects Agency
HR00112420367	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE	8/12/2024	8/13/2027	$3,415,297	ASSURED MICROBIAL PRESERVATION IN HARSH OR REMOTE AREAS PROGRAM (AMPHORA)	Department of Defense	Defense Advanced Research Projects Agency
HT94252310226	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE	4/1/2023	3/31/2027	$4,407,375	GUT SYMBIONT LIPID A FAMILY: STRUCTURES AND IMMUNOMODULATION IN IBD	Department of Defense	Defense Health Agency

HT94252310349	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE	8/1/2023	7/31/2027	$1,694,970	DEFINING NOVEL CELLULAR CIRCUITRY AND COMMUNICATION IN FIBROUS DYSPLASIA	Department of Defense	Defense Health Agency
HT94252310447	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE	5/15/2023	5/14/2027	$2,690,243	BIOMARKERS OF SLEEP LOSS	Department of Defense	Defense Health Agency
HT94252310523	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE	7/1/2023	6/30/2027	$1,174,848	OPTIMIZING INDIVIDUALIZED COLORECTAL CANCER TREATMENT AND PROGNOSTIC PREDICTION VIA CAUSAL MACHINE LEARNING	Department of Defense	Defense Health Agency
HT94252310871	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE	9/15/2023	9/14/2026	$999,799	ELUCIDATING THE BIOLOGICAL MECHANISMS UNDERLYING THE ASSOCIATION BETWEEN EPSTEIN-BARR VIRUS AND MULTIPLE SCLEROSIS	Department of Defense	Defense Health Agency
HT94252410177	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE	4/1/2024	3/31/2026	$714,986	SAFE TREATMENT FOR TBI-INDUCED NEURODEGENERATION AND COGNITIVE DECLINE	Department of Defense	Defense Health Agency
N000142112478	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE	6/1/2021	5/31/2025	$560,000	MATERIALS DESIGN FOR THERMAL RADIATION BLOCKING THERMAL BARRIER COATINGS	Department of Defense	Department of the Navy
N000142112664	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE	7/1/2021	6/30/2025	$499,999	EXPLORATION OF KACS WALK AND ANALYSIS OF BAYESIAN DISTRIBUTED COMPUTING	Department of Defense	Department of the Navy
N000142112958	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE	9/15/2021	9/14/2026	$2,400,000	PROGRAMMABLE ASSEMBLY OF FUNCTIONAL HUMAN TISSUES	Department of Defense	Department of the Navy
N000142212470	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE	6/1/2022	5/31/2025	$1,200,000	CARBON DIOXIDE REDUCTION CATALYSIS TO ELIMINATE THE NEED FOR REBREATHERS IN DIVING OPERATIONS	Department of Defense	Department of the Navy
N000142212739	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE	9/1/2022	8/31/2027	$800,000	AQUEOUS POROUS LIQUIDS FOR UNDERSEA MEDICINE	Department of Defense	Department of the Navy

N000142312051	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE	4/1/2023	3/31/2027	$1,199,999	BRAIN INSPIRED NEURAL COMPUTATION OF STRUCTURED KNOWLEDGE	Department of Defense	Department of the Navy
N000142312489	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE	7/1/2023	6/30/2026	$238,643	ESTIMATING THE TREATMENT EFFECT IN HIGH-DIMENSIONS UNDER INTERFERENCE	Department of Defense	Department of the Navy
N000142312684	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE	7/1/2023	6/30/2025	$100,000	FISH SKIN AS A MULTIFUNCTIONAL HYDRODYNAMIC MATERIAL	Department of Defense	Department of the Navy
N000142312802	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE	8/1/2023	7/31/2026	$672,000	TOWARDS DISTRIBUTED AND ONLINE PARTIALLY OBSERVABLE STOCHASTIC CAMOUFLAGE GAMES	Department of Defense	Department of the Navy
N000142412081	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE	1/1/2024	12/31/2027	$340,000	NON-ABELIAN ANYON BRAIDING IN CORBINO TOPOLOGICAL JOSEPHSON JUNCTIONS	Department of Defense	Department of the Navy
N000142412282	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE	4/1/2024	3/31/2027	$420,000	MICROPOROUS WATER FOR IN VIVO GAS ABSORPTION	Department of Defense	Department of the Navy
N000142412704	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE	9/1/2024	8/31/2028	$193,324	COLLECTIVE DECISION MAKING WITH LARGE LANGUAGE MODELS	Department of Defense	Department of the Navy
N000142412726	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE	9/1/2024	8/31/2027	$160,205	SUPPORTING HUMAN LEARNING IN THE CONTEXT OF AI-ASSISTED DECISION-MAKING	Department of Defense	Department of the Navy
N000142512128	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE	2/1/2025	1/31/2028	$80,000	SELF-REGULATING SURFACES THAT MITIGATE DETRIMENTAL CHANGES IN MARINE CONDITIONS	Department of Defense	Department of the Navy
N000142512129	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE	1/1/2025	12/31/2025	$590,452	DURIP: ENHANCING ELECTROMAGNETIC WAVE COUPLING TO TOPOLOGICAL QUANTUM STATES IN LOW DIMENSIONAL MATERIALS	Department of Defense	Department of the Navy
N000142512152	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE	2/1/2025	1/31/2028	$150,000	GENERATING BREATHABLE OXYGEN FROM SEAWATER FOR UNDERWATER OPERATIONS	Department of Defense	Department of the Navy
N000142512153	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE	2/1/2025	1/31/2028	$66,161	SOCIAL CHOICE FOR AI ALIGNMENT	Department of Defense	Department of the Navy
N000142512173	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE	3/1/2025	2/29/2028	$20,000	REPRESENTATION-BASED REINFORCEMENT LEARNING FOR AUTONOMOUS SYSTEMS	Department of Defense	Department of the Navy
W81XWH2110449	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE	9/15/2021	9/14/2025	$2,393,700	PIEZO-1-MEDIATED MECHANOTRANSDUCTION AS KEY REGULATOR OF BONE HEALTH IN ADULT MICE	Department of Defense	Department of the Army

W911NF1920168	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE	6/1/2019	11/30/2025	$1,450,000	NO COST PERIOD OF PERFORMANCE EXTENSION - WIDELY-TUNABLE, COMPACT SUB-MILLIMETER SOURCE OPERATING AT ROOM-TEMPERATURE FROM 100 GHZ TO 1 THZ	Department of Defense	Department of the Army
W911NF2010021	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE	3/1/2020	5/31/2025	$9,849,000	OPTION 1 FULL FUNDING (QUANTUM OPTIMIZATION WITH PROGRAMMABLE SIMULATORS BASED ON ATOM ARRAYS)	Department of Defense	Defense Advanced Research Projects Agency
W911NF2010082	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE	6/1/2020	11/30/2025	$6,250,000	TOWARD MATHEMATICAL INTELLIGENCE AND CERTIFIABLE AUTOMATED REASONING: FROM THEORETICAL FOUNDATIONS TO EXPERIMENTAL REALIZATION	Department of Defense	Department of the Army
W911NF2010163	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE	6/15/2020	8/31/2025	$512,640	RESEARCH IN "HYBRID QUANTUM-CLASSICAL ALGORITHM FOR ANALYZING MANY-BODY SYSTEMS"	Department of Defense	Department of the Army
W911NF2120146	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE	7/1/2021	7/31/2025	$3,750,000	UNDERSTANDING AND ENGINEERING TRANSIENT MECHANICAL RESPONSES IN NANOPARTICLE-REINFORCED HETEROGENOUS PARTICULATE SYSTEMS	Department of Defense	Department of the Army
W911NF2120147	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE	3/1/2025	2/28/2026	$5,494,833	INCREMENTAL FUNDING AND OPTIOIN #2 EXERCUSED: MULTIFUNCTIONAL DEVICES IN PRECISELY ENGINEERED VAN DER WAALS HOMOJUNCTIONS	Department of Defense	Department of the Army
W911NF2210219	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE	9/1/2022	8/31/2025	$3,789,760	HIGH SCHOOL AND UNDERGRADUATE INTERNSHIP OPPORTUNITIES ON THE AWARD TITLED "PROGRAMMING MULTISTABLE ORIGAMI AND KIRIGAMI STRUCTURES VIA TOPOLOGICAL DESIGN"	Department of Defense	Department of the Army
W911NF2210248	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE	9/28/2022	9/27/2026	$1,260,000	NEXT GENERATION NV CENTER BASED QUANTUM SENSING	Department of Defense	Department of the Army
W911NF2320219	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE	11/1/2023	1/31/2026	$5,685,227	THE EFFORT UNDER THE ENTANGLED NEUTRAL ATOMS FOR LOGICAL QUANTUM TELEPORTATION (ENAQT) PROPOSAL, SUBMITTED BY HARVARD COLLEGE, IS FOR A PUBLIC PURPOSE, THE STIMULATION AND SUPPORT OF SCIENTIFIC RESEARCH IN THE AREA OF QUANTUM INFORMATION SCIENCE (QIS), AS OPPOSED TO ACQUIRING GOODS AND SERVICES FOR THE BENEFIT OF THE GOVERNMENT.	Department of Defense	Department of the Army
W911NF2410079	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE	4/1/2024	3/31/2028	$400,000	EMERGENT ORDER AND QUANTUM INFORMATION FLOW IN NON-EQUILIBRIUM SYSTEMS	Department of Defense	Department of the Army
W911NF2420195	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE	8/15/2024	8/14/2027	$1,375,000	RESEARCH IN QUANTUM ENZ MATERIALS FOR MIDWAVE IR SINGLE-PHOTON DETECTION (QEMISD)	Department of Defense	Department of the Army
				$105,372,130			

From: [redacted]
To:
Cc:
Subject: FW: Termination of Harvard University grants
Date: Tuesday, May 13, 2025 5:26:26 PM
Attachments: Harvard Grants for Termination vF.pdf
Importance: High

Good evening,

DARPA is on the list with two Cooperative Agreements: HR00112220036 and HR00112420367. A termination notice has been issued for HR00112220036. We fully understand the directive, but DARPA would like to offer the following justification as to why HR00112420367 shouldn't be covered by this directive and allow performance to continue. The below justification is at the unclassified level and DARPA can offer additional details at a higher classification level.

Thank you in advance.
"Harvard is currently the top performing team on the AMPHORA program. Inadequate knowledge of the biological threat landscape poses grave and immediate harm to national security. Development of critical technologies that enables bio surveillance and biocollection in austere, field forward locations bolsters national security and warfighter safety and lethality by enabling medical countermeasure development to new and emerging threats and provides biological threat intelligence to the deployed warfighter. This technology is significantly outpacing the state-of-the art and provides a novel leap-ahead capability to the force. Harvard's effort is at a pivotal juncture in Phase 1 as they are just starting the microfluidic experiments that will give first indications of whether the program goal is achievable. They are also a critical integrator of multiple technologies that enable this effort and could not be readily reproduced."

Respectfully,

[redacted]

From: [redacted]
Sent: Tuesday, May 13, 2025 11:41 AM
To: [redacted]

[redacted]

"Effie" <efstathia.fragogiannis@darpa.mil>; Healey, Bethanie <bethanie.healey@darpa.mil>; Ulrey, Scott <Scott.Ulrey@darpa.mil>; Cramer, Jennifer L CIV USARMY USAMRAA (USA) <jennifer.l.cramer9.civ@health.mil>; Rogers, Paul D CIV DTRA AL (USA) <paul.d.rogers16.civ@mail.mil>; Braxton, Elizabeth R CIV DTRA AL (USA) <elizabeth.r.braxton.civ@mail.mil>; Sutherland, Susan M CIV USN CNR ARLINGTON VA (USA) <susan.m.sutherland2.civ@us.navy.mil>; Fanizzo, Michael J Jr CIV WHS AD (USA) <michael.j.fanizzo.civ@mail.mil>; Faucher, Joelle J CIV WHS AD (USA) <joelle.j.faucher.civ@mail.mil>; Stockstill, Angela CIV WHS AD (USA) <angela.stockstill.civ@mail.mil>
Cc: Buria, Ricky D SES (USA) <Ricky.Buria@sd.mil>; GEISS, KEVIN T SES USAF AFMC AFOSR/CL <kevin.geiss@us.af.mil>; King, Travis L CIV USARMY HQDA ASA ALT (USA) <travis.l.king36.civ@army.mil>; McHenry, Rob <rob.mchenry@darpa.mil>; Smith, David J SES OSD OUSD P-R (USA) <david.j.smith152.civ@mail.mil>; Petro, James B SES DTRA RD (USA) <james.b.petro.civ@mail.mil>; Drake, Thomas G SES USN CNR ARLINGTON VA (USA) <thomas.g.drake6.civ@us.navy.mil>; Sanders, David D SES (USA) <david.d.sanders6.civ@mail.mil>; Weiss, Yinon CIV (USA) <yinon.weiss.civ@mail.mil>
Subject: Termination of Harvard University grants
Importance: High

ALCON –

SecDef has directed termination of the attached grants to Harvard University. Please issue SWO+termination notice by EOD today, 5/13, for the grants in your respective portfolios, and note in shared spreadsheet tracker (Column V) once sent.

Thank you for your prompt action on this directive.

VR
Jim Hickey

April 11, 2025

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

Penny Pritzker
Lead Member, Harvard Corporation
Harvard Corporation
Massachusetts Hall
Cambridge, MA 02138

Dear Dr. Garber:

The United States has invested in Harvard University's operations because of the value to the country of scholarly discovery and academic excellence. But an investment is not an entitlement. It depends on Harvard upholding federal civil rights laws, and it only makes sense if Harvard fosters the kind of environment that produces intellectual creativity and scholarly rigor, both of which are antithetical to ideological capture.

Harvard has in recent years failed to live up to both the intellectual and civil rights conditions that justify federal investment. But we appreciate your expression of commitment to repairing those failures and welcome your collaboration in restoring the University to its promise. We therefore present the below provisions as the basis for an agreement in principle that will maintain Harvard's financial relationship with the federal government.

If acceptable to Harvard, this document will constitute an agreement in principle, which the parties will work in good faith to translate into a more thorough, binding settlement agreement. As you will see, this letter incorporates and supersedes the terms of the federal government's prior letter of April 3, 2025.

- **Governance and leadership reforms.** By August 2025, Harvard must make meaningful governance reform and restructuring to make possible major change consistent with this letter, including: fostering clear lines of authority and accountability; empowering tenured professors and senior leadership, and, from among the tenured professoriate and senior leadership, exclusively those most devoted to the scholarly mission of the University and committed to the changes indicated in this letter; reducing the power held by students and untenured faculty; reducing the power held by faculty (whether tenured or untenured) and administrators more committed to activism than scholarship; and reducing forms of

THE SECRETARY OF EDUCATION
WASHINGTON, DC 20202

May 5, 2025

Dr. Alan Garber
Office of the President
Harvard University
Massachusetts Hall
Cambridge, MA 02138

Dr. Garber,

The Federal Government has a sacred responsibility to be a wise and important steward of American taxpayer dollars. Harvard University, despite amassing a largely tax-free $53.2 billion dollar endowment (larger than the GDP of 100 countries), receives billions of dollars of taxpayer largess each year. Receiving such taxpayer funds is a privilege, not a right. Yet instead of using these funds to advance the education of its students, Harvard is engaging in a systemic pattern of violating federal law. Where do many of these "students" come from, who are they, how do they get into Harvard, or even into our country—and why is there so much HATE? These are questions that must be answered, among many more, but the biggest question of all is, why will Harvard not give straightforward answers to the American public?

Harvard University has made a mockery of this country's higher education system. It has invited foreign students, who engage in violent behavior and show contempt for the United States of America, to its campus. In every way, Harvard has failed to abide by its legal obligations, its ethical and fiduciary duties, its transparency responsibilities, and any semblance of academic rigor. It had scrapped standardized testing requirements and a normalized grading system. This year Harvard was forced to adopt an embarrassing "remedial math" program for undergraduates. Why is it, we ask, that Harvard has to teach simple and basic mathematics, when it is supposedly so hard to get into this "acclaimed university"? Who is getting in under such a low standard when others, with fabulous grades and a great understanding of the highest levels of mathematics, are being rejected?

Harvard has even been embroiled in humiliating plagiarism scandals, exposed clearly and plainly in the media, with respect to your then University President, who was an embarrassment to our Nation. Much of Harvard's hateful discrimination was revealed, last year, by the great work of Congresswoman Elise Stefanik, and her Committee. As if it were trying to embarrass itself even further, Harvard hired failed Mayors Bill De Blasio and Lori Lightfoot, perhaps the worst mayors ever to preside over major cities in our country's history, to supposedly teach "leadership" at their School of Public Health. This is like hiring the captain of the Titanic to teach navigation to future captains of the sea.

This incomprehensible failure becomes more understandable after reviewing Harvard's management. The Harvard Corporation, which is supposed to competently and professionally manage Harvard's vast academic, financial, and physical resources, is run by strongly left-leaning Obama political appointee Penny Pritzker, a Democrat operative, who is catastrophic and

running the institution in a totally chaotic way. Harvard alumnus and highly successful hedge fund manager Bill Ackman noted that, under her leadership, Harvard has become "a political advocacy organization for one party."

Ackman has called for the resignation of Pritzker, concluding that the "[t]he mismanagement here is Penny Pritzker" and noting that any serious corporation would have removed her after a litany of recent failings and the fact that, incredibly, "Harvard is not in a good financial position." According to Ackman, one of the world's foremost finance experts, Harvard's so-called $53 billion endowment is "massively overstated as far as what it's really worth," and Harvard has irresponsibly taken out $8 billion in debt.

If this is true, it is concerning evidence of Harvard's disastrous mismanagement, indicating an urgent need for massive reform—not continued taxpayer investment. If Harvard prefers not to change, then Harvard should have no problem using its overflowing endowment to fund its bloated bureaucracy.

At its best, a university should fulfill the highest ideals of our Nation, and enlighten the thousands of hopeful students who walk through its magnificent gates. But Harvard has betrayed this ideal.

Perhaps most alarmingly, Harvard has failed to abide by the United States Supreme Court's ruling demanding that it end its racial preferencing, and continues to engage in ugly racism in its undergraduate and graduate schools, and even within the Harvard Law Review itself. Our universities should be bastions of merit that reward and celebrate excellence and achievement. They should not be incubators of discrimination that encourage resentment and instill grievance and racism into our wonderful young Americans.

The above concerns are only a fraction of the long list of Harvard's consistent violations of its own legal duties. Given these and other concerning allegations, this letter is to inform you that Harvard should no longer seek GRANTS from the federal government, since none will be provided. Harvard will cease to be a publicly funded institution, and can instead operate as a privately-funded institution, drawing on its colossal endowment, and raising money from its large base of wealthy alumni. You have an approximately $53 Billion head start, much of which was made possible by the fact that you are living within the walls of, and benefiting from, the prosperity secured by the United States of America and its free-market system you teach your students to despise.

The Administration had previously been willing to maintain federal funding to Harvard, so long as Harvard committed to complying with long-settled Federal Law, including to protect and promote student welfare and the landmark decision of our Supreme Court against racial preferencing. The proposed common-sense reforms – which the Administration remains committed to – include a return to merit-based admissions and hiring, an end to unlawful programs that promote crude identity stereotypes, disciplinary reform and consistent accountability, including for student groups, cooperation with Law Enforcement, and reporting compliance with the Department of Education, Department of Homeland Security, and other

Federal Agencies. The Administration's priorities have not changed and today's letter marks the end of new grants for the University.

These requests will advance the best interests of Harvard University, so it can reclaim its status as a respected educational institution for the future leaders of America. Thank you for your attention to this matter!

Sincerely,

Linda E. McMahon
Secretary of Education

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION
OFFICE OF PLANNING, EVALUATION AND
POLICY DEVELOPMENT

5/12/2025
[redacted]
President and Fellows of Harvard College
Department of Urban Planning and Design
Graduate School of Design
48 Quincy Street
Cambridge, MA 02138

RE: Grant Award Termination

Dear [redacted]

This letter provides notice that the United States Department of Education is terminating your federal award, P015A220033. *See* 2 C.F.R. § 200.340-43.

It is a priority of the Department of Education to eliminate discrimination in all forms of education throughout the United States. The Department has undertaken a review of grants and determined that the grant specified above provides funding for programs that reflect the prior Administration's priorities and policy preferences and conflict with those of the current Administration, in that the programs: conflict with the Department's policy of prioritizing merit, fairness, and excellence in education; undermine the well-being of the students these programs are intended to help; and constitute an inappropriate use of federal funds.

As relevant to the Department of Education's policies, the Department understands that Harvard continues to engage in race discrimination including in its admissions process, and in other areas of student life, such as access to the Law Review at Harvard Law School.

The Department is also aware of recent events at Harvard University involving antisemitic action that suggest the institution has a disturbing lack of concern for the safety and wellbeing of Jewish students. Harvard's ongoing inaction in the face of repeated and severe harassment and targeting of Jewish students has ground day-to-day campus operations to a halt, deprived Jewish students of learning and research opportunities to which they are entitled, and brought shame upon the University and our nation as a whole. Indeed, as the Harvard Presidential Task Force on Combating Antisemitism and Anti-Israeli Bias concluded, actions at Harvard during the 2023-2024 academic year resulted in widespread abuse of Jewish and Israeli students by an institution "that mainstreamed and normalized what many Jewish and Israeli students experience as antisemitism and anti-Israeli bias." It is the policy of the Department not to support institutions that take such actions.

Therefore, pursuant to, among other authorities, 2 C.F.R. § 200.339-43, and the termination provisions in your grant award, the Department hereby terminates grant No. P015A220033 in its entirety effective 5/12/2025. If you wish to object to or challenge this termination decision, you must submit information and documentation supporting your position in writing within 30 calendar days of the date of this termination notice. Objections and challenges must be sent by email or first-class mail and addressed to the component head that oversees the grantmaking unit, which will typically be the Assistant Secretary of that unit. In this case, please address your objection or challenge to:

Hayley Sanon
Acting Assistant Secretary for Elementary and Secondary Education
Office of Elementary and Secondary Education
U.S. Department of Education
OESEGrants@ed.gov
400 Maryland Ave. SW

Your appeal should set forth your basis for disagreeing with the Department's decision to terminate your grant and include any relevant supporting documentation. *See id.* § 200.342.

Costs incurred by you after this termination are allowable only if (a) those costs were properly incurred by you before the effective date of this termination, and not in anticipation of it; and (b) those costs would be allowable if your federal award was not suspended or expired normally at the end of the period of performance in which the termination takes effect. *See* 2 C.F.R. § 200.343.

You are encouraged to carefully review and discharge your closeout responsibilities set forth in 2 C.F.R. § 200.344-45 and your award agreement. Those responsibilities include, but are not limited to, your obligation to "promptly refund any unobligated funds" that have been paid out but "are not authorized to be retained." *See* 2 C.F.R. § 200.344(g). Failure to do so will result in the Department filing a report documenting your "material failure to comply with the terms and conditions of" this award on SAM.gov and taking any other appropriate enforcement actions. *See id.* § 200.344(i). Finally, we also remind you of your responsibility to retain all Federal award records for three years from the date of submission of your final financial report. *See* 2 C.F.R. § 200.334.

Respectfully,

[redacted]

Murray Bessette
Office of Planning, Evaluation, and Policy Development
400 Maryland Ave. SW
Washington, DC 20202

P015A220033 - 24

US Department of Education
Washington, D.C. 20202

GRANT AWARD NOTIFICATION

1 RECIPIENT NAME

President and Fellows of Harvard College
1033 Massachusetts Avenue 5th Floor
Cambridge, MA 02138

2 AWARD INFORMATION

PR/AWARD NUMBER	P015A220033 - 24
ACTION NUMBER	7
ACTION TYPE	Administrative
AWARD TYPE	Discretionary

3 PROJECT STAFF

RECIPIENT PROJECT DIRECTOR
[redacted]

EDUCATION PROGRAM CONTACT
Catherine N StClair (202) 502-7579
catherine.stclair@ed.gov

EDUCATION PAYMENT HOTLINE
G5 PAYEE HELPDESK 888-336-8930
obssed@servicenowservices.com

4 PROJECT TITLE

84.015A
National Resource Centers: Davis Center for Russian and Eurasian Studies 2022-26

5 KEY PERSONNEL

NAME	TITLE	LEVEL OF EFFORT
[redacted]	Project Director	1 %

6 AWARD PERIODS

BUDGET PERIOD	08/15/2024 - 05/12/2025
PERFORMANCE PERIOD	08/15/2022 - 05/12/2025

FUTURE BUDGET PERIODS

N/A

7 AUTHORIZED FUNDING

THIS ACTION	N/A
BUDGET PERIOD	$273,805.00
PERFORMANCE PERIOD	$821,415.00

8 ADMINISTRATIVE INFORMATION

UEI	LN53LCFJFL45
REGULATIONS	CFR PART 655 & 656 EDGAR AS APPLICABLE 2 CFR AS APPLICABLE
ATTACHMENTS	N/A

9 LEGISLATIVE AND FISCAL DATA

AUTHORITY:	PL 102-325 VI HIGHER EDUCATION ACT, P.L. 102-325, TITLE VI
PROGRAM TITLE:	NATIONAL RESOURCE CENTERS AND FELLOWSHIPS PROGRAM FOR LANGUAGE AND AREA OR LANGUAGE AND INTERNATIONAL STUDIES
CFDA/SUBPROGRAM NO:	84.015A

SF 424 (R&R) APPLICATION FOR FEDERAL ASSISTANCE — Page 2

14. PROJECT DIRECTOR/PRINCIPAL INVESTIGATOR CONTACT INFORMATION

Prefix: Dr. First Name: [redacted] Middle Name:
Last Name: [redacted] Suffix:
Position/Title: Professor of Education
Organization Name: President and Fellows of Harvard College
Department: Graduate School of Education Division:
Street1: 14 Appian Way
Street2: [redacted]
City: Cambridge County / Parish:
State: MA: Massachusetts Province:
Country: USA: UNITED STATES ZIP / Postal Code: 02138-3846
Phone Number: [redacted] Fax Number:
Email: [redacted]

15. ESTIMATED PROJECT FUNDING

a. Total Federal Funds Requested	1,398,956.00
b. Total Non-Federal Funds	0.00
c. Total Federal & Non-Federal Funds	1,398,956.00
d. Estimated Program Income	0.00

16. IS APPLICATION SUBJECT TO REVIEW BY STATE EXECUTIVE ORDER 12372 PROCESS?

a. YES ☐ THIS PREAPPLICATION/APPLICATION WAS MADE AVAILABLE TO THE STATE EXECUTIVE ORDER 12372 PROCESS FOR REVIEW ON:
DATE:

b. NO ☒ PROGRAM IS NOT COVERED BY E.O. 12372; OR
☐ PROGRAM HAS NOT BEEN SELECTED BY STATE FOR REVIEW

17. By signing this application, I certify (1) to the statements contained in the list of certifications* and (2) that the statements herein are true, complete and accurate to the best of my knowledge. I also provide the required assurances * and agree to comply with any resulting terms if I accept an award. I am aware that any false, fictitious. or fraudulent statements or claims may subject me to criminal, civil, or administrative penalties. (U.S. Code, Title 18, Section 1001)

☒ **I agree**

The list of certifications and assurances, or an Internet site where you may obtain this list, is contained in the announcement or agency specific instructions.

18. SFLLL (Disclosure of Lobbying Activities) or other Explanatory Documentation

Add Attachment | Delete Attachment | View Attachment

19. Authorized Representative

Prefix: First Name: [redacted] Middle Name:
Last Name: [redacted] Suffix:
Position/Title: Sponsored Programs Officer
Organization: President and Fellows of Harvard College
Department: Harvard University Division: Office for Sponsored Programs
Street1: 1033 Massachusetts Avenue, 5th Floor
Street2:
City: Cambridge County / Parish:
State: MA: Massachusetts Province:
Country: USA: UNITED STATES ZIP / Postal Code: 02138-5369
Phone Number: [redacted] Fax Number: [redacted]
Email: [redacted]

Signature of Authorized Representative

[redacted]

Date Signed

08/17/2018

20. Pre-application Add Attachment | Delete Attachment | View Attachment

21. Cover Letter Attachment PR/Award # R305A190034 Add Attachment | Delete Attachment | View Attachment

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION
INSTITUTE OF EDUCATION SCIENCES

5/12/2025

[redacted]

President and Fellows of Harvard College
1033 Massachusetts Avenue
5th Floor
Cambridge, MA 02138

RE: Grant Award Termination

Dear [redacted]

This letter provides notice that the United States Department of Education is terminating your federal award, R305C190004. *See* 2 C.F.R. § 200.340-43.

It is a priority of the Department of Education to eliminate discrimination in all forms of education throughout the United States. The Department has undertaken a review of grants and determined that the grant specified above provides funding for programs that reflect the prior Administration's priorities and policy preferences and conflict with those of the current Administration, in that the programs: conflict with the Department's policy of prioritizing merit, fairness, and excellence in education; undermine the well-being of the students these programs are intended to help; and constitute an inappropriate use of federal funds.

As relevant to the Department of Education's policies, the Department understands that Harvard continues to engage in race discrimination including in its admissions process, and in other areas of student life, such as access to the Law Review at Harvard Law School.

The Department is also aware of recent events at Harvard University involving antisemitic action that suggest the institution has a disturbing lack of concern for the safety and wellbeing of Jewish students. Harvard's ongoing inaction in the face of repeated and severe harassment and targeting of Jewish students has ground day-to-day campus operations to a halt, deprived Jewish students of learning and research opportunities to which they are entitled, and brought shame upon the University and our nation as a whole. Indeed, as the Harvard Presidential Task Force on Combating Antisemitism and Anti-Israeli Bias concluded, actions at Harvard during the 2023-2024 academic year resulted in widespread abuse of Jewish and Israeli students by an institution "that mainstreamed and normalized what many Jewish and Israeli students experience as antisemitism and anti-Israeli bias." It is the policy of the Department not to support institutions that take such actions.

Therefore, pursuant to, among other authorities, 2 C.F.R. § 200.339-43, and the termination provisions in your grant award, the Department hereby terminates grant No. R305C190004 in its entirety effective 5/12/2025. If you wish to object to or challenge this termination decision, you must submit information and documentation supporting your position in writing within 30 calendar days of the date of this termination notice. Objections and challenges must be sent by email or first-class mail and addressed to the component head that oversees the grantmaking unit, which will typically be the Assistant Secretary of that unit. In this case, please address your objection or challenge to:

Elizabeth Albro
Commissioner, National Center For Education Research
Institute of Education Sciences
U.S. Department of Education
Elizabeth.Albro@ed.gov
400 Maryland Ave. SW

Your appeal should set forth your basis for disagreeing with the Department's decision to terminate your grant and include any relevant supporting documentation. *See id.* § 200.342.

Costs incurred by you after this termination are allowable only if (a) those costs were properly incurred by you before the effective date of this termination, and not in anticipation of it; and (b) those costs would be allowable if your federal award was not suspended or expired normally at the end of the period of performance in which the termination takes effect. *See* 2 C.F.R. § 200.343.

You are encouraged to carefully review and discharge your closeout responsibilities set forth in 2 C.F.R. § 200.344-45 and your award agreement. Those responsibilities include, but are not limited to, your obligation to "promptly refund any unobligated funds" that have been paid out but "are not authorized to be retained." *See* 2 C.F.R. § 200.344(g). Failure to do so will result in the Department filing a report documenting your "material failure to comply with the terms and conditions of" this award on SAM.gov and taking any other appropriate enforcement actions. *See id.* § 200.344(i). Finally, we also remind you of your responsibility to retain all Federal award records for three years from the date of submission of your final financial report. *See* 2 C.F.R. § 200.334.

Respectfully,



Murray Bessette
Office of Planning, Evaluation, and Policy Development
400 Maryland Ave. SW
Washington, DC 20202

	A	B	C	D	E	F	G
1	**Grant Type**	**PIID**	**Recipient UEI**	**Recipient Name**	**Recipient Parent UEI**	**Recipient Parent Name**	**Period of Performance Start Date**
2	PROJECT GRANT (B)	DESC0025671	LN53LCFJFL45	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE			11/1/2024
3	COOPERATIVE AGREEMENT (B)	DEAR0001705	LN53LCFJFL45	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE	ML98SNHE8XL1	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE	3/9/2023
4	PROJECT GRANT (B)	DEFG0202ER63445	LN53LCFJFL45	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE			9/1/2002
5	PROJECT GRANT (B)	DESC0024087	LN53LCFJFL45	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE			9/1/2023
6	PROJECT GRANT (B)	DESC0024092	LN53LCFJFL45	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE			9/1/2023
7	PROJECT GRANT (B)	DESC0021145	LN53LCFJFL45	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE			9/1/2020
8	PROJECT GRANT (B)	DESC0022199	LN53LCFJFL45	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE			9/1/2021
9	PROJECT GRANT (B)	DESC0025489	LN53LCFJFL45	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE			8/15/2024
10	PROJECT GRANT (B)	DESC0020170	LN53LCFJFL45	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE			8/15/2019
11	PROJECT GRANT (B)	DESC0022887	LN53LCFJFL45	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE			8/1/2022
12	PROJECT GRANT (B)	DESC0012260	LN53LCFJFL45	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE			8/1/2014
13	PROJECT GRANT (B)	DESC0021925	LN53LCFJFL45	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE			8/1/2021
14	PROJECT GRANT (B)	DESC0022883	LN53LCFJFL45	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE			7/1/2022
15	PROJECT GRANT (B)	DENA0004084	LN53LCFJFL45	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE			7/1/2022
16	PROJECT GRANT (B)	DENA0004087	LN53LCFJFL45	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE			6/1/2022
17	PROJECT GRANT (B)	DESC0019030	LN53LCFJFL45	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE			9/1/2018
18	PROJECT GRANT (B)	DESC0005247	JDLVAVGYJQ2	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE	JR2RTJW1HBW6	HARVARD COLLEGE PRESIDENT & FELLOWS OF	8/15/2010
19	PROJECT GRANT (B)	DESC0017619	LN53LCFJFL45	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE			5/1/2017

	H	I	J
1	Period of Performance End Date	Total Obligated Amount	Total Outlayed Amount for Overall Award
2	4/30/2026	200000	
3	3/8/2026	1889308	673308
4	11/30/2025	44191846	16002824
5	8/31/2025	660000	305839
6	8/31/2025	1000000	
7	8/31/2025	750000	673085
8	8/31/2025	2548807	2476590
9	8/14/2025	299999	
10	8/14/2025	3540000	2851970
11	7/31/2025	529191	455274
12	7/31/2025	2460000	1115106
13	7/31/2025	0	
14	6/30/2025	1150000	641795
15	6/30/2025	825000	548805
16	5/31/2025	525000	468584
17	5/31/2025	887543	751495
18	5/14/2025	7938000	2256761
19	4/30/2025	3140000	1982690

	K	L	M	N
1	**Transaction Description**	**Awarding Agency Code**	**Awarding Agency Name**	**Awarding**
2	THE UNIVERSE AS A LAB FOR DARK MATTER PHYSICS	89	Department of Energy	8900
3	NEW COMPETITIVE COOPERATIVE AGREEMENT WITH HARVARD UNIVERSITY, DE-FOA-0002707 (MINER)\nCONTROL NUMBER: 2707-1519\n\nPROJECT TITLE: DEVELOPING ADVANCED NMR TECHNIQUES TO PREDICT AND MONITOR CO2 STORAGE AND MINERALIZATION FOR ENHANCED MINING EXPLORATION AND OPERATION.\n\nTHIS PROPOSAL AIMS AT ADDRESSING THE NEW CHALLENGE OF CO2 INJECTION AND MINERALIZATION BY DEVELOPING ADVANCED NMR TECHNIQUES AND INTERPRETATION MODEL TO QUANTIFY THE SUBSURFACE FORMATION PROPERTIES AND RESERVOIR CARBONATION IN SITU FOR CO2 STORAGE AND ENHANCED MINING EXPLORATION AND OPERATION.	89	Department of Energy	8900
4	MICROBIAL ECOLOGY, PROTEOGENOMICS AND COMPUTATIONAL OPTIMA	89	Department of Energy	8900
5	AN ULTRACOLD PLAYGROUND FOR CONTROLLED ATOM-MOLECULE CHEMISTRY	89	Department of Energy	8900
6	CROSS-SCALE METHANE DYNAMICS AT TERRESTRIAL-AQUATIC INTERFACES IN TEMPERATE FORESTS	89	Department of Energy	8900
7	CONVERTING METAL–ORGANIC LIQUIDS INTO MICROPOROUS GLASSES VIA NON-EQUILIBRIUM SYNTHESES	89	Department of Energy	8900
8	MACHINE LEARNING FOR ACCELERATED UNDERSTANDING OF DYNAMIC CATALYSIS	89	Department of Energy	8900
9	QUANTUM ACOUSTICS UNRAVELS THE PLANCKIAN METALS	89	Department of Energy	8900
10	UNDERSTANDING FLOW CELL POROUS ELECTRODES AS ACTIVE MATERIALS FOR ELECTROCHEMICAL TRANSFORMATIONS	89	Department of Energy	8900
11	ANALYSES OF CUMULUS MIXING USING ASR AIRCRAFT OBSERVATIONS AND LES SIMULATIONS	89	Department of Energy	8900
12	EMERGENT QUASIPARTICLES IN GRAPHENE HETEROSTRUCTURE	89	Department of Energy	8900
13	EPITAXIAL STABILIZATION OF NOVEL SUPERCONDUCTORS FOR ENERGY GENERATION, STORAGE AND DISTRIBUTION	89	Department of Energy	8944
14	ULTRAFAST CONTROL OF SPIN FLUCTUATIONS IN LIGHT-DRIVEN QUANTUM MATERIALS	89	Department of Energy	8900
15	FROM Z TO PLANETS – PHASE IV	89	Department of Energy	8900
16	METALLIC HYDROGEN: REFLECTANCE, METASTABILITY, AND SUPERCONDUCTIVITY (HARVARD)	89	Department of Energy	8900
17	QUANTUM SIMULATION OF CORRELATED QUANTUM MATTER	89	Department of Energy	8900
18	OPTO-CHEMO-MECHANICAL ENERGY TRANSDUCTION IN BIOMIMETIC ENSEMBLES OF RECONFIGURABLE MICROPARTICLES OF LIQUID CRYSTAL ELASTOMERS	89	Department of Energy	8900
19	MIXED-METAL OXIDE ENERGY CONVERSION CATALYSTS FOR INTEGRATION WITH PHOTOABSORBERS	89	Department of Energy	8900

	O	P	Q	R	S	T	U
1	**Awarding Subagency Name**	**Funding Agency Code**	**Funding Agency Name**	**Funding Office Code**	**Funding Office Name**	**Funding Subagency Code**	**Funding Subagency Name**
2	Department of Energy	89	Department of Energy	892401	SCIENCE	8900	Department of Energy
3	Department of Energy	89	Department of Energy	897002	ADVANCED RSRCH PROJ AGENCY ARPA-E	8900	Department of Energy
4	Department of Energy	89	Department of Energy	892401	SCIENCE	8900	Department of Energy
5	Department of Energy	89	Department of Energy	892401	SCIENCE	8900	Department of Energy
6	Department of Energy	89	Department of Energy	892401	SCIENCE	8900	Department of Energy
7	Department of Energy	89	Department of Energy	892401	SCIENCE	8900	Department of Energy
8	Department of Energy	89	Department of Energy	892401	SCIENCE	8900	Department of Energy
9	Department of Energy	89	Department of Energy	892401	SCIENCE	8900	Department of Energy
10	Department of Energy	89	Department of Energy	892401	SCIENCE	8900	Department of Energy
11	Department of Energy	89	Department of Energy	892401	SCIENCE	8900	Department of Energy
12	Department of Energy	89	Department of Energy	892401	SCIENCE	8900	Department of Energy
13	Assistant Secretary for Fossil	89	Department of Energy	892401	SCIENCE	8900	Department of Energy
14	Department of Energy	89	Department of Energy	892401	SCIENCE	8900	Department of Energy
15	Department of Energy	89	Department of Energy	892300	NNSA WEAPONS ACTIVITIES FUNDS	8900	Department of Energy
16	Department of Energy	89	Department of Energy	892300	NNSA WEAPONS ACTIVITIES FUNDS	8900	Department of Energy
17	Department of Energy	89	Department of Energy	892401	SCIENCE	8900	Department of Energy
18	Department of Energy	89	Department of Energy	892401	SCIENCE	8900	Department of Energy
19	Department of Energy	89	Department of Energy	892401	SCIENCE	8900	Department of Energy

	V	W	X	Y	Z	AA	AB
1	**USASpending link**	**Grouped Name**	**Is_Hospital**	**Current total Outlayed**	**Current Unspent Amount**	**Status**	**Total Obligated Amount**
2	https://www.usaspending.gov/award/ASST_NON_DESC0025671_8900/	HARVARD COLLEGE		$39,051	$160,949		
3	https://www.usaspending.gov/award/ASST_NON_DEAR0001705_8900/	HARVARD COLLEGE		$1,112,972	$776,336		
4	https://www.usaspending.gov/award/ASST_NON_DEFG0202ER63445_8900/	HARVARD COLLEGE		$66,625,313	$1,192,921	Ceiling:	$67,818,234.00
5	https://www.usaspending.gov/award/ASST_NON_DESC0024087_8900/	HARVARD COLLEGE		$394,596	$265,404		
6	https://www.usaspending.gov/award/ASST_NON_DESC0024092_8900/	HARVARD COLLEGE		$389,598	$610,402		
7	https://www.usaspending.gov/award/ASST_NON_DESC0021145_8900/	HARVARD COLLEGE		$708,048	$41,952		
8	https://www.usaspending.gov/award/ASST_NON_DESC0022199_8900/	HARVARD COLLEGE		$2,493,080	$55,727		
9	https://www.usaspending.gov/award/ASST_NON_DESC0025489_8900/	HARVARD COLLEGE		$47,673	$252,326		
10	https://www.usaspending.gov/award/ASST_NON_DESC0020170_8900/	HARVARD COLLEGE		$3,069,988	$470,012		
11	https://www.usaspending.gov/award/ASST_NON_DESC0022887_8900/	HARVARD COLLEGE		$529,191	$0		
12	https://www.usaspending.gov/award/ASST_NON_DESC0012260_8900/	HARVARD COLLEGE		$2,209,822	$250,178		
13	https://www.usaspending.gov/award/ASST_NON_DESC0021925_8944/	HARVARD COLLEGE		$619,951	$130,049	Ceiling:	$750,000
14	https://www.usaspending.gov/award/ASST_NON_DESC0022883_8900/	HARVARD COLLEGE		$641,795	$508,205		
15	https://www.usaspending.gov/award/ASST_NON_DENA0004084_8900/	HARVARD COLLEGE		$597,114	$227,886		
16	https://www.usaspending.gov/award/ASST_NON_DENA0004087_8900/	HARVARD COLLEGE		$521,890	$3,110		
17	https://www.usaspending.gov/award/ASST_NON_DESC0019030_8900/	HARVARD COLLEGE		$887,543	$0		
18	https://www.usaspending.gov/award/ASST_NON_DESC0005247_8900/	HARVARD COLLEGE		$6,510,166	$607,834	Ceiling:	$7,118,000
19	https://www.usaspending.gov/award/ASST_NON_DESC0017619_8900/	HARVARD COLLEGE		$2,938,384	$601,616	Ceiling:	$3,540,000

Department of Energy
Office of Science
Washington, DC 20585

May 12, 2025

Dr. Alan Garber
Office of the President
Harvard University
Massachusetts Hall
Cambridge, MA 02138

Dr. Garber:

The Department of Energy (DOE) is hereby providing notice that funding for the projects in the attached spreadsheet is hereby terminated. This termination is pursuant to 2 C.F.R. § 200.340(a)(4), which permits termination "by the Federal agency or pass-through entity pursuant to the terms and conditions of the Federal award, including, to the extent authorized by law, if an award no longer effectuates the program goals or agency priorities."

DOE understands that Harvard University (Harvard) continues to engage in race discrimination, including in its admission process, and in other areas of student life, such as access to the Law Review at Harvard Law School. We are also aware of recent events at Harvard involving antisemitic action that suggest the institution has a disturbing lack of concern for the safety and wellbeing of Jewish students. Harvard's ongoing inaction in the face of repeated and severe harassment and targeting of Jewish students has ground day-to-day campus operations to a halt, deprived Jewish students of learning and research opportunities to which they are entitled, and brought shame upon the University and our nation as a whole. Indeed, as the Harvard Presidential Task Force on Combating Antisemitism and Anti-Israeli Bias concluded, actions at Harvard during the 2023-2024 academic year resulted in widespread abuse of Jewish and Israeli students by an institution "that mainstreamed and normalized what many Jewish and Israeli students experience as antisemitism and anti-Israeli bias."

DOE maintains a firm policy of not supporting entities, individuals or actions that engage in discrimination or which promote and condone, by action or acquiescence, antisemitism. Despite being aware of deeply rooted racial discrimination and antisemitism at Harvard, Harvard has refused to take immediate, definitive and appropriate remedial action. Therefore, based on the available information, DOE has concluded that no modification of the Harvard projects could align the projects with agency priorities and any continued funding of the projects is inconsistent with DOE's stewardship of American taxpayer funds and would be inconsistent with the DOE's overall mission and goals.

Supporting research in such an environment is plainly inconsistent with DOE's priorities and *raison d'etre* of funding and championing the very best American research and educational institutions. The actions of Harvard in failing to definitely eliminate racial discrimination and antisemitism on its campus demonstrate that Harvard's conduct does not

align with DOE's policy against racial discrimination, and antisemitism, in all of its permutations.

In accordance with 2 C.F.R. § 200.343, you are hereby notified that costs to the recipient or subrecipient resulting from financial obligations incurred by the recipient or subrecipient during the termination of this award are not allowable. However, costs after termination are allowable if the costs result from financial obligations which were properly incurred by the recipient or subrecipient before the effective date of termination.

Administrative Appeal
You may object and provide information and documentation challenging these terminations.

You must submit a request for such review to DOE's Office of General Counsel no later than 30 days after this letter is received, except that if you show good cause why an extension of time should be granted, the DOE General Counsel may grant an extension of time in the exercise of his sole discretion.

The request for review must include a copy of this decision, must identify the issue(s) in dispute, and must contain a full statement of your position with respect to such issue(s) and the pertinent facts and reasons in support of your position. In addition to the required written statement, you shall provide copies of any documents supporting your claim.

Sincerely,

Juston Fontaine
Office of Science
U.S. Department of Energy

Award Number	Research Project Title
DE-SC0005247	Opto-Chemo-Mechanical Energy Transduction in Biomimetic Ensembles of Reconfigurable Microparticles of Liquid Crystal Elastomers
DE-SC0012260	Emergent Quasiparticles in Graphene Heterostructure
DE-SC0007870	Research in Theoretical High Energy Physics
DE-SC0007881	Particle Physics and Cosmology Research
DE-SC0019030	Quantum Simulation of Correlated Quantum Matter
DE-SC0022887	Analyses of Cumulus Mixing Using ASR Aircraft Observations and LES Simulations
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DE-SC0021145	Converting Metal Organic Liquids into Microporous Glasses via Non-Equilibrium Syntheses
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DE-SC0024092	Cross-Scale Methane Dynamics at Terrestrial-Aquatic Interfaces in Temperate Forests
DE-SC0025671	The Universe as a Lab for Dark Matter Physics
DE-SC0022883	Ultrafast Control of Spin Fluctuations in Light-driven Quantum Materials

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Sincerely,

Shane Kosinski

Shane Kosinski
Deputy Director for Operations
Advanced Research Projects Agency-Energy (ARPA-E)
U.S. Department of Energy

Award Number	Project Title
DE-AR0001705	Developing advanced NMR techniques to predict and monitor CO2 storage and mineralization for enhanced mining exploration and operation

From: Fontaine, Juston
To: [redacted]
Subject: U.S. Department of Energy - Termination of Financial Assistance Awards
Date: Monday, May 12, 2025 12:42:26 PM
Attachments: DOE Termination Letter to Harvard.pdf

Dr. Garber:

Please see the attached correspondence pertaining to the termination of funding for specific projects from the Department of Energy. Separate communication will also be provided by the cognizant contracting officer to the University's point of contact for the subject awards.

Juston Fontaine
Office of Science
U.S. Department of Energy

Department of Energy
Office of Science
Washington, DC 20585

May 12, 2025

Dr. Alan Garber
Office of the President
Harvard University
Massachusetts Hall
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Sincerely,

Juston Fontaine
Office of Science
U.S. Department of Energy

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DE-SC0025671	The Universe as a Lab for Dark Matter Physics
DE-SC0022883	Ultrafast Control of Spin Fluctuations in Light-driven Quantum Materials

From: Kosinski, Shane
To: [redacted]
Subject: U.S. Department of Energy - Termination of Financial Assistance Award DE-AR0001705
Date: Monday, May 12, 2025 9:35:00 AM
Attachments: DOE Termination Letter to Harvard University_DE-AR0001705.pdf
image001.png
image002.png
image003.png
image004.png
image005.png
image006.png

Dr. Garber:

Please see the attached correspondence pertaining to the termination of funding for specific project, DE-AR0001705, from the Department of Energy. Separate communication will also be provided by the cognizant contracting officer to the University's point of contact for the subject awards.

Regards,

Shane Kosinski

Shane Kosinski
Deputy Director for Operations, ARPA-E
202-287-1010
shane.kosinski@hq.doe.gov

Department of Energy
Washington, DC 20585

May 12, 2025

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Office of the President
Harvard University
Massachusetts Hall
Cambridge, MA 02138

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DOE maintains a firm policy of not supporting entities, individuals or actions that engage in discrimination or which promote and condone, by action or acquiescence, antisemitism. Despite being aware of deeply rooted racial discrimination and antisemitism at Harvard, Harvard has refused to take immediate, definitive and appropriate remedial action. Therefore, based on the available information, DOE has concluded that no modification of the Harvard projects could align the projects with agency priorities and any continued funding of the projects is inconsistent with DOE's stewardship of American taxpayer funds and would be inconsistent with the DOE's overall mission and goals.

Supporting research in such an environment is plainly inconsistent with DOE's priorities and *raison d'etre* of funding and championing the very best American research and educational institutions. The actions of Harvard in failing to definitely eliminate racial discrimination and antisemitism on its campus demonstrate that Harvard's conduct does not align with DOE's policy against racial discrimination, and antisemitism, in all of its permutations.

In accordance with 2 C.F.R. § 200.343, you are hereby notified that costs to the recipient or subrecipient resulting from financial obligations incurred by the recipient or subrecipient during the termination of this award are not allowable. However, costs after termination are allowable if the costs result from financial obligations which were properly incurred by the recipient or subrecipient before the effective date of termination.

Administrative Appeal
You may object and provide information and documentation challenging these terminations.

You must submit a request for such review to DOE's Office of General Counsel no later than 30 days after this letter is received, except that if you show good cause why an extension of time should be granted, the DOE General Counsel may grant an extension of time in the exercise of his sole discretion.

The request for review must include a copy of this decision, must identify the issue(s) in dispute, and must contain a full statement of your position with respect to such issue(s) and the pertinent facts and reasons in support of your position. In addition to the required written statement, you shall provide copies of any documents supporting your claim.

Sincerely,

Shane Kosinski

Shane Kosinski
Deputy Director for Operations
Advanced Research Projects Agency-Energy (ARPA-E)
U.S. Department of Energy

Award Number	Project Title
DE-AR0001705	Developing advanced NMR techniques to predict and monitor CO2 storage and mineralization for enhanced mining exploration and operation

From: Beyer, Brandon
To: [redacted]
Subject: Termination Letter - DE-AR0001705
Date: Monday, May 12, 2025 11:02:00 AM
Attachments: image001.png
image002.png
image003.png
image004.png
image005.png
image006.png
DOE Termination Letter to Harvard University_DE-AR0001705.pdf

[redacted]

The Department of Energy (DOE) is hereby providing notice that funding for DE-AR0001705 is hereby terminated. This termination is pursuant to 2 C.F.R. § 200.340(a)(4), which permits termination "by the Federal agency or pass-through entity pursuant to the terms and conditions of the Federal award, including, to the extent authorized by law, if an award no longer effectuates the program goals or agency priorities." See formal attached letter for more details.

Sincerely,

Brandon P. Beyer
Contracting Officer/Team Lead
Advanced Research Projects Agency - Energy
brandon.beyer@hq.doe.gov

Department of Energy
Washington, DC 20585

May 12, 2025

Dr. Alan Garber
Office of the President
Harvard University
Massachusetts Hall
Cambridge, MA 02138

Dr. Garber:

The Department of Energy (DOE) is hereby providing notice that funding for the projects in the attached spreadsheet is hereby terminated. This termination is pursuant to 2 C.F.R. § 200.340(a)(4), which permits termination "by the Federal agency or pass-through entity pursuant to the terms and conditions of the Federal award, including, to the extent authorized by law, if an award no longer effectuates the program goals or agency priorities."

DOE understands that Harvard University (Harvard) continues to engage in race discrimination, including in its admission process, and in other areas of student life, such as access to the Law Review at Harvard Law School. We are also aware of recent events at Harvard involving antisemitic action that suggest the institution has a disturbing lack of concern for the safety and wellbeing of Jewish students. Harvard's ongoing inaction in the face of repeated and severe harassment and targeting of Jewish students has ground day-to-day campus operations to a halt, deprived Jewish students of learning and research opportunities to which they are entitled, and brought shame upon the University and our nation as a whole. Indeed, as the Harvard Presidential Task Force on Combating Antisemitism and Anti-Israeli Bias concluded, actions at Harvard during the 2023-2024 academic year resulted in widespread abuse of Jewish and Israeli students by an institution "that mainstreamed and normalized what many Jewish and Israeli students experience as antisemitism and anti-Israeli bias."

DOE maintains a firm policy of not supporting entities, individuals or actions that engage in discrimination or which promote and condone, by action or acquiescence, antisemitism. Despite being aware of deeply rooted racial discrimination and antisemitism at Harvard, Harvard has refused to take immediate, definitive and appropriate remedial action. Therefore, based on the available information, DOE has concluded that no modification of the Harvard projects could align the projects with agency priorities and any continued funding of the projects is inconsistent with DOE's stewardship of American taxpayer funds and would be inconsistent with the DOE's overall mission and goals.

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The request for review must include a copy of this decision, must identify the issue(s) in dispute, and must contain a full statement of your position with respect to such issue(s) and the pertinent facts and reasons in support of your position. In addition to the required written statement, you shall provide copies of any documents supporting your claim.

Sincerely,

Shane Kosinski

Shane Kosinski
Deputy Director for Operations
Advanced Research Projects Agency-Energy (ARPA-E)
U.S. Department of Energy

Award Number	Project Title
DE-AR0001705	Developing advanced NMR techniques to predict and monitor CO2 storage and mineralization for enhanced mining exploration and operation

An official website of the United States government

U.S. General Services Administration

March 31, 2025

HHS, ED, and GSA initiate federal contract and grant review of Harvard University

Glossary

Measures include a comprehensive review of federal contracts and grants as part of an investigation aimed at eliminating anti-Semitic harassment on college campuses

WASHINGTON — Today, the Departments of Education (ED), Health and Human Services (HHS), and the U.S. General Services Administration (GSA) announced a comprehensive review of federal contracts and grants at Harvard University and its affiliates. This review is part of the ongoing efforts of the Joint Task Force to Combat Anti-Semitism.

The Task Force will review the more than $255.6 million in contracts between Harvard University, its affiliates and the Federal Government. The review also includes the more than $8.7 billion in multi-year grant commitments to Harvard University and its affiliates to ensure the university is in compliance with federal regulations, including its civil rights responsibilities.

"Harvard has served as a symbol of the American Dream for generations – the pinnacle aspiration for students all over the world to work hard and earn admission to the storied institution," said **Secretary of Education Linda McMahon**. "Harvard's failure to protect students on campus from anti-Semitic discrimination - all while promoting divisive ideologies over free inquiry - has put its reputation in serious jeopardy. Harvard can right these wrongs and restore itself to a campus dedicated to academic excellence and truth-seeking, where all students feel safe on its campus."

Today's actions by the Task Force follow a similar ongoing review of Columbia University. That review led to Columbia agreeing to comply with 9 preconditions for further negotiations regarding a return of canceled federal funds. This initiative strengthens enforcement of President Trump's Executive Order titled "Additional Measures to Combat Anti-Semitism. The Task Force ensures that federally funded institutions uphold their legal and ethical responsibilities to prevent anti-Semitic harassment.

The federal government will collaborate with relevant contracting agencies to assess whether Stop Work Orders should be issued for any identified contracts. Additionally, Harvard has been directed to submit a comprehensive list of all contracts—both direct and through affiliates—between their institution and the federal government that were not included in the initial review.

"The Task Force will continue its efforts to root out anti-Semitism and to refocus our institutions of higher learning on the core values that undergird a liberal education," said **HHS Acting General Counsel and Task Force member, Sean Keveney**. "We are pleased that Harvard is willing to engage with us on these goals."

Any institution found to be in violation of federal compliance standards may face administrative actions, including contract termination.

The Task Force remains committed to awarding federal funds responsibly and holding institutions accountable for taking decisive action against anti-Semitic harassment. GSA has been asked to facilitate the review of federal funding received by Harvard including grant and contract reviews across the Federal Government.

"Hate in any form goes against the foundational principles of America. While Harvard's recent actions to curb institutionalized anti-Semitism - though long overdue - are welcome, there is much more that the university must do to retain the privilege of receiving federal taxpayer's hard earned dollars," said **FAS Commissioner and Task Force Member, Josh Gruenbaum**. "This administration has proven that we will take swift action to hold institutions accountable if they allow anti-Semitism to fester. We will not hesitate to act if Harvard fails to do so."

For more information, visit the announcement on the formation of the Task Force to Combat Anti-Semitism and read the HHS, ED, and GSA joint press release from Monday, March 3rd.

###

About GSA: GSA provides centralized procurement and shared services for the federal government. GSA manages a nationwide real estate portfolio of over 360 million rentable square feet, oversees more than $110 billion in products and services via federal contracts, and delivers technology services that serve millions of people across dozens of federal agencies. GSA's mission is to deliver the best customer experience and value in real estate, acquisition, and technology services to the government and the American people. For more information, visit GSA.gov and follow us at @USGSA.

Contact

press@gsa.gov

Last updated: Apr 3, 2025

Docusign Envelope ID: 8B5E1264-41A5-4866-8162-EB8B7082C5DA

U.S. General Services Administration

3/31/2025

MEMORANDUM FOR: DR. ALAN M. GARBER
PRESIDENT
HARVARD UNIVERSITY
OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT
MASSACHUSETTS HALL
CAMBRIDGE, MA 02138

PENNY PRITZKER
LEAD MEMBER, HARVARD CORPORATION
HARVARD CORPORATION
MASSACHUSETTS HALL
CAMBRIDGE, MA 02138

FROM: JOSH GRUENBAUM
Signed by: Josh Gruenbaum 2E0F9ABC0FC249F...
COMMISSIONER, FEDERAL ACQUISITION SERVICE
U.S. GENERAL SERVICES ADMINISTRATION (GSA)

SUBJECT: Review of Federal Government Contracts

Pursuant to President Trump's Executive Order, "Additional Measures to Combat Anti-Semitism", on February 3, 2025, a multi-agency Task Force to Combat Anti-Semitism was created, consisting of the Departments of Justice, Education, Health and Human Services, and the General Services Administration. GSA is leading a Task Force comprehensive review of Federal contracts with certain institutions of higher education that are being investigated for potential infractions and dereliction of duties to curb or combat anti-Semitic harassment, including Harvard University.

In light of this review, the Federal Government is ready to work with each appropriate contracting agency on the potential issuance of Stop Work Orders for all contracts identified in the attached schedule, which total $255.6 million of contract ceiling value. In addition, we are requiring you to send a list of all other contracts between the Federal Government and Harvard University or its affiliates which are not listed on the schedule to GSA's Federal Acquisition Service Commissioner and Task Force member, Josh Gruenbaum. Commissioner Gruenbaum will lead GSA's review. All materials should be sent to: universitycontracts@gsa.gov. Please be advised that alongside our fellow agencies, we will also be reviewing the greater than $8.7 billion of multi-year grant commitments between Harvard University, its affiliates and the Federal Government for potential compliance concerns, false claims or other infractions.

Docusign Envelope ID: 8B5E1264-41A5-4866-8162-EB8B7082C5DA

The Federal Government reserves the right to terminate for convenience any contracts it has with your institution at any time during the period of performance. Additionally, the Federal Government reserves the right to take any relevant administrative action it deems necessary in response to any wrongdoing identified during the pendency of the investigations.

April 03, 2025

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

Penny Pritzker
Lead Member, Harvard Corporation
Harvard Corporation
Massachusetts Hall
Cambridge, MA 02138

Dear Dr. Garber:

Please consider this a formal communication with respect to the current situation on the campus of Harvard University and a follow up to the March 31, 2025, letter from Commissioner Gruenbaum informing you that the United States Government would be reviewing Harvard's federal funding. Harvard has asked for a dialogue with the Task Force to discuss this ongoing review. Below, you will find several broad, non-exhaustive areas of reform that the government views as necessary for Harvard to implement to remain a responsible recipient of federal taxpayer dollars. We look forward to a meaningful dialogue focused on lasting, structural reforms at Harvard.

U.S. taxpayers invest enormously in U.S. colleges and universities, including Harvard University. These funds are an investment and, like any investment, are based on the recipient's performance, not owed as a matter of custom or right. It is the responsibility of the federal government to ensure that all recipients are responsible stewards of taxpayer funds. Harvard University, however, has fundamentally failed to protect American students and faculty from antisemitic violence and harassment in addition to other alleged violations of Title VI and Title VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964. This letter outlines immediate next steps that we regard as necessary for Harvard University's continued financial relationship with the United States government.

- **Oversight and accountability for biased programs that fuel antisemitism.** Programs and departments that fuel antisemitic harassment must be reviewed and necessary changes made to address bias, improve viewpoint diversity, and end ideological capture.
- **Disciplinary reform and consistent accountability.** Harvard has an obligation to consistently and proactively enforce its existing disciplinary policies, ensuring that senior administrative leaders are responsible for final decisions. Reforms must include a

comprehensive mask ban (with medical and religious exemptions, given identification is always displayed) and a clarified time, place, and manner policy. Harvard must review and report on disciplinary actions for antisemitic rule violations since October 7, 2023.

- **Student group accountability.** Recognized and unrecognized student groups, and their leadership, must be held accountable for violations of Harvard policy.
- **Governance and leadership reforms.** Harvard must make meaningful governance reforms to improve its organizational structure to foster clear lines of authority and accountability, and to empower faculty and administrative leaders who are committed to implementing the changes indicated in this letter.
- **Merit-based admissions reform.** Harvard must adopt and implement merit-based admissions policies; cease all preferences based on race, color, or national origin in admissions throughout its undergraduate, graduate, and other programs; and demonstrate through structural and personnel action that these changes are durable.
- **Merit-based hiring reform.** Harvard must adopt and implement merit-based hiring policies; cease all preferences based on race, color, religion, sex, or national origin in hiring throughout its teaching and research faculty, staff, and leadership; and demonstrate through structural and personnel action that these changes are durable.
- **Diversity, Equity, and Inclusion (DEI) programs.** DEI programs teach students, faculty, staff, and leadership to make snap judgments about each other based on crude race and identity stereotypes, which fuels division and hatred based on race, color, national origin, and other protected identity characteristics. All efforts should be made to shutter such programs.
- **Cooperation with law enforcement.** Harvard must cooperate with law enforcement to ensure student safety.
- **Transparency and reporting to ED, DHS, and other federal regulators.** Harvard must comply fully with existing statutory reporting requirements under Section 117 of the Higher Education Act, commit to full cooperation with DHS and other federal regulators, and make organizational changes as necessary to enable full compliance.

We expect your immediate cooperation in implementing these critical reforms that will enable Harvard to return to its original mission of providing a high-quality education in a safe environment for *all* students through a focus on truth-seeking, innovative research, and academic excellence.

Sincerely,

Josh Gruenbaum
Comm'r of the Fed. Acquisition Serv.
General Services Administration

Sean R. Keveney
Acting General Counsel
U.S. Dep't Health & Human Servs.

Thomas E. Wheeler
Acting General Counsel
U.S. Dept. of Education

April 11, 2025

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

Penny Pritzker
Lead Member, Harvard Corporation
Harvard Corporation
Massachusetts Hall
Cambridge, MA 02138

Dear Dr. Garber:

The United States has invested in Harvard University's operations because of the value to the country of scholarly discovery and academic excellence. But an investment is not an entitlement. It depends on Harvard upholding federal civil rights laws, and it only makes sense if Harvard fosters the kind of environment that produces intellectual creativity and scholarly rigor, both of which are antithetical to ideological capture.

Harvard has in recent years failed to live up to both the intellectual and civil rights conditions that justify federal investment. But we appreciate your expression of commitment to repairing those failures and welcome your collaboration in restoring the University to its promise. We therefore present the below provisions as the basis for an agreement in principle that will maintain Harvard's financial relationship with the federal government.

If acceptable to Harvard, this document will constitute an agreement in principle, which the parties will work in good faith to translate into a more thorough, binding settlement agreement. As you will see, this letter incorporates and supersedes the terms of the federal government's prior letter of April 3, 2025.

- **Governance and leadership reforms.** By August 2025, Harvard must make meaningful governance reform and restructuring to make possible major change consistent with this letter, including: fostering clear lines of authority and accountability; empowering tenured professors and senior leadership, and, from among the tenured professoriate and senior leadership, exclusively those most devoted to the scholarly mission of the University and committed to the changes indicated in this letter; reducing the power held by students and untenured faculty; reducing the power held by faculty (whether tenured or untenured) and administrators more committed to activism than scholarship; and reducing forms of

governance bloat, duplication, or decentralization that interfere with the possibility of the reforms indicated in this letter.

- **Merit-Based Hiring Reform**. By August 2025, the University must adopt and implement merit-based hiring policies, and cease all preferences based on race, color, religion, sex, or national origin throughout its hiring, promotion, compensation, and related practices among faculty, staff, and leadership. Such adoption and implementation must be durable and demonstrated through structural and personnel changes. All existing and prospective faculty shall be reviewed for plagiarism and Harvard's plagiarism policy consistently enforced. All hiring and related data shall be shared with the federal government and subjected to a comprehensive audit by the federal government during the period in which reforms are being implemented, which shall be at least until the end of 2028.

- **Merit-Based Admissions Reform**. By August 2025, the University must adopt and implement merit-based admissions policies and cease all preferences based on race, color, national origin, or proxies thereof, throughout its undergraduate program, each graduate program individually, each of its professional schools, and other programs. Such adoption and implementation must be durable and demonstrated through structural and personnel changes. All admissions data shall be shared with the federal government and subjected to a comprehensive audit by the federal government—and non-individualized, statistical information regarding admissions shall be made available to the public, including information about rejected and admitted students broken down by race, color, national origin, grade point average, and performance on standardized tests—during the period in which reforms are being implemented, which shall be at least until the end of 2028. During this same period, the dean of admissions for each program or school must sign a public statement after each admissions cycle certifying that these rules have been upheld.

- **International Admissions Reform**. By August 2025, the University must reform its recruitment, screening, and admissions of international students to prevent admitting students hostile to the American values and institutions inscribed in the U.S. Constitution and Declaration of Independence, including students supportive of terrorism or anti-Semitism. Harvard will immediately report to federal authorities, including the Department of Homeland Security and State Department, any foreign student, including those on visas and with green cards, who commits a conduct violation. As above, these reforms must be durable and demonstrated through structural and personnel changes; comprehensive throughout all of Harvard's programs; and, during the reform period, shared with the federal government for audit, shared on a non-individualized basis with the public, and certified by deans of admissions.

- **Viewpoint Diversity in Admissions and Hiring**. By August 2025, the University shall commission an external party, which shall satisfy the federal government as to its competence and good faith, to audit the student body, faculty, staff, and leadership for viewpoint diversity, such that each department, field, or teaching unit must be individually viewpoint diverse. This audit shall begin no later than the summer of 2025 and shall proceed on a department-by-department, field-by-field, or teaching-unit-by-teaching-unit basis as appropriate. The report of the external party shall be submitted to University leadership and

the federal government no later than the end of 2025. Harvard must abolish all criteria, preferences, and practices, whether mandatory or optional, throughout its admissions and hiring practices, that function as ideological litmus tests. Every department or field found to lack viewpoint diversity must be reformed by hiring a critical mass of new faculty within that department or field who will provide viewpoint diversity; every teaching unit found to lack viewpoint diversity must be reformed by admitting a critical mass of students who will provide viewpoint diversity. If the review finds that the existing faculty in the relevant department or field are not capable of hiring for viewpoint diversity, or that the relevant teaching unit is not capable of admitting a critical mass of students with diverse viewpoints, hiring or admissions within that department, field, or teaching unit shall be transferred to the closest cognate department, field, or teaching unit that is capable of achieving viewpoint diversity. This audit shall be performed and the same steps taken to establish viewpoint diversity every year during the period in which reforms are being implemented, which shall be at least until the end of 2028.

- **Reforming Programs with Egregious Records of Antisemitism or Other Bias.** By August 2025, the University shall commission an external party, which shall satisfy the federal government as to its competence and good faith, to audit those programs and departments that most fuel antisemitic harassment or reflect ideological capture.
    - The programs, schools, and centers of concern include but are not limited to the Divinity School, Graduate School of Education, School of Public Health, Medical School, Religion and Public Life Program, FXB Center for Health & Human Rights, Center for Middle Eastern Studies, Carr Center for Human Rights at the Harvard Kennedy School, Department of Near Eastern Languages and Cultures, and the Harvard Law School International Human Rights Clinic.
    - The report of the external party shall include information as to individual faculty members who discriminated against Jewish or Israeli students or incited students to violate Harvard's rules following October 7, and the University and federal government will cooperate to determine appropriate sanctions for those faculty members within the bounds of academic freedom and the First Amendment.
    - The report of the external party shall be submitted to University leadership and the federal government no later than the end of 2025 and reforms undertaken to repair the problems. This audit shall be performed and the same steps taken to make repairs every year during the period in which reforms are being implemented, which shall be at least until the end of 2028.
- **Discontinuation of DEI**. The University must immediately shutter all diversity, equity, and inclusion (DEI) programs, offices, committees, positions, and initiatives, under whatever name, and stop all DEI-based policies, including DEI-based disciplinary or speech control policies, under whatever name; demonstrate that it has done so to the satisfaction of the federal government; and demonstrate to the satisfaction of the federal government that these reforms are durable and effective through structural and personnel changes. By August

2025, the University must submit to the government a report—certified for accuracy—that confirms these reforms.

- **Student Discipline Reform and Accountability.** Harvard must immediately reform its student discipline policies and procedures so as to swiftly and transparently enforce its existing disciplinary policies with consistency and impartiality, and without double standards based on identity or ideology. Where those policies are insufficient to prevent the disruption of scholarship, classroom learning and teaching, or other aspects of normal campus life, Harvard must develop and implement disciplinary policies sufficient to prevent those disruptions. This includes but is not limited to the following:
    - Discipline at Harvard must include immediate intervention and stoppage of disruptions or deplatforming, including by the Harvard police when necessary to stop a disruption or deplatforming; robust enforcement and reinstatement of existing time, place, and manner rules on campus, including ordering the Harvard police to stop incidents that violate time, place, and manner rules when necessary; a disciplinary process housed in one body that is accountable to Harvard's president or other capstone official; and removing or reforming institutional bodies and practices that delay and obstruct enforcement, including the relevant Administrative Boards and FAS Faculty Council.
    - Harvard must adopt a new policy on student groups or clubs that forbids the recognition and funding of, or provision of accommodations to, any student group or club that endorses or promotes criminal activity, illegal violence, or illegal harassment; invites non-students onto campus who regularly violate campus rules; or acts as a front for a student club that has been banned from campus. The leaders or organizers of recognized and unrecognized student groups that violate these policies must be held accountable as a matter of student discipline and made ineligible to serve as officers in other recognized student organizations. In the future, funding decisions for student groups or clubs must be made exclusively by a body of University faculty accountable to senior University leadership. In particular, Harvard must end support and recognition of those student groups or clubs that engaged in anti-Semitic activity since October 7th, 2023, including the Harvard Palestine Solidarity Committee, Harvard Graduates Students 4 Palestine, Law Students 4 Palestine, Students for Justice in Palestine, and the National Lawyers Guild, and discipline and render ineligible the officers and active members of those student organizations.
    - Harvard must implement a comprehensive mask ban with serious and immediate penalties for violation, not less than suspension.
    - Harvard must investigate and carry out meaningful discipline for all violations that occurred during the 2023-2024 and 2024-2025 academic years, including the Harvard Business School protest of October 2023, the University Hall sit-in of November 2023, and the spring encampment of 2024. This must include permanently expelling the students involved in the October 18 assault of an Israeli

Harvard Business School student, and suspending students involved in occupying university buildings, as warranted by the facts of individual cases.

- The Harvard president and police chief must publicly clarify that the Harvard University Police Department will enforce University rules and the law. Harvard must also commit to cooperating in good faith with law enforcement.

- **Whistleblower Reporting and Protections**. The University must immediately establish procedures by which any Harvard affiliate can report noncompliance with the reforms detailed in this letter to both university leadership and the federal government. Any such reporter shall be fully protected from any adverse actions for so reporting.

- **Transparency and Monitoring**. The University shall make organizational changes to ensure full transparency and cooperation with all federal regulators. No later than June 30, 2025, and every quarter thereafter during the period in which reforms are being implemented, which shall be at least until the end of 2028, the University shall submit to the federal government a report—certified for accuracy—that documents its progress on the implementation of the reforms detailed in this letter. The University must also, to the satisfaction of the federal government, disclose the source and purpose of all foreign funds; cooperate with the federal government in a forensic audit of foreign funding sources and uses, including how that money was used by Harvard, its agents, and, to the extent available, third parties acting on Harvard's campus; report all requested immigration and related information to the United States Department of Homeland Security; and comply with all requirements relating to the SEVIS system.

We expect your immediate cooperation in implementing these critical reforms that will enable Harvard to return to its original mission of innovative research and academic excellence.

Sincerely,

Josh Gruenbaum
Comm'r of the Fed. Acquisition Serv.
General Services Administration

Sean R. Keveney
Acting General Counsel
U.S. Dep't Health & Human Servs.

Thomas E. Wheeler
Acting General Counsel
U.S. Dept. of Education

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U.S. General Services Administration

April 14, 2025

Joint Task Force statement regarding Harvard University

Today, the Task Force to Combat Anti-Semitism released the following statement:

Harvard's statement today reinforces the troubling entitlement mindset that is endemic in our nation's most prestigious universities and colleges – that federal investment does not come with the responsibility to uphold civil rights laws.

The disruption of learning that has plagued campuses in recent years is unacceptable. The harassment of Jewish students is intolerable. It is time for elite universities to take the problem seriously and commit to meaningful change if they wish to continue receiving taxpayer support.

The Joint Task Force to combat anti-Semitism is announcing a freeze on $2.2 billion in multi-year grants and $60M in multi-year contract value to Harvard University.

Contact

press@gsa.gov

Last updated: Apr 14, 2025

An official website of the United States government

U.S. General Services Administration

May 13, 2025

Joint Task Force to Combat Anti-Semitism Statement on Additional Harvard Actions

Glossary

Today, the Task Force to Combat Anti-Semitism released the following statement:

Harvard University has repeatedly failed to confront the pervasive race discrimination and anti-Semitic harassment plaguing its campus. This is just the latest chapter in Harvard's long-standing policy and practice of discriminating on the basis of race as recognized by the Supreme Court in Students for Fair Admissions v. Harvard, where the Court rebuked Harvard for its unlawful race discrimination in admissions. That shameful legacy has continued on as recognized by Harvard's own Presidential Task Force on Combating Antisemitism and Anti-Israeli Bias, which lays bare an appalling reality: Jewish students were subjected to pervasive insults, physical assault, and intimidation, with no meaningful response from Harvard's leadership. Recent reporting has exposed the Harvard Law Review's (HLR) pattern of endemic race discrimination when evaluating articles for inclusion in its journal. Even more troubling, the HLR awarded a $65,000 fellowship–meant to "serve the public interest"—to a protester who faced criminal charges for assaulting a Jewish student on campus. The decision was reviewed and approved by a faculty committee, demonstrating just how radical Harvard has become.

Harvard's campus, once a symbol of academic prestige, has become a breeding ground for virtue signaling and discrimination. This is not leadership; it is cowardice. And it's not academic freedom; it's institutional disenfranchisement. There is a dark problem on Harvard's campus, and by prioritizing appeasement over accountability, institutional leaders have forfeited the school's claim to taxpayer support. As a result, eight federal agencies across the government are announcing the termination of approximately $450 million in grants to Harvard, which is in addition to the $2.2 billion that was terminated last week.

The Task Force fully supports the Trump Administration's multi-agency move to cut funding to Harvard, demonstrating the entire Administration's commitment to eradicating discrimination on Harvard's campus. As we have made clear time and again, this Task Force will not waver in its mission to root out discrimination, hate and bigotry at institutions entrusted with public funds. Harvard, and its leadership group who are tainted by the egregious infractions under its watch, faces a steep, uphill battle to reclaim its legacy as a lawful institution and center of academic excellence.

Josh Gruenbaum
Comm'r of the Fed. Acquisition Serv.
General Services Administration

Sean R. Keveney
Acting General Counsel
U.S. Dep't Health & Human Servs.

Thomas E. Wheeler
Acting General Counsel
U.S. Dept. of Education

Contact

press@gsa.gov

Last updated: May 13, 2025

From: Simonpour, Alexander (HQ-AA000)[GSA]
To: Brandon Bartel - B-C
Subject: RE: [EXTERNAL] Urgent Grant Data Request
Date: Wednesday, April 30, 2025 2:34:00 PM
Attachments: Harvard.xlsx

From: Brandon Bartel - B-C <brandon.bartel@gsa.gov>
Sent: Wednesday, April 30, 2025 12:31 PM
To: Simonpour, Alexander (HQ-AA000)[GSA] <alexander.simonpour@nasa.gov>
Subject: [EXTERNAL] Urgent Grant Data Request

Hi Alex -

Josh asked me to work with agencies to collect a few data points for a small subset of grants by the end of the day. Are you the best POC at NASA for this? I will need current outlays for each grant and the current unliquidated obligations/unspent funds for each grant.

I have about 22 NASA grants in this subset.

Thanks,
Brandon

Vendor Name	PIID	DescriptionOfReqBase	Max POP	Max Month End Range	Total Obligations	Total Contract Value	Potential Savings
PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE	80NSSC19K0326	THERE IS A COMPELLING NEED FOR INTENSIVE STUDY OF CONVECTIVE IMPACTS ON THE SUMMER STRATOSPHERE OVER NORTH AMERICA. EACH SUMMER THE NORTH AMERICAN MONSOON ANTICYCLONE (NAMA) DOMINATES THE CIRCULATION OF THE NORTH-WESTERN HEMISPHERE AND ACTS TO PARTIALLY CONFINE AND ISOLATE AIR FROM THE SURROUNDING ATMOSPHERE. STRONG CONVECTIVE STORMS IN THE NAMA REGULARLY PENETRATE DEEP INTO THE LOWER STRATOSPHERE (LS), WITH SOME ASCENDING ABOVE 20 KM (~450 K POTENTIAL TEMPERATURE). THE UNIQUENESS OF THE NAMA RE	12/31/2025	(d) Between 6 Months and Up to 9 Months	$7,680,199.00	$7,680,199.00	0.00
PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE	80NSSC21K1069	WE WILL USE THIS ANALYSIS TO CRITICALLY ASSESS SYSTEMATIC BIASES AS A FUNCTION OF TOPOGRAPHY, SEASON, TIME OF DAY, CLOUD EFFECTS, ETC.	7/12/2025	(b) Between 60 Days and 90 Days	$276,651.00	$276,651.00	0.00
PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE	80NSSC21K1200	WE PROPOSE OPERATIONAL SUPPORT FOR OUR AIRBORNE INSTRUMENTS TO MEASURE CO2, CH4, CO, AND N2O IN NASA AIRBORNE AND BALLOON FIELD CAMPAIGNS IN THE UPPER TROPOSPHERE AND LOWER STRATOSPHERE.	6/2/2025	(a) Less Than 60 Days	$1,000,000.00	$1,000,000.00	0.00
PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE	80NSSC21K1443	THIS PROJECT WILL USE THE GEOS-CHEM MODEL TO INTERPRET NASA AIRBORNE OBSERVATIONS OF OXYGENATED VOLATILE ORGANIC COMPOUNDS (OVOCS) FROM THE KORUS-AQ CAMPAIGN OVER KOREA (MAY-JUN 2016) AND THE ATOM CAMPAIGN OVER THE PACIFIC AND ATLANTIC (FOUR DEPLOYME	7/31/2025	(c) Between 3 Months and Up to 6 Months	$602,062.00	$602,062.00	0.00
PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE	80NSSC21M0002	COSMIC STORYTELLING WITH NASA DATA: TOOLS FOR EXPLORING DATA SCIENCE	12/31/2025	(d) Between 6 Months and Up to 9 Months	$3,689,711.00	$3,699,911.00	10,200.00
PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE	80NSSC22K0135	REASSESSING MARTIAN DYNAMO HISTORY USING HIGH-RESOLUTION PALEOMAGNETIC.IMAGING AND UPDATED ORBITAL MAGNETOMETRY	12/31/2025	(d) Between 6 Months and Up to 9 Months	$371,488.00	$371,488.00	0.00
PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE	80NSSC22K0233	CRUSTAL SHORTENING ON ROCKY BODIES IS MANIFEST AS POSITIVE-RELIEF INTERPRETED AS FOLDS ATOP THRUST FAULTS. THE OVERALL OBJECTIVE OF THIS PROPOSED	12/31/2025	(d) Between 6 Months and Up to 9 Months	$867,388.00	$867,388.00	0.00

PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE	80NSSC22K1837	21-S2SHYD-21-0024, IMPROVING SUB-SEASONAL TEMPERATURE, PRECIPITATION, AND HYDROLOGICAL FORECASTS.OVER NORTH AMERICA THROUGH ONLINE BIAS CORRECTION.	8/28/2025	(c) Between 3 Months and Up to 6 Months	$674,655.00	$707,811.00	33,156.00
PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE	80NSSC22K1892	21-APRA21-0083, DEVELOPMENT OF A THROUGH SILICON VIA (TSV)-ENABLED HREXI DETECTOR MODULE (HDM)	8/25/2025	(c) Between 3 Months and Up to 6 Months	$987,042.00	$1,600,000.00	612,958.00
PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE	80NSSC23K0489	THIS PROJECT WILL CONTINUE TO SUPPORT, DEVELOP, AND APPLY THE ONLINE GEOS-CHEM ATMOSPHERIC CHEMISTRY CAPABILITY IN THE GEOS ESM. SPECIFIC TASKS WILL INCLUDE (1) IMPLEMENTATION AND BENCHMARKING OF NEW GEOS-CHEM VERSIONS, (2) MODULARIZATION OF GEOS-CHEM COMPONENTS TO SERVE OTHER GEOS ATMOSPHERIC COMPOSITION MODULES, (3) ASSIMILATION OF OZONE AND TIR RADIANCES IN GEOS-CF FOR SIMULATION OF TROPOSPHERIC OZONE, AND (4) EVALUATION OF OFFLINE TRANSPORT ERRORS AND IMPLICATIONS FOR GEOS-CTM.	1/9/2026	(d) Between 6 Months and Up to 9 Months	$376,701.00	$376,701.00	0.00
PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE	80NSSC23K0883	22-22FOF1-PRO-0062, SUBORBITAL MEASUREMENTS OF WILDFIRE SMOKE TO ADVANCE MULTI-SENSOR COORDINATION OBSERVATIONS	6/30/2025	(b) Between 60 Days and 90 Days	$581,442.00	$581,442.00	0.00
PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE	80NSSC23K0926	AURA SCIENCE TEAM ACTIVITIES AND GEOS-CHEM SUPPORT	4/20/2026	(f) More than 12 Months and Up to 18 Months	$855,842.00	$976,839.00	120,997.00
PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE	80NSSC23K1001	22-ACMAP22-0052 LONGWAVE AND SHORTWAVE STRATOSPHERIC AEROSOL RADIATIVE FORCING FROM MODELS AND SATELLITE OBSERVATIONS	5/10/2026	(f) More than 12 Months and Up to 18 Months	$259,232.00	$454,698.00	195,466.00
PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE	80NSSC23K1005	A NEW METRIC OF STRATOSPHERIC MIXING FROM TRACE GAS INTERRELATIONSHIPS	5/10/2026	(f) More than 12 Months and Up to 18 Months	$245,613.00	$429,799.00	184,186.00
PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE	80NSSC23K1226	AEROBOT MOUNTED VINE ROBOTS FOR SURFACE MOBILITY AND CONFINED SPACE EXPLORATION	8/14/2027	(h) More than 2 Years	$168,000.00	$336,000.00	168,000.00
PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE	80NSSC23K1430	RODENT RESEARCH STANDARD HOUSING MISSION: MULTIDISCIPLINARY APPROACH TO UNDERSTANDING SPACEFLIGHT RESPONSES	8/31/2026	(f) More than 12 Months and Up to 18 Months	$79,364.00	$238,092.00	158,728.00
PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE	80NSSC24K1719	DID EARTH HAVE A LATE VENEER? DETERMINING THE BEHAVIORS OF HIGHLY SIDEROPHILE ELEMENTS DURING CORE FORMATION	11/30/2027	(h) More than 2 Years	$50,000.00	$148,145.00	98,145.00
PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE	80NSSC24M0193	NASA OPEN INNOVATION RESEARCH	7/31/2025	(c) Between 3 Months and Up to 6 Months	$197,214.54	$200,000.00	2,785.46

PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE	80NSSC25K7163	THE BEST ANALYSIS DONE FOR THE ENSEMBLE OF KEPLER AND TESS PLANETS TO DATE ASSUMES ALL PLANETS ARE CIRCULAR AND DERIVES THE MORE FUNDAMENTAL PARAMETERS LIKE THE PLANET RADIUS USING THE STELLAR PROPERTIES CALCULATED SEPARATELY. THIS METHOD IS INTERNALLY INCONSISTENT, RESULTING IN BIASED PLANETARY PARAMETERS AND A DISCREPANCY BETWEEN THE STELLAR DENSITY IMPLIED BY THE TRANSIT AND THE STELLAR DENSITY MEASURED FROM THE STAR. THE MAJORITY OF ED EXOPLANETS HAVE SINCE BEEN STATISTICALLY VALIDATED WITHO	12/31/2027	(h) More than 2 Years	$343,447.00	$1,076,775.00	733,328.00
PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE	80NSSC25K7208	OUR FIRST OBJECTIVE WILL BE TO QUANTIFY ANNUAL METHANE EMISSIONS IN MAJOR US URBAN REGIONS WITH FOCUS ON LANDFILLS AND GAS DISTRIBUTION. THIS WILL USE A NEW CAPABILITY FOR ANALYTICAL INVERSIONS AT 12 12 KM2 RESOLUTION, AND AN INDEPENDENT QUANTIFICATION OF EMISSIONS FROM LARGE LANDFILLS WITH WIND-ROTATED AND OVERSAMPLED TROPOMI DATA. RESULTS WILL BE USED TO EVALUATE EMISSIONS FROM THE EPA GREENHOUSE GAS INVENTORY (GHGI) AND THE GREENHOUSE GAS REPORTING PROGRAM (GHGRP), WITH THE GOAL OF GUIDING IM	10/17/2027	(h) More than 2 Years	$271,292.00	$836,540.00	565,248.00
PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE	80NSSC25K7269	EXECUTE A BALANCED SCIENCE PROGRAM BASED ON DISCIPLINE-SPECIFIC GUIDANCE FROM THE NATIONAL ACADEMIES OF SCIENCES, ENGINEERING, AND MEDICINE, ADMINISTRATION PRIORITIES, AND DIRECTION FROM CONGRESS. PARTICIPATE AS A KEY PARTNER AND ENABLER IN THE AGENCY S EXPLORATION INITIATIVE, FOCUSING ON SCIENTIFIC RESEARCH OF, ON, AND FROM THE MOON, LUNAR ORBIT, MARS, AND BEYOND. ADVANCE DISCOVERY IN EMERGING FIELDS BY IDENTIFYING AND EXPLOITING CROSS-DISCIPLINARY OPPORTUNITIES BETWEEN TRADITIONAL SCIENCE DISC	12/31/2028	(h) More than 2 Years	$315,433.00	$1,107,561.00	792,128.00

From: Brandon Bartel - B-C
To: Simonpour, Alexander (HQ-AA000)[GSA]
Subject: Re: [EXTERNAL] Urgent Grant Data Request
Date: Wednesday, April 30, 2025 2:36:08 PM
Attachments: Harvard Grants Excluding Hospital Systems - NASA.xlsx

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On Wed, Apr 30, 2025 at 2:03 PM Simonpour, Alexander (HQ-AA000)[GSA] <alexander.simonpour@nasa.gov> wrote:

> Hi Brandon,
>
> Can you call me when you have some time?
>
> Post production redaction
>
> ---
>
> **From:** Brandon Bartel - B-C <brandon.bartel@gsa.gov>
> **Sent:** Wednesday, April 30, 2025 12:31:16 PM
> **To:** Simonpour, Alexander (HQ-AA000)[GSA] <alexander.simonpour@nasa.gov>
> **Subject:** [EXTERNAL] Urgent Grant Data Request
>
> Hi Alex -
>
> Josh asked me to work with agencies to collect a few data points for a small subset of grants by the end of the day. Are you the best POC at NASA for this? I will need current outlays for each grant and the current unliquidated obligations/unspent funds for each grant.
>
> I have about 22 NASA grants in this subset.
>
> Thanks,
> Brandon

	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	K
1	Grant Typ	PIID	Recipient	Recipient Name	Recipient	Recipient	Period of Per	Period of Perf	Total Obli	Current total Outlayed	Current Unspent Amount
2	PROJECT G	80NSSC25K7269	LN53LCFJF	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE			1/1/2025	12/31/2028	315433		
3	PROJECT G	80NSSC25K7163	LN53LCFJF	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE			1/1/2025	12/31/2027	343447		
4	PROJECT G	80NSSC24K1719	LN53LCFJF	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE			12/1/2024	11/30/2027	50000		

	L	M	N	O	P	Q	R	S	T	U	V	W	X	Y	Z
1	Transaction Description	Awarding	Awarding Agency Name	Awarding	Awarding	Funding A	Funding A	Funding C	Funding C	Funding S	Funding S	USASpenc	Grouped I	Is_Hospital	
2	EXECUTE A BALANCED SCIENCE PROGRAM BASED ON DISCIPLINE-SPECIFIC GUIDANCE FROM THE NATIONAL ACADEMIES OF SCIENCES ENGINEERING AND MEDICINE ADMINISTRATION PRIORITIES AND DIRECTION FROM CONGRESS. PARTICIPATE AS A KEY PARTNER AND ENABLER IN THE AGENCY S EXPLORATION INITIATIVE FOCUSING ON SCIENTIFIC RESEARCH OF ON AND FROM THE MOON LUNAR ORBIT MARS AND BEYOND. ADVANCE DISCOVERY IN EMERGING FIELDS BY IDENTIFYING AND EXPLOITING CROSS-DISCIPLINARY OPPORTUNITIES BETWEEN TRADITIONAL SCIENCE DISCIPLINES. DEVELOP A DIRECTORATE-WIDE TARGET-USER FOCUSED APPROACH TO APPLIED PROGRAMS INCLUDING EARTH SCIENCE APPLICATIONS SPACE WEATHER PLANETARY DEFENSE AND SPACE SITUATIONAL AWARENESS.	80	National Aeronautics and Space Admi	8000	National A	80	National A	80NSSC	NASA SHA	8000	National A	https://w	HARVARD COLLEGE		
3	THE BEST ANALYSIS DONE FOR THE ENSEMBLE OF KEPLER AND TESS PLANETS TO DATE ASSUMES ALL PLANETS ARE CIRCULAR AND DERIVES THE MORE FUNDAMENTAL PARAMETERS LIKE THE PLANET RADIUS USING THE STELLAR PROPERTIES CALCULATED SEPARATELY. THIS METHOD IS INTERNALLY INCONSISTENT RESULTING IN BIASED PLANETARY PARAMETERS AND A DISCREPANCY BETWEEN THE STELLAR DENSITY IMPLIED BY THE TRANSIT AND THE STELLAR DENSITY MEASURED FROM THE STAR. THE MAJORITY OF ED EXOPLANETS HAVE SINCE BEEN STATISTICALLY VALIDATED WITHOUT RADIAL VELOCITIES MEANING THE PLANET PARAMETERS BIASED BY AN ASSUMED CIRCULAR ORBIT ARE CURRENTLY THE DEFINITIVE REFERENCE FOR THE MAJORITY OF ED EXOPLANETS. THIS BIAS MOST DIRECTLY IMPACTS THE SCALED SEMI-MAJOR AXIS WHICH FEEDS DIRECTLY INTO THE MOST FUNDAMENTAL INFERENCES ABOUT PLANETS LIKE PLANET OCCURRENCE RATES. EXOFASTV2 WHICH SIMULTANEOUSLY MODELS THE TRANSIT LIGHT CURVE A SPECTRAL ENERGY DISTRIBUTION AND A STELLAR EVOLUTIONARY TRACK WHILE USING KEPLER'S LAW TO ENSURE THE MODEL PARAMETERS ARE SELF CONSISTENT IS CAPABLE OF MEASURING A PRECISE ECCENTRICITY USING NOTHING BUT THE TRANSIT PHOTOMETRY AND CATALOG DATA THAT IS ALREADY AVAILABLE FOR ESSENTIALLY ALL TRANSITING EXOPLANET CANDIDATES NOW AND IN THE FORESEEABLE FUTURE. WE DEMONSTRATE THAT WE CAN USE SUCH A GLOBAL MODEL TO CONSTRAIN THE ECCENTRICITY WITHOUT RADIAL VELOCITIES THAT IS REMARKABLY PRECISE AND PERFECTLY CONSISTENT WITH THE RESULT FROM RADIAL VELOCITIES. FURTHER WE SHOW THAT EVEN IN THE LOW SIGNAL TO NOISE REGIME OF AN EARTH-SIZED PLANET THE METHOD STILL PROVIDES A MEANINGFUL ECCENTRICITY CONSTRAINT	80	National Aeronautics and Space Admi	8000	National A	80	National A	80NSSC	NASA SHA	8000	National A	https://w	HARVARD COLLEGE		
4	DID EARTH HAVE A LATE VENEER? DETERMINING THE BEHAVIORS OF HIGHLY SIDEROPHILE ELEMENTS DURING CORE FORMATION	80	National Aeronautics and Space Admi	8000	National A	80	National A	80NSSC	NASA SHA	8000	National A	https://w	HARVARD COLLEGE		

	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	K
1	Grant Typ	PIID	Recipient	Recipient Name	Recipient	Recipient	Period of Per	Period of Perf	Total Obli	Current total Outlayed	Current Unspent Amount
5	PROJECT C	80NSSC25K7208	LN53LCFJF	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE			10/18/2024	10/17/2027	271292		
6	PROJECT C	80NSSC23K1226	LN53LCFJF	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE			8/22/2024	8/14/2027	168000		
7	PROJECT C	80NSSC23K1430	JDLVAVGY	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE		PRESIDEN	9/1/2023	8/31/2026	79364		
8	PROJECT C	80NSSC23K1001	LN53LCFJF	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE			8/1/2024	5/10/2026	259232		
9	PROJECT C	80NSSC23K1005	LN53LCFJF	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE			9/27/2024	5/10/2026	245613		
10	PROJECT C	80NSSC23K0926	LN53LCFJF	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE			11/26/2024	4/20/2026	640736		
11	PROJECT C	80NSSC23K0489	LN53LCFJF	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE			1/15/2025	1/9/2026	376701		

	L	M	N	O	P	Q	R	S	T	U	V	W	X	Y	Z
1	Transaction Description	Awarding	Awarding Agency Name	Awarding	Awarding	Funding A	Funding A	Funding C	Funding C	Funding S	Funding S	USASpenc	Grouped I	Is_Hospital	
5	OUR FIRST OBJECTIVE WILL BE TO QUANTIFY ANNUAL METHANE EMISSIONS IN MAJOR US URBAN REGIONS WITH FOCUS ON LANDFILLS AND GAS DISTRIBUTION. THIS WILL USE A NEW CAPABILITY FOR ANALYTICAL INVERSIONS AT 12 12 KM2 RESOLUTION AND AN INDEPENDENT QUANTIFICATION OF EMISSIONS FROM LARGE LANDFILLS WITH WIND-ROTATED AND OVERSAMPLED TROPOMI DATA. RESULTS WILL BE USED TO EVALUATE EMISSIONS FROM THE EPA GREENHOUSE GAS INVENTORY (GHGI) AND THE GREENHOUSE GAS REPORTING PROGRAM (GHGRP) WITH THE GOAL OF GUIDING IMPROVEMENTS IN THESE INVENTORIES. OUR SECOND OBJECTIVE WILL BE TO QUANTIFY ANNUAL NATIONAL ANTHROPOGENIC EMISSIONS WORLDWIDE WITH UP TO 25-KM RESOLUTION AND ATTRIBUTION TO SOURCE SECTORS. THIS WILL SERVE THE CONSIDERABLE STAKEHOLDER DEMAND FOR TOP-DOWN INFORMATION TO EVALUATE AND IMPROVE THE BOTTOM-UP INVENTORIES REPORTED BY INDIVIDUAL COUNTRIES TO THE UNFCCC UNDER THE PARIS AGREEMENT AND THE GLOBAL METHANE PLEDGE. WE WILL TILE THE WORLD WITH CONTINENTAL-SCALE INVERSIONS COVERING ALMOST ALL COUNTRIES IN THE WORLD. WE WILL USE THE RESULTS TO DETERMINE HOW EMISSION FACTORS FOR DIFFERENT SECTORS VARY BETWEEN COUNTRIES AND THE IMPLICATIONS FOR POLICIES TO MITIGATE METHANE EMISSIONS. OUR THIRD OBJECTIVE WILL BE TO DEVELOP A GLOBAL BOTTOM-UP INVENTORY FOR RICE EMISSIONS WITH HIGH SPATIAL RESOLUTION AND MONTHLY TEMPORAL RESOLUTION BY USING A NEW 30-M LANDSAT DATA PRODUCT FOR INUNDATED VEGETATION TOGETHER WITH CROPLAND INFORMATION.	80	National Aeronautics and Space Admi	8000	National A	80	National A	80NSSC	NASA SHA	8000	National A	https://wv	HARVARD COLLEGE		
6	HIGHLY EXTENDABLE VINE ROBOTS FOR PLANETARY EXPLORATION AND SAMPLING	80	National Aeronautics and Space Admi	8000	National A	80	National A	80NSSC	NASA SHA	8000	National A	https://wv	HARVARD COLLEGE		
7	RODENT RESEARCH STANDARD HOUSING MISSION: MULTIDISCIPLINARY APPROACH TO UNDERSTANDING SPACEFLIGHT RESPONSES	80	National Aeronautics and Space Admi	8000	National A	80	National A	80NSSC	NASA SHA	8000	National A	https://wv	HARVARD COLLEGE		
8	22-ACMAP22-0052 LONGWAVE AND SHORTWAVE STRATOSPHERIC AEROSOL RADIATIVE FORCING FROM MODELS AND SATELLITE OBSERVATIONS	80	National Aeronautics and Space Admi	8000	National A	80	National A	80NSSC	NASA SHA	8000	National A	https://wv	HARVARD COLLEGE		
9	22-ACMAP22-0038 A NEW METRIC OF STRATOSPHERIC MIXING FROM TRACE GAS INTERRELATIONSHIPS	80	National Aeronautics and Space Admi	8000	National A	80	National A	80NSSC	NASA SHA	8000	National A	https://wv	HARVARD COLLEGE		
10	AURA SCIENCE TEAM ACTIVITIES AND GEOS-CHEM SUPPORT	80	National Aeronautics and Space Admi	8000	National A	80	National A	80NSSC	NASA SHA	8000	National A	https://wv	HARVARD COLLEGE		
11	THIS PROJECT WILL CONTINUE TO SUPPORT DEVELOP AND APPLY THE ONLINE GEOS-CHEM ATMOSPHERIC CHEMISTRY CAPABILITY IN THE GEOS ESM. SPECIFIC TASKS WILL INCLUDE (1) IMPLEMENTATION AND BENCHMARKING OF NEW GEOS-CHEM VERSIONS (2) MODULARIZATION OF GEOS-CHEM COMPONENTS TO SERVE OTHER GEOS ATMOSPHERIC COMPOSITION MODULES (3) ASSIMILATION OF OZONE AND TIR RADIANCES IN GEOS-CF FOR SIMULATION OF TROPOSPHERIC OZONE AND (4) EVALUATION OF OFFLINE TRANSPORT ERRORS AND IMPLICATIONS FOR GEOS-CTM.	80	National Aeronautics and Space Admi	8000	National A	80	National A	80NSSC	NASA SHA	8000	National A	https://wv	HARVARD COLLEGE		

	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	K
1	Grant Typ	PIID	Recipient	Recipient Name	Recipient	Recipient	Period of Per	Period of Perf	Total Obli	Current total Outlayed	Current Unspent Amount
12	PROJECT G	80NSSC22K0233	LN53LCFJF	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE			2/19/2025	12/31/2025	867388		
13	COOPERA	80NSSC21M0002	LN53LCFJF	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE			2/13/2025	12/31/2025	3689711		
14	PROJECT G	80NSSC19K0326	LN53LCFJF	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE			12/10/2024	12/31/2025	7680199		
15	PROJECT G	80NSSC22K0135	LN53LCFJF	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE			12/3/2024	12/31/2025	371488		
16	PROJECT G	80NSSC22K0817	LN53LCFJF	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE			6/3/2024	10/31/2025	36110		
17	PROJECT G	80NSSC22K1837	LN53LCFJF	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE			11/26/2024	8/28/2025	674655		
18	PROJECT G	80NSSC22K1892	LN53LCFJF	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE			8/29/2024	8/25/2025	827042		
19	PROJECT G	80NSSC21K1443	LN53LCFJF	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE			7/18/2024	7/31/2025	602062		
20	COOPERA	80NSSC24M0193	LN53LCFJF	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE			12/12/2024	7/31/2025	197214		
21	PROJECT G	80NSSC21K1069	LN53LCFJF	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE			7/29/2024	7/12/2025	276651		
22	PROJECT G	80NSSC23K0883	LN53LCFJF	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE			12/10/2024	6/30/2025	581442		

	L	M	N	O	P	Q	R	S	T	U	V	W	X	Y	Z
1	Transaction Description	Awarding	Awarding Agency Name	Awarding	Awarding	Funding A	Funding A	Funding C	Funding C	Funding S	Funding S	USASpenc	Grouped I	Is_Hospital	
12	21-XRP21-0010 MINERVA: A DEDICATED GLOBAL PRECISE RADIAL VELOCITY MACHINE FOR FOLLOW-UP OBSERVATIONS OF TRANSITING PLANETSV	80	National Aeronautics and Space Admi	8000	National A	80	National A	80NSSC	NASA SHA	8000	National A	https://wv	HARVARD COLLEGE		
13	20-SCIACT20-0002 COSMIC STORYTELLING WITH NASA DATA: TOOLS FOR EXPLORING DATA SCIENCE	80	National Aeronautics and Space Admi	8000	National A	80	National A	80NSSC	NASA SHA	8000	National A	https://wv	HARVARD COLLEGE		
14	THERE IS A COMPELLING NEED FOR INTENSIVE STUDY OF CONVECTIVE IMPACTS ON THE SUMMER STRATOSPHERE OVER NORTH AMERICA. EACH SUMMER THE NORTH AMERICAN MONSOON ANTICYCLONE (NAMA) DOMINATES THE CIRCULATION OF THE NORTH-WESTERN HEMISPHERE AND ACTS TO PARTIALLY CONFINE AND ISOLATE AIR FROM THE SURROUNDING ATMOSPHERE. STRONG CONVECTIVE STORMS IN THE NAMA REGULARLY PENETRATE DEEP INTO THE LOWER STRATOSPHERE (LS) WITH SOME ASCENDING ABOVE 20 KM (~450 K POTENTIAL TEMPERATURE). THE UNIQUENESS OF THE NAMA REGION IS MOST EASILY SEEN IN SATELLITE MEASUREMENTS OF WATER VAPOR WHICH SHOW A LARGE ENHANCEMENT IN THE LS OVER NORTH AMERICA NOT SEEN EITHER IN MAGNITUDE OR AT SUCH HIGH LATITUDES ELSEWHERE AROUND THE GLOBE. BUT THE COUPLING OF TROPOPAUSE-PENETRATING CONVECTION WITH LARGE-SCALE MONSOONAL MOTION IS POORLY UNDERSTOOD AS IS THE IMPACT OF CONVECTION ON THE CHEMICAL COMPOSITION OF THE LS BOTH IN MONSOON REGIONS AND IN THE GLOBAL STRATOSPHERE WHICH RECEIVES INPUTS OF MOIST AND POLLUTED MONSOON AIR FROM THE NAMA. THE DYNAMICS AND CHEMISTRY OF THE SUMMER STRATOSPHERE (DCOTSS) PROPOSAL DIRECTLY ADDRESSES THIS KNOWLEDGE GAP.	80	National Aeronautics and Space Admi	8000	National A	80	National A	80NSSC	NASA SHA	8000	National A	https://wv	HARVARD COLLEGE		
15	REASSESSING MARTIAN DYNAMO HISTORY USING HIGH-RESOLUTION PALEOMAGNETIC.IMAGING AND UPDATED ORBITAL MAGNETOMETRY	80	National Aeronautics and Space Admi	8000	National A	80	National A	80NSSC	NASA SHA	8000	National A	https://wv	HARVARD COLLEGE		
16	SIMULATING LUMINOUS BLACK HOLE ACCRETION DISKS AND CORONAE	80	National Aeronautics and Space Admi	8000	National A	80	National A	80NSSC	NASA SHA	8000	National A	https://wv	HARVARD COLLEGE		
17	21-S2SHYD-21-0024 IMPROVING SUB-SEASONAL TEMPERATURE PRECIPITATION AND HYDROLOGICAL FORECASTS.OVER NORTH AMERICA THROUGH ONLINE BIAS CORRECTION.	80	National Aeronautics and Space Admi	8000	National A	80	National A	80NSSC	NASA SHA	8000	National A	https://wv	HARVARD COLLEGE		
18	21-APRA21-0083 DEVELOPMENT OF A THROUGH SILICON VIA (TSV)-ENABLED HREXI DETECTOR MODULE (HDM)	80	National Aeronautics and Space Admi	8000	National A	80	National A	80NSSC	NASA SHA	8000	National A	https://wv	HARVARD COLLEGE		
19	IMPROVED UNDERSTANDING OF OXYGENATED VOLATILE ORGANIC COMPOUNDS (OVOCS) IN POLLUTED AND REMOTE ATMOSPHERES USING KORUS-AQ AND ATOM DATA: IMPLICATIONS FOR INTERPRETING SATELLITE OBSERVATIONS OF FORMALDEHYDE AND GLYOXAL	80	National Aeronautics and Space Admi	8000	National A	80	National A	80NSSC	NASA SHA	8000	National A	https://wv	HARVARD COLLEGE		
20	NASA OPEN INNOVATION RESEARCH	80	National Aeronautics and Space Admi	8000	National A	80	National A	80NSSC	NASA SHA	8000	National A	https://wv	HARVARD COLLEGE		
21	WE WILL USE THIS ANALYSIS TO CRITICALLY ASSESS SYSTEMATIC BIASES AS A FUNCTION OF TOPOGRAPHY SEASON TIME OF DAY CLOUD EFFECTS ETC.	80	National Aeronautics and Space Admi	8000	National A	80	National A	80NSSC	NASA SHA	8000	National A	https://wv	HARVARD COLLEGE		
22	22-22FOF1-PRO-0062 SUBORBITAL MEASUREMENTS OF WILDFIRE SMOKE TO ADVANCE MULTI-SENSOR COORDINATION OBSERVATIONS	80	National Aeronautics and Space Admi	8000	National A	80	National A	80NSSC	NASA SHA	8000	National A	https://wv	HARVARD COLLEGE		

	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	K
1	Grant Typ	PIID	Recipient	Recipient Name	Recipient	Recipient	Period of Per	Period of Perf	Total Obli	Current total Outlayed	Current Unspent Amount
23	PROJECT G	80NSSC21K1200	LN53LCFJF	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE			7/17/2024	6/2/2025	1000000		

	L	M	N	O	P	Q	R	S	T	U	V	W	X	Y	Z
1	Transaction Description	Awarding	Awarding Agency Name	Awarding	Awarding	Funding A	Funding A	Funding C	Funding C	Funding S	Funding S	USASpenc	Grouped I	Is_Hospital	
23	WE PROPOSE OPERATIONAL SUPPORT FOR OUR AIRBORNE INSTRUMENTS TO MEASURE CO2 CH4 CO AND N2O IN NASA AIRBORNE AND BALLOON FIELD CAMPAIGNS IN THE UPPER TROPOSPHERE AND LOWER STRATOSPHERE.	80	National Aeronautics and Space Admi	8000	National A	80	National A	80NSSC	NASA SHA	8000	National A	https://wv	HARVARD COLLEGE		

From: Brandon Bartel - B-C
To: Simonpour, Alexander (HQ-AA000)[GSA]
Subject: Re: [EXTERNAL] Urgent Grant Data Request
Date: Wednesday, April 30, 2025 5:00:55 PM
Attachments: image001.png
image002.png

Sounds good - I will leave it in. However, it does look like the unspent amount is $0.

On Wed, Apr 30, 2025 at 4:38 PM Simonpour, Alexander (HQ-AA000)[GSA] <alexander.simonpour@nasa.gov> wrote:

> Hmmm, weird.
>
> I see it in USA Spending, but I don't see it on my active Contracts/Grants Dashboard. Lets include it on the list
>
> **Alex Simonpour**
>
> Advisor
>
> Mary W. Jackson NASA Headquarters
>
> 300 E Street SW, Washington, DC 20546
> alexander.simonpour@nasa.gov
>
> ---
>
> **From:** Brandon Bartel - B-C <brandon.bartel@gsa.gov>
> **Sent:** Wednesday, April 30, 2025 4:11 PM
> **To:** Simonpour, Alexander (HQ-AA000)[GSA] <alexander.simonpour@nasa.gov>
> **Subject:** Re: [EXTERNAL] Urgent Grant Data Request
>
> Let me know if you are able to find that PIID! Otherwise, I will just flag it in our document.

On Wed, Apr 30, 2025 at 2:44 PM Brandon Bartel - B-C <brandon.bartel@gsa.gov> wrote:

> Thank you! This is the PIID that was not found:
>
> 80NSSC22K0817
>
> On Wed, Apr 30, 2025 at 2:35 PM Simonpour, Alexander (HQ-AA000)[GSA] <alexander.simonpour@nasa.gov> wrote:
>
> ---
>
> **From:** Brandon Bartel - B-C <brandon.bartel@gsa.gov>
> **Sent:** Wednesday, April 30, 2025 12:31 PM
> **To:** Simonpour, Alexander (HQ-AA000)[GSA] <alexander.simonpour@nasa.gov>
> **Subject:** [EXTERNAL] Urgent Grant Data Request
>
> Hi Alex -
>
> Josh asked me to work with agencies to collect a few data points for a small subset of grants by the end of the day. Are you the best POC at NASA for this? I will need current outlays for each grant and the current unliquidated obligations/unspent funds for each grant.
>
> I have about 22 NASA grants in this subset.
>
> Thanks,
>
> Brandon

From: Josh Gruenbaum - Q
To: Simonpour, Alexander (HQ-AA000)[GSA]
Subject: Re: [EXTERNAL] Re: Coordination
Date: Thursday, May 8, 2025 11:08:37 PM
Attachments: image001.png
image002.png

DPP

U.S. General Services Administration

Josh Gruenbaum
Commissioner of Federal Acquisition Service
[redacted]
josh.gruenbaum@gsa.gov

On Thu, May 8, 2025 at 11:07 PM Simonpour, Alexander (HQ-AA000)[GSA] <alexander.simonpour@nasa.gov> wrote:

> For NASA (assuming we only terminate 5 of the 22 contracts):
>
> Ceiling value: $12,420,264.00
>
> Obligated: $12,248,550.54
>
> Savings: $171,713.46
>
> DPP
>
> Thanks.
>
> **Alex Simonpour**
> Advisor
> Mary W. Jackson NASA Headquarters
> 300 E Street SW, Washington, DC 20546
> alexander.simonpour@nasa.gov
> (Post production redaction

From: Josh Gruenbaum - Q <josh.gruenbaum@gsa.gov>
Sent: Thursday, May 8, 2025 10:04 PM
To: Kambli, Abhishek (OASG) <Abhishek.Kambli@usdoj.gov>; Roth, Yaakov M (CIV) <Yaakov.M.Roth@usdoj.gov>; Hoyt, Joshua T. EOP/WHO <[redacted]gov>; Hickey, James P (Jim) JR SES (USA) <james.p.hickey26.civ@mail.mil>; Weiss, Yinon CIV (USA) <yinon.weiss.civ@mail.mil>; Blake, Adam <adam.blake@hq.doe.gov>; Ramada, Adam <adam.ramada@ed.gov>; Langmack, Scott <scott.langmack@hud.gov>; Godfrey, Cooper (Federal) <cgodfrey@doc.gov>; Butler, Patrick (Federal) <PButler@doc.gov>; Simonpour, Alexander (HQ-AA000)[GSA] <alexander.simonpour@nasa.gov>; Horne, Marvin L. (HQ-LP010) <marvin.l.horne@nasa.gov>; Jackson, Karla Smith (HQ-LP010) <karla.s.jackson@nasa.gov>; Rice, Garey (HHS/ASFR) <Garey.Rice1@hhs.gov>; Shuy, Caitrin (HHS/ASFR) <Caitrin.Shuy@hhs.gov>; Keveney, Sean (HHS/OGC) <sean.keveney@hhs.gov>; Memoli, Matthew (NIH/OD) [E] <matthew.memoli@nih.gov>; Trampe, Katrine M <katrine_trampe@ios.doi.gov>; Lichtman, Jeremy - OSEC, DC <Jeremy.Lichtman@usda.gov>; Kliger, Gavin - OSEC, DC <Gavin.Kliger@usda.gov>; Michael.P.Cole@usda.gov; Terrell, Zachary (OS/IOS) <zachary.terrell@hhs.gov>; Samuel.Corcos@treasury.gov; Lewin, Jeremy <lewinj@state.gov>
Cc: Mailman, May EOP/WHO [redacted]
Subject: [EXTERNAL] Re: Coordination

Abhi/Josh, [redacted]DPP/ACP

[redacted]

Thanks!

U.S. General Services Administration
Josh Gruenbaum

Commissioner of Federal Acquisition Service

[redacted]

josh.gruenbaum@gsa.gov

On Thu, May 8, 2025 at 7:41 PM Josh Gruenbaum - Q <josh.gruenbaum@gsa.gov> wrote:

Copying everyone onto one

[redacted] DPP/ACP [redacted]

In interim, Josh (WHCO), Yaakov and Abhi (DOJ) [redacted] DPP/ACP [redacted]

[redacted] DPP/ACP [redacted]

[redacted] DPP/ACP

U.S. General Services Administration
Josh Gruenbaum
Commissioner of Federal Acquisition Service
[redacted]
josh.gruenbaum@gsa.gov

From: Josh Gruenbaum - Q
To: Brandon Bartel - B-C
Cc: Cooper, Renee (HHS/ASFR); Kuruvilla, Jacob (HHS/ASFR); Stone, Brian; Marrongelle, Karen A.; Hickey, James P (Jim) JR SES (USA); Simonpour, Alexander (HQ-AA000)[GSA]; Blake, Adam; Coe, Carl; Ramada, Adam; Marshall Wood - A; Trampe, Katrine M; Hassen, Tyler L; Luby, Matthew P; Lichtman, Jeremy - OSEC, DC; Langmack, Scott; Matthew Johnson; Allen, Lara (OJP); Short, Victoria; James, Sharon D; Ethan Shaotran - AD; Ethan Shaotran - NOAA Federal; Terrell, Zachary (OS/IOS); Weiss, Yinon CIV (USA); Alexander Simonpour - A; Morgan, Brooks; Michael.P.Cole@usda.gov; Berry, Samuel - OSEC, DC; Makecha, Tarak (JMD); SCHUTT, KYLE; HOFFMAN, ADAM; Samuel.Corcos@treasury.gov; Lewin, Jeremy
Subject: [EXTERNAL] Re: Harvard Unspent Funds
Date: Thursday, May 8, 2025 11:30:14 AM
Attachments: Harvard Grants Excluding Hospitals - Unspent Funds (1).pdf

Brandon please send this group the backup line items so they have for each grant ASAP

U.S. General Services Administration

Josh Gruenbaum
Commissioner of Federal Acquisition Service
[redacted]
josh.gruenbaum@gsa.gov

On Thu, May 8, 2025 at 11:08 AM Brandon Bartel - B-C <brandon.bartel@gsa.gov> wrote:

> Hi All -
>
> Josh asked me to pass along this table.
>
> Thanks,
> Brandon

Grants - Unliquidated Funds from Agencies

Awarding Agency Name	Grants	Obligations	Current Unspent Amount
Department of Health and Human Services	695	$2,360,790,330	$ 346,748,383
National Science Foundation	206	$ 216,806,462	$ 56,214,480
Department of Defense	72	$ 119,587,893	$ 38,884,903
National Aeronautics and Space Administration	22	$ 19,553,780	$ 3,675,325
Department of Energy	18	$ 72,534,694	$ 6,154,908
Department of Education	13	$ 24,988,041	$ 10,813,135
National Endowment for the Humanities	6	$ 1,535,986	$ 797,368
Department of the Interior	4	$ 843,293	$ 150,614
Department of Agriculture	4	$ 729,471	$ 289,931
Department of Housing and Urban Development	3	$ 2,058,062	$ 622,066
Agency for International Development	3	$ 3,753,318	$ 1,971,518
Department of Justice	2	$ 1,784,113	$ 654,195
Department of Homeland Security	2	$ 2,735,205	$ 846,629
United States Institute of Peace	1	$ 100,000	$ 100,000
National Endowment for the Arts	1	$ 85,000	$ 85,000
Institute of Museum and Library Services	1	$ 63,945	$ 57,648
Department of the Treasury	1	$ 20,000	$ 12,409
Department of State	1	$ 15,000	$ 9,000
Department of Commerce	1	$ 393,645	$ 385,067
Grand Total	**1056**	**$2,828,378,238**	**$ 468,472,578**

From: Brandon Bartel - B-C
To: Josh Gruenbaum - Q
Cc: Cooper, Renee (HHS/ASFR); Kuruvilla, Jacob (HHS/ASFR); Stone, Brian; Marrongelle, Karen A.; Hickey, James P (Jim) JR SES (USA); Simonpour, Alexander (HQ-AA000)[GSA]; Blake, Adam; Coe, Carl; Ramada, Adam; Marshall Wood - A; Trampe, Katrine M; Hassen, Tyler L; Luby, Matthew P; Lichtman, Jeremy - OSEC, DC; Langmack, Scott; Matthew Johnson; Allen, Lara (OJP); Short, Victoria; James, Sharon D; Ethan Shaotran - AD; Ethan Shaotran - NOAA Federal; Terrell, Zachary (OS/IOS); Weiss, Yinon CIV (USA); Alexander Simonpour - A; Morgan, Brooks; Michael.P.Cole@usda.gov; Berry, Samuel - OSEC, DC; Makecha, Tarak (JMD); SCHUTT, KYLE; HOFFMAN, ADAM; Samuel.Corcos@treasury.gov; Lewin, Jeremy
Subject: [EXTERNAL] Re: Harvard Unspent Funds
Date: Thursday, May 8, 2025 11:34:38 AM
Attachments: Harvard Grants - Line Item.xlsx

Please see the line items attached.

On Thu, May 8, 2025 at 11:30 AM Josh Gruenbaum - Q <josh.gruenbaum@gsa.gov> wrote:

[redacted] DPP

U.S. General Services Administration

Josh Gruenbaum
Commissioner of Federal Acquisition Service
[redacted]
josh.gruenbaum@gsa.gov

> On Thu, May 8, 2025 at 11:29 AM Josh Gruenbaum - Q <josh.gruenbaum@gsa.gov> wrote:
> Brandon please send this group the backup line items so they have for each grant ASAP
>
> **U.S. General Services Administration**
>
> **Josh Gruenbaum**
> Commissioner of Federal Acquisition Service
> [redacted]
> *josh.gruenbaum@gsa.gov*
>
> On Thu, May 8, 2025 at 11:08 AM Brandon Bartel - B-C <brandon.bartel@gsa.gov> wrote:
> > Hi All -
> >
> > Josh asked me to pass along this table.
> >
> > Thanks,
> > Brandon

	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	K	L	M	N	O	P
1	Grant Typ	PIID	Recipient	Recipient Name	Recipient	Recipient	Period of Per	Period of Perf	Total Obl	Total Out	Transacti	Awarding	Awarding Agency Name	Awarding	Awarding	Funding A
2	PROJECT (	R01AI177	UNVDZNF	HARVARD COLLEGE PRESIDENT & FELLOWS OF	UNVDZNF	HARVARD	11/15/2024	10/31/2029	763865	858	ELUCIDAT	75	Department of Health and Human Se	7529	National I	75
3	COOPERA	NH78TU0	UNVDZNF	HARVARD COLLEGE PRESIDENT & FELLOWS OF	UNVDZNF	HARVARD	9/30/2024	9/29/2029	784000	1633	HHS REGI	75	Department of Health and Human Se	7523	Centers fc	75
4	COOPERA	U48DP00	UNVDZNF	HARVARD COLLEGE PRESIDENT & FELLOWS OF	UNVDZNF	HARVARD	9/30/2024	9/29/2029	0		DP24-004	75	Department of Health and Human Se	7523	Centers fc	75
5	COOPERA	U48DP00	UNVDZNF	HARVARD COLLEGE PRESIDENT & FELLOWS OF	UNVDZNF	HARVARD	9/30/2024	9/29/2029	986241	182716	DP24-062	75	Department of Health and Human Se	7523	Centers fc	75
6	PROJECT (	K23MH13	UNVDZNF	HARVARD COLLEGE PRESIDENT & FELLOWS OF	UNVDZNF	HARVARD	9/1/2024	8/31/2029	185802		DESIGNIN	75	Department of Health and Human Se	7529	National I	75
7	PROJECT (	T32HL098	UNVDZNF	HARVARD COLLEGE PRESIDENT & FELLOWS OF	UNVDZNF	HARVARD	9/1/2009	8/31/2029	6065974	1688034	CVD EPIDI	75	Department of Health and Human Se	7529	National I	75
8	PROJECT (	R01AG08	UNVDZNF	HARVARD COLLEGE PRESIDENT & FELLOWS OF	UNVDZNF	HARVARD	9/30/2024	7/31/2029	622451	65435	LIFESTYLE	75	Department of Health and Human Se	7529	National I	75
9	PROJECT (	T32AI049	UNVDZNF	HARVARD COLLEGE PRESIDENT & FELLOWS OF	UNVDZNF	HARVARD	7/1/2001	7/31/2029	3524958	771039	THE GRAD	75	Department of Health and Human Se	7529	National I	75
10	PROJECT (	R35CA197	UNVDZNF	HARVARD COLLEGE PRESIDENT & FELLOWS OF	UNVDZNF	HARVARD	8/5/2015	7/31/2029	9061814	3076302	STATISTIC	75	Department of Health and Human Se	7529	National I	75
11	PROJECT (	R35CA197	UNVDZNF	HARVARD COLLEGE PRESIDENT & FELLOWS OF	UNVDZNF	HARVARD	8/1/2022	7/31/2029	8865715	3080662	DECODIN(	75	Department of Health and Human Se	7529	National I	75
12	COOPERA	U19CA29	UNVDZNF	HARVARD COLLEGE PRESIDENT & FELLOWS OF	UNVDZNF	HARVARD	8/16/2024	7/31/2029	1971041	104451	THE MASS	75	Department of Health and Human Se	7529	National I	75
13	PROJECT (	R01ES035	UNVDZNF	HARVARD COLLEGE PRESIDENT & FELLOWS OF	UNVDZNF	HARVARD	9/3/2024	6/30/2029	763895	73422	ENVIRONI	75	Department of Health and Human Se	7529	National I	75
14	PROJECT (	T32CA009	UNVDZNF	HARVARD COLLEGE PRESIDENT & FELLOWS OF	UNVDZNF	HARVARD	7/1/1978	6/30/2029	1.1E+07	1983024	PROGRAM	75	Department of Health and Human Se	7529	National I	75
15	PROJECT (	T32AI007	UNVDZNF	HARVARD COLLEGE PRESIDENT & FELLOWS OF	UNVDZNF	HARVARD	9/1/1989	6/30/2029	8300773	1732486	BIOSTATIS	75	Department of Health and Human Se	7529	National I	75
16	PROJECT (	R35ES031	UNVDZNF	HARVARD COLLEGE PRESIDENT & FELLOWS OF	UNVDZNF	HARVARD	8/6/2024	6/30/2029	3808474	2411401	EXTRACEL	75	Department of Health and Human Se	7529	National I	75
17	PROJECT (	R01AG085	UNVDZNF	HARVARD COLLEGE PRESIDENT & FELLOWS OF	UNVDZNF	HARVARD	9/1/2024	5/31/2029	1119766	83812	OPTIMISM	75	Department of Health and Human Se	7529	National I	75
18	PROJECT (	R01CA282	UNVDZNF	HARVARD COLLEGE PRESIDENT & FELLOWS OF	UNVDZNF	HARVARD	6/5/2024	5/31/2029	423468	268629	PREVENTI	75	Department of Health and Human Se	7529	National I	75
19	PROJECT (	R01AI184	UNVDZNF	HARVARD COLLEGE PRESIDENT & FELLOWS OF	UNVDZNF	HARVARD	6/1/2024	4/30/2029	848869	250645	MOLECUL	75	Department of Health and Human Se	7529	National I	75
20	PROJECT (	R01HL143	UNVDZNF	HARVARD COLLEGE PRESIDENT & FELLOWS OF	UNVDZNF	HARVARD	7/1/2018	4/30/2029	5193016	1639001	LONGITUI	75	Department of Health and Human Se	7529	National I	75
21	PROJECT (	R01MH13	UNVDZNF	HARVARD COLLEGE PRESIDENT & FELLOWS OF	UNVDZNF	HARVARD	7/12/2024	2/28/2029	1547036	94698	DEATH OF	75	Department of Health and Human Se	7529	National I	75
22	PROJECT (	R01ES035	UNVDZNF	HARVARD COLLEGE PRESIDENT & FELLOWS OF	UNVDZNF	HARVARD	4/1/2024	1/31/2029	1322478	340280	A NATION	75	Department of Health and Human Se	7529	National I	75
23	PROJECT (	R01HL177	UNVDZNF	HARVARD COLLEGE PRESIDENT & FELLOWS OF	UNVDZNF	HARVARD	1/15/2025	11/30/2028	616814		MICRORN	75	Department of Health and Human Se	7529	National I	75
24	PROJECT (	R01AI179	UNVDZNF	HARVARD COLLEGE PRESIDENT & FELLOWS OF	UNVDZNF	HARVARD	12/18/2023	10/31/2028	1461927	501595	FROM BEI	75	Department of Health and Human Se	7529	National I	75
25	PROJECT (	K23MH13	UNVDZNF	HARVARD COLLEGE PRESIDENT & FELLOWS OF	UNVDZNF	HARVARD	9/1/2023	8/31/2028	378501	214844	IMPLEME	75	Department of Health and Human Se	7529	National I	75
26	COOPERA	U01CA17(	UNVDZNF	HARVARD COLLEGE PRESIDENT & FELLOWS OF	UNVDZNF	HARVARD	6/1/2013	8/31/2028	1.6E+07	7552521	LIFE COUF	75	Department of Health and Human Se	7529	National I	75
27	PROJECT (	K01HL169	UNVDZNF	HARVARD COLLEGE PRESIDENT & FELLOWS OF	UNVDZNF	HARVARD	8/3/2023	7/31/2028	275681	175343	A CULTUR	75	Department of Health and Human Se	7529	National I	75
28	PROJECT (	K24AI131	UNVDZNF	HARVARD COLLEGE PRESIDENT & FELLOWS OF	UNVDZNF	HARVARD	2/5/2018	7/31/2028	1264961	523271	EXPANSIC	75	Department of Health and Human Se	7529	National I	75
29	PROJECT (	R01CA285	UNVDZNF	HARVARD COLLEGE PRESIDENT & FELLOWS OF	UNVDZNF	HARVARD	8/1/2024	7/31/2028	700417	105129	HARNESSI	75	Department of Health and Human Se	7529	National I	75
30	PROJECT (	R01AI179	UNVDZNF	HARVARD COLLEGE PRESIDENT & FELLOWS OF	UNVDZNF	HARVARD	9/22/2023	7/31/2028	1527919	1259818	MOLECUL	75	Department of Health and Human Se	7529	National I	75
31	PROJECT (	R01HS025	UNVDZNF	HARVARD COLLEGE PRESIDENT & FELLOWS OF	UNVDZNF	HARVARD	9/1/2023	6/30/2028	641661	206766	SCALABLE	75	Department of Health and Human Se	7528	Agency fo	75
32	PROJECT (	T42OH00	UNVDZNF	HARVARD COLLEGE PRESIDENT & FELLOWS OF	UNVDZNF	HARVARD	7/1/2023	6/30/2028	2.6E+07	6002272	HARVARD	75	Department of Health and Human Se	7523	Centers fc	75
33	PROJECT (	T32ES007	UNVDZNF	HARVARD COLLEGE PRESIDENT & FELLOWS OF	UNVDZNF	HARVARD	7/1/1983	6/30/2028	7664844	1734213	GRADUAT	75	Department of Health and Human Se	7529	National I	75
34	COOPERA	U01AI179	UNVDZNF	HARVARD COLLEGE PRESIDENT & FELLOWS OF	UNVDZNF	HARVARD	9/5/2023	6/30/2028	3894870	1005345	A CLINICA	75	Department of Health and Human Se	7529	National I	75
35	PROJECT (	K01HL166	UNVDZNF	HARVARD COLLEGE PRESIDENT & FELLOWS OF	UNVDZNF	HARVARD	6/1/2023	5/31/2028	322959	179472	STATISTIC	75	Department of Health and Human Se	7529	National I	75
36	PROJECT (	P01AG04	UNVDZNF	HARVARD COLLEGE PRESIDENT & FELLOWS OF	UNVDZNF	HARVARD	9/15/2013	5/31/2028	2.2E+07	8352986	HEALTH, A	75	Department of Health and Human Se	7529	National I	75
37	PROJECT (	R01AI132	UNVDZNF	HARVARD COLLEGE PRESIDENT & FELLOWS OF	UNVDZNF	HARVARD	7/1/2017	5/31/2028	2940104	1068884	GENOMIC	75	Department of Health and Human Se	7529	National I	75
38	PROJECT (	R37AI102	UNVDZNF	HARVARD COLLEGE PRESIDENT & FELLOWS OF	UNVDZNF	HARVARD	8/9/2012	5/31/2028	4390636	1548937	DYNAMIC	75	Department of Health and Human Se	7529	National I	75
39	COOPERA	U01CA209	UNVDZNF	HARVARD COLLEGE PRESIDENT & FELLOWS OF	UNVDZNF	HARVARD	6/1/2017	5/31/2028	9901299	4534022	THE BOST	75	Department of Health and Human Se	7529	National I	75
40	PROJECT (	D43TW00	UNVDZNF	HARVARD COLLEGE PRESIDENT & FELLOWS OF	UNVDZNF	HARVARD	8/1/2013	4/30/2028	3744817	834707	TRAINING	75	Department of Health and Human Se	7529	National I	75
41	PROJECT (	R01AG08	UNVDZNF	HARVARD COLLEGE PRESIDENT & FELLOWS OF	UNVDZNF	HARVARD	8/15/2023	4/30/2028	1495526	514920	IMPROVIN	75	Department of Health and Human Se	7529	National I	75
42	PROJECT (	R01ES037	UNVDZNF	HARVARD COLLEGE PRESIDENT & FELLOWS OF	UNVDZNF	HARVARD	7/6/2024	4/30/2028	300393	89744	SCH: SYNE	75	Department of Health and Human Se	7529	National I	75
43	PROJECT (	R35GM15	UNVDZNF	HARVARD COLLEGE PRESIDENT & FELLOWS OF	UNVDZNF	HARVARD	7/5/2023	4/30/2028	770725	686797	DISSECTIN	75	Department of Health and Human Se	7529	National I	75
44	PROJECT (	R01DC017	UNVDZNF	HARVARD COLLEGE PRESIDENT & FELLOWS OF	UNVDZNF	HARVARD	9/13/2019	3/31/2028	1661526	896916	WHAT CA	75	Department of Health and Human Se	7529	National I	75
45	PROJECT (	R01AI175	UNVDZNF	HARVARD COLLEGE PRESIDENT & FELLOWS OF	UNVDZNF	HARVARD	2/17/2023	1/31/2028	1849141	414030	TRIAL OF	75	Department of Health and Human Se	7529	National I	75
46	PROJECT (	R01MD01	UNVDZNF	HARVARD COLLEGE PRESIDENT & FELLOWS OF	UNVDZNF	HARVARD	7/19/2023	1/31/2028	1704889	514627	A CULTUR	75	Department of Health and Human Se	7529	National I	75
47	PROJECT (	R01ES035	UNVDZNF	HARVARD COLLEGE PRESIDENT & FELLOWS OF	UNVDZNF	HARVARD	4/1/2023	1/31/2028	1670077	728901	CLIMATE	75	Department of Health and Human Se	7529	National I	75
48	PROJECT (	R01GM14	UNVDZNF	HARVARD COLLEGE PRESIDENT & FELLOWS OF	UNVDZNF	HARVARD	12/20/2022	11/30/2027	1224849	678435	FEDERATE	75	Department of Health and Human Se	7529	National I	75
49	COOPERA	UM1AI06	UNVDZNF	HARVARD COLLEGE PRESIDENT & FELLOWS OF	UNVDZNF	HARVARD	6/29/2006	11/30/2027	1.4E+08	3.7E+07	SDMC - IN	75	Department of Health and Human Se	7529	National I	75
50	COOPERA	UM1AI06	UNVDZNF	HARVARD COLLEGE PRESIDENT & FELLOWS OF	UNVDZNF	HARVARD	6/29/2006	11/30/2027	2.3E+08	5.8E+07	STATISTIC	75	Department of Health and Human Se	7529	National I	75
51	COOPERA	UM1AI06	UNVDZNF	HARVARD COLLEGE PRESIDENT & FELLOWS OF	UNVDZNF	HARVARD	2/1/2007	11/30/2027	2.6E+07	4801641	BOTSWAN	75	Department of Health and Human Se	7529	National I	75
52	PROJECT (	R01ES034	UNVDZNF	HARVARD COLLEGE PRESIDENT & FELLOWS OF	UNVDZNF	HARVARD	1/1/2023	10/31/2027	2058834	834643	A NATION	75	Department of Health and Human Se	7529	National I	75
53	PROJECT (	P20TW01	UNVDZNF	HARVARD COLLEGE PRESIDENT & FELLOWS OF	UNVDZNF	HARVARD	9/23/2024	8/31/2027	1294378	54200	CENTER F	75	Department of Health and Human Se	7529	National I	75
54	PROJECT (	RF1AG088	UNVDZNF	HARVARD COLLEGE PRESIDENT & FELLOWS OF	UNVDZNF	HARVARD	9/17/2024	8/31/2027	2283522	13756	INTEGRAT	75	Department of Health and Human Se	7529	National I	75
55	PROJECT (	F32AG085	UNVDZNF	HARVARD COLLEGE PRESIDENT & FELLOWS OF	UNVDZNF	HARVARD	8/9/2024	8/8/2027	79756	27295	HARNESSI	75	Department of Health and Human Se	7529	National I	75

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1	Funding A	Funding C	Funding C	Funding S	Funding S	USASpen	Grouped	Is_Hospit	Current total Outlayed	Current Unspent Amount	Status	Total Obligated Amount				
2	Departme	75NM00	NIH Natio	7529	National I	https://w	HARVARD COLLEGE		$50,834	$713,031						
3	Departme	750R00	OFFICE Of	7523	Centers fc	https://w	HARVARD COLLEGE		$121,036	$662,964						
4	Departme	75CUC0	CDC NATI	7523	Centers fc	https://w	HARVARD COLLEGE		$19,636	$278,806						
5	Departme	75CUC0	CDC NATI	7523	Centers fc	https://w	HARVARD COLLEGE		$329,685	$656,556						
6	Departme	75N700	NIH Natio	7529	National I	https://w	HARVARD COLLEGE		$0	$185,802						
7	Departme	75NH00	NIH Natio	7529	National I	https://w	HARVARD COLLEGE		$5,072,832	$993,142						
8	Departme	75NN00	NIH Natio	7529	National I	https://w	HARVARD COLLEGE		$114,561	$507,891						
9	Departme	75NM00	NIH Natio	7529	National I	https://w	HARVARD COLLEGE		$3,459,394	$94,120						
10	Departme	75NC00	NIH Natio	7529	National I	https://w	HARVARD COLLEGE		$9,046,257	$15,557						
11	Departme	75NC00	NIH Natio	7529	National I	https://w	HARVARD COLLEGE		$8,772,384	$93,331						
12	Departme	75NC00	NIH Natio	7529	National I	https://w	HARVARD COLLEGE		$189,395	$1,781,646						
13	Departme	75NV00	NIH Natio	7529	National I	https://w	HARVARD COLLEGE		$132,833	$631,062						
14	Departme	75NC00	NIH Natio	7529	National I	https://w	HARVARD COLLEGE		$13,412,712	$1,005,540						
15	Departme	75NM00	NIH Natio	7529	National I	https://w	HARVARD COLLEGE		$10,339,098	$180,147						
16	Departme	75NV00	NIH Natio	7529	National I	https://w	HARVARD COLLEGE		$663,007	$1,098,265						
17	Departme	75NN00	NIH Natio	7529	National I	https://w	HARVARD COLLEGE		$248,115	$871,651						
18	Departme	75NC00	NIH Natio	7529	National I	https://w	HARVARD COLLEGE		$352,626	$70,842						
19	Departme	75NM00	NIH Natio	7529	National I	https://w	HARVARD COLLEGE		$430,725	$418,144						
20	Departme	75NH00	NIH Natio	7529	National I	https://w	HARVARD COLLEGE		$3,974,200	$1,218,816						
21	Departme	75N700	NIH Natio	7529	National I	https://w	HARVARD COLLEGE		$353,519	$1,193,517						
22	Departme	75NV00	NIH Natio	7529	National I	https://w	HARVARD COLLEGE		$472,422	$850,056						
23	Departme	75NH00	NIH Natio	7529	National I	https://w	HARVARD COLLEGE		$37,297	$579,517						
24	Departme	75NM00	NIH Natio	7529	National I	https://w	HARVARD COLLEGE		$741,811	$720,116						
25	Departme	75N700	NIH Natio	7529	National I	https://w	HARVARD COLLEGE		$292,924	$85,577						
26	Departme	75NC00	NIH Natio	7529	National I	https://w	HARVARD COLLEGE		$30,020,657	$1,768,495						
27	Departme	75NH00	NIH Natio	7529	National I	https://w	HARVARD COLLEGE		$227,229	$48,452						
28	Departme	75NM00	NIH Natio	7529	National I	https://w	HARVARD COLLEGE		$1,193,277	$71,684						
29	Departme	75NC00	NIH Natio	7529	National I	https://w	HARVARD COLLEGE		$207,979	$492,438						
30	Departme	75NM00	NIH Natio	7529	National I	https://w	HARVARD COLLEGE		$1,416,204	$111,715						
31	Departme	75EK00	AHRQ CEI	7528	Agency fo	https://w	HARVARD COLLEGE		$281,437	$360,224						
32	Departme	75CC00	CDC NATI	7523	Centers fc	https://w	HARVARD COLLEGE		$12,885,218	$0						
33	Departme	75NV00	NIH Natio	7529	National I	https://w	HARVARD COLLEGE		$9,779,222	$214,007						
34	Departme	75NM00	NIH Natio	7529	National I	https://w	HARVARD COLLEGE		$1,416,100	$2,478,770						
35	Departme	75NH00	NIH Natio	7529	National I	https://w	HARVARD COLLEGE		$236,358	$86,601						
36	Departme	75NN00	NIH Natio	7529	National I	https://w	HARVARD COLLEGE		$18,342,075	$3,885,435						
37	Departme	75NM00	NIH Natio	7529	National I	https://w	HARVARD COLLEGE		$2,822,901	$117,203						
38	Departme	75NM00	NIH Natio	7529	National I	https://w	HARVARD COLLEGE		$7,068,293	$82,169						
39	Departme	75NC00	NIH Natio	7529	National I	https://w	HARVARD COLLEGE		$9,630,812	$270,487						
40	Departme	75NF00	NIH Fogar	7529	National I	https://w	HARVARD COLLEGE		$3,385,753	$359,064						
41	Departme	75NN00	NIH Natio	7529	National I	https://w	HARVARD COLLEGE		$706,865	$788,661						
42	Departme	75NV00	NIH Natio	7529	National I	https://w	HARVARD COLLEGE		$191,202	$109,191						
43	Departme	75NS00	NIH Natio	7529	National I	https://w	HARVARD COLLEGE		$770,725	$0						
44	Departme	75N300	NIH Natio	7529	National I	https://w	HARVARD COLLEGE		$1,532,457	$129,069						
45	Departme	75NA00	NIH OFFIC	7529	National I	https://w	HARVARD COLLEGE		$512,234	$1,336,907						
46	Departme	75NE00	NIH Natio	7529	National I	https://w	HARVARD COLLEGE		$581,076	$1,123,813						
47	Departme	75NV00	NIH Natio	7529	National I	https://w	HARVARD COLLEGE		$943,889	$726,188						
48	Departme	75NS00	NIH Natio	7529	National I	https://w	HARVARD COLLEGE		$764,349	$460,500						
49	Departme	75NT00	NIH Eunic	7529	National I	https://w	HARVARD COLLEGE		$173,151,561	$9,493,190						
50	Departme	75NM00	NIH Natio	7529	National I	https://w	HARVARD COLLEGE		$286,250,454	$11,939,487						
51	Departme	75NM00	NIH Natio	7529	National I	https://w	HARVARD COLLEGE		$38,640,093	$424,445						
52	Departme	75NV00	NIH Natio	7529	National I	https://w	HARVARD COLLEGE		$394,256	$0						
53	Departme	75NV00	NIH Natio	7529	National I	https://w	HARVARD COLLEGE		$198,504	$1,095,874						
54	Departme	75NN00	NIH Natio	7529	National I	https://w	HARVARD COLLEGE		$87,293	$2,196,229						
55	Departme	75NN00	NIH Natio	7529	National I	https://w	HARVARD COLLEGE		$47,511	$32,245						

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56	PROJECT (	R01ES034	UNVDZNF	HARVARD COLLEGE PRESIDENT & FELLOWS OF	UNVDZNF	HARVARD	9/20/2022	7/31/2027	1891478	1257288	CHARACT	75	Department of Health and Human Se	7529	National I	75
57	PROJECT (	R01CA154	UNVDZNF	HARVARD COLLEGE PRESIDENT & FELLOWS OF	UNVDZNF	HARVARD	3/18/2011	7/31/2027	4454382	1048833	COLOREC	75	Department of Health and Human Se	7529	National I	75
58	COOPERA	U01CA16	UNVDZNF	HARVARD COLLEGE PRESIDENT & FELLOWS OF	UNVDZNF	HARVARD	8/21/2012	7/31/2027	1.4E+07	5223039	CANCER E	75	Department of Health and Human Se	7529	National I	75
59	PROJECT (	D43TW01	UNVDZNF	HARVARD COLLEGE PRESIDENT & FELLOWS OF	UNVDZNF	HARVARD	7/1/2017	6/30/2027	9164263	4642853	PARTNERS	75	Department of Health and Human Se	7529	National I	75
60	PROJECT (	R01AI165	UNVDZNF	HARVARD COLLEGE PRESIDENT & FELLOWS OF	UNVDZNF	HARVARD	7/1/2022	6/30/2027	2469994	1641449	MALARIA	75	Department of Health and Human Se	7529	National I	75
61	PROJECT (	T32MH12	UNVDZNF	HARVARD COLLEGE PRESIDENT & FELLOWS OF	UNVDZNF	HARVARD	7/1/2022	6/30/2027	938940	313183	TRAINING	75	Department of Health and Human Se	7529	National I	75
62	PROJECT (	T32AI007	UNVDZNF	HARVARD COLLEGE PRESIDENT & FELLOWS OF	KH2AELJG	HARVARD	9/30/1992	6/30/2027	8140313	1841945	PROGRAM	75	Department of Health and Human Se	7529	National I	75
63	PROJECT (	R01CA263	UNVDZNF	HARVARD COLLEGE PRESIDENT & FELLOWS OF	UNVDZNF	HARVARD	6/2/2022	5/31/2027	1977995	1194124	COFFEE A	75	Department of Health and Human Se	7529	National I	75
64	COOPERA	U01AI147	UNVDZNF	HARVARD COLLEGE PRESIDENT & FELLOWS OF	UNVDZNF	HARVARD	8/14/2020	5/31/2027	9442810	5296503	SEAL (STO	75	Department of Health and Human Se	7529	National I	75
65	PROJECT (	D43TW00	UNVDZNF	HARVARD COLLEGE PRESIDENT & FELLOWS OF	UNVDZNF	HARVARD	5/18/2015	4/30/2027	2404388	838049	HIS : TRAI	75	Department of Health and Human Se	7529	National I	75
66	PROJECT (	K01HL158	UNVDZNF	HARVARD COLLEGE PRESIDENT & FELLOWS OF	KH2AELJG	HARVARD	5/16/2022	4/30/2027	424143	344353	DEVELOPI	75	Department of Health and Human Se	7529	National I	75
67	PROJECT (	K99CA297	UNVDZNF	HARVARD COLLEGE PRESIDENT & FELLOWS OF	UNVDZNF	HARVARD	5/1/2025	4/30/2027	142295		INTEGRAT	75	Department of Health and Human Se	7529	National I	75
68	COOPERA	U01CA26	UNVDZNF	HARVARD COLLEGE PRESIDENT & FELLOWS OF	UNVDZNF	HARVARD	5/1/2022	4/30/2027	1931213	1364157	THE GUT I	75	Department of Health and Human Se	7529	National I	75
69	PROJECT (	F31CA281	UNVDZNF	HARVARD COLLEGE PRESIDENT & FELLOWS OF	UNVDZNF	HARVARD	4/1/2024	3/31/2027	44720	25835	UNDERST	75	Department of Health and Human Se	7529	National I	75
70	PROJECT (	R01NS126	UNVDZNF	HARVARD COLLEGE PRESIDENT & FELLOWS OF	UNVDZNF	HARVARD	4/1/2022	3/31/2027	1599430	1170506	BIOMARK	75	Department of Health and Human Se	7529	National I	75
71	PROJECT (	R01AI168	UNVDZNF	HARVARD COLLEGE PRESIDENT & FELLOWS OF	UNVDZNF	HARVARD	3/18/2022	2/28/2027	2968760	1919514	MOLECUL	75	Department of Health and Human Se	7529	National I	75
72	PROJECT (	R01ES033	UNVDZNF	HARVARD COLLEGE PRESIDENT & FELLOWS OF	UNVDZNF	HARVARD	5/2/2022	2/28/2027	1764468	1361637	PREGNAN	75	Department of Health and Human Se	7529	National I	75
73	COOPERA	U2RTW01	UNVDZNF	HARVARD COLLEGE PRESIDENT & FELLOWS OF	UNVDZNF	HARVARD	9/28/2015	2/28/2027	2313487	359756	2/2-GEOH	75	Department of Health and Human Se	7529	National I	75
74	PROJECT (	K99CA297	UNVDZNF	HARVARD COLLEGE PRESIDENT & FELLOWS OF	UNVDZNF	HARVARD	2/1/2025	1/31/2027	127629		HUMAN L	75	Department of Health and Human Se	7529	National I	75
75	PROJECT (	F32AI174	UNVDZNF	HARVARD COLLEGE PRESIDENT & FELLOWS OF	UNVDZNF	HARVARD	1/1/2024	12/31/2026	160256	78167	DISSECTIN	75	Department of Health and Human Se	7529	National I	75
76	PROJECT (	R21AI187	UNVDZNF	HARVARD COLLEGE PRESIDENT & FELLOWS OF	UNVDZNF	HARVARD	11/12/2024	10/31/2026	193375	5850	IDENTIFYI	75	Department of Health and Human Se	7529	National I	75
77	PROJECT (	HT942523	UNVDZNF	HARVARD COLLEGE PRESIDENT & FELLOWS OF	KH2AELJG	HARVARD	9/15/2023	9/14/2026	$999,799		ELUCIDAT	97	Department of Defense	97DH	Defense H	97
78	PROJECT (	F31DK141	UNVDZNF	HARVARD COLLEGE PRESIDENT & FELLOWS OF	UNVDZNF	HARVARD	9/1/2024	8/31/2026	41656	20828	ADJUSTIN	75	Department of Health and Human Se	7529	National I	75
79	PROJECT (	P01HD10	UNVDZNF	HARVARD COLLEGE PRESIDENT & FELLOWS OF	UNVDZNF	HARVARD	9/24/2021	8/31/2026	4953367	2253182	CLOSING I	75	Department of Health and Human Se	7529	National I	75
80	PROJECT (	R01CA255	UNVDZNF	HARVARD COLLEGE PRESIDENT & FELLOWS OF	UNVDZNF	HARVARD	9/23/2022	8/31/2026	2028912	1141484	ASSOCIAT	75	Department of Health and Human Se	7529	National I	75
81	PROJECT (	R01NR02	UNVDZNF	HARVARD COLLEGE PRESIDENT & FELLOWS OF	UNVDZNF	HARVARD	9/22/2023	8/31/2026	2299164	761299	EVALUATI	75	Department of Health and Human Se	7529	National I	75
82	PROJECT (	R21HD11	UNVDZNF	HARVARD COLLEGE PRESIDENT & FELLOWS OF	UNVDZNF	HARVARD	9/1/2024	8/31/2026	430031	16765	EVALUATI	75	Department of Health and Human Se	7529	National I	75
83	PROJECT (	T32AI007	UNVDZNF	HARVARD COLLEGE PRESIDENT & FELLOWS OF	UNVDZNF	HARVARD	9/30/1998	8/31/2026	3525511	799650	EPIDEMIC	75	Department of Health and Human Se	7529	National I	75
84	PROJECT (	R03AG08	UNVDZNF	HARVARD COLLEGE PRESIDENT & FELLOWS OF	UNVDZNF	HARVARD	9/30/2024	8/31/2026	302960	18690	PRECISIOI	75	Department of Health and Human Se	7529	National I	75
85	COOPERA	U19OH00	UNVDZNF	HARVARD COLLEGE PRESIDENT & FELLOWS OF	UNVDZNF	HARVARD	9/1/2021	8/31/2026	2.2E+07	4754444	THE HARV	75	Department of Health and Human Se	7523	Centers fo	75
86	PROJECT (	HT942523	UNVDZNF	HARVARD COLLEGE PRESIDENT & FELLOWS OF	KH2AELJG	HARVARD	8/1/2023	7/31/2026	########		REVEALIN	97	Department of Defense	97DH	Defense H	97
87	PROJECT (	F31HL168	UNVDZNF	HARVARD COLLEGE PRESIDENT & FELLOWS OF	UNVDZNF	HARVARD	8/1/2024	7/31/2026	36138	19910	MECHANI	75	Department of Health and Human Se	7529	National I	75
88	PROJECT (	K01DK125	UNVDZNF	HARVARD COLLEGE PRESIDENT & FELLOWS OF	UNVDZNF	HARVARD	9/1/2021	7/31/2026	594333	466752	IDENTIFYI	75	Department of Health and Human Se	7529	National I	75
89	PROJECT (	P01HL152	UNVDZNF	HARVARD COLLEGE PRESIDENT & FELLOWS OF	UNVDZNF	HARVARD	8/1/2021	7/31/2026	7936342	4462411	AIR POLLU	75	Department of Health and Human Se	7529	National I	75
90	COOPERA	U01MH12	UNVDZNF	HARVARD COLLEGE PRESIDENT & FELLOWS OF	UNVDZNF	HARVARD	8/5/2023	7/31/2026	2618342	1726382	THE IMPA	75	Department of Health and Human Se	7529	National I	75
91	COOPERA	U2RTW01	UNVDZNF	HARVARD COLLEGE PRESIDENT & FELLOWS OF	UNVDZNF	HARVARD	9/22/2021	7/31/2026	1396644	850809	RESEARCH	75	Department of Health and Human Se	7529	National I	75
92	PROJECT (	T32CA009	UNVDZNF	HARVARD COLLEGE PRESIDENT & FELLOWS OF	UNVDZNF	HARVARD	6/1/1979	7/31/2026	8862927	1999430	TRAINING	75	Department of Health and Human Se	7529	National I	75
93	PROJECT (	K01AG07	UNVDZNF	HARVARD COLLEGE PRESIDENT & FELLOWS OF	UNVDZNF	HARVARD	9/1/2021	6/30/2026	484020	215001	PRIVATE M	75	Department of Health and Human Se	7529	National I	75
94	PROJECT (	T32HL007	UNVDZNF	HARVARD COLLEGE PRESIDENT & FELLOWS OF	UNVDZNF	HARVARD	7/1/1975	6/30/2026	9910956	1811694	TRAINING	75	Department of Health and Human Se	7529	National I	75
95	COOPERA	U2CDK12	UNVDZNF	HARVARD COLLEGE PRESIDENT & FELLOWS OF	UNVDZNF	HARVARD	8/16/2021	6/30/2026	5719289	3931164	DIETARY E	75	Department of Health and Human Se	7529	National I	75
96	PROJECT (	F31HG01	UNVDZNF	HARVARD COLLEGE PRESIDENT & FELLOWS OF	UNVDZNF	HARVARD	9/25/2023	6/24/2026	81034	54565	METHODS	75	Department of Health and Human Se	7529	National I	75
97	PROJECT (	K99ES035	UNVDZNF	HARVARD COLLEGE PRESIDENT & FELLOWS OF	UNVDZNF	HARVARD	6/7/2024	5/31/2026	92854	39961	PATERNA	75	Department of Health and Human Se	7529	National I	75
98	PROJECT (	R01AG07(	UNVDZNF	HARVARD COLLEGE PRESIDENT & FELLOWS OF	UNVDZNF	HARVARD	9/30/2022	5/31/2026	1971966	1267735	PHYSICIAI	75	Department of Health and Human Se	7529	National I	75
99	PROJECT (	R01AG07!	UNVDZNF	HARVARD COLLEGE PRESIDENT & FELLOWS OF	UNVDZNF	HARVARD	9/15/2022	5/31/2026	1204727	740682	THE LONG	75	Department of Health and Human Se	7529	National I	75
100	PROJECT (	K99AI185	UNVDZNF	HARVARD COLLEGE PRESIDENT & FELLOWS OF	UNVDZNF	HARVARD	6/11/2024	5/31/2026	125250	64732	HARNESSI	75	Department of Health and Human Se	7529	National I	75
101	PROJECT (	R00CA248	UNVDZNF	HARVARD COLLEGE PRESIDENT & FELLOWS OF	UNVDZNF	HARVARD	5/11/2020	5/31/2026	545720	344423	IDENTIFYI	75	Department of Health and Human Se	7529	National I	75
102	PROJECT (	R01MD01	UNVDZNF	HARVARD COLLEGE PRESIDENT & FELLOWS OF	UNVDZNF	HARVARD	9/22/2022	5/31/2026	1853035	1177138	EVALUATI	75	Department of Health and Human Se	7529	National I	75
103	PROJECT (	R01MH12	UNVDZNF	HARVARD COLLEGE PRESIDENT & FELLOWS OF	UNVDZNF	HARVARD	6/15/2020	4/30/2026	2387853	1074776	NEURODE	75	Department of Health and Human Se	7529	National I	75
104	PROJECT (	R01HL163	UNVDZNF	HARVARD COLLEGE PRESIDENT & FELLOWS OF	UNVDZNF	HARVARD	5/15/2022	4/30/2026	1487820	1188756	STATISTIC	75	Department of Health and Human Se	7529	National I	75
105	PROJECT (	T32DK128	UNVDZNF	HARVARD COLLEGE PRESIDENT & FELLOWS OF	UNVDZNF	HARVARD	5/1/2021	4/30/2026	723469	420621	TRAINING	75	Department of Health and Human Se	7529	National I	75
106	PROJECT (	T32HD10	UNVDZNF	HARVARD COLLEGE PRESIDENT & FELLOWS OF	UNVDZNF	HARVARD	7/1/2021	4/30/2026	1441695	864997	THE TRAIN	75	Department of Health and Human Se	7529	National I	75
107	PROJECT (	F32HG01	UNVDZNF	HARVARD COLLEGE PRESIDENT & FELLOWS OF	UNVDZNF	HARVARD	4/1/2023	3/31/2026	142488	103748	FINE-MAF	75	Department of Health and Human Se	7529	National I	75
108	PROJECT (	P30ES000	UNVDZNF	HARVARD COLLEGE PRESIDENT & FELLOWS OF	UNVDZNF	HARVARD	4/1/1997	3/31/2026	3E+07	5496378	HARVARD	75	Department of Health and Human Se	7529	National I	75
109	PROJECT (	R21AI180	UNVDZNF	HARVARD COLLEGE PRESIDENT & FELLOWS OF	UNVDZNF	HARVARD	5/16/2024	3/31/2026	238060	96382	FUNCTIOI	75	Department of Health and Human Se	7529	National I	75
110	PROJECT (	R01MD01	UNVDZNF	HARVARD COLLEGE PRESIDENT & FELLOWS OF	UNVDZNF	HARVARD	9/1/2019	3/31/2026	2307682	1263951	DNA MET	75	Department of Health and Human Se	7529	National I	75

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56	Departme	75NV00	NIH Natio	7529	National I	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$1,545,475	$346,003						
57	Departme	75NC00	NIH Natio	7529	National I	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$4,249,871	$204,511						
58	Departme	75NC00	NIH Natio	7529	National I	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$24,983,697	$588,571						
59	Departme	75NA00	NIH OFFIC	7529	National I	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$8,398,006	$766,257						
60	Departme	75NM00	NIH Natio	7529	National I	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$1,948,257	$521,737						
61	Departme	75N700	NIH Natio	7529	National I	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$403,560	$535,380						
62	Departme	75NM00	NIH Natio	7529	National I	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$4,101,888	$134,357						
63	Departme	75NC00	NIH Natio	7529	National I	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$1,449,468	$528,527						
64	Departme	75NM00	NIH Natio	7529	National I	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$3,456,769	$2,208,718						
65	Departme	75NT00	NIH Eunic	7529	National I	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$2,260,546	$143,842						
66	Departme	75NH00	NIH Natio	7529	National I	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$62,384	$0						
67	Departme	75NC00	NIH Natio	7529	National I	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$0	$0						
68	Departme	75NC00	NIH Natio	7529	National I	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$1,583,716	$347,497						
69	Departme	75NC00	NIH Natio	7529	National I	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$37,178	$7,542						
70	Departme	75NQ00	NIH Natio	7529	National I	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$1,377,163	$881,398						
71	Departme	75NM00	NIH Natio	7529	National I	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$2,285,018	$683,742						
72	Departme	75NV00	NIH Natio	7529	National I	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$1,662,907	$711,802						
73	Departme	75NV00	NIH Natio	7529	National I	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$1,657,283	$656,204						
74	Departme	75NC00	NIH Natio	7529	National I	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$0	$127,629						
75	Departme	75NM00	NIH Natio	7529	National I	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$100,429	$59,827						
76	Departme	75NM00	NIH Natio	7529	National I	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$22,024	$171,351						
77	Departme	HT0989	CONG DIR	97DH	Defense H	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$396,339	$603,460						
78	Departme	75NK00	NIH Natio	7529	National I	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$34,882	$6,774						
79	Departme	75NT00	NIH Eunic	7529	National I	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$3,679,001	$1,274,366						
80	Departme	75NC00	NIH Natio	7529	National I	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$1,347,392	$681,520						
81	Departme	75N200	NIH Natio	7529	National I	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$1,018,662	$1,280,502						
82	Departme	75NT00	NIH Eunic	7529	National I	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$29,917	$400,114						
83	Departme	75NM00	NIH Natio	7529	National I	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$3,412,584	$567,925						
84	Departme	75NN00	NIH Natio	7529	National I	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$64,987	$237,973						
85	Departme	75CC00	CDC NATI	7523	Centers fc	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$7,670,675	$0						
86	Departme	HT0989	CONG DIR	97DH	Defense H	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$708,078	$478,439						
87	Departme	75NH00	NIH Natio	7529	National I	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$29,082	$7,056						
88	Departme	75NK00	NIH Natio	7529	National I	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$551,156	$43,177						
89	Departme	75NH00	NIH Natio	7529	National I	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$2,247,144	$2,827,955						
90	Departme	75N700	NIH Natio	7529	National I	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$919,710	$457,760						
91	Departme	75NA00	NIH OFFIC	7529	National I	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$1,067,729	$328,915						
92	Departme	75NC00	NIH Natio	7529	National I	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$9,538,846	$230,885						
93	Departme	75NN00	NIH Natio	7529	National I	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$234,387	$0						
94	Departme	75NH00	NIH Natio	7529	National I	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$10,057,474	$1,408,542						
95	Departme	75NK00	NIH Natio	7529	National I	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$4,677,535	$1,041,754						
96	Departme	75N400	NIH Natio	7529	National I	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$66,359	$14,675						
97	Departme	75NV00	NIH Natio	7529	National I	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$57,792	$35,062						
98	Departme	75NN00	NIH Natio	7529	National I	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$1,510,567	$461,399						
99	Departme	75NN00	NIH Natio	7529	National I	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$869,980	$334,747						
100	Departme	75NM00	NIH Natio	7529	National I	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$94,617	$30,633						
101	Departme	75NC00	NIH Natio	7529	National I	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$443,116	$102,605						
102	Departme	75NE00	NIH Natio	7529	National I	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$1,370,404	$482,631						
103	Departme	75N700	NIH Natio	7529	National I	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$1,885,034	$502,819						
104	Departme	75NH00	NIH Natio	7529	National I	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$1,482,042	$5,778						
105	Departme	75NK00	NIH Natio	7529	National I	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$505,445	$218,024						
106	Departme	75NT00	NIH Eunic	7529	National I	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$1,005,786	$435,909						
107	Departme	75N400	NIH Natio	7529	National I	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$131,752	$87,492						
108	Departme	75NV00	NIH Natio	7529	National I	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$35,052,995	$1,612,700						
109	Departme	75NM00	NIH Natio	7529	National I	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$191,228	$246,207						
110	Departme	75NE00	NIH Natio	7529	National I	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$2,285,553	$22,129						

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111	PROJECT (	R01HD09	UNVDZNF	HARVARD COLLEGE PRESIDENT & FELLOWS OF	UNVDZNF	HARVARD	4/1/2019	3/31/2026	3886522	2191212	MATERNA	75	Department of Health and Human Se	7529	National I	75
112	PROJECT (	R01ES031	UNVDZNF	HARVARD COLLEGE PRESIDENT & FELLOWS OF	UNVDZNF	HARVARD	5/15/2020	2/28/2026	3843275	2052761	A RANDO	75	Department of Health and Human Se	7529	National I	75
113	PROJECT (	R00AG07	UNVDZNF	HARVARD COLLEGE PRESIDENT & FELLOWS OF	UNVDZNF	HARVARD	9/1/2021	2/28/2026	570939	512835	EPIDEMIC	75	Department of Health and Human Se	7529	National I	75
114	PROJECT (	R01HD10	UNVDZNF	HARVARD COLLEGE PRESIDENT & FELLOWS OF	UNVDZNF	HARVARD	9/1/2020	2/28/2026	1.2E+07	7762955	HEALTH C	75	Department of Health and Human Se	7529	National I	75
115	PROJECT (	R01HL118	UNVDZNF	HARVARD COLLEGE PRESIDENT & FELLOWS OF	UNVDZNF	HARVARD	7/15/2013	2/28/2026	6842312	1583148	MEDITERI	75	Department of Health and Human Se	7529	National I	75
116	PROJECT (	F31AG077	UNVDZNF	HARVARD COLLEGE PRESIDENT & FELLOWS OF	UNVDZNF	HARVARD	2/1/2024	1/31/2026	35118	35118	RNA SPLIC	75	Department of Health and Human Se	7529	National I	75
117	PROJECT (	R01AG075	UNVDZNF	HARVARD COLLEGE PRESIDENT & FELLOWS OF	UNVDZNF	HARVARD	4/1/2022	1/31/2026	2066304	1266054	THE USE C	75	Department of Health and Human Se	7529	National I	75
118	PROJECT (	R01AG068	UNVDZNF	HARVARD COLLEGE PRESIDENT & FELLOWS OF	UNVDZNF	HARVARD	5/1/2021	1/31/2026	1625028	1156196	A NATION	75	Department of Health and Human Se	7529	National I	75
119	COOPERA	U01HL145	UNVDZNF	HARVARD COLLEGE PRESIDENT & FELLOWS OF	UNVDZNF	HARVARD	2/8/2019	1/31/2026	1.5E+07	8825208	INTEGRAT	75	Department of Health and Human Se	7529	National I	75
120	COOPERA	15PNIJ23(	UNVDZNF	HARVARD COLLEGE PRESIDENT & FELLOWS OF	KH2AELJG	HARVARD	1/1/2024	12/31/2025	654195		ABSTRACT	15	Department of Justice	1550	Office of J	15
121	PROJECT (	K99CA287	UNVDZNF	HARVARD COLLEGE PRESIDENT & FELLOWS OF	UNVDZNF	HARVARD	1/1/2024	12/31/2025	257654	127897	LEARNING	75	Department of Health and Human Se	7529	National I	75
122	PROJECT (	R01LM01	UNVDZNF	HARVARD COLLEGE PRESIDENT & FELLOWS OF	UNVDZNF	HARVARD	2/4/2022	12/31/2025	1356133	749449	METHODS	75	Department of Health and Human Se	7529	National I	75
123	PROJECT (	MAHHU0(	UNVDZNF	HARVARD COLLEGE PRESIDENT & FELLOWS OF	KH2AELJG	HARVARD	12/15/2022	12/15/2025	924984	512123	LEAD-BAS	86	Department of Housing and Urban D(	8653	Office of L	86
124	PROJECT (	F31CA275	UNVDZNF	HARVARD COLLEGE PRESIDENT & FELLOWS OF	UNVDZNF	HARVARD	12/1/2022	11/30/2025	115520	71598	INVESTIG/	75	Department of Health and Human Se	7529	National I	75
125	PROJECT (	R01AI146	UNVDZNF	HARVARD COLLEGE PRESIDENT & FELLOWS OF	UNVDZNF	HARVARD	12/5/2019	11/30/2025	2515206	1734276	OPTIMAL	75	Department of Health and Human Se	7529	National I	75
126	PROJECT (	R01AG06(	UNVDZNF	HARVARD COLLEGE PRESIDENT & FELLOWS OF	UNVDZNF	HARVARD	4/1/2020	11/30/2025	4114343	2426206	NATIONA	75	Department of Health and Human Se	7529	National I	75
127	PROJECT (	R21AI180	UNVDZNF	HARVARD COLLEGE PRESIDENT & FELLOWS OF	UNVDZNF	HARVARD	12/1/2023	10/31/2025	431448	230316	BACTERIA	75	Department of Health and Human Se	7529	National I	75
128	PROJECT (	R01TS000	UNVDZNF	HARVARD COLLEGE PRESIDENT & FELLOWS OF	UNVDZNF	HARVARD	9/30/2022	9/29/2025	1283121	649157	MILITARY	75	Department of Health and Human Se	7523	Centers fc	75
129	PROJECT (	R01TS000	UNVDZNF	HARVARD COLLEGE PRESIDENT & FELLOWS OF	UNVDZNF	HARVARD	9/30/2020	9/29/2025	1499585	341943	TS17-001:	75	Department of Health and Human Se	7523	Centers fc	75
130	COOPERA	U48DP00	UNVDZNF	HARVARD COLLEGE PRESIDENT & FELLOWS OF	UNVDZNF	HARVARD	9/30/2019	9/29/2025	5038796	3800602	HEALTH P	75	Department of Health and Human Se	7523	Centers fc	75
131	PROJECT (	R01TS000	UNVDZNF	HARVARD COLLEGE PRESIDENT & FELLOWS OF	UNVDZNF	HARVARD	9/30/2020	9/29/2025	1499719	777509	RFA-TS-2(	75	Department of Health and Human Se	7523	Centers fc	75
132	COOPERA	U01CA26	UNVDZNF	HARVARD COLLEGE PRESIDENT & FELLOWS OF	UNVDZNF	HARVARD	9/30/2020	9/29/2025	2846950	1987681	CASUAL, S	75	Department of Health and Human Se	7529	National I	75
133	PROJECT (	23STFRGC	UNVDZNF	HARVARD COLLEGE PRESIDENT & FELLOWS OF	UNVDZNF	HARVARD	9/21/2023	9/20/2025	800303	308837	IMPLEME	70	Department of Homeland Security	7040	Office of t	70
134	PROJECT (	K99AG078	UNVDZNF	HARVARD COLLEGE PRESIDENT & FELLOWS OF	UNVDZNF	HARVARD	9/1/2023	8/31/2025	258930	141581	TARGETIN	75	Department of Health and Human Se	7529	National I	75
135	PROJECT (	R21HD11!	UNVDZNF	HARVARD COLLEGE PRESIDENT & FELLOWS OF	UNVDZNF	HARVARD	9/19/2023	8/31/2025	375261	136748	BIDIRECTI	75	Department of Health and Human Se	7529	National I	75
136	PROJECT (	R01HD10	UNVDZNF	HARVARD COLLEGE PRESIDENT & FELLOWS OF	UNVDZNF	HARVARD	9/8/2020	8/31/2025	2966607	2001307	INTERGEN	75	Department of Health and Human Se	7529	National I	75
137	COOPERA	U01CA25	UNVDZNF	HARVARD COLLEGE PRESIDENT & FELLOWS OF	UNVDZNF	HARVARD	9/8/2020	8/31/2025	7939130	5350609	COMPARA	75	Department of Health and Human Se	7529	National I	75
138	PROJECT (	T32CA057	UNVDZNF	HARVARD COLLEGE PRESIDENT & FELLOWS OF	UNVDZNF	HARVARD	9/2/2019	8/31/2025	2910984	1369439	ENHANCII	75	Department of Health and Human Se	7529	National I	75
139	PROJECT (	R56DK14(	UNVDZNF	HARVARD COLLEGE PRESIDENT & FELLOWS OF	UNVDZNF	HARVARD	9/15/2024	8/31/2025	506598	210653	FLUXOMI(	75	Department of Health and Human Se	7529	National I	75
140	PROJECT (	R56AG08	UNVDZNF	HARVARD COLLEGE PRESIDENT & FELLOWS OF	UNVDZNF	HARVARD	9/1/2023	8/31/2025	1125325	641938	CHILD AN	75	Department of Health and Human Se	7529	National I	75
141	PROJECT (	R56HG01	UNVDZNF	HARVARD COLLEGE PRESIDENT & FELLOWS OF	UNVDZNF	HARVARD	9/25/2024	8/31/2025	712873	39858	MODERNI	75	Department of Health and Human Se	7529	National I	75
142	COOPERA	U01CA24!	UNVDZNF	HARVARD COLLEGE PRESIDENT & FELLOWS OF	UNVDZNF	HARVARD	9/15/2020	8/31/2025	2259207	1345003	MULTIFA(	75	Department of Health and Human Se	7529	National I	75
143	PROJECT (	R35CA22(	UNVDZNF	HARVARD COLLEGE PRESIDENT & FELLOWS OF	UNVDZNF	HARVARD	9/1/2018	8/31/2025	5991793	2597304	UNRAVEL	75	Department of Health and Human Se	7529	National I	75
144	PROJECT (	P01HD10	UNVDZNF	HARVARD COLLEGE PRESIDENT & FELLOWS OF	UNVDZNF	HARVARD	9/18/2020	7/31/2025	8.8E+07	5.7E+07	PEDIATRI(	75	Department of Health and Human Se	7529	National I	75
145	PROJECT (	R01AI148	UNVDZNF	HARVARD COLLEGE PRESIDENT & FELLOWS OF	UNVDZNF	HARVARD	8/13/2020	7/31/2025	2516343	1567157	INFANT B	75	Department of Health and Human Se	7529	National I	75
146	PROJECT (	R01ES032	UNVDZNF	HARVARD COLLEGE PRESIDENT & FELLOWS OF	UNVDZNF	HARVARD	8/1/2020	7/31/2025	2205773	1185014	IMMUNE	75	Department of Health and Human Se	7529	National I	75
147	PROJECT (	R01GM12	UNVDZNF	HARVARD COLLEGE PRESIDENT & FELLOWS OF	KH2AELJG	HARVARD	9/1/2017	7/31/2025	2930877	1507459	MECHANI	75	Department of Health and Human Se	7529	National I	75
148	PROJECT (	R01HL151	UNVDZNF	HARVARD COLLEGE PRESIDENT & FELLOWS OF	UNVDZNF	HARVARD	8/1/2020	7/31/2025	2902282	1943918	LEVERAGI	75	Department of Health and Human Se	7529	National I	75
149	COOPERA	U01MH12	UNVDZNF	HARVARD COLLEGE PRESIDENT & FELLOWS OF	UNVDZNF	HARVARD	9/18/2020	7/31/2025	3141950	2114088	2/4 POWE	75	Department of Health and Human Se	7529	National I	75
150	PROJECT (	T32DK007	UNVDZNF	HARVARD COLLEGE PRESIDENT & FELLOWS OF	UNVDZNF	HARVARD	8/1/1994	7/31/2025	5020145	1186654	TRAINING	75	Department of Health and Human Se	7529	National I	75
151	COOPERA	21STFRGC	UNVDZNF	HARVARD COLLEGE PRESIDENT & FELLOWS OF	UNVDZNF	HARVARD	1/28/2021	7/27/2025	1934902	975894	BLUE CAM	70	Department of Homeland Security	7040	Office of t	70
152	PROJECT (	F31HL163	UNVDZNF	HARVARD COLLEGE PRESIDENT & FELLOWS OF	KH2AELJG	HARVARD	7/1/2022	6/30/2025	77116	70340	DETERMII	75	Department of Health and Human Se	7529	National I	75
153	PROJECT (	MAHHU0(	UNVDZNF	HARVARD COLLEGE PRESIDENT & FELLOWS OF	UNVDZNF	HARVARD	1/1/2022	6/30/2025	1000000	678538	LEAD-BAS	86	Department of Housing and Urban D(	8653	Office of L	86
154	PROJECT (	K99CA283	UNVDZNF	HARVARD COLLEGE PRESIDENT & FELLOWS OF	UNVDZNF	HARVARD	7/13/2023	6/30/2025	243633	133182	DIETARY F	75	Department of Health and Human Se	7529	National I	75
155	PROJECT (	R01ES031	UNVDZNF	HARVARD COLLEGE PRESIDENT & FELLOWS OF	UNVDZNF	HARVARD	9/8/2020	6/30/2025	2642435	1785827	METALS A	75	Department of Health and Human Se	7529	National I	75
156	PROJECT (	R01ES031	UNVDZNF	HARVARD COLLEGE PRESIDENT & FELLOWS OF	UNVDZNF	HARVARD	9/22/2020	6/30/2025	3110588	1961047	PER- AND	75	Department of Health and Human Se	7529	National I	75
157	PROJECT (	R01CA243	UNVDZNF	HARVARD COLLEGE PRESIDENT & FELLOWS OF	UNVDZNF	HARVARD	7/1/2024	6/30/2025	3185111	1829946	PREBIOTI(	75	Department of Health and Human Se	7529	National I	75
158	PROJECT (	R01AI153	UNVDZNF	HARVARD COLLEGE PRESIDENT & FELLOWS OF	UNVDZNF	HARVARD	7/17/2020	6/30/2025	3719693	2641958	IDENTIFIC	75	Department of Health and Human Se	7529	National I	75
159	PROJECT (	R01HD09	UNVDZNF	HARVARD COLLEGE PRESIDENT & FELLOWS OF	UNVDZNF	HARVARD	9/1/2018	6/30/2025	2686499	1257131	LONG-TEF	75	Department of Health and Human Se	7529	National I	75
160	PROJECT (	R01HD09!	UNVDZNF	HARVARD COLLEGE PRESIDENT & FELLOWS OF	UNVDZNF	HARVARD	8/3/2018	6/30/2025	3346835	1198793	BOTSWAN	75	Department of Health and Human Se	7529	National I	75
161	PROJECT (	R01HG00	UNVDZNF	HARVARD COLLEGE PRESIDENT & FELLOWS OF	UNVDZNF	HARVARD	6/15/2011	6/30/2025	6289185	1391479	LEVERAGI	75	Department of Health and Human Se	7529	National I	75
162	PROJECT (	R01HL149	UNVDZNF	HARVARD COLLEGE PRESIDENT & FELLOWS OF	UNVDZNF	HARVARD	8/1/2020	6/30/2025	3217872	1885963	PRIMECAI	75	Department of Health and Human Se	7529	National I	75
163	PROJECT (	R21AI172	UNVDZNF	HARVARD COLLEGE PRESIDENT & FELLOWS OF	UNVDZNF	HARVARD	7/10/2023	6/30/2025	454941	272165	GENETIC I	75	Department of Health and Human Se	7529	National I	75
164	PROJECT (	R01HL035	UNVDZNF	HARVARD COLLEGE PRESIDENT & FELLOWS OF	UNVDZNF	HARVARD	12/1/1985	6/30/2025	1E+07	2224847	DIETARY E	75	Department of Health and Human Se	7529	National I	75
165	PROJECT (	T32MH01	UNVDZNF	HARVARD COLLEGE PRESIDENT & FELLOWS OF	UNVDZNF	HARVARD	7/1/1983	6/30/2025	5512027	1280354	TRAINING	75	Department of Health and Human Se	7529	National I	75

	Q	R	S	T	U	V	W	X	Y	Z	AA	AB	AC	AD	AE	AF
111	Departme	75NT00	NIH Eunic	7529	National I	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$3,484,165	$402,358						
112	Departme	75NV00	NIH Natio	7529	National I	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$2,940,110	$903,165						
113	Departme	75NN00	NIH Natio	7529	National I	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$647,845	$131,657						
114	Departme	75NT00	NIH Eunic	7529	National I	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$10,420,053	$1,329,817						
115	Departme	75NH00	NIH Natio	7529	National I	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$5,979,478	$862,834						
116	Departme	75NN00	NIH Natio	7529	National I	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$35,118	$0						
117	Departme	75NN00	NIH Natio	7529	National I	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$1,444,664	$621,640						
118	Departme	75NN00	NIH Natio	7529	National I	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$1,418,378	$206,650						
119	Departme	75NH00	NIH Natio	7529	National I	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$13,122,016	$2,177,297						
120	Departme	15PNJD	OJP NATIC	1550	Office of J	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$0	$654,195	DPP/ACP					
121	Departme	75NC00	NIH Natio	7529	National I	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$114,724	$142,930						
122	Departme	75NL00	NIH Natio	7529	National I	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$900,648	$455,485						
123	Departme	866110	LBPA : OF	8653	Office of L	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$512,123	$412,861						
124	Departme	75NC00	NIH Natio	7529	National I	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$89,309	$26,211						
125	Departme	75NM00	NIH Natio	7529	National I	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$2,488,503	$26,703						
126	Departme	75NN00	NIH Natio	7529	National I	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$3,542,533	$571,810						
127	Departme	75NM00	NIH Natio	7529	National I	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$279,963	$151,485						
128	Departme	75J000	ATSDR AG	7525	Agency fo	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$716,842	$566,279						
129	Departme	75J000	ATSDR AG	7525	Agency fo	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$566,538	$933,047						
130	Departme	75CUC0	CDC NATI	7523	Centers fc	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$4,943,776	$95,020						
131	Departme	75J000	ATSDR AG	7525	Agency fo	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$1,023,878	$475,841						
132	Departme	75NA00	NIH OFFIC	7529	National I	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$2,130,148	$716,802						
133	Departme	70YCST	DIR FOR S	7040	Office of t	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$350,984	$449,319						
134	Departme	75NN00	NIH Natio	7529	National I	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$191,333	$67,597						
135	Departme	75NT00	NIH Eunic	7529	National I	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$207,804	$167,457						
136	Departme	75NT00	NIH Eunic	7529	National I	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$2,448,068	$518,539						
137	Departme	75NC00	NIH Natio	7529	National I	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$7,042,424	$896,706						
138	Departme	75NA00	NIH OFFIC	7529	National I	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$2,405,474	$505,510						
139	Departme	75NK00	NIH Natio	7529	National I	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$301,050	$205,548						
140	Departme	75NN00	NIH Natio	7529	National I	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$750,794	$374,531						
141	Departme	75N400	NIH Natio	7529	National I	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$158,441	$554,432						
142	Departme	75NC00	NIH Natio	7529	National I	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$1,278,206	$0						
143	Departme	75NC00	NIH Natio	7529	National I	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$5,520,596	$471,197						
144	Departme	75NP00	NIH Natio	7529	National I	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$73,626,108	$14,678,220						
145	Departme	75NM00	NIH Natio	7529	National I	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$2,440,153	$76,190						
146	Departme	75NV00	NIH Natio	7529	National I	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$958,671	$347,378						
147	Departme	75NS00	NIH Natio	7529	National I	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$1,698,798	$0						
148	Departme	75NH00	NIH Natio	7529	National I	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$497,158	$123,937						
149	Departme	75N700	NIH Natio	7529	National I	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$2,935,911	$206,039						
150	Departme	75NK00	NIH Natio	7529	National I	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$5,905,326	$302,076						
151	Departme	70YCST	DIR FOR S	7040	Office of t	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$1,537,592	$397,310	Pending Payment: $11,342.00 - Already accounted for in numbers					
152	Departme	75NH00	NIH Natio	7529	National I	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$73,626	$3,490						
153	Departme	866110	LBPA : OF	8653	Office of L	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$923,873	$76,127						
154	Departme	75NC00	NIH Natio	7529	National I	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$179,246	$64,387						
155	Departme	75NV00	NIH Natio	7529	National I	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$2,167,626	$474,809						
156	Departme	75NV00	NIH Natio	7529	National I	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$2,574,138	$536,450						
157	Departme	75NC00	NIH Natio	7529	National I	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$377,502	$496,976						
158	Departme	75NM00	NIH Natio	7529	National I	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$3,399,710	$319,983						
159	Departme	75NT00	NIH Eunic	7529	National I	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$3,169,862	$147,452						
160	Departme	75NT00	NIH Eunic	7529	National I	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$3,250,995	$95,840						
161	Departme	75N400	NIH Natio	7529	National I	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$6,105,830	$183,355						
162	Departme	75NH00	NIH Natio	7529	National I	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$2,756,958	$460,914						
163	Departme	75NM00	NIH Natio	7529	National I	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$352,841	$102,100						
164	Departme	75NH00	NIH Natio	7529	National I	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$11,552,379	$442,103						
165	Departme	75N700	NIH Natio	7529	National I	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$5,128,186	$383,841						

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166	PROJECT (	R21OH01	UNVDZNF	HARVARD COLLEGE PRESIDENT & FELLOWS OF	UNVDZNF	HARVARD	7/1/2023	6/30/2025	499913	246639	WTC-WOI	75	Department of Health and Human Se	7523	Centers fc	75
167	PROJECT (	T32GM13	UNVDZNF	HARVARD COLLEGE PRESIDENT & FELLOWS OF	UNVDZNF	HARVARD	7/1/2020	6/30/2025	1694054	1247917	INTERDISC	75	Department of Health and Human Se	7529	National I	75
168	PROJECT (	T32ES007	UNVDZNF	HARVARD COLLEGE PRESIDENT & FELLOWS OF	UNVDZNF	HARVARD	7/1/1978	6/30/2025	9931865	2297843	TRAINING	75	Department of Health and Human Se	7529	National I	75
169	PROJECT (	R24ES028	UNVDZNF	HARVARD COLLEGE PRESIDENT & FELLOWS OF	UNVDZNF	HARVARD	9/30/2018	6/30/2025	2089391	843578	NURSES H	75	Department of Health and Human Se	7529	National I	75
170	PROJECT (	F31DK128	UNVDZNF	HARVARD COLLEGE PRESIDENT & FELLOWS OF	UNVDZNF	HARVARD	7/1/2022	6/23/2025	71497	67384	DEFINING	75	Department of Health and Human Se	7529	National I	75
171	PROJECT (	P42ES030	UNVDZNF	HARVARD COLLEGE PRESIDENT & FELLOWS OF	KH2AELIG	HARVARD	8/15/2022	5/31/2025	8339987	5342720	METALS A	75	Department of Health and Human Se	7529	National I	75
172	PROJECT (	R01AG04	UNVDZNF	HARVARD COLLEGE PRESIDENT & FELLOWS OF	UNVDZNF	HARVARD	9/30/2013	5/31/2025	3274638	1247630	MECHANI	75	Department of Health and Human Se	7529	National I	75
173	PROJECT (	R01AI153	UNVDZNF	HARVARD COLLEGE PRESIDENT & FELLOWS OF	UNVDZNF	HARVARD	6/11/2020	5/31/2025	3726139	2403793	DETERMII	75	Department of Health and Human Se	7529	National I	75
174	PROJECT (	R01CA24(	UNVDZNF	HARVARD COLLEGE PRESIDENT & FELLOWS OF	UNVDZNF	HARVARD	9/1/2020	5/31/2025	1727941	1071851	STATISTIC	75	Department of Health and Human Se	7529	National I	75
175	PROJECT (	R01AG04	UNVDZNF	HARVARD COLLEGE PRESIDENT & FELLOWS OF	UNVDZNF	HARVARD	9/30/2018	5/31/2025	4889293	1247514	IMPACT C	75	Department of Health and Human Se	7529	National I	75
176	PROJECT (	R01NS103	UNVDZNF	HARVARD COLLEGE PRESIDENT & FELLOWS OF	UNVDZNF	HARVARD	9/15/2018	5/31/2025	2463866	1200474	PROSPECT	75	Department of Health and Human Se	7529	National I	75
177	PROJECT (	R36MH13	UNVDZNF	HARVARD COLLEGE PRESIDENT & FELLOWS OF	UNVDZNF	HARVARD	1/1/2024	5/31/2025	38151	38151	AN INTER:	75	Department of Health and Human Se	7529	National I	75
178	PROJECT (	T7600001	UNVDZNF	HARVARD COLLEGE PRESIDENT & FELLOWS OF	UNVDZNF	HARVARD	6/1/2013	5/31/2025	2140973	1230825	MATERNA	75	Department of Health and Human Se	7526	Health Re	75
179	PROJECT (	K01AG06(	UNVDZNF	HARVARD COLLEGE PRESIDENT & FELLOWS OF	ML98SNH	PRESIDEN	8/1/2020	4/30/2025	93873	3930	PROTEOM	75	Department of Health and Human Se	7529	National I	75
180	PROJECT (	F31ES035	UNVDZNF	HARVARD COLLEGE PRESIDENT & FELLOWS OF	UNVDZNF	HARVARD	5/1/2023	4/30/2025	92018	49367	ENVIRONI	75	Department of Health and Human Se	7529	National I	75
181	PROJECT (	K00CA27	UNVDZNF	HARVARD COLLEGE PRESIDENT & FELLOWS OF	UNVDZNF	HARVARD	8/1/2022	4/30/2025	195039	113779	INTEGRAT	75	Department of Health and Human Se	7529	National I	75
182	PROJECT (	R01CA23:	UNVDZNF	HARVARD COLLEGE PRESIDENT & FELLOWS OF	KH2AELIG	HARVARD	5/10/2019	4/30/2025	579150	169019	TARGET M	75	Department of Health and Human Se	7529	National I	75
183	PROJECT (	R01LM01	UNVDZNF	HARVARD COLLEGE PRESIDENT & FELLOWS OF	UNVDZNF	HARVARD	8/1/2021	4/30/2025	1374026	1090370	SEMI-SUP	75	Department of Health and Human Se	7529	National I	75
184	PROJECT (	R01HL151	UNVDZNF	HARVARD COLLEGE PRESIDENT & FELLOWS OF	UNVDZNF	HARVARD	1/1/2021	4/30/2025	3111868	1568741	THE EFFE(	75	Department of Health and Human Se	7529	National I	75
185	PROJECT (	W81XWH	UNVDZNF	HARVARD COLLEGE PRESIDENT & FELLOWS OF	UNVDZNF	HARVARD	5/1/2020	4/30/2025	#######		THIS MOD	97	Department of Defense	97DH	Defense H	97
186	PROJECT (	W81XWH	UNVDZNF	HARVARD COLLEGE PRESIDENT & FELLOWS OF	UNVDZNF	HARVARD	5/1/2021	4/30/2025	$622,684		INFLAMM	97	Department of Defense	97DH	Defense H	97
187	PROJECT (	E3614864	JDLVAVG\	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE		PRESIDEN	7/1/2009	6/6/2079	0		LDS - ALL(	75	Department of Health and Human Se	7526	Health Re	75
188	PROJECT (	E1127293	JDLVAVG\	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE	JR2RTJW1	HARVARD	7/1/1965	6/6/2079	704824	704824	HPSL - DE	75	Department of Health and Human Se	7526	Health Re	75
189	PROJECT (	E3127253	JDLVAVG\	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE	JR2RTJW1	HARVARD	7/1/1991	6/6/2079	11122	11122	LDS - DEN	75	Department of Health and Human Se	7526	Health Re	75
190	PROJECT (	E31HP272	JDLVAVG\	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE	ML98SNH	PRESIDEN	7/1/1991	6/6/2079	0		LDS - DEN	75	Department of Health and Human Se	7526	Health Resources an	
191	PROJECT (	E36HP148	JDLVAVG\	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE	ML98SNH	PRESIDEN	7/1/2009	6/6/2079	0		CLOSEOU	75	Department of Health and Human Se	7526	Health Resources an	
192	PROJECT (	R35NS132	JDLVAVG\	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE	JR2RTJW1	HARVARD	9/1/2024	8/31/2032	915281	355826	ELUCIDAT	75	Department of Health and Human Se	7529	National I	75
193	PROJECT (	R35NS137	JDLVAVG\	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE	JR2RTJW1	HARVARD	5/1/2024	4/30/2032	899035	746044	ACTION A	75	Department of Health and Human Se	7529	National I	75
194	PROJECT (	2441652	LN53LCFJI	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE			7/1/2025	6/30/2030	82562		CAREER: [	49	National Science Foundation	4900	National S	49
195	PROJECT (	2440824	LN53LCFJI	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE			7/1/2025	6/30/2030	88793		CAREER: H	49	National Science Foundation	4900	National S	49
196	PROJECT (	R35NS127	JDLVAVG\	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE	JR2RTJW1	HARVARD	5/1/2022	4/30/2030	2475651	1908392	ION CHAN	75	Department of Health and Human Se	7529	National I	75
197	COOPERA	UM1TR00	JDLVAVG\	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE	JR2RTJW1	HARVARD	5/1/2023	4/30/2030	2.2E+07	1.6E+07	HARVARD	75	Department of Health and Human Se	7529	National I	75
198	PROJECT (	2441781	LN53LCFJI	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE			4/1/2025	3/31/2030	260000		CAREER: I	49	National Science Foundation	4900	National S	49
199	PROJECT (	R01AI186	JDLVAVG\	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE	JR2RTJW1	HARVARD	3/1/2025	2/28/2030	831622		CHARACT	75	Department of Health and Human Se	7529	National I	75
200	PROJECT (	2443033	LN53LCFJI	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE			1/15/2025	12/31/2029	130134		CAREER: (	49	National Science Foundation	4900	National S	49
201	PROJECT (	R01AI181	JDLVAVG\	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE	JR2RTJW1	HARVARD	1/24/2025	12/31/2029	790356		GUT COM	75	Department of Health and Human Se	7529	National I	75
202	PROJECT (	R01AI148	JDLVAVG\	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE	JR2RTJW1	HARVARD	1/1/2020	12/31/2029	4637547	2255468	DISCOVEF	75	Department of Health and Human Se	7529	National I	75
203	PROJECT (	R01DC02	JDLVAVG\	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE	JR2RTJW1	HARVARD	1/1/2025	12/31/2029	564134		TRANSCRI	75	Department of Health and Human Se	7529	National I	75
204	PROJECT (	R01AI083	JDLVAVG\	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE	JR2RTJW1	HARVARD	1/1/2010	12/31/2029	7684126	1700122	ENVELOPI	75	Department of Health and Human Se	7529	National I	75
205	PROJECT (	R35GM15	JDLVAVG\	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE	JR2RTJW1	HARVARD	2/1/2025	12/31/2029	483990		EVOLUTIC	75	Department of Health and Human Se	7529	National I	75
206	PROJECT (	R01HD03	JDLVAVG\	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE	JR2RTJW1	HARVARD	3/1/1995	11/30/2029	2520020	154703	DISSECTIN	75	Department of Health and Human Se	7529	National I	75
207	PROJECT (	R01AI187	JDLVAVG\	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE	JR2RTJW1	HARVARD	12/13/2024	11/30/2029	637729	11148	STRUCTUI	75	Department of Health and Human Se	7529	National I	75
208	PROJECT (	R01NS134	LN53LCFJI	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE			12/11/2024	11/30/2029	621500	1934	NOVEL NA	75	Department of Health and Human Se	7529	National I	75
209	PROJECT (	R35GM15	LN53LCFJI	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE			1/1/2025	11/30/2029	422500	7056	MECHANI	75	Department of Health and Human Se	7529	National I	75
210	PROJECT (	R01AI182	JDLVAVG\	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE	JR2RTJW1	HARVARD	11/18/2024	10/31/2029	571091	122881	GUT TREC	75	Department of Health and Human Se	7529	National I	75
211	PROJECT (	R01AI187	LN53LCFJI	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE			11/20/2024	10/31/2029	749417	40855	BACTERIC	75	Department of Health and Human Se	7529	National I	75
212	PROJECT (	R01MH13	LN53LCFJI	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE			11/15/2024	10/31/2029	679072	146134	PLATFORM	75	Department of Health and Human Se	7529	National I	75
213	PROJECT (	FA955024	LN53LCFJI	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE			9/30/2024	9/29/2029	$190,000		FUNDAMI	97	Department of Defense	5700	Departme	97
214	PROJECT (	P01CA281	JDLVAVG\	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE	JR2RTJW1	HARVARD	9/15/2024	8/31/2029	2282687	346227	UNDERST	75	Department of Health and Human Se	7529	National I	75
215	PROJECT (	R01AG08	LN53LCFJI	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE			9/1/2024	8/31/2029	640041	97461	COVID-19	75	Department of Health and Human Se	7529	National I	75
216	PROJECT (	R01HD11	LN53LCFJI	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE			9/18/2024	8/31/2029	686233		INTEGRAT	75	Department of Health and Human Se	7529	National I	75
217	PROJECT (	R01NS11(	JDLVAVG\	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE	JR2RTJW1	HARVARD	9/19/2024	8/31/2029	2934624	1074468	ENDOLYS(	75	Department of Health and Human Se	7529	National I	75
218	PROJECT (	DP5OD03	LN53LCFJI	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE			9/19/2024	7/31/2029	422500	76703	UNDERST	75	Department of Health and Human Se	7529	National I	75
219	COOPERA	NU38PW(	JDLVAVG\	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE	JR2RTJW1	HARVARD	8/1/2024	7/31/2029	200000	49211	CATEGOR	75	Department of Health and Human Se	7523	Centers fc	75
220	PROJECT (	R01DC02(	JDLVAVG\	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE	JR2RTJW1	HARVARD	8/1/2024	7/31/2029	541327	242492	STATE-DE	75	Department of Health and Human Se	7529	National I	75

	Q	R	S	T	U	V	W	X	Y	Z	AA	AB	AC	AD	AE	AF
166	Departme	75CC00	CDC NATI	7523	Centers fc	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$298,947	$200,966						
167	Departme	75NS00	NIH Natio	7529	National I	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$2,054,887	$78,033						
168	Departme	75NV00	NIH Natio	7529	National I	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$10,914,888	$842,290						
169	Departme	75NV00	NIH Natio	7529	National I	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$1,999,053	$90,338						
170	Departme	75NK00	NIH Natio	7529	National I	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$68,768	$0						
171	Departme	75NV00	NIH Natio	7529	National I	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$8,116,442	$223,545						
172	Departme	75NN00	NIH Natio	7529	National I	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$3,274,637	$0						
173	Departme	75NM00	NIH Natio	7529	National I	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$3,570,780	$155,359						
174	Departme	75NC00	NIH Natio	7529	National I	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$1,622,469	$105,472						
175	Departme	75NN00	NIH Natio	7529	National I	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$4,857,934	$31,359						
176	Departme	75NQ00	NIH Natio	7529	National I	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$2,430,608	$33,258						
177	Departme	75N700	NIH Natio	7529	National I	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$38,151	$0						
178	Departme	75RM00	HRSA MA	7526	Health Re	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$8,274,625	$80,225						
179	Departme	75NN00	NIH Natio	7529	National I	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$93,874	$0						
180	Departme	75NV00	NIH Natio	7529	National I	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$70,679	$21,339						
181	Departme	75NC00	NIH Natio	7529	National I	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$152,965	$42,074						
182	Departme	75NC00	NIH Natio	7529	National I	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$579,151	$0						
183	Departme	75NL00	NIH Natio	7529	National I	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$1,205,368	$168,658						
184	Departme	75NH00	NIH Natio	7529	National I	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$2,188,323	$742,927						
185	Departme	HT0989	CONG DIR	97DH	Defense H	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$1,458,334	$41,315						
186	Departme	HT0989	CONG DIR	97DH	Defense H	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$605,447	$17,237						
187	Departme	75RQ00	HRSA BUR	7526	Health Re	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$7,769,749	$0						
188	Departme	75RQ00	HRSA BUR	7526	Health Re	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$714,801	$0						
189	Departme	75RQ00	HRSA BUR	7526	Health Re	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$12,122	$0						
190	d Services Administration					https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$0	$0						
191	d Services Administration					https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$1,804,330	$0						
192	Departme	75NQ00	NIH Natio	7529	National I	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$634,417	$280,864						
193	Departme	75NQ00	NIH Natio	7529	National I	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$819,398	$79,637						
194	National S	490304	DIVISION	4900	National S	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$0	[redacted]	Unspent Amount is Not Public Data					
195	National S	490304	DIVISION	4900	National S	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$6,041	[redacted]	Unspent Amount is Not Public Data					
196	Departme	75NQ00	NIH Natio	7529	National I	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$2,308,177	$167,474						
197	Departme	75NA00	NIH OFFIC	7529	National I	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$19,478,652	$2,453,558						
198	National S	490307	DIVISION	4900	National S	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$0	[redacted]	Unspent Amount is Not Public Data					
199	Departme	75NM00	NIH Natio	7529	National I	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$0	$831,622						
200	National S	490501	DIV OF CC	4900	National S	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$3,667	[redacted]	Unspent Amount is Not Public Data					
201	Departme	75NM00	NIH Natio	7529	National I	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$79,866	$710,490						
202	Departme	75NM00	NIH Natio	7529	National I	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$4,174,774	$462,773						
203	Departme	75N300	NIH Natio	7529	National I	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$31,105	$533,029						
204	Departme	75NM00	NIH Natio	7529	National I	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$7,044,469	$639,657						
205	Departme	75NS00	NIH Natio	7529	National I	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$309,207	$174,783						
206	Departme	75NT00	NIH Eunic	7529	National I	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$7,435,853	$414,177						
207	Departme	75NM00	NIH Natio	7529	National I	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$191,644	$446,085						
208	Departme	75NQ00	NIH Natio	7529	National I	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$120,064	$501,436						
209	Departme	75NS00	NIH Natio	7529	National I	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$55,171	$367,329						
210	Departme	75NM00	NIH Natio	7529	National I	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$274,234	$296,857						
211	Departme	75NM00	NIH Natio	7529	National I	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$213,866	$535,551						
212	Departme	75N700	NIH Natio	7529	National I	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$223,655	$455,417						
213	Departme	F4FGA0	F4FGA0 A	5700	Departme	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$67,098	$122,902						
214	Departme	75NC00	NIH Natio	7529	National I	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$733,958	$1,548,729						
215	Departme	75NN00	NIH Natio	7529	National I	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$935,087	$454,954						
216	Departme	75NT00	NIH Eunic	7529	National I	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$80,534	$605,699						
217	Departme	75NQ00	NIH Natio	7529	National I	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$2,573,094	$361,530						
218	Departme	75NA00	NIH OFFIC	7529	National I	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$185,475	$237,025						
219	Departme	75PH00	PUBLIC HE	7523	Centers fc	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$84,739	$115,261						
220	Departme	75N300	NIH Natio	7529	National I	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$405,956	$135,371						

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221	PROJECT (	T32AI007	JDLVAVG\	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE	JR2RTJW1	HARVARD	7/1/1983	7/31/2029	7507418	1566491	MOLECUL	75	Department of Health and Human Se	7529	National I	75
222	PROJECT (	2338760	LN53LCFJI	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE			7/1/2024	6/30/2029	81885	21459	CAREER: S	49	National Science Foundation	4900	National S	49
223	PROJECT (	2338206	LN53LCFJI	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE			7/1/2024	6/30/2029	770000	57039	CAREER: (	49	National Science Foundation	4900	National S	49
224	PROJECT (	2336044	LN53LCFJI	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE			7/1/2024	6/30/2029	330221	72151	CAREER: H	49	National Science Foundation	4900	National S	49
225	PROJECT (	F30DA061	JDLVAVG\	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE	JR2RTJW1	HARVARD	7/1/2024	6/30/2029	41656	23180	CHARACT	75	Department of Health and Human Se	7529	National I	75
226	PROJECT (	R01DK137	JDLVAVG\	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE	JR2RTJW1	HARVARD	7/22/2024	6/30/2029	689177	209460	CATALOG	75	Department of Health and Human Se	7529	National I	75
227	PROJECT (	R01AR084	LN53LCFJI	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE			7/1/2024	6/30/2029	497083	264440	MECHANI	75	Department of Health and Human Se	7529	National I	75
228	PROJECT (	R01MH11	LN53LCFJI	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE			2/1/2018	6/30/2029	3489393	918088	MODELIN	75	Department of Health and Human Se	7529	National I	75
229	PROJECT (	T32MH02	JDLVAVG\	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE	JR2RTJW1	HARVARD	9/30/1997	6/30/2029	1E+07	1889616	PH.D. TRA	75	Department of Health and Human Se	7529	National I	75
230	PROJECT (	T32MH01	JDLVAVG\	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE	JR2RTJW1	HARVARD	9/1/1993	6/30/2029	4479506	797981	HEALTH P	75	Department of Health and Human Se	7529	National I	75
231	PROJECT (	R35GM13	JDLVAVG\	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE	JR2RTJW1	HARVARD	7/1/2019	6/30/2029	4723783	2412710	MECHANI	75	Department of Health and Human Se	7529	National I	75
232	PROJECT (	T32GM13	JDLVAVG\	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE	JR2RTJW1	HARVARD	7/1/2019	6/30/2029	2224287	1389236	TRAINING	75	Department of Health and Human Se	7529	National I	75
233	PROJECT (	2339621	LN53LCFJI	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE			6/1/2024	5/31/2029	514088	58435	CAREER: M	49	National Science Foundation	4900	National S	49
234	PROJECT (	2326605	LN53LCFJI	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE			6/1/2024	5/31/2029	1160634	311259	COLLABOI	49	National Science Foundation	4900	National S	49
235	PROJECT (	2437498	LN53LCFJI	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE			6/1/2025	5/31/2029	188200		COLLABOI	49	National Science Foundation	4900	National S	49
236	PROJECT (	P30AI060	LN53LCFJI	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE			7/1/2004	5/31/2029	6.9E+07	1.4E+07	HARVARD	75	Department of Health and Human Se	7529	National I	75
237	PROJECT (	R01HD11	JDLVAVG\	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE	JR2RTJW1	HARVARD	8/15/2024	5/31/2029	741747	39663	IMAGE-BA	75	Department of Health and Human Se	7529	National I	75
238	PROJECT (	R35GM15	JDLVAVG\	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE	JR2RTJW1	HARVARD	7/1/2024	5/31/2029	423750	211083	THE FUNC	75	Department of Health and Human Se	7529	National I	75
239	PROJECT (	R35GM15	JDLVAVG\	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE	JR2RTJW1	HARVARD	6/1/2024	5/31/2029	763494	343596	SENDING	75	Department of Health and Human Se	7529	National I	75
240	PROJECT (	R35GM13	JDLVAVG\	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE	JR2RTJW1	HARVARD	6/7/2019	5/31/2029	4667754	2718455	CELL AND	75	Department of Health and Human Se	7529	National I	75
241	PROJECT (	K08DK140	JDLVAVG\	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE	JR2RTJW1	HARVARD	8/1/2024	4/30/2029	160368	66798	MECHANI	75	Department of Health and Human Se	7529	National I	75
242	PROJECT (	R01AI081	LN53LCFJI	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE			12/15/2008	4/30/2029	8195608	1512752	OUTER M	75	Department of Health and Human Se	7529	National I	75
243	PROJECT (	R01DA059	LN53LCFJI	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE			7/15/2024	4/30/2029	656073	261965	DISSECTIN	75	Department of Health and Human Se	7529	National I	75
244	PROJECT (	R01CA275	JDLVAVG\	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE	JR2RTJW1	HARVARD	5/1/2024	4/30/2029	698050	496082	DEFINING	75	Department of Health and Human Se	7529	National I	75
245	PROJECT (	R01NS083	JDLVAVG\	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE	JR2RTJW1	HARVARD	7/1/2014	4/30/2029	4884897	1524202	MOLECUL	75	Department of Health and Human Se	7529	National I	75
246	PROJECT (	F30CA298	JDLVAVG\	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE	JR2RTJW1	HARVARD	4/1/2025	3/31/2029	41656		DETERMII	75	Department of Health and Human Se	7529	National I	75
247	PROJECT (	F30CA298	JDLVAVG\	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE	JR2RTJW1	HARVARD	4/1/2025	3/31/2029	41656		IDENTIFYI	75	Department of Health and Human Se	7529	National I	75
248	PROJECT (	R01DA058	JDLVAVG\	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE	JR2RTJW1	HARVARD	6/1/2024	3/31/2029	680195	176853	ROLES FO	75	Department of Health and Human Se	7529	National I	75
249	PROJECT (	R01MH13	JDLVAVG\	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE	JR2RTJW1	HARVARD	5/1/2024	3/31/2029	1400214	155139	DIGITAL II	75	Department of Health and Human Se	7529	National I	75
250	PROJECT (	R01HD11	LN53LCFJI	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE			4/17/2024	3/31/2029	844998	582223	ROLES OF	75	Department of Health and Human Se	7529	National I	75
251	PROJECT (	R35GM15	LN53LCFJI	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE			4/1/2024	3/31/2029	328832	175755	INTEGRAT	75	Department of Health and Human Se	7529	National I	75
252	COOPERA	U01AG08	LN53LCFJI	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE			6/1/2024	3/31/2029	700808	264622	DISRUPTE	75	Department of Health and Human Se	7529	National I	75
253	PROJECT (	R37AI018	JDLVAVG\	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE	JR2RTJW1	HARVARD	7/1/1981	3/31/2029	5906714	1300881	COORDIN	75	Department of Health and Human Se	7529	National I	75
254	PROJECT (	R01DC02	JDLVAVG\	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE	JR2RTJW1	HARVARD	3/1/2024	2/28/2029	1174897	481663	NEURONA	75	Department of Health and Human Se	7529	National I	75
255	PROJECT (	R01DC017	LN53LCFJI	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE			3/1/2019	2/28/2029	3777172	1501735	STABILITY	75	Department of Health and Human Se	7529	National I	75
256	PROJECT (	2339524	LN53LCFJI	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE			2/15/2024	1/31/2029	328354	11979	CAREER: (	49	National Science Foundation	4900	National S	49
257	PROJECT (	2514823	LN53LCFJI	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE			2/15/2025	1/31/2029	177556		NSF-SNSF	49	National Science Foundation	4900	National S	49
258	PROJECT (	F30HL177	JDLVAVG\	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE	JR2RTJW1	HARVARD	2/1/2025	1/31/2029	41656		INTERROC	75	Department of Health and Human Se	7529	National I	75
259	PROJECT (	R01MH13	JDLVAVG\	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE	JR2RTJW1	HARVARD	4/1/2024	1/31/2029	1343431	286350	MENTAL H	75	Department of Health and Human Se	7529	National I	75
260	PROJECT (	R01HS029	JDLVAVG\	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE	JR2RTJW1	HARVARD	4/1/2024	1/31/2029	599994	177167	EVALUATI	75	Department of Health and Human Se	7528	Agency fo	75
261	PROJECT (	R01MH13	LN53LCFJI	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE			7/5/2024	1/31/2029	1396040	288853	UNDERST	75	Department of Health and Human Se	7529	National I	75
262	COOPERA	U01AG08	JDLVAVG\	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE	JR2RTJW1	HARVARD	5/15/2024	1/31/2029	1265672	259199	INTERORC	75	Department of Health and Human Se	7529	National I	75
263	PROJECT (	R35GM15	LN53LCFJI	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE			4/1/2024	1/31/2029	906020	365247	STEM CEL	75	Department of Health and Human Se	7529	National I	75
264	COOPERA	U24HG01	LN53LCFJI	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE			4/1/2024	1/31/2029	4043101	1561082	FLYBASE:	75	Department of Health and Human Se	7529	National I	75
265	PROJECT (	2339913	LN53LCFJI	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE			1/15/2024	12/31/2028	346170	83337	CAREER: E	49	National Science Foundation	4900	National S	49
266	PROJECT (	80NSSC25	LN53LCFJI	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE			1/1/2025	12/31/2028	315433		EXECUTE	80	National Aeronautics and Space Adm	8000	National A	80
267	PROJECT (	R01AR083	LN53LCFJI	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE			1/1/2024	12/31/2028	1100101	481214	AGING AN	75	Department of Health and Human Se	7529	National I	75
268	PROJECT (	R01AI182	JDLVAVG\	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE	JR2RTJW1	HARVARD	2/7/2024	12/31/2028	1464542	522637	STRUCTUI	75	Department of Health and Human Se	7529	National I	75
269	PROJECT (	R01CA269	JDLVAVG\	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE	JR2RTJW1	HARVARD	7/1/2023	12/31/2028	1046031	520489	TOWARDS	75	Department of Health and Human Se	7529	National I	75
270	PROJECT (	R01GM15	JDLVAVG\	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE	JR2RTJW1	HARVARD	4/13/2015	12/31/2028	364590		DYNAMIC	75	Department of Health and Human Se	7529	National I	75
271	PROJECT (	S411B230	LN53LCFJI	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE			1/1/2024	12/31/2028	7992519	1813727	SCALING A	91	Department of Education	9100	Departme	91
272	PROJECT (	K00CA284	JDLVAVG\	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE	JR2RTJW1	HARVARD	12/1/2024	11/30/2028	95074	491	IDENTIFYI	75	Department of Health and Human Se	7529	National I	75
273	PROJECT (	R01DC00(	JDLVAVG\	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE	JR2RTJW1	HARVARD	9/1/1984	11/30/2028	5813797	486972	MOLECUL	75	Department of Health and Human Se	7529	National I	75
274	PROJECT (	R01HL177	JDLVAVG\	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE	JR2RTJW1	HARVARD	1/1/2025	11/30/2028	616914	13447	MECHANI	75	Department of Health and Human Se	7529	National I	75
275	PROJECT (	R01HL176	JDLVAVG\	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE	JR2RTJW1	HARVARD	1/1/2025	11/30/2028	594547	1927	REGULATI	75	Department of Health and Human Se	7529	National I	75

	Q	R	S	T	U	V	W	X	Y	Z	AA	AB	AC	AD	AE	AF
221	Departme	75NM00	NIH Natio	7529	National I	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$9,301,502	$578,655						
222	National S	490304	DIVISION	4900	National S	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$36,032	[redacted]	Unspent Amount is Not Public Data					
223	National S	490309	DIVISION	4900	National S	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$111,211		Unspent Amount is Not Public Data					
224	National S	490603	DIVISION	4900	National S	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$86,304		Unspent Amount is Not Public Data					
225	Departme	75N600	NIH Natio	7529	National I	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$36,952	$4,704						
226	Departme	75NK00	NIH Natio	7529	National I	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$308,984	$380,193						
227	Departme	75NB00	NIH Natio	7529	National I	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$399,542	$97,541						
228	Departme	75N700	NIH Natio	7529	National I	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$3,146,638	$342,756						
229	Departme	75N500	NIH Natio	7529	National I	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$13,143,233	$184,865						
230	Departme	75N700	NIH Natio	7529	National I	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$4,580,965	$207,197						
231	Departme	75NS00	NIH Natio	7529	National I	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$4,453,427	$270,356						
232	Departme	75NS00	NIH Natio	7529	National I	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$2,471,039	$143,351						
233	National S	490801	DIVISION	4900	National S	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$77,158	[redacted]	Unspent Amount is Not Public Data					
234	National S	490510	CISE INFO	4900	National S	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$554,351		Unspent Amount is Not Public Data					
235	National S	490404	DIV OF BE	4900	National S	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$0		Unspent Amount is Not Public Data					
236	Departme	75NH00	NIH Natio	7529	National I	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$78,266,672	$4,864,868						
237	Departme	75NT00	NIH Eunic	7529	National I	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$63,619	$678,128						
238	Departme	75NS00	NIH Natio	7529	National I	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$317,653	$106,097						
239	Departme	75NS00	NIH Natio	7529	National I	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$571,748	$191,746						
240	Departme	75NS00	NIH Natio	7529	National I	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$4,652,507	$15,247						
241	Departme	75NK00	NIH Natio	7529	National I	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$120,443	$39,925						
242	Departme	75NM00	NIH Natio	7529	National I	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$8,165,277	$30,331						
243	Departme	75N600	NIH Natio	7529	National I	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$476,649	$179,424						
244	Departme	75NC00	NIH Natio	7529	National I	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$698,050	$0						
245	Departme	75NQ00	NIH Natio	7529	National I	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$4,783,466	$101,431						
246	Departme	75NC00	NIH Natio	7529	National I	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$2,352	$39,304						
247	Departme	75NC00	NIH Natio	7529	National I	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$2,352	$39,304						
248	Departme	75N600	NIH Natio	7529	National I	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$281,228	$1,061,787						
249	Departme	75N700	NIH Natio	7529	National I	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$203,576	$1,196,638						
250	Departme	75NT00	NIH Eunic	7529	National I	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$733,220	$956,776						
251	Departme	75NS00	NIH Natio	7529	National I	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$328,832	$0						
252	Departme	75NN00	NIH Natio	7529	National I	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$547,071	$791,765						
253	Departme	75NM00	NIH Natio	7529	National I	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$15,762,337	$1,301,776						
254	Departme	75N300	NIH Natio	7529	National I	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$609,523	$565,374						
255	Departme	75N300	NIH Natio	7529	National I	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$3,097,598	$679,574						
256	National S	490502	DIV OF IN	4900	National S	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$16,266	[redacted]	Unspent Amount is Not Public Data					
257	National S	490301	DIVISION	4900	National S	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$7,340		Unspent Amount is Not Public Data					
258	Departme	75NH00	NIH Natio	7529	National I	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$7,056	$34,600						
259	Departme	75N700	NIH Natio	7529	National I	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$414,671	$928,760						
260	Departme	75EK00	AHRQ CEI	7528	Agency fo	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$253,034	$346,960						
261	Departme	75N700	NIH Natio	7529	National I	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$398,767	$997,273						
262	Departme	75NN00	NIH Natio	7529	National I	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$532,961	$732,711						
263	Departme	75NS00	NIH Natio	7529	National I	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$453,702	$452,318						
264	Departme	75N400	NIH Natio	7529	National I	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$2,048,527	$1,994,574						
265	National S	490307	DIVISION	4900	National S	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$108,325	[redacted]	Unspent Amount is Not Public Data					
266	National A	80NSSC	NASA SHA	8000	National A	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$315,433	$792,128		315433				
267	Departme	75NB00	NIH Natio	7529	National I	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$664,234	$435,867						
268	Departme	75NM00	NIH Natio	7529	National I	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$844,385	$620,157						
269	Departme	75NC00	NIH Natio	7529	National I	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$651,559	$394,472						
270	Departme	75NS00	NIH Natio	7529	National I	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$49,368	$315,222						
271	Departme	910046	OFC OF EL	9100	Departme	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$2,226,916	$5,765,603						
272	Departme	75NC00	NIH Natio	7529	National I	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$24,185	$70,889						
273	Departme	75N300	NIH Natio	7529	National I	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$6,484,495	$587,607						
274	Departme	75NH00	NIH Natio	7529	National I	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$80,383	$536,531						
275	Departme	75NH00	NIH Natio	7529	National I	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$112,948	$481,599						

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276	PROJECT (	R01NS081	JDLVAVG\	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE	JR2RTJW1	HARVARD	9/1/2012	11/30/2028	5916387	1336102	THE DEVE	75	Department of Health and Human Se	7529	National I	75
277	PROJECT (	2239780	LN53LCFJI	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE	ML98SNH	PRESIDEN	10/1/2023	9/30/2028	602466	173898	CAREER: D	49	National Science Foundation	4900	National S	49
278	PROJECT (	2421119	LN53LCFJI	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE			10/1/2024	9/30/2028	251118	15242	COLLABOI	49	National Science Foundation	4900	National S	49
279	PROJECT (	2422348	LN53LCFJI	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE			9/1/2024	8/31/2028	1775000	80772	EFRI BEGI	49	National Science Foundation	4900	National S	49
280	PROJECT (	2407922	LN53LCFJI	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE			9/1/2024	8/31/2028	484024	14794	COLLABOI	49	National Science Foundation	4900	National S	49
281	PROJECT (	FA955023	LN53LCFJI	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE	ML98SNH	PRESIDEN	9/1/2023	8/31/2028	$955,756		INTERACT	97	Department of Defense	5700	Departme	97
282	PROJECT (	N000142	LN53LCFJI	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE			9/1/2024	8/31/2028	$193,324		COLLECTI	97	Department of Defense	1700	Departme	97
283	PROJECT (	P30EY012	JDLVAVG\	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE	JR2RTJW1	HARVARD	3/1/1998	8/31/2028	1.4E+07	2169526	CORE GRA	75	Department of Health and Human Se	7529	National I	75
284	PROJECT (	R01AI176	JDLVAVG\	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE	JR2RTJW1	HARVARD	9/13/2023	8/31/2028	1475744	385007	AN RNA N	75	Department of Health and Human Se	7529	National I	75
285	PROJECT (	R01AI088	JDLVAVG\	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE	JR2RTJW1	HARVARD	12/10/2010	8/31/2028	5210480	1010870	THE MOLI	75	Department of Health and Human Se	7529	National I	75
286	PROJECT (	R01GM15	JDLVAVG\	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE	JR2RTJW1	HARVARD	9/17/2024	8/31/2028	332808	102251	MICRO-CA	75	Department of Health and Human Se	7529	National I	75
287	COOPERA	UM1NS13	LN53LCFJI	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE			9/8/2023	8/31/2028	1.8E+07	1.3E+07	BRAIN CO	75	Department of Health and Human Se	7529	National I	75
288	PROJECT (	R35GM12	JDLVAVG\	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE	JR2RTJW1	HARVARD	5/11/2018	8/31/2028	6325575	2768193	THE ORIG	75	Department of Health and Human Se	7529	National I	75
289	PROJECT (	T32HG00	JDLVAVG\	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE	JR2RTJW1	HARVARD	9/30/2001	8/31/2028	1E+07	2514519	TRAINING	75	Department of Health and Human Se	7529	National I	75
290	PROJECT (	2238714	LN53LCFJI	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE			8/1/2023	7/31/2028	211592	18647	CAREER: T	49	National Science Foundation	4900	National S	49
291	PROJECT (	2301180	LN53LCFJI	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE			8/1/2023	7/31/2028	1031634	367996	COGNITIV	49	National Science Foundation	4900	National S	49
292	PROJECT (	2426105	LN53LCFJI	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE			8/1/2024	7/31/2028	1100000	97271	UNDERST	49	National Science Foundation	4900	National S	49
293	PROJECT (	R01GM15	LN53LCFJI	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE			9/25/2024	7/31/2028	349625	113884	DYNAMIC	75	Department of Health and Human Se	7529	National I	75
294	PROJECT (	R01GM11	JDLVAVG\	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE	JR2RTJW1	HARVARD	9/1/2015	7/31/2028	3141706	1050093	VISUALIZI	75	Department of Health and Human Se	7529	National I	75
295	PROJECT (	R25GM15	JDLVAVG\	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE	JR2RTJW1	HARVARD	8/3/2023	7/31/2028	903840	382350	CONTINU	75	Department of Health and Human Se	7529	National I	75
296	PROJECT (	R01GM13	JDLVAVG\	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE	JR2RTJW1	HARVARD	8/15/2019	7/31/2028	3333191	1564682	PROBING	75	Department of Health and Human Se	7529	National I	75
297	PROJECT (	R01HL098	JDLVAVG\	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE	JR2RTJW1	HARVARD	2/1/2010	7/31/2028	5495175	1545316	MECHANI	75	Department of Health and Human Se	7529	National I	75
298	PROJECT (	2239234	LN53LCFJI	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE			7/1/2023	6/30/2028	169860	93662	CAREER: S	49	National Science Foundation	4900	National S	49
299	PROJECT (	2434879	LN53LCFJI	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE			7/15/2024	6/30/2028	291710	108148	NSF-SNSF	49	National Science Foundation	4900	National S	49
300	PROJECT (	2437125	LN53LCFJI	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE			7/1/2025	6/30/2028	639227		COLLABOI	49	National Science Foundation	4900	National S	49
301	PROJECT (	K00CA274	LN53LCFJI	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE			8/1/2022	6/30/2028	90153	46026	DIABETES	75	Department of Health and Human Se	7529	National I	75
302	PROJECT (	R01CA246	JDLVAVG\	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE	JR2RTJW1	HARVARD	2/7/2020	6/30/2028	2168492	1050109	SINGLE-M	75	Department of Health and Human Se	7529	National I	75
303	PROJECT (	R01EY036	JDLVAVG\	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE	JR2RTJW1	HARVARD	9/1/2024	6/30/2028	693571	278838	MOSAIC II	75	Department of Health and Human Se	7529	National I	75
304	PROJECT (	R01HG01	LN53LCFJI	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE			9/19/2024	6/30/2028	743524	12326	EXPANSIC	75	Department of Health and Human Se	7529	National I	75
305	COOPERA	U01DE03	JDLVAVG\	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE	JR2RTJW1	HARVARD	9/13/2023	6/30/2028	1678160	885090	HARVARD	75	Department of Health and Human Se	7529	National I	75
306	PROJECT (	R35GM12	LN53LCFJI	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE			4/1/2018	6/30/2028	3853772	1953712	MECHANI	75	Department of Health and Human Se	7529	National I	75
307	PROJECT (	T32HS00C	JDLVAVG\	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE	JR2RTJW1	HARVARD	9/30/1994	6/30/2028	6412540	1502402	HEALTH P	75	Department of Health and Human Se	7528	Agency fo	75
308	PROJECT (	R35GM12	JDLVAVG\	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE	JR2RTJW1	HARVARD	7/1/2018	6/30/2028	3085499	1392934	HUMAN M	75	Department of Health and Human Se	7529	National I	75
309	PROJECT (	R35GM14	JDLVAVG\	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE	JR2RTJW1	HARVARD	7/1/2023	6/30/2028	1335940	995554	NON-COD	75	Department of Health and Human Se	7529	National I	75
310	PROJECT (	R01AG08	JDLVAVG\	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE	JR2RTJW1	HARVARD	9/15/2023	5/31/2028	907204	808181	USING CE	75	Department of Health and Human Se	7529	National I	75
311	PROJECT (	R01DA048	JDLVAVG\	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE	JR2RTJW1	HARVARD	7/1/2019	5/31/2028	4112278	1511343	TELEMED	75	Department of Health and Human Se	7529	National I	75
312	PROJECT (	R01CA283	LN53LCFJI	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE			6/6/2023	5/31/2028	818944	768709	HIGHLY M	75	Department of Health and Human Se	7529	National I	75
313	COOPERA	N660012	LN53LCFJI	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE			5/31/2024	5/30/2028	########	253811	P00002 - I	97	Department of Defense	1700	Departme	97
314	PROJECT (	2239795	LN53LCFJI	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE			5/1/2023	4/30/2028	379234	350493	CAREER: T	49	National Science Foundation	4900	National S	49
315	PROJECT (	2303835	LN53LCFJI	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE			5/1/2024	4/30/2028	577009	81195	COLLABOI	49	National Science Foundation	4900	National Science Fou	
316	PROJECT (	F30DK135	JDLVAVG\	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE	JR2RTJW1	HARVARD	5/1/2023	4/30/2028	78396	66274	CONTROL	75	Department of Health and Human Se	7529	National I	75
317	PROJECT (	K01DK132	JDLVAVG\	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE	JR2RTJW1	HARVARD	7/1/2023	4/30/2028	279138	200217	DECONST	75	Department of Health and Human Se	7529	National I	75
318	PROJECT (	R01AG01	JDLVAVG\	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE	JR2RTJW1	HARVARD	4/1/1997	4/30/2028	7432643	1569881	UBIQUITII	75	Department of Health and Human Se	7529	National I	75
319	PROJECT (	K12TR004	JDLVAVG\	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE	JR2RTJW1	HARVARD	5/15/2023	4/30/2028	3239600	2283256	CTSA K12	75	Department of Health and Human Se	7529	National I	75
320	PROJECT (	R01CA274	LN53LCFJI	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE			5/3/2023	4/30/2028	1068566	1006981	CHEMICA	75	Department of Health and Human Se	7529	National I	75
321	PROJECT (	R01DK092	JDLVAVG\	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE	JR2RTJW1	HARVARD	7/12/2011	4/30/2028	5586792	1437760	ADIPOSE-	75	Department of Health and Human Se	7529	National I	75
322	PROJECT (	R01MH13	LN53LCFJI	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE			6/15/2023	4/30/2028	1349972	675064	BASAL GA	75	Department of Health and Human Se	7529	National I	75
323	PROJECT (	R35NS116	JDLVAVG\	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE	JR2RTJW1	HARVARD	5/1/2020	4/30/2028	5016204	4043162	MOLECUL	75	Department of Health and Human Se	7529	National I	75
324	PROJECT (	R35GM15	JDLVAVG\	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE	JR2RTJW1	HARVARD	7/1/2023	4/30/2028	887124	663562	MACROPH	75	Department of Health and Human Se	7529	National I	75
325	PROJECT (	R35GM15	LN53LCFJI	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE			7/1/2023	4/30/2028	817556	589639	INVESTIG/	75	Department of Health and Human Se	7529	National I	75
326	COOPERA	UM1DA05	JDLVAVG\	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE	JR2RTJW1	HARVARD	5/1/2023	4/30/2028	5189740	2801287	DATA ANA	75	Department of Health and Human Se	7529	National I	75
327	PROJECT (	K00AG089	JDLVAVG\	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE	JR2RTJW1	HARVARD	9/1/2019	3/31/2028	82858	58554	MIRNA CC	75	Department of Health and Human Se	7529	National I	75
328	PROJECT (	R01AR081	LN53LCFJI	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE			4/1/2023	3/31/2028	2260180	908101	MOLECUL	75	Department of Health and Human Se	7529	National I	75
329	PROJECT (	R35GM12	JDLVAVG\	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE	JR2RTJW1	HARVARD	4/1/2018	3/31/2028	3062986	1514358	MECHANI	75	Department of Health and Human Se	7529	National I	75
330	PROJECT (	R35GM14	LN53LCFJI	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE			4/1/2023	3/31/2028	1338348	1280229	DEVELOPI	75	Department of Health and Human Se	7529	National I	75

	Q	R	S	T	U	V	W	X	Y	Z	AA	AB	AC	AD	AE	AF
276	Departme	75NQ00	NIH Natio	7529	National I	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$5,567,847	$348,541						
277	National S	490502	DIV OF IN	4900	National S	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$187,845	[redacted]	Unspent Amount is Not Public Data					
278	National S	490809	DIV OF IN	4900	National S	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$31,825		Unspent Amount is Not Public Data					
279	National S	490306	MPS MUL	4900	National S	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$343,646		Unspent Amount is Not Public Data					
280	National S	490302	DIVISION	4900	National S	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$22,554		Unspent Amount is Not Public Data					
281	Departme	F03000	ACCTG DI	5700	Departme	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$664,246	$291,510						
282	Departme	N00014	OFFICE OF	1700	Departme	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$31,986	$161,338						
283	Departme	75NW00	NIH Natio	7529	National I	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$16,711,680	$839,263						
284	Departme	75NM00	NIH Natio	7529	National I	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$766,304	$709,440						
285	Departme	75NM00	NIH Natio	7529	National I	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$4,895,487	$314,993						
286	Departme	75NS00	NIH Natio	7529	National I	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$160,432	$172,376						
287	Departme	75NQ00	NIH Natio	7529	National I	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$13,403,305	$4,429,504						
288	Departme	75AM00	ASFR OFF	7571	Office of t	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$3,235,849	$385,826						
289	Departme	75NA00	NIH OFFIC	7529	National I	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$8,139,727	$270,008						
290	National S	490502	DIV OF IN	4900	National S	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$18,647	[redacted]	Unspent Amount is Not Public Data					
291	National S	491101	DIVISION	4900	National S	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$464,491		Unspent Amount is Not Public Data					
292	National S	490807	DIVISION	4900	National S	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$130,600		Unspent Amount is Not Public Data					
293	Departme	75NS00	NIH Natio	7529	National I	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$226,463	$123,162						
294	Departme	75NS00	NIH Natio	7529	National I	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$3,037,163	$104,543						
295	Departme	75NS00	NIH Natio	7529	National I	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$593,115	$310,725						
296	Departme	75NS00	NIH Natio	7529	National I	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$3,020,110	$313,081						
297	Departme	75NH00	NIH Natio	7529	National I	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$5,343,925	$151,250						
298	National S	490304	DIVISION	4900	National S	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$103,245	[redacted]	Unspent Amount is Not Public Data					
299	National S	490807	DIVISION	4900	National S	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$186,936		Unspent Amount is Not Public Data					
300	National S	490801	DIVISION	4900	National S	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$0		Unspent Amount is Not Public Data					
301	Departme	75NC00	NIH Natio	7529	National I	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$73,053	$17,100						
302	Departme	75NC00	NIH Natio	7529	National I	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$1,927,357	$241,135						
303	Departme	75NW00	NIH Natio	7529	National I	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$442,048	$251,523						
304	Departme	75N400	NIH Natio	7529	National I	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$72,916	$670,608						
305	Departme	75NP00	NIH Natio	7529	National I	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$1,160,627	$517,533						
306	Departme	75NS00	NIH Natio	7529	National I	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$3,853,751	$21						
307	Departme	75NA00	NIH OFFIC	7529	National I	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$8,028,111	$95,175						
308	Departme	75NS00	NIH Natio	7529	National I	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$2,963,191	$122,308						
309	Departme	75NS00	NIH Natio	7529	National I	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$1,236,977	$98,963						
310	Departme	75NN00	NIH Natio	7529	National I	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$907,204	$0						
311	Departme	75N600	NIH Natio	7529	National I	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$3,427,294	$684,984						
312	Departme	75NC00	NIH Natio	7529	National I	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$818,944	$0						
313	Departme	HR0011	DEF ADVA	97AE	Defense A	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$1,815,860	$1,712,622						
314	National S	490301	DIVISION	4900	National S	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$379,234	[redacted]	Unspent Amount is Not Public Data					
315	ndation	490801	DIVISION OF ENVIRONMENTAL			https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$144,044		Unspent Amount is Not Public Data					
316	Departme	75NK00	NIH Natio	7529	National I	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$78,396	$0						
317	Departme	75NK00	NIH Natio	7529	National I	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$89,128	$0						
318	Departme	75NN00	NIH Natio	7529	National I	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$7,246,424	$186,236						
319	Departme	75NR00	NIH Natio	7529	National I	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$2,460,134	$779,466						
320	Departme	75NC00	NIH Natio	7529	National I	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$1,068,566	$0						
321	Departme	75NK00	NIH Natio	7529	National I	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$5,583,379	$3,413						
322	Departme	75N700	NIH Natio	7529	National I	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$894,911	$455,061						
323	Departme	75NQ00	NIH Natio	7529	National I	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$5,016,203	$1						
324	Departme	75NS00	NIH Natio	7529	National I	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$833,222	$53,902						
325	Departme	75NS00	NIH Natio	7529	National I	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$717,334	$100,222						
326	Departme	75NA00	NIH OFFIC	7529	National I	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$3,597,635	$1,592,105						
327	Departme	75NN00	NIH Natio	7529	National I	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$0	$0						
328	Departme	75NB00	NIH Natio	7529	National I	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$1,310,991	$949,189						
329	Departme	75NS00	NIH Natio	7529	National I	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$3,062,986	$457,650						
330	Departme	75NS00	NIH Natio	7529	National I	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$1,338,348	$914,773						

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331	COOPERA	U2CNS13	JDLVAVG\	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE	JR2RTJW1	HARVARD	4/19/2023	3/31/2028	1.7E+07	7185297	DIAGNOS	75	Department of Health and Human Se	7529	National I	75
332	PROJECT (	W911NF2	LN53LCFJI	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE			4/1/2024	3/31/2028	$400,000		EMERGEN	97	Department of Defense	2100	Departme	97
333	PROJECT (	2116702	LN53LCFJI	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE			9/1/2022	2/29/2028	650766	428710	COLLABOI	49	National Science Foundation	4900	National S	49
334	PROJECT (	2243704	LN53LCFJI	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE	ML98SNH	PRESIDEN	3/15/2023	2/29/2028	932563	193375	COLLABOI	49	National Science Foundation	4900	National S	49
335	PROJECT (	2238071	LN53LCFJI	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE			3/1/2023	2/29/2028	925967	853847	CAREER: I	49	National Science Foundation	4900	National S	49
336	PROJECT (	2239242	LN53LCFJI	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE			3/15/2023	2/29/2028	946343	301359	CAREER: U	49	National Science Foundation	4900	National S	49
337	PROJECT (	F31AI191	JDLVAVG\	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE	JR2RTJW1	HARVARD	3/1/2025	2/29/2028	43456		REVEALIN	75	Department of Health and Human Se	7529	National I	75
338	PROJECT (	F31NS141	JDLVAVG\	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE	JR2RTJW1	HARVARD	5/1/2025	2/29/2028	43203		DISSECTIN	75	Department of Health and Human Se	7529	National I	75
339	PROJECT (	N0001425	LN53LCFJI	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE			3/1/2025	2/29/2028	$345,101		REPRESEN	97	Department of Defense	1700	Departme	97
340	PROJECT (	R01AI175	JDLVAVG\	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE	JR2RTJW1	HARVARD	3/3/2023	2/29/2028	2047287	1304657	NEUTROP	75	Department of Health and Human Se	7529	National I	75
341	PROJECT (	R01AG07	JDLVAVG\	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE	JR2RTJW1	HARVARD	6/1/2023	2/29/2028	1410813	451223	IDENTIFYI	75	Department of Health and Human Se	7529	National I	75
342	PROJECT (	2238113	LN53LCFJI	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE			2/1/2023	1/31/2028	479118	314670	CAREER: M	49	National Science Foundation	4900	National S	49
343	PROJECT (	2238836	LN53LCFJI	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE			2/15/2023	1/31/2028	187717	164136	CAREER: C	49	National Science Foundation	4900	National S	49
344	OTHER RE	23PA111	LN53LCFJI	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE			9/19/2023	1/31/2028	499011	201068	SUPPORTI	12	Department of Agriculture	12C2	Forest Ser	12
345	PROJECT (	F31NS141	JDLVAVG\	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE	JR2RTJW1	HARVARD	2/1/2025	1/31/2028	43456		NEURAL M	75	Department of Health and Human Se	7529	National I	75
346	PROJECT (	N0001425	LN53LCFJI	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE			2/1/2025	1/31/2028	$66,162		SOCIAL CH	97	Department of Defense	1700	Departme	97
347	PROJECT (	N0001425	LN53LCFJI	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE			2/1/2025	1/31/2028	$80,000		SELF-REGI	97	Department of Defense	1700	Departme	97
348	PROJECT (	N0001425	LN53LCFJI	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE			2/1/2025	1/31/2028	$150,000		GENERAT	97	Department of Defense	1700	Departme	97
349	PROJECT (	R01HL167	JDLVAVG\	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE	JR2RTJW1	HARVARD	2/21/2024	1/31/2028	1328534	140304	COMPARI	75	Department of Health and Human Se	7529	National I	75
350	PROJECT (	2323102	LN53LCFJI	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE			1/1/2024	12/31/2027	66201		CONSTRU	49	National Science Foundation	4900	National S	49
351	PROJECT (	2430375	LN53LCFJI	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE			1/15/2025	12/31/2027	600000		FET: SMAI	49	National Science Foundation	4900	National S	49
352	PROJECT (	25-LITC07	LN53LCFJI	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE			1/1/2025	12/31/2027	20000		THE PURP	20	Department of the Treasury	2050	Internal R	20
353	PROJECT (	2401907	LN53LCFJI	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE			1/1/2025	12/31/2027	325497		COLLABOI	49	National Science Foundation	4900	National S	49
354	PROJECT (	80NSSC25	LN53LCFJI	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE			1/1/2025	12/31/2027	343447	16166	THE BEST	80	National Aeronautics and Space Adm	8000	National A	80
355	PROJECT (	K00CA264	LN53LCFJI	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE			1/1/2024	12/31/2027	182098	84608	FIBROTIC	75	Department of Health and Human Se	7529	National I	75
356	PROJECT (	K00CA274	LN53LCFJI	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE			8/1/2022	12/31/2027	182098	101699	MECHANI	75	Department of Health and Human Se	7529	National I	75
357	PROJECT (	N0001424	LN53LCFJI	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE			1/1/2024	12/31/2027	$340,000		NON-ABE	97	Department of Defense	1700	Departme	97
358	PROJECT (	R01GM07	JDLVAVG\	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE	JR2RTJW1	HARVARD	8/1/2005	12/31/2027	6025350	1213141	SYNAPTO	75	Department of Health and Human Se	7529	National I	75
359	PROJECT (	R01DA05	JDLVAVG\	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE	JR2RTJW1	HARVARD	3/15/2023	12/31/2027	1702782	1031817	MECHANI	75	Department of Health and Human Se	7529	National I	75
360	PROJECT (	R01CA27	JDLVAVG\	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE	JR2RTJW1	HARVARD	1/1/2023	12/31/2027	1621244	1084235	DEFINING	75	Department of Health and Human Se	7529	National I	75
361	PROJECT (	R01NS14	JDLVAVG\	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE	JR2RTJW1	HARVARD	1/1/2025	12/31/2027	216689	819	CRCNS: U	75	Department of Health and Human Se	7529	National I	75
362	PROJECT (	80NSSC24	LN53LCFJI	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE			12/1/2024	11/30/2027	50000		DID EARTI	80	National Aeronautics and Space Adm	8000	National A	80
363	PROJECT (	R01AR081	JDLVAVG\	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE	JR2RTJW1	HARVARD	2/1/2023	11/30/2027	1834419	1101731	THE ROLE	75	Department of Health and Human Se	7529	National I	75
364	PROJECT (	2421461	LN53LCFJI	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE			11/1/2024	10/31/2027	2972873	4394	TRAILBLA	49	National Science Foundation	4900	National S	49
365	PROJECT (	FA955025	LN53LCFJI	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE			11/1/2024	10/31/2027	$320,000		HIGH TEM	97	Department of Defense	5700	Departme	97
366	PROJECT (	R01MH13	JDLVAVG\	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE	JR2RTJW1	HARVARD	12/1/2022	10/31/2027	2435333	1284759	ROBUST L	75	Department of Health and Human Se	7529	National I	75
367	PROJECT (	80NSSC25	LN53LCFJI	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE			10/18/2024	10/17/2027	271292	7914	OUR FIRS	80	National Aeronautics and Space Adm	8000	National A	80
368	PROJECT (	2143077	LN53LCFJI	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE	ML98SNH	PRESIDEN	10/1/2022	9/30/2027	598566	223587	CAREER: D	49	National Science Foundation	4900	National S	49
369	PROJECT (	2312667	LN53LCFJI	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE	ML98SNH	PRESIDEN	10/1/2023	9/30/2027	225441	118697	COLLABOI	49	National Science Foundation	4900	National S	49
370	PROJECT (	2324862	LN53LCFJI	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE			10/1/2023	9/30/2027	500000	120342	COLLABOI	49	National Science Foundation	4900	National S	49
371	PROJECT (	2323970	LN53LCFJI	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE	ML98SNH	PRESIDEN	10/1/2023	9/30/2027	1500000	445954	COLLABOI	49	National Science Foundation	4900	National S	49
372	PROJECT (	2417241	LN53LCFJI	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE			10/15/2024	9/30/2027	212203	41416	SBE-UKRI:	49	National Science Foundation	4900	National S	49
373	PROJECT (	RQ30008	LN53LCFJI	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE			10/1/2024	9/30/2027	194346		GHOST W	418	National Endowment for the Humani	4340	National E	418
374	PROJECT (	F31AI186	JDLVAVG\	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE	JR2RTJW1	HARVARD	9/30/2024	9/29/2027	43456	24640	REGULATI	75	Department of Health and Human Se	7529	National I	75
375	PROJECT (	F31DC022	JDLVAVG\	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE	JR2RTJW1	HARVARD	9/30/2024	9/29/2027	43203	19522	MECHANI	75	Department of Health and Human Se	7529	National I	75
376	OTHER RE	22JV1124	LN53LCFJI	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE			9/28/2022	9/27/2027	40000	35119	EXPLORE	12	Department of Agriculture	12C2	Forest Ser	12
377	PROJECT (	FA238624	LN53LCFJI	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE			9/25/2024	9/24/2027	$200,000		TOWARDS	97	Department of Defense	5700	Departme	97
378	PROJECT (	FA238624	LN53LCFJI	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE			9/23/2024	9/22/2027	$200,000		BASIC RES	97	Department of Defense	5700	Departme	97
379	PROJECT (	7200AA24	LN53LCFJI	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE			9/10/2024	9/9/2027	1500000		EVALUATI	72	Agency for International Developmer	7200	Agency fo	72
380	PROJECT (	2220446	LN53LCFJI	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE			9/1/2022	8/31/2027	2530198	1773618	COLLABOI	49	National Science Foundation	4900	National S	49
381	PROJECT (	2245246	LN53LCFJI	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE			9/1/2023	8/31/2027	495000	270665	STRANGE	49	National Science Foundation	4900	National S	49
382	PROJECT (	2333014	LN53LCFJI	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE			9/1/2024	8/31/2027	639620	105299	REHOUSIN	49	National Science Foundation	4900	National S	49
383	PROJECT (	2406110	LN53LCFJI	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE			9/1/2024	8/31/2027	436310	42240	CDS&E: EI	49	National Science Foundation	4900	National S	49
384	PROJECT (	2334882	LN53LCFJI	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE			9/1/2024	8/31/2027	302687		COLLABOI	49	National Science Foundation	4900	National S	49
385	PROJECT (	2343233	LN53LCFJI	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE			9/1/2024	8/31/2027	227954	22946	COLLABOI	49	National Science Foundation	4900	National S	49

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331	Departme	75N400	NIH Natio	7529	National I	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$9,345,155	$11,713,372						
332	Departme	W36QYT	W262 PRC	2100	Departme	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$400,000	$0						
333	National S	490404	DIV OF BE	4900	National S	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$484,037	[redacted]	Unspent Amount is Not Public Data					
334	National S	490804	EMERGIN	4900	National S	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$238,497		Unspent Amount is Not Public Data					
335	National S	490809	DIV OF IN	4900	National S	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$925,967		Unspent Amount is Not Public Data					
336	National S	490602	DIVISION	4900	National S	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$383,046		Unspent Amount is Not Public Data					
337	Departme	75NM00	NIH Natio	7529	National I	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$8,920	$34,536						
338	Departme	75NQ00	NIH Natio	7529	National I	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$0	$43,203						
339	Departme	N00014	OFFICE OF	1700	Departme	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$0	$345,101						
340	Departme	75NM00	NIH Natio	7529	National I	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$1,637,177	$410,110						
341	Departme	75NN00	NIH Natio	7529	National I	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$571,294	$1,389,275						
342	National S	490307	DIVISION	4900	National S	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$352,264	[redacted]	Unspent Amount is Not Public Data					
343	National S	490501	DIV OF CC	4900	National S	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$176,678		Unspent Amount is Not Public Data					
344	Departme	123187	USDA FOR	12C2	Forest Ser	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	284,991	214,020	[redacted] DPP					
345	Departme	75NQ00	NIH Natio	7529	National I	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$0	$43,456						
346	Departme	N00014	OFFICE OF	1700	Departme	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$1,222	$64,940						
347	Departme	N00014	OFFICE OF	1700	Departme	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$0	$80,000						
348	Departme	N00014	OFFICE OF	1700	Departme	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$626	$149,374						
349	Departme	75NH00	NIH Natio	7529	National I	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$182,807	$1,145,727						
350	National S	490604	DIVISION	4900	National S	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$7,064	[redacted]	Unspent Amount is Not Public Data					
351	National S	490501	DIV OF CC	4900	National S	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$24,679		Unspent Amount is Not Public Data					
352	Departme	2031HV	TAXPAYEF	2050	Internal R	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$7,590.74	$12,409.26						
353	National S	490703	DIV OF CIV	4900	National S	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$4,185	[redacted]	Unspent Amount is Not Public Data					
354	National A	80NSSC	NASA SHA	8000	National A	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$343,447	$733,328		343447				
355	Departme	75NC00	NIH Natio	7529	National I	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$108,509	$73,589						
356	Departme	75NC00	NIH Natio	7529	National I	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$125,752	$56,346						
357	Departme	N00014	OFFICE OF	1700	Departme	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$262,284	$77,716						
358	Departme	75NS00	NIH Natio	7529	National I	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$6,539,545	$427,699						
359	Departme	75N600	NIH Natio	7529	National I	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$1,229,775	$531,125						
360	Departme	75NC00	NIH Natio	7529	National I	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$1,264,659	$356,585						
361	Departme	75NQ00	NIH Natio	7529	National I	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$35,203	$181,486						
362	National A	80NSSC	NASA SHA	8000	National A	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$50,000	$98,145		50000				
363	Departme	75NB00	NIH Natio	7529	National I	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$1,377,195	$457,224						
364	National S	490704	OFFICE OF	4900	National S	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$83,468	[redacted]	Unspent Amount is Not Public Data					
365	Departme	F4FGA0	F4FGA0 A	5700	Departme	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$148,013	$171,987						
366	Departme	75N700	NIH Natio	7529	National I	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$1,455,762	$979,571						
367	National A	80NSSC	NASA SHA	8000	National A	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$271,292	$565,248		271292				
368	National S	490502	DIV OF IN	4900	National S	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$249,016	[redacted]	Unspent Amount is Not Public Data					
369	National S	490501	DIV OF CC	4900	National S	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$142,957		Unspent Amount is Not Public Data					
370	National S	490510	CISE INFO	4900	National S	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$152,874		Unspent Amount is Not Public Data					
371	National S	490307	DIVISION	4900	National S	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$572,230		Unspent Amount is Not Public Data					
372	National S	490405	DIV OF SC	4900	National S	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$93,226		Unspent Amount is Not Public Data					
373	National E	433101	NATIONA	4340	National E	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$0	$194,346	Terminated					
374	Departme	75NM00	NIH Natio	7529	National I	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$31,696	$11,760						
375	Departme	75N300	NIH Natio	7529	National I	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$26,578	$16,625						
376	Departme	123604	NORTHER	12C2	Forest Ser	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	40,000	0	[redacted] DPP					
377	Departme	F4GGA2	AOARD	5700	Departme	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$23,748	$176,252						
378	Departme	FA2386	FA2386 A	5700	Departme	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$92,567	$107,433						
379	Agency fo	7200AA	USAID M/	7200	Agency fo	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$300,000.00	$1,200,000.00	Already Terminated					
380	National S	490609	OFFICE OF	4900	National S	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$1,879,114	[redacted]	Unspent Amount is Not Public Data					
381	National S	490307	DIVISION	4900	National S	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$320,867		Unspent Amount is Not Public Data					
382	National S	490808	DIV OF BI	4900	National S	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$199,975		Unspent Amount is Not Public Data					
383	National S	490302	DIVISION	4900	National S	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$68,980		Unspent Amount is Not Public Data					
384	National S	490505	DIV OF CC	4900	National S	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$39,504		Unspent Amount is Not Public Data					
385	National S	490603	DIVISION	4900	National S	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$42,451		Unspent Amount is Not Public Data					

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386	PROJECT (	2434664	LN53LCFJI	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE			9/15/2024	8/31/2027	497523	7494	COLLABOI	49	National Science Foundation	4900	National S	49
387	PROJECT (	2401498	LN53LCFJI	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE			9/1/2024	8/31/2027	222345	45118	BIRATION	49	National Science Foundation	4900	National S	49
388	PROJECT (	2402464	LN53LCFJI	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE			9/1/2024	8/31/2027	395871	29827	COLLABOI	49	National Science Foundation	4900	National S	49
389	PROJECT (	2425714	LN53LCFJI	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE			9/15/2024	8/31/2027	452604		COLLABOI	49	National Science Foundation	4900	National S	49
390	PROJECT (	2409713	LN53LCFJI	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE			9/1/2024	8/31/2027	511970	42431	QUANTUI	49	National Science Foundation	4900	National S	49
391	PROJECT (	2409404	LN53LCFJI	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE			9/1/2024	8/31/2027	366058	59278	QUANTUI	49	National Science Foundation	4900	National S	49
392	PROJECT (	K00AG07	LN53LCFJI	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE			9/15/2021	8/31/2027	149604	81174	A NOVEL I	75	Department of Health and Human Se	7529	National I	75
393	PROJECT (	F31CA294	JDLVAVG\	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE	JR2RTJW1	HARVARD	9/1/2024	8/31/2027	43456	26992	INVESTIG/	75	Department of Health and Human Se	7529	National I	75
394	PROJECT (	F31DE034	JDLVAVG\	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE	JR2RTJW1	HARVARD	9/1/2024	8/31/2027	44003	24638	CHARACT	75	Department of Health and Human Se	7529	National I	75
395	PROJECT (	FA955023	LN53LCFJI	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE			9/1/2023	8/31/2027	$233,330		CASCADEI	97	Department of Defense	5700	Departme	97
396	PROJECT (	F30CA298	JDLVAVG\	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE	JR2RTJW1	HARVARD	9/1/2025	8/31/2027	41656		TARGETIN	75	Department of Health and Human Se	7529	National I	75
397	PROJECT (	HT942524	LN53LCFJI	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE			9/1/2024	8/31/2027	$676,147		DATA-DRI	97	Department of Defense	97DH	Defense H	97
398	PROJECT (	F31AI186	JDLVAVG\	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE	JR2RTJW1	HARVARD	9/1/2024	8/31/2027	43456	19376	STRUCTUI	75	Department of Health and Human Se	7529	National I	75
399	PROJECT (	F30HL175	JDLVAVG\	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE	JR2RTJW1	HARVARD	9/1/2024	8/31/2027	53974	37510	CHARACT	75	Department of Health and Human Se	7529	National I	75
400	PROJECT (	F30CA278	JDLVAVG\	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE	JR2RTJW1	HARVARD	9/1/2023	8/31/2027	106668	90204	INVESTIG/	75	Department of Health and Human Se	7529	National I	75
401	PROJECT (	N000142	LN53LCFJI	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE			9/1/2024	8/31/2027	$160,205		SUPPORTI	97	Department of Defense	1700	Departme	97
402	PROJECT (	N000142	LN53LCFJI	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE			9/1/2022	8/31/2027	$800,000		AQUEOUS	97	Department of Defense	1700	Departme	97
403	PROJECT (	R01CA27	JDLVAVG\	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE	JR2RTJW1	HARVARD	9/1/2022	8/31/2027	1954632	1344480	DYNAMIC	75	Department of Health and Human Se	7529	National I	75
404	PROJECT (	R01NS12	JDLVAVG\	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE	JR2RTJW1	HARVARD	9/22/2022	8/31/2027	1236281	792872	DOPAMIN	75	Department of Health and Human Se	7529	National I	75
405	PROJECT (	R01NS13	JDLVAVG\	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE	JR2RTJW1	HARVARD	9/26/2023	8/31/2027	1039227	641804	MICRORN	75	Department of Health and Human Se	7529	National I	75
406	PROJECT (	R24AI072	JDLVAVG\	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE	JR2RTJW1	HARVARD	9/18/2007	8/31/2027	2.4E+07	7218608	IMMGEN:	75	Department of Health and Human Se	7529	National I	75
407	COOPERA	U01NS13	LN53LCFJI	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE			9/5/2024	8/31/2027	2947975	138871	UNDERST	75	Department of Health and Human Se	7529	National I	75
408	PROJECT (	R50CA27	JDLVAVG\	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE	JR2RTJW1	HARVARD	9/20/2022	8/31/2027	529641	369339	ADVANCII	75	Department of Health and Human Se	7529	National I	75
409	PROJECT (	T32AG00	JDLVAVG\	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE	JR2RTJW1	HARVARD	9/30/1992	8/31/2027	1.3E+07	2867712	TRAINING	75	Department of Health and Human Se	7529	National I	75
410	PROJECT (	RF1AG08	JDLVAVG\	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE	JR2RTJW1	HARVARD	9/1/2024	8/31/2027	2516316	157708	NEURONA	75	Department of Health and Human Se	7529	National I	75
411	COOPERA	U24OD03	JDLVAVG\	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE	JR2RTJW1	HARVARD	9/19/2024	8/31/2027	969346		COMMUN	75	Department of Health and Human Se	7529	National I	75
412	COOPERA	U19NS10	LN53LCFJI	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE			9/25/2017	8/31/2027	2.9E+07	1.2E+07	THE HEAR	75	Department of Health and Human Se	7529	National I	75
413	PROJECT (	80NSSC2	LN53LCFJI	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE			8/22/2024	8/14/2027	168000	125539	HIGHLY E)	80	National Aeronautics and Space Adm	8000	National A	80
414	COOPERA	W911NF2	LN53LCFJI	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE			8/15/2024	8/14/2027	#######		RESEARCH	97	Department of Defense	2100	Departme	97
415	COOPERA	HR00112	JDLVAVG\	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE	JR2RTJW1	HARVARD	8/12/2024	8/13/2027	#######		ASSURED	97	Department of Defense	97AE	Defense A	97
416	PROJECT (	2218460	LN53LCFJI	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE	ML98SNH	PRESIDEN	8/15/2022	7/31/2027	217224	194735	COLLABOI	49	National Science Foundation	4900	National S	49
417	PROJECT (	2406905	LN53LCFJI	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE			8/15/2024	7/31/2027	120000	4372	TOWARDS	49	National Science Foundation	4900	National S	49
418	PROJECT (	2407215	LN53LCFJI	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE			8/15/2024	7/31/2027	522928	53790	SMA-SPEC	49	National Science Foundation	4900	National S	49
419	PROJECT (	2417150	LN53LCFJI	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE			8/15/2024	7/31/2027	55346	4069	TRACKINC	49	National Science Foundation	4900	National S	49
420	PROJECT (	HT942523	JDLVAVG\	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE	ML98SNH	PRESIDEN	8/1/2023	7/31/2027	#######		DEFINING	97	Department of Defense	97DH	Defense H	97
421	PROJECT (	F31AI186	LN53LCFJI	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE			8/1/2024	7/31/2027	41403	27291	DEVELOPI	75	Department of Health and Human Se	7529	National I	75
422	PROJECT (	R01AI172	JDLVAVG\	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE	JR2RTJW1	HARVARD	9/19/2022	7/31/2027	2375640	1693177	STRUCTUI	75	Department of Health and Human Se	7529	National I	75
423	PROJECT (	R01GM08	JDLVAVG\	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE	JR2RTJW1	HARVARD	7/1/2007	7/31/2027	4009746	610465	LIMITS AN	75	Department of Health and Human Se	7529	National I	75
424	PROJECT (	R01GM14	LN53LCFJI	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE			9/6/2023	7/31/2027	986794	763297	STRUCTUI	75	Department of Health and Human Se	7529	National I	75
425	PROJECT (	R01AI168	JDLVAVG\	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE	JR2RTJW1	HARVARD	9/19/2022	7/31/2027	2190003	1415798	STAPHYLC	75	Department of Health and Human Se	7529	National I	75
426	PROJECT (	R01GM13	LN53LCFJI	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE			1/11/2019	7/31/2027	2181696	1137553	MEASURII	75	Department of Health and Human Se	7529	National I	75
427	PROJECT (	RP-24-MA	LN53LCFJI	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE			2/1/2025	7/31/2027	133078		PURPOSE:	86	Department of Housing and Urban D	8645	Assistant	86
428	PROJECT (	R37NS10	JDLVAVG\	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE	JR2RTJW1	HARVARD	3/1/2018	7/31/2027	834788	540369	MECHANI	75	Department of Health and Human Se	7529	National I	75
429	PROJECT (	R35GM14	LN53LCFJI	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE			8/1/2022	7/31/2027	1201799	935874	INVESTIG/	75	Department of Health and Human Se	7529	National I	75
430	PROJECT (	R24OD03	JDLVAVG\	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE	JR2RTJW1	HARVARD	8/1/2023	7/31/2027	1702400	885319	DROSOPH	75	Department of Health and Human Se	7529	National I	75
431	PROJECT (	R35GM14	JDLVAVG\	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE	JR2RTJW1	HARVARD	9/20/2022	7/31/2027	1491678	1128645	REGULATI	75	Department of Health and Human Se	7529	National I	75
432	PROJECT (	2341785	LN53LCFJI	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE			7/15/2024	6/30/2027	193699	35108	PLURALIS	49	National Science Foundation	4900	National S	49
433	PROJECT (	2401057	LN53LCFJI	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE			7/15/2024	6/30/2027	400000	113922	MECHANI	49	National Science Foundation	4900	National S	49
434	PROJECT (	2332668	LN53LCFJI	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE			7/1/2024	6/30/2027	259284	55777	COLLABOI	49	National Science Foundation	4900	National S	49
435	PROJECT (	2401390	LN53LCFJI	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE			7/1/2024	6/30/2027	300000	31177	COLLABOI	49	National Science Foundation	4900	National S	49
436	PROJECT (	2412783	LN53LCFJI	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE			7/15/2024	6/30/2027	171515	46403	RNA SELF-	49	National Science Foundation	4900	National S	49
437	PROJECT (	2407727	LN53LCFJI	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE			7/1/2024	6/30/2027	450000	92310	NSF-SNSF	49	National Science Foundation	4900	National Science Fou	
438	PROJECT (	F30CA275	JDLVAVG\	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE	JR2RTJW1	HARVARD	7/1/2023	6/30/2027	75241	60034	NANOBOI	75	Department of Health and Human Se	7529	National I	75
439	PROJECT (	F31CA29C	LN53LCFJI	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE			7/1/2024	6/30/2027	41656	29896	DEFINING	75	Department of Health and Human Se	7529	National I	75
440	PROJECT (	F32GM15	LN53LCFJI	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE			7/1/2024	6/30/2027	73408	34639	EXPLOITIN	75	Department of Health and Human Se	7529	National I	75

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386	National S	490304	DIVISION	4900	National S	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$16,658	[redacted]	Unspent Amount is Not Public Data					
387	National S	490304	DIVISION	4900	National S	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$75,771		Unspent Amount is Not Public Data					
388	National S	490603	DIVISION	4900	National S	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$50,928		Unspent Amount is Not Public Data					
389	National S	490601	INTEGRAT	4900	National S	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$2,194		Unspent Amount is Not Public Data					
390	National S	490301	DIVISION	4900	National S	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$57,575		Unspent Amount is Not Public Data					
391	National S	490301	DIVISION	4900	National S	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$124,059		Unspent Amount is Not Public Data					
392	Departme	75NN00	NIH Natio	7529	National I	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$111,822	$37,782						
393	Departme	75NC00	NIH Natio	7529	National I	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$34,048	$9,408						
394	Departme	75NP00	NIH Natio	7529	National I	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$30,115	$13,888						
395	Departme	F4FGA0	F4FGA0 A	5700	Departme	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$233,330	$0						
396	Departme	75NC00	NIH Natio	7529	National I	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$0	$41,656						
397	Departme	HT0989	CONG DIR	97DH	Defense H	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$26,046	$650,101						
398	Departme	75NM00	NIH Natio	7529	National I	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$26,432	$17,024						
399	Departme	75NH00	NIH Natio	7529	National I	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$44,566	$9,408						
400	Departme	75NC00	NIH Natio	7529	National I	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$97,260	$9,408						
401	Departme	N00014	OFFICE OF	1700	Departme	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$61,220	$98,985						
402	Departme	N00014	OFFICE OF	1700	Departme	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$521,682	$278,318						
403	Departme	75NC00	NIH Natio	7529	National I	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$1,565,352	$389,280						
404	Departme	75NQ00	NIH Natio	7529	National I	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$923,300	$312,981						
405	Departme	75NQ00	NIH Natio	7529	National I	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$810,976	$228,251						
406	Departme	75NM00	NIH Natio	7529	National I	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$23,032,743	$653,538						
407	Departme	75N600	NIH Natio	7529	National I	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$450,294	$2,497,681						
408	Departme	75NC00	NIH Natio	7529	National I	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$455,448	$74,193						
409	Departme	75NN00	NIH Natio	7529	National I	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$11,918,592	$2,078,681						
410	Departme	75NN00	NIH Natio	7529	National I	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$316,635	$2,199,681						
411	Departme	75NA00	NIH OFFIC	7529	National I	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$100,023	$869,323						
412	Departme	75NQ00	NIH Natio	7529	National I	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$27,657,385	$1,658,644						
413	National A	80NSSC	NASA SHA	8000	National A	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$168,000	$168,000		168000				
414	Departme	W36QYT	W262 PRC	2100	Departme	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$633,087	$741,913						
415	Departme	HR0011	DEF ADVA	97AE	Defense A	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$2,385,466	$1,029,831						
416	National S	490603	DIVISION	4900	National S	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$194,736	[redacted]	Unspent Amount is Not Public Data					
417	National S	490304	DIVISION	4900	National S	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$24,156		Unspent Amount is Not Public Data					
418	National S	490302	DIVISION	4900	National S	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$89,828		Unspent Amount is Not Public Data					
419	National S	491104	DIVISION	4900	National S	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$7,098		Unspent Amount is Not Public Data					
420	Departme	HT0989	CONG DIR	97DH	Defense H	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$522,944	$1,172,026						
421	Departme	75NM00	NIH Natio	7529	National I	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$34,347	$7,056						
422	Departme	75NM00	NIH Natio	7529	National I	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$2,047,496	$328,144						
423	Departme	75NS00	NIH Natio	7529	National I	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$3,792,823	$216,465						
424	Departme	75NS00	NIH Natio	7529	National I	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$986,132	$662						
425	Departme	75NM00	NIH Natio	7529	National I	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$1,729,501	$460,502						
426	Departme	75NS00	NIH Natio	7529	National I	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$2,181,696	$0						
427	Departme	866409	PDR : POL	8645	Assistant	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$0	$133,078						
428	Departme	75NQ00	NIH Natio	7529	National I	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$2,595,638	$162,130						
429	Departme	75AM00	ASFR OFF	7571	Office of t	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$1,059,097	$142,702						
430	Departme	75NA00	NIH OFFIC	7529	National I	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$1,231,695	$470,705						
431	Departme	75AM00	ASFR OFF	7571	Office of t	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$1,347,530	$144,148						
432	National S	490405	DIV OF SC	4900	National S	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$74,846	[redacted]	Unspent Amount is Not Public Data					
433	National S	490809	DIV OF IN	4900	National S	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$183,583		Unspent Amount is Not Public Data					
434	National S	490306	MPS MUL	4900	National S	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$74,415		Unspent Amount is Not Public Data					
435	National S	490701	DIVISION	4900	National S	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$45,659		Unspent Amount is Not Public Data					
436	National S	490301	DIVISION	4900	National S	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$73,551		Unspent Amount is Not Public Data					
437	ndation	490701	DIVISION	ELECTRICAL, COMMU		https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$180,418		Unspent Amount is Not Public Data					
438	Departme	75NC00	NIH Natio	7529	National I	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$70,537	$4,704						
439	Departme	75NC00	NIH Natio	7529	National I	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$36,952	$4,704						
440	Departme	75NS00	NIH Natio	7529	National I	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$52,248	$21,160						

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441	PROJECT (	HT94252:	JDLVAVG\	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE	ML98SNH	PRESIDEN	7/1/2023	6/30/2027	#######		OPTIMIZII	97	Department of Defense	97DH	Defense H	97
442	PROJECT (	D8545705	JDLVAVG\	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE	JR2RTJW1	HARVARD	7/1/2022	6/30/2027	962072	383699	PREDOCT	75	Department of Health and Human Se	7526	Health Re	75
443	PROJECT (	F31CA294	LN53LCFJI	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE			7/1/2024	6/30/2027	41656	29896	BASE EDIT	75	Department of Health and Human Se	7529	National I	75
444	PROJECT (	K0149053	JDLVAVG\	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE	JR2RTJW1	HARVARD	7/1/2023	6/30/2027	177739	111675	GERIATRI(	75	Department of Health and Human Se	7526	Health Re	75
445	PROJECT (	R01DE025	JDLVAVG\	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE	JR2RTJW1	HARVARD	7/5/2016	6/30/2027	4136316	1331716	CXCL12-H	75	Department of Health and Human Se	7529	National I	75
446	PROJECT (	R01AI164	JDLVAVG\	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE	JR2RTJW1	HARVARD	7/5/2022	6/30/2027	2541937	1684034	MOLECUL	75	Department of Health and Human Se	7529	National I	75
447	PROJECT (	R01AR08(	LN53LCFJI	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE			7/6/2023	6/30/2027	933416	205191	MUSCLE M	75	Department of Health and Human Se	7529	National I	75
448	PROJECT (	R01GM14	LN53LCFJI	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE			9/15/2022	6/30/2027	968259	876833	HPF-X: HI(	75	Department of Health and Human Se	7529	National I	75
449	PROJECT (	R01MH11	JDLVAVG\	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE	JR2RTJW1	HARVARD	3/13/2017	6/30/2027	4810258	1369549	DISSECTIN	75	Department of Health and Human Se	7529	National I	75
450	PROJECT (	R01NS09!	LN53LCFJI	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE			9/1/2016	6/30/2027	3103265	1032605	NEURAL C	75	Department of Health and Human Se	7529	National I	75
451	PROJECT (	R35GM14	JDLVAVG\	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE	JR2RTJW1	HARVARD	7/1/2022	6/30/2027	1687849	1030130	GROWTH	75	Department of Health and Human Se	7529	National I	75
452	PROJECT (	R01NS12!	LN53LCFJI	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE			7/15/2022	6/30/2027	1254825	944041	NEURON-	75	Department of Health and Human Se	7529	National I	75
453	PROJECT (	R01HL174	JDLVAVG\	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE	JR2RTJW1	HARVARD	7/1/2024	6/30/2027	813042	243170	MITIGATII	75	Department of Health and Human Se	7529	National I	75
454	PROJECT (	R01MH13	JDLVAVG\	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE	JR2RTJW1	HARVARD	9/15/2022	6/30/2027	2205527	1098085	EFFICACY	75	Department of Health and Human Se	7529	National I	75
455	PROJECT (	R01HD10	LN53LCFJI	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE			7/1/2023	6/30/2027	1429507	812147	LINGUISTI	75	Department of Health and Human Se	7529	National I	75
456	PROJECT (	R35GM14	JDLVAVG\	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE	JR2RTJW1	HARVARD	7/22/2022	6/30/2027	2380525	1778810	THE DYNA	75	Department of Health and Human Se	7529	National I	75
457	PROJECT (	T32GM13	LN53LCFJI	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE			7/1/2022	6/30/2027	1600256	1368047	HARVARD	75	Department of Health and Human Se	7529	National I	75
458	PROJECT (	T15LM00	JDLVAVG\	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE	JR2RTJW1	HARVARD	7/1/1992	6/30/2027	1.8E+07	2967389	BIOMEDIC	75	Department of Health and Human Se	7529	National I	75
459	PROJECT (	T32DC00(	JDLVAVG\	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE	JR2RTJW1	HARVARD	7/1/1992	6/30/2027	1.3E+07	1856158	TRAINING	75	Department of Health and Human Se	7529	National I	75
460	PROJECT (	T32GM14	JDLVAVG\	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE	JR2RTJW1	HARVARD	7/1/2022	6/30/2027	8922388	6650944	MEDICAL	75	Department of Health and Human Se	7529	National I	75
461	PROJECT (	T32GM14	JDLVAVG\	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE	JR2RTJW1	HARVARD	7/1/2022	6/30/2027	3200511	2621997	MOLECUL	75	Department of Health and Human Se	7529	National I	75
462	COOPERA	U01MH13	LN53LCFJI	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE			9/1/2022	6/30/2027	2.1E+07	1.5E+07	COMPREH	75	Department of Health and Human Se	7529	National I	75
463	PROJECT (	FA955022	LN53LCFJI	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE			6/15/2022	6/14/2027	$603,134		LASER CO	97	Department of Defense	5700	Departme	97
464	PROJECT (	F31HL167	JDLVAVG\	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE	JR2RTJW1	HARVARD	6/1/2023	5/31/2027	106668	95947	SELF-ASSE	75	Department of Health and Human Se	7529	National I	75
465	PROJECT (	F31DC022	JDLVAVG\	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE	JR2RTJW1	HARVARD	6/1/2024	5/31/2027	43203	33795	LEVERAGI	75	Department of Health and Human Se	7529	National I	75
466	PROJECT (	R01AI165	JDLVAVG\	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE	JR2RTJW1	HARVARD	6/27/2022	5/31/2027	1667911	1409673	SPECIFICA	75	Department of Health and Human Se	7529	National I	75
467	PROJECT (	R01AG04(	JDLVAVG\	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE	JR2RTJW1	HARVARD	6/15/2014	5/31/2027	5305242	1170805	ASSESSMI	75	Department of Health and Human Se	7529	National I	75
468	PROJECT (	R01GM05	JDLVAVG\	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE	JR2RTJW1	HARVARD	5/1/1995	5/31/2027	8370545	1616619	PROTEIN '	75	Department of Health and Human Se	7529	National I	75
469	PROJECT (	R01AR07(	JDLVAVG\	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE	JR2RTJW1	HARVARD	7/28/2022	5/31/2027	2090598	1423667	THE ROLE	75	Department of Health and Human Se	7529	National I	75
470	PROJECT (	R01CA27:	JDLVAVG\	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE	JR2RTJW1	HARVARD	6/15/2022	5/31/2027	1715802	1275047	SIRTUINS	75	Department of Health and Human Se	7529	National I	75
471	PROJECT (	R01CA27:	JDLVAVG\	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE	JR2RTJW1	HARVARD	6/15/2022	5/31/2027	1136054	887002	MOLECUL	75	Department of Health and Human Se	7529	National I	75
472	PROJECT (	R01HL169	LN53LCFJI	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE			6/1/2023	5/31/2027	1204776	1036599	MYOCARI	75	Department of Health and Human Se	7529	National I	75
473	PROJECT (	R01HS028	JDLVAVG\	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE	JR2RTJW1	HARVARD	8/1/2022	5/31/2027	1173707	655411	EXAMININ	75	Department of Health and Human Se	7528	Agency fo	75
474	PROJECT (	R01MH10	JDLVAVG\	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE	JR2RTJW1	HARVARD	8/15/2013	5/31/2027	7926430	2614718	FUNCTIOI	75	Department of Health and Human Se	7529	National I	75
475	PROJECT (	R01MH13	JDLVAVG\	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE	JR2RTJW1	HARVARD	8/18/2023	5/31/2027	987816	489518	POST-TRI/	75	Department of Health and Human Se	7529	National I	75
476	PROJECT (	R01MH13	JDLVAVG\	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE	JR2RTJW1	HARVARD	9/1/2023	5/31/2027	973273	342493	IMPROVIN	75	Department of Health and Human Se	7529	National I	75
477	COOPERA	W911NF2	LN53LCFJI	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE			6/1/2024	5/31/2027	#######	152021	BASE INCI	97	Department of Defense	2100	Departme	97
478	PROJECT (	HT94252:	JDLVAVG\	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE	ML98SNH	PRESIDEN	5/15/2023	5/14/2027	#######		BIOMARK	97	Department of Defense	97DH	Defense H	97
479	PROJECT (	F31CA287	JDLVAVG\	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE	JR2RTJW1	HARVARD	5/1/2024	4/30/2027	43203	27499	DEFINING	75	Department of Health and Human Se	7529	National I	75
480	PROJECT (	HT94252:	LN53LCFJI	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE	ML98SNH	PRESIDEN	5/1/2023	4/30/2027	#######		TARGETEI	97	Department of Defense	97DH	Defense H	97
481	PROJECT (	F31AI176	JDLVAVG\	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE	JR2RTJW1	HARVARD	5/1/2024	4/30/2027	43203	28860	SEX DIFFE	75	Department of Health and Human Se	7529	National I	75
482	PROJECT (	F31MH13	JDLVAVG\	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE	JR2RTJW1	HARVARD	5/1/2024	4/30/2027	43203	35407	UNCOVER	75	Department of Health and Human Se	7529	National I	75
483	PROJECT (	K00AG07!	JDLVAVG\	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE	JR2RTJW1	HARVARD	12/1/2022	4/30/2027	227832	167587	CELLULAR	75	Department of Health and Human Se	7529	National I	75
484	PROJECT (	R01AA03(	JDLVAVG\	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE	JR2RTJW1	HARVARD	5/15/2023	4/30/2027	1527269	659133	TELEHEAL	75	Department of Health and Human Se	7529	National I	75
485	PROJECT (	R01CA26!	JDLVAVG\	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE	JR2RTJW1	HARVARD	5/5/2022	4/30/2027	1736343	907120	MUTATIO	75	Department of Health and Human Se	7529	National I	75
486	PROJECT (	R01DC02(	JDLVAVG\	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE	JR2RTJW1	HARVARD	5/1/2022	4/30/2027	1588779	1233240	NEURON-	75	Department of Health and Human Se	7529	National I	75
487	PROJECT (	R01DK06(	JDLVAVG\	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE	JR2RTJW1	HARVARD	3/1/2002	4/30/2027	4520463	1208038	AIRE, A ZI	75	Department of Health and Human Se	7529	National I	75
488	PROJECT (	R01LM01	LN53LCFJI	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE			8/1/2023	4/30/2027	538473	413813	SCH: AL-D	75	Department of Health and Human Se	7529	National I	75
489	PROJECT (	R01MD01	JDLVAVG\	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE	JR2RTJW1	HARVARD	9/1/2022	4/30/2027	2010447	1392240	FIELD EXP	75	Department of Health and Human Se	7529	National I	75
490	PROJECT (	2143343	LN53LCFJI	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE	ML98SNH	PRESIDEN	4/1/2022	3/31/2027	405389	405389	CAREER: T	49	National Science Foundation	4900	National S	49
491	PROJECT (	F31AI178	LN53LCFJI	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE			4/1/2024	3/31/2027	70236	30414	RECEPTOI	75	Department of Health and Human Se	7529	National I	75
492	PROJECT (	F32GM15	LN53LCFJI	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE			4/1/2024	3/31/2027	73408	52156	PHOTOEL	75	Department of Health and Human Se	7529	National I	75
493	PROJECT (	F31AR083	LN53LCFJI	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE			4/1/2024	3/31/2027	76521	36699	THE TETR/	75	Department of Health and Human Se	7529	National I	75
494	PROJECT (	R01AG07	JDLVAVG\	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE	JR2RTJW1	HARVARD	7/15/2022	3/31/2027	1355153	857649	QUALITY (	75	Department of Health and Human Se	7529	National I	75
495	PROJECT (	N0001423	LN53LCFJI	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE			4/1/2023	3/31/2027	#######		BRAIN INS	97	Department of Defense	1700	Departme	97

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441	Departme	HT0989	CONG DIR	97DH	Defense H	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$429,972	$744,876						
442	Departme	75RQ00	HRSA BUF	7526	Health Re	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$430,552	$531,520						
443	Departme	75NC00	NIH Natio	7529	National I	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$36,952	$4,704						
444	Departme	75RQ00	HRSA BUF	7526	Health Re	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$120,435	$57,304						
445	Departme	75NP00	NIH Natio	7529	National I	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$3,803,673	$332,643						
446	Departme	75NM00	NIH Natio	7529	National I	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$2,015,994	$525,943						
447	Departme	75NB00	NIH Natio	7529	National I	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$279,619	$653,797						
448	Departme	75AM00	ASFR OFF	7571	Office of t	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$968,259	$0						
449	Departme	75N700	NIH Natio	7529	National I	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$4,397,853	$412,405						
450	Departme	75NQ00	NIH Natio	7529	National I	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$3,014,331	$88,934						
451	Departme	75NS00	NIH Natio	7529	National I	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$1,269,822	$418,027						
452	Departme	75NQ00	NIH Natio	7529	National I	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$1,132,809	$122,016						
453	Departme	75NH00	NIH Natio	7529	National I	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$397,946	$415,096						
454	Departme	75N700	NIH Natio	7529	National I	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$1,485,629	$719,898						
455	Departme	75NT00	NIH Eunic	7529	National I	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$766,966	$453,256						
456	Departme	75AM00	ASFR OFF	7571	Office of t	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$2,181,740	$198,785						
457	Departme	75NS00	NIH Natio	7529	National I	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$1,446,856	$153,400						
458	Departme	75NL00	NIH Natio	7529	National I	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$20,095,123	$437,442						
459	Departme	75N300	NIH Natio	7529	National I	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$9,219,965	$265,362						
460	Departme	75NQ00	NIH Natio	7529	National I	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$8,223,659	$698,730						
461	Departme	75NS00	NIH Natio	7529	National I	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$2,772,568	$427,943						
462	Departme	75N700	NIH Natio	7529	National I	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$15,726,625	$5,070,810						
463	Departme	F4FGA0	F4FGA0 A	5700	Departme	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$486,861	$116,273						
464	Departme	75NH00	NIH Natio	7529	National I	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$103,075	$3,593						
465	Departme	75N300	NIH Natio	7529	National I	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$40,851	$2,352						
466	Departme	75NM00	NIH Natio	7529	National I	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$1,623,416	$44,495						
467	Departme	75NN00	NIH Natio	7529	National I	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$4,133,893	$607,141						
468	Departme	75NS00	NIH Natio	7529	National I	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$10,160,792	$64,926						
469	Departme	75NB00	NIH Natio	7529	National I	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$1,822,348	$268,250						
470	Departme	75NC00	NIH Natio	7529	National I	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$1,424,343	$291,459						
471	Departme	75NC00	NIH Natio	7529	National I	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$1,089,832	$46,222						
472	Departme	75NH00	NIH Natio	7529	National I	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$1,204,776	$0						
473	Departme	75EP00	AHRQ OFI	7528	Agency fo	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$869,357	$304,350						
474	Departme	75N700	NIH Natio	7529	National I	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$2,963,185	$189,116						
475	Departme	75N700	NIH Natio	7529	National I	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$540,435	$447,381						
476	Departme	75N700	NIH Natio	7529	National I	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$38,415	$0						
477	Departme	HR0011	DEF ADVA	97AE	Defense A	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$2,295,875	$0						
478	Departme	HT0983	ARMY ME	97DH	Defense H	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$883,784	$1,806,459						
479	Departme	75NC00	NIH Natio	7529	National I	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$32,976	$10,227						
480	Departme	HT0989	CONG DIR	97DH	Defense H	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$417,162	$596,838						
481	Departme	75NM00	NIH Natio	7529	National I	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$36,556	$6,647						
482	Departme	75N700	NIH Natio	7529	National I	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$43,203	$0						
483	Departme	75NN00	NIH Natio	7529	National I	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$227,832	$0						
484	Departme	75N500	NIH Natio	7529	National I	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$1,037,789	$489,480						
485	Departme	75NC00	NIH Natio	7529	National I	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$1,176,881	$151,391						
486	Departme	75N300	NIH Natio	7529	National I	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$1,494,417	$94,362						
487	Departme	75NK00	NIH Natio	7529	National I	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$5,844,097	$34						
488	Departme	75NL00	NIH Natio	7529	National I	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$525,534	$12,939						
489	Departme	75NE00	NIH Natio	7529	National I	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$1,707,270	$303,177						
490	National S	490405	DIV OF SC	4900	National S	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$405,389	[redacted]	Unspent Amount is Not Public Data					
491	Departme	75NM00	NIH Natio	7529	National I	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$37,470	$32,766						
492	Departme	75NS00	NIH Natio	7529	National I	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$71,125	$76,111						
493	Departme	75NB00	NIH Natio	7529	National I	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$46,541	$29,980						
494	Departme	75NN00	NIH Natio	7529	National I	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$1,059,844	$295,309						
495	Departme	N00014	OFFICE OF	1700	Departme	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$1,195,479	$4,520						

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496	PROJECT (	HT942523	JDLVAVG\	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE	ML98SNH	PRESIDEN	4/1/2023	3/31/2027	#######		GUT SYMI	97	Department of Defense	97DH	Defense H	97
497	PROJECT (	N000142	LN53LCFJI	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE			4/1/2024	3/31/2027	$420,000		MICROPO	97	Department of Defense	1700	Departme	97
498	PROJECT (	R01NS122	JDLVAVG\	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE	JR2RTJW1	HARVARD	4/1/2022	3/31/2027	2450653	1587709	AREA POS	75	Department of Health and Human Se	7529	National I	75
499	PROJECT (	R35GM12	JDLVAVG\	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE	ML98SNH	PRESIDEN	4/1/2017	3/31/2027	3787783	941545	RNA PRO(	75	Department of Health and Human Se	7529	National I	75
500	PROJECT (	R13AI183	JDLVAVG\	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE	JR2RTJW1	HARVARD	4/1/2024	3/31/2027	5000	4494	2024 BOS	75	Department of Health and Human Se	7529	National I	75
501	PROJECT (	2218803	LN53LCFJI	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE			9/1/2022	2/28/2027	872400	558354	HNDS-I: B	49	National Science Foundation	4900	National S	49
502	PROJECT (	2348924	LN53LCFJI	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE			3/15/2024	2/28/2027	504194	149259	REU SITE:	49	National Science Foundation	4900	National S	49
503	PROJECT (	2343922	LN53LCFJI	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE			3/15/2024	2/28/2027	462400	75996	NSF-BSF: I	49	National Science Foundation	4900	National Science Fou	
504	PROJECT (	2347423	LN53LCFJI	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE			3/1/2024	2/28/2027	350000	64541	COLLABOI	49	National Science Foundation	4900	National S	49
505	PROJECT (	F30HD11	JDLVAVG\	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE	JR2RTJW1	HARVARD	3/1/2023	2/28/2027	135008	72115	LEVERAGI	75	Department of Health and Human Se	7529	National I	75
506	PROJECT (	F30CA268	JDLVAVG\	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE	JR2RTJW1	HARVARD	6/1/2022	2/28/2027	158420	124815	MACHINE	75	Department of Health and Human Se	7529	National I	75
507	PROJECT (	R01NS103	JDLVAVG\	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE	JR2RTJW1	HARVARD	8/1/2017	2/28/2027	4185727	1278374	ARCHITEC	75	Department of Health and Human Se	7529	National I	75
508	PROJECT (	R01HG01	LN53LCFJI	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE			5/1/2023	2/28/2027	1711473	1018456	LIGHT-SEC	75	Department of Health and Human Se	7529	National I	75
509	PROJECT (	R25GM10	LN53LCFJI	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE			3/1/2016	2/28/2027	2497617	1063774	DIVERSITY	75	Department of Health and Human Se	7529	National I	75
510	PROJECT (	2143177	LN53LCFJI	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE			2/1/2022	1/31/2027	696416	486084	CAREER: (	49	National Science Foundation	4900	National S	49
511	PROJECT (	2333888	LN53LCFJI	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE			2/1/2024	1/31/2027	500555	243404	COLLABOI	49	National Science Foundation	4900	National S	49
512	PROJECT (	2342821	LN53LCFJI	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE			2/1/2024	1/31/2027	61920	11906	CONFEREI	49	National Science Foundation	4900	National S	49
513	PROJECT (	F31AI181	JDLVAVG\	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE	JR2RTJW1	HARVARD	2/1/2024	1/31/2027	80121	43203	CHARACT	75	Department of Health and Human Se	7529	National I	75
514	PROJECT (	F31NS135	JDLVAVG\	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE	JR2RTJW1	HARVARD	2/1/2024	1/31/2027	42957	42956	ACTIVITY-	75	Department of Health and Human Se	7529	National I	75
515	PROJECT (	F31DC022	JDLVAVG\	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE	JR2RTJW1	HARVARD	2/1/2025	1/31/2027	36983		CELLULAR	75	Department of Health and Human Se	7529	National I	75
516	PROJECT (	F31DC022	JDLVAVG\	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE	JR2RTJW1	HARVARD	2/1/2025	1/31/2027	36983	4216	ASSESSIN(	75	Department of Health and Human Se	7529	National I	75
517	PROJECT (	F31HL172	LN53LCFJI	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE			2/1/2024	1/31/2027	75223	38101	MACROPH	75	Department of Health and Human Se	7529	National I	75
518	PROJECT (	F31EY035	JDLVAVG\	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE	JR2RTJW1	HARVARD	2/1/2024	1/31/2027	80121	43203	ELUCIDAT	75	Department of Health and Human Se	7529	National I	75
519	PROJECT (	K99CA29(	JDLVAVG\	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE	JR2RTJW1	HARVARD	2/1/2025	1/31/2027	163296		IL-27 FUN	75	Department of Health and Human Se	7529	National I	75
520	PROJECT (	R01AI168	LN53LCFJI	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE			2/10/2022	1/31/2027	3017163	2073376	DISCOVEF	75	Department of Health and Human Se	7529	National I	75
521	PROJECT (	R01HG00	JDLVAVG\	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE	JR2RTJW1	HARVARD	4/1/2013	1/31/2027	6165785	1338923	MECHANI	75	Department of Health and Human Se	7529	National I	75
522	PROJECT (	R01NS126	JDLVAVG\	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE	JR2RTJW1	HARVARD	2/1/2022	1/31/2027	1691969	1172988	DYNAMIC	75	Department of Health and Human Se	7529	National I	75
523	PROJECT (	R34DA06:	LN53LCFJI	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE			2/1/2025	1/31/2027	383521		QUANTIFY	75	Department of Health and Human Se	7529	National I	75
524	PROJECT (	1925620-	LN53LCFJI	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE			1/1/2024	12/31/2026	85000		PURPOSE:	417	National Endowment for the Arts	5920	National E	417
525	PROJECT (	2145925	LN53LCFJI	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE			1/15/2022	12/31/2026	812400	811760	CAREER: L	49	National Science Foundation	4900	National S	49
526	PROJECT (	2416022	LN53LCFJI	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE			1/15/2025	12/31/2026	31185		DOCTORA	49	National Science Foundation	4900	National S	49
527	PROJECT (	F31AI181	JDLVAVG\	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE	JR2RTJW1	HARVARD	1/1/2025	12/31/2026	43203	10694	REGULATI	75	Department of Health and Human Se	7529	National I	75
528	PROJECT (	F31GM15	JDLVAVG\	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE	JR2RTJW1	HARVARD	1/1/2025	12/31/2026	39418		THE ROLE	75	Department of Health and Human Se	7529	National I	75
529	PROJECT (	F30AI176	JDLVAVG\	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE	JR2RTJW1	HARVARD	1/1/2024	12/31/2026	95545	43865	HLA RISK	75	Department of Health and Human Se	7529	National I	75
530	PROJECT (	F32GM15	LN53LCFJI	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE			1/1/2025	12/31/2026	74284		THE DEVE	75	Department of Health and Human Se	7529	National I	75
531	PROJECT (	K99MH13	LN53LCFJI	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE			1/6/2025	12/31/2026	120015		IDENTIFYI	75	Department of Health and Human Se	7529	National I	75
532	PROJECT (	R01AR08(	LN53LCFJI	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE			2/24/2022	12/31/2026	2014414	1354745	RAPID FU	75	Department of Health and Human Se	7529	National I	75
533	PROJECT (	R01MH13	LN53LCFJI	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE			2/22/2024	12/31/2026	1612001	833738	SPATIAL (	75	Department of Health and Human Se	7529	National I	75
534	PROJECT (	R25NS13(	JDLVAVG\	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE	JR2RTJW1	HARVARD	1/5/2023	12/31/2026	1215972	391818	PINBAC: T	75	Department of Health and Human Se	7529	National I	75
535	PROJECT (	R37MH07	JDLVAVG\	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE	JR2RTJW1	HARVARD	4/13/2005	12/31/2026	3176400	852131	THE MOLI	75	Department of Health and Human Se	7529	National I	75
536	PROJECT (	S411C220	LN53LCFJI	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE	ML98SNH	PRESIDEN	1/1/2023	12/31/2026	4000000	1540688	KERNELS (	91	Department of Education	9100	Departme	91
537	COOPERA	2345107	LN53LCFJI	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE			12/15/2023	11/30/2026	4000000	2025079	NSF CONV	49	National Science Foundation	4900	National S	49
538	PROJECT (	F31CA281	JDLVAVG\	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE	JR2RTJW1	HARVARD	12/1/2023	11/30/2026	72556	44242	EVALUATI	75	Department of Health and Human Se	7529	National I	75
539	PROJECT (	K00DA058	LN53LCFJI	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE			7/1/2021	11/30/2026	258302	145408	PRECISIOI	75	Department of Health and Human Se	7529	National I	75
540	PROJECT (	F32GM15	JDLVAVG\	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE	JR2RTJW1	HARVARD	12/1/2024	11/30/2026	74284	5157	STRUCTUI	75	Department of Health and Human Se	7529	National I	75
541	PROJECT (	R00MD01	JDLVAVG\	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE	JR2RTJW1	HARVARD	1/10/2022	11/30/2026	516236	172614	REDUCIN(	75	Department of Health and Human Se	7529	National I	75
542	PROJECT (	R01AG07	JDLVAVG\	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE	JR2RTJW1	HARVARD	2/15/2022	11/30/2026	2598737	1801325	REVERSE I	75	Department of Health and Human Se	7529	National I	75
543	PROJECT (	R01GM14	JDLVAVG\	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE	JR2RTJW1	HARVARD	2/1/2023	11/30/2026	1016727	710735	A NOVEL /	75	Department of Health and Human Se	7529	National I	75
544	PROJECT (	R01CA27(	LN53LCFJI	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE			12/15/2022	11/30/2026	1678092	1122826	VISCOELA	75	Department of Health and Human Se	7529	National I	75
545	PROJECT (	R21EB036	JDLVAVG\	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE	JR2RTJW1	HARVARD	12/3/2024	11/30/2026	222904	3860	A PORTAE	75	Department of Health and Human Se	7529	National I	75
546	PROJECT (	F32HD11	LN53LCFJI	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE			7/1/2023	11/19/2026	142512	84365	A CHILD'S	75	Department of Health and Human Se	7529	National I	75
547	PROJECT (	2331831	LN53LCFJI	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE			11/1/2023	10/31/2026	800000	164802	SLES: A TH	49	National Science Foundation	4900	National S	49
548	PROJECT (	F32NS134	JDLVAVG\	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE	JR2RTJW1	HARVARD	1/1/2024	10/31/2026	151040	57622	GENOMIC	75	Department of Health and Human Se	7529	National I	75
549	PROJECT (	2211383	LN53LCFJI	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE	ML98SNH	PRESIDEN	10/1/2022	9/30/2026	240000	62688	COLLABOI	49	National Science Foundation	4900	National S	49
550	PROJECT (	2309041	LN53LCFJI	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE			10/1/2023	9/30/2026	1189997	265500	CRCNS RE	49	National Science Foundation	4900	National S	49

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496	Departme	HT0989	CONG DIR	97DH	Defense H	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$2,118,692	$2,288,683						
497	Departme	N00014	OFFICE OF	1700	Departme	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$258,038	$161,962						
498	Departme	75NQ00	NIH Natio	7529	National I	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$1,890,183	$560,470						
499	Departme	75NS00	NIH Natio	7529	National I	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$3,787,783	$0						
500	Departme	75NM00	NIH Natio	7529	National I	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$4,494	$506						
501	National S	490404	DIV OF BE	4900	National S	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$625,65[redacted]	[redacted]	Unspent Amount is Not Public Data					
502	National S	490808	DIV OF BI(	4900	National S	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$271,546	[redacted]	Unspent Amount is Not Public Data					
503	ndation	490405	DIV OF SOCIAL AND ECONOMI			https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$101,633	[redacted]	Unspent Amount is Not Public Data					
504	National S	490702	DIVISION	4900	National S	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$113,541	[redacted]	Unspent Amount is Not Public Data					
505	Departme	75NT00	NIH Eunic	7529	National I	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$109,113	$25,895						
506	Departme	75NC00	NIH Natio	7529	National I	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$154,757	$3,663						
507	Departme	75NQ00	NIH Natio	7529	National I	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$3,586,850	$598,877						
508	Departme	75N400	NIH Natio	7529	National I	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$1,337,066	$374,407						
509	Departme	75NS00	NIH Natio	7529	National I	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$2,483,833	$13,784						
510	National S	490307	DIVISION	4900	National S	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$526,305	[redacted]	Unspent Amount is Not Public Data					
511	National S	490809	DIV OF IN	4900	National S	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$313,414	[redacted]	Unspent Amount is Not Public Data					
512	National S	490304	DIVISION	4900	National S	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$12,701	[redacted]	Unspent Amount is Not Public Data					
513	Departme	75NM00	NIH Natio	7529	National I	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$50,939	$29,182						
514	Departme	75NQ00	NIH Natio	7529	National I	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$42,957	$1						
515	Departme	75N300	NIH Natio	7529	National I	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$0	$36,983						
516	Departme	75N300	NIH Natio	7529	National I	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$11,272	$25,711						
517	Departme	75NH00	NIH Natio	7529	National I	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$48,227	$26,996						
518	Departme	75NW00	NIH Natio	7529	National I	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$53,111	$27,010						
519	Departme	75NC00	NIH Natio	7529	National I	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$27,105	$136,191						
520	Departme	75NM00	NIH Natio	7529	National I	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$2,451,559	$565,604						
521	Departme	75N400	NIH Natio	7529	National I	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$5,561,845	$603,940						
522	Departme	75NQ00	NIH Natio	7529	National I	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$1,312,727	$379,242						
523	Departme	75N600	NIH Natio	7529	National I	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$32,364	$351,157						
524	National E	593105	NATIONA	5920	National E	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$0	$85,000	[redacted] DPP					
525	National S	490809	DIV OF IN	4900	National S	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$812,012	[redacted]	Jnspent Amount is Not Public Data					
526	National S	490404	DIV OF BE	4900	National S	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$0		Jnspent Amount is Not Public Data					
527	Departme	75NM00	NIH Natio	7529	National I	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$24,265	$18,938						
528	Departme	75NS00	NIH Natio	7529	National I	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$0	$39,418						
529	Departme	75NM00	NIH Natio	7529	National I	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$57,695	$37,850						
530	Departme	75NS00	NIH Natio	7529	National I	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$19,036	$55,248						
531	Departme	75N700	NIH Natio	7529	National I	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$24,747	$95,268						
532	Departme	75NB00	NIH Natio	7529	National I	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$1,614,590	$399,824						
533	Departme	75N700	NIH Natio	7529	National I	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$1,049,338	$562,663						
534	Departme	75NQ00	NIH Natio	7529	National I	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$548,771	$667,201						
535	Departme	75N700	NIH Natio	7529	National I	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$10,890,905	$765,214						
536	Departme	910046	OFC OF EL	9100	Departme	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$1,801,720	$2.198.280						
537	National S	491502	INNOVAT	4900	National S	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$2,676,685	[redacted]	Unspent Amount is Not Public Data					
538	Departme	75NC00	NIH Natio	7529	National I	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$51,298	$21,258						
539	Departme	75N600	NIH Natio	7529	National I	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$188,644	$69,658						
540	Departme	75NS00	NIH Natio	7529	National I	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$23,110	$51,174						
541	Departme	75NE00	NIH Natio	7529	National I	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$249,082	$267,155						
542	Departme	75NN00	NIH Natio	7529	National I	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$2,529,722	$415,636						
543	Departme	75NS00	NIH Natio	7529	National I	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$822,652	$194,075						
544	Departme	75NC00	NIH Natio	7529	National I	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$1,362,522	$315,570						
545	Departme	75N800	NIH Natio	7529	National I	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$32,809	$190,095						
546	Departme	75NT00	NIH Eunic	7529	National I	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$111,393	$31,119						
547	National S	490502	DIV OF IN	4900	National S	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$208,406	[redacted]	Unspent Amount is Not Public Data					
548	Departme	75NQ00	NIH Natio	7529	National I	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$88,209	$62,831						
549	National S	490505	DIV OF CC	4900	National S	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$68,535	[redacted]	Unspent Amount is Not Public Data					
550	National S	490502	DIV OF IN	4900	National S	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$360,687		Unspent Amount is Not Public Data					

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551	OTHER RE	22JV1122	LN53LCFJI	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE			9/15/2022	9/30/2026	106655	106655	THE NEXT	12	Department of Agriculture	12C2	Forest Ser	12
552	BLOCK GR	HQ00342	LN53LCFJI	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE	ML98SNH	PRESIDEN	10/1/2023	9/30/2026	#######		NATIONA	97	Department of Defense	97F5	Washingt	97
553	PROJECT (	RZ292726	LN53LCFJI	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE			10/1/2023	9/30/2026	247439		COMPUTA	418	National Endowment for the Humani	4340	National E	418
554	PROJECT (	STU15022	LN53LCFJI	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE			10/1/2022	9/30/2026	15000		TO ADD N	19	Department of State	1900	Departme	19
555	PROJECT (	RQ30011(	LN53LCFJI	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE			10/1/2024	9/30/2026	197030		HARVARD	418	National Endowment for the Humani	4340	National E	418
556	PROJECT (	F30CA265	JDLVAVG\	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE	JR2RTJW1	HARVARD	9/30/2022	9/29/2026	132786	113970	METABOL	75	Department of Health and Human Se	7529	National I	75
557	PROJECT (	F31AI181	JDLVAVG\	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE	JR2RTJW1	HARVARD	9/30/2024	9/29/2026	36983	17840	ELUCIDAT	75	Department of Health and Human Se	7529	National I	75
558	PROJECT (	F31HD11	JDLVAVG\	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE	JR2RTJW1	HARVARD	9/30/2023	9/29/2026	78841	59583	NON-COD	75	Department of Health and Human Se	7529	National I	75
559	PROJECT (	F31DC021	JDLVAVG\	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE	JR2RTJW1	HARVARD	9/30/2024	9/29/2026	36983	17840	EFFECTS (	75	Department of Health and Human Se	7529	National I	75
560	PROJECT (	F30MH13	JDLVAVG\	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE	JR2RTJW1	HARVARD	9/30/2023	9/29/2026	90997	54863	INVESTIG/	75	Department of Health and Human Se	7529	National I	75
561	PROJECT (	F31HL165	JDLVAVG\	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE	JR2RTJW1	HARVARD	9/30/2023	9/29/2026	78056	58338	THE HILLC	75	Department of Health and Human Se	7529	National I	75
562	PROJECT (	U3I43510	JDLVAVG\	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE	JR2RTJW1	HARVARD	9/30/2021	9/29/2026	1896619	1518931	TELEHEAL	75	Department of Health and Human Se	7526	Health Re	75
563	PROJECT (	W911NF2	LN53LCFJI	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE			9/28/2022	9/27/2026	#######	220000	NEXT GEN	97	Department of Defense	2100	Departme	97
564	PROJECT (	R21NS141	LN53LCFJI	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE			9/20/2024	9/19/2026	481250	57967	SYNTHETI	75	Department of Health and Human Se	7529	National I	75
565	PROJECT (	N000142(	LN53LCFJI	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE			9/15/2021	9/14/2026	#######	553961	PROGRAM	97	Department of Defense	1700	Departme	97
566	COOPERA	2011754	LN53LCFJI	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE			9/1/2020	8/31/2026	1.8E+07	9720282	MATERIAI	49	National Science Foundation	4900	National S	49
567	PROJECT (	2203621	LN53LCFJI	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE			9/1/2022	8/31/2026	800000		QUANTUI	49	National Science Foundation	4900	National Science Fou	
568	PROJECT (	2140043	LN53LCFJI	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE	ML98SNH	PRESIDEN	9/1/2021	8/31/2026	1000000	461992	2021 WAT	49	National Science Foundation	4900	National S	49
569	PROJECT (	2140743	LN53LCFJI	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE			9/15/2021	8/31/2026	4.3E+07	3.5E+07	GRADUAT	49	National Science Foundation	4900	National S	49
570	PROJECT (	2205000	LN53LCFJI	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE	ML98SNH	PRESIDEN	9/1/2022	8/31/2026	0		COLLABOI	49	National Science Foundation	4900	National S	49
571	PROJECT (	2223880	LN53LCFJI	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE	ML98SNH	PRESIDEN	9/15/2022	8/31/2026	232968	193322	COLLABOI	49	National Science Foundation	4900	National S	49
572	PROJECT (	2220747	LN53LCFJI	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE			9/1/2022	8/31/2026	1275000	915195	EDGE FGT	49	National Science Foundation	4900	National S	49
573	PROJECT (	2305373	LN53LCFJI	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE	ML98SNH	PRESIDEN	9/1/2023	8/31/2026	550000	254730	APPLICAT	49	National Science Foundation	4900	National S	49
574	PROJECT (	2304877	LN53LCFJI	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE	ML98SNH	PRESIDEN	9/1/2023	8/31/2026	400000	131438	INSTANTC	49	National Science Foundation	4900	National S	49
575	PROJECT (	2243724	LN53LCFJI	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE	ML98SNH	PRESIDEN	9/1/2023	8/31/2026	700000	369317	PHOTOAC	49	National Science Foundation	4900	National S	49
576	PROJECT (	2315488	LN53LCFJI	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE	ML98SNH	PRESIDEN	9/1/2023	8/31/2026	362153	137879	OUTSOUR	49	National Science Foundation	4900	National S	49
577	PROJECT (	2326787	LN53LCFJI	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE			9/1/2023	8/31/2026	1750000	405998	QUSEC-TA	49	National Science Foundation	4900	National S	49
578	PROJECT (	2315533	LN53LCFJI	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE	ML98SNH	PRESIDEN	9/1/2023	8/31/2026	283999	129006	COLLABOI	49	National Science Foundation	4900	National S	49
579	PROJECT (	2247494	LN53LCFJI	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE	ML98SNH	PRESIDEN	9/1/2023	8/31/2026	575000	256540	SCREENIN	49	National Science Foundation	4900	National S	49
580	PROJECT (	2320265	LN53LCFJI	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE	ML98SNH	PRESIDEN	9/1/2023	8/31/2026	999420	874358	EQUIPME	49	National Science Foundation	4900	National S	49
581	PROJECT (	2321651	LN53LCFJI	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE			9/1/2023	8/31/2026	496353	188690	COLLABOI	49	National Science Foundation	4900	National S	49
582	PROJECT (	2427124	LN53LCFJI	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE			10/1/2023	8/31/2026	351588	74239	CAREER: U	49	National Science Foundation	4900	National S	49
583	PROJECT (	2439922	LN53LCFJI	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE			9/1/2024	8/31/2026	240000	31126	EAGER: A(	49	National Science Foundation	4900	National S	49
584	PROJECT (	D24AP00	LN53LCFJI	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE			9/1/2024	8/31/2026	250000	87582	FEDERAL /	14	Department of the Interior	1406	Departme	14
585	PROJECT (	DP2AI169	JDLVAVG\	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE	JR2RTJW1	HARVARD	9/22/2021	8/31/2026	2541250	1617790	ILLUMINA	75	Department of Health and Human Se	7529	National I	75
586	PROJECT (	2505370	LN53LCFJI	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE			3/15/2025	8/31/2026	31089		DOCTORA	49	National Science Foundation	4900	National S	49
587	COOPERA	70NANB2	LN53LCFJI	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE			9/1/2024	8/31/2026	393645		PURPOSE:	13	Department of Commerce	1341	National I	13
588	PROJECT (	80NSSC23	JDLVAVG\	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE		PRESIDEN	9/1/2023	8/31/2026	79364	79364	RODENT F	80	National Aeronautics and Space Adm	8000	National A	80
589	PROJECT (	F32GM14	LN53LCFJI	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE			9/1/2023	8/31/2026	142512	82843	STEREOSE	75	Department of Health and Human Se	7529	National I	75
590	PROJECT (	DP2GM15	JDLVAVG\	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE		PRESIDEN	9/5/2023	8/31/2026	1525500	528526	CAPTURIN	75	Department of Health and Human Se	7529	National I	75
591	PROJECT (	F31AI181(	JDLVAVG\	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE	JR2RTJW1	HARVARD	9/1/2024	8/31/2026	36983	20192	MOLECUL	75	Department of Health and Human Se	7529	National I	75
592	PROJECT (	F31AR083	JDLVAVG\	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE	JR2RTJW1	HARVARD	9/1/2024	8/31/2026	39548	20192	DEFINING	75	Department of Health and Human Se	7529	National I	75
593	PROJECT (	F30DK13(	JDLVAVG\	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE	JR2RTJW1	HARVARD	9/1/2021	8/31/2026	209456	184528	CONTROL	75	Department of Health and Human Se	7529	National I	75
594	PROJECT (	F30HD11	JDLVAVG\	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE	JR2RTJW1	HARVARD	9/1/2023	8/31/2026	94178	68922	SUBCELLU	75	Department of Health and Human Se	7529	National I	75
595	PROJECT (	F30MH12	JDLVAVG\	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE	JR2RTJW1	HARVARD	9/1/2022	8/31/2026	158420	126534	RESTING-S	75	Department of Health and Human Se	7529	National I	75
596	PROJECT (	F31DC022	JDLVAVG\	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE	JR2RTJW1	HARVARD	9/1/2024	8/31/2026	36919	20192	NOVEL IN	75	Department of Health and Human Se	7529	National I	75
597	PROJECT (	F31AI176	JDLVAVG\	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE		PRESIDEN	9/1/2023	8/31/2026	57650	48792	INTERACT	75	Department of Health and Human Se	7529	National I	75
598	PROJECT (	DP2ES03(	JDLVAVG\	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE		PRESIDEN	9/19/2023	8/31/2026	1525500	688466	VISUALIZI	75	Department of Health and Human Se	7529	National I	75
599	PROJECT (	K00AG06(	LN53LCFJI	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE			9/1/2020	8/31/2026	232584	148486	TRAINING	75	Department of Health and Human Se	7529	National I	75
600	PROJECT (	F31AI181(	JDLVAVG\	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE	JR2RTJW1	HARVARD	9/1/2024	8/31/2026	45574	16371	NOVEL PH	75	Department of Health and Human Se	7529	National I	75
601	PROJECT (	K00CA253	LN53LCFJI	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE			8/10/2020	8/31/2026	267500	182371	ENGINEEF	75	Department of Health and Human Se	7529	National I	75
602	PROJECT (	K00DK126	JDLVAVG\	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE	JR2RTJW1	HARVARD	9/1/2022	8/31/2026	263301	162279	HIGH-THR	75	Department of Health and Human Se	7529	National I	75
603	PROJECT (	R00DE03(	JDLVAVG\	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE	JR2RTJW1	HARVARD	9/1/2023	8/31/2026	491720	263004	FIBRIN-NE	75	Department of Health and Human Se	7529	National I	75
604	PROJECT (	K99HG01	JDLVAVG\	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE	JR2RTJW1	HARVARD	9/3/2024	8/31/2026	144087	40053	INCREASII	75	Department of Health and Human Se	7529	National I	75
605	PROJECT (	K99GM15	JDLVAVG\	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE	JR2RTJW1	HARVARD	9/1/2024	8/31/2026	124999	40838	MECHANI	75	Department of Health and Human Se	7529	National I	75

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551	Departme	1284ME	USDA FS F	12C2	Forest Ser	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	106,656	0	DPP					
552	Departme	HQ0287	OUSD(AT	97AD	Immediat	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$1,338,189	$4,643,773						
553	National E	433101	NATIONA	4340	National E	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$5,212	$242,227	Terminated					
554	Departme	19XEUR	BUREAU (	1900	Departme	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	6000	9000						
555	National E	433101	NATIONA	4340	National E	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$2,616	$194,414	Terminated					
556	Departme	75NC00	NIH Natio	7529	National I	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$121,026	$11,760						
557	Departme	75NM00	NIH Natio	7529	National I	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$24,896	$12,087						
558	Departme	75NT00	NIH Eunic	7529	National I	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$66,369	$12,472						
559	Departme	75N300	NIH Natio	7529	National I	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$24,896	$12,087						
560	Departme	75N700	NIH Natio	7529	National I	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$61,919	$29,078						
561	Departme	75NH00	NIH Natio	7529	National I	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$65,664	$12,392						
562	Departme	75RH00	HRSA FED	7526	Health Re	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$1,609,874	$286,745						
563	Departme	W36QYT	W262 PRC	2100	Departme	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$1,146,306	$113,694						
564	Departme	75NQ00	NIH Natio	7529	National I	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$111,002	$370,248						
565	Departme	N00014	OFFICE OF	1700	Departme	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$1,827,904	$572,096						
566	National S	490307	DIVISION	4900	National S	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$11,849,854	[redacted]	Unspent Amount is Not Public Data					
567	ndation	490309	DIVISION OF CHEMISTRY			https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$112,412		Unspent Amount is Not Public Data					
568	National S	490306	MPS MUL	4900	National S	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$535,721		Unspent Amount is Not Public Data					
569	National S	491101	DIVISION	4900	National S	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$37,808,607		Unspent Amount is Not Public Data					
570	National S	490502	DIV OF IN	4900	National S	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$0		Unspent Amount is Not Public Data					
571	National S	490808	DIV OF BI(	4900	National S	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$215,782		Unspent Amount is Not Public Data					
572	National S	490809	DIV OF IN	4900	National S	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$1,143,975		Unspent Amount is Not Public Data					
573	National S	490304	DIVISION	4900	National S	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$325,756		Unspent Amount is Not Public Data					
574	National S	490304	DIVISION	4900	National S	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$211,006		Unspent Amount is Not Public Data					
575	National S	490309	DIVISION	4900	National S	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$400,275		Unspent Amount is Not Public Data					
576	National S	490405	DIV OF SC	4900	National S	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$144,160		Unspent Amount is Not Public Data					
577	National S	490306	MPS MUL	4900	National S	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$514,766		Unspent Amount is Not Public Data					
578	National S	490405	DIV OF SC	4900	National S	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$173,867		Unspent Amount is Not Public Data					
579	National S	490309	DIVISION	4900	National S	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$302,128		Unspent Amount is Not Public Data					
580	National S	490106	OFFICE OF	4900	National S	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$874,359		Unspent Amount is Not Public Data					
581	National S	490703	DIV OF CI\	4900	National S	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$245,908		Unspent Amount is Not Public Data					
582	National S	490502	DIV OF IN	4900	National S	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$99,721		Unspent Amount is Not Public Data					
583	National S	490701	DIVISION	4900	National S	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$102,493		Unspent Amount is Not Public Data					
584	Departme	140D04	IBC ACQ S	1406	Departme	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$148,944.37	$101,055.63						
585	Departme	75NA00	NIH OFFIC	7529	National I	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$1,898,101	$643,149						
586	National S	490404	DIV OF BE	4900	National S	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$0	[redacted]	Unspent Amount is Not Public Data					
587	Departme	1333ND	DEPT OF (	1341	National I	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$8,578	$385,067						
588	National A	80NSSC	NASA SHA	8000	National A	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$79,364	$158,728		79364				
589	Departme	75NS00	NIH Natio	7529	National I	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$112,654	$29,858						
590	Departme	75NA00	NIH OFFIC	7529	National I	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$715,303	$810,197						
591	Departme	75NM00	NIH Natio	7529	National I	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$27,248	$9,735						
592	Departme	75NB00	NIH Natio	7529	National I	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$27,248	$12,300						
593	Departme	75NK00	NIH Natio	7529	National I	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$198,138	$11,318						
594	Departme	75NT00	NIH Eunic	7529	National I	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$78,240	$15,938						
595	Departme	75N700	NIH Natio	7529	National I	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$147,701	$10,719						
596	Departme	75N300	NIH Natio	7529	National I	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$27,148	$9,771						
597	Departme	75NM00	NIH Natio	7529	National I	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$48,792	$8,858						
598	Departme	75NA00	NIH OFFIC	7529	National I	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$870,975	$654,525						
599	Departme	75NN00	NIH Natio	7529	National I	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$189,939	$42,645						
600	Departme	75NM00	NIH Natio	7529	National I	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$27,248	$18,326						
601	Departme	75NC00	NIH Natio	7529	National I	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$225,094	$42,406						
602	Departme	75NK00	NIH Natio	7529	National I	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$226,662	$36,639						
603	Departme	75NP00	NIH Natio	7529	National I	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$361,842	$129,878						
604	Departme	75N400	NIH Natio	7529	National I	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$70,054	$74,033						
605	Departme	75NS00	NIH Natio	7529	National I	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$68,304	$56,695						

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606	PROJECT (	IGSM-255	LN53LCFJI	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE			9/1/2024	8/31/2026	63945		THE FISHE	474	Institute of Museum and Library Serv	5300	Institute c	474
607	PROJECT (	F32GM15	JDLVAVG\	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE	JR2RTJW1	HARVARD	9/1/2024	8/31/2026	73828	24823	METABOL	75	Department of Health and Human Se	7529	National I	75
608	PROJECT (	K99AG08	JDLVAVG\	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE	JR2RTJW1	HARVARD	9/3/2024	8/31/2026	125172	32471	VALIDATI(	75	Department of Health and Human Se	7529	National I	75
609	PROJECT (	K99GM15	JDLVAVG\	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE	JR2RTJW1	HARVARD	9/9/2024	8/31/2026	124832	33143	UNRAVEL	75	Department of Health and Human Se	7529	National I	75
610	PROJECT (	R01AG07	JDLVAVG\	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE	JR2RTJW1	HARVARD	9/15/2021	8/31/2026	655248	150712	NEUROBE	75	Department of Health and Human Se	7529	National I	75
611	PROJECT (	R33HD10	JDLVAVG\	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE	JR2RTJW1	HARVARD	9/1/2021	8/31/2026	616545	254004	MHEALTH	75	Department of Health and Human Se	7529	National I	75
612	PROJECT (	RF1AG08	LN53LCFJI	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE			9/1/2023	8/31/2026	2001864	862233	SUBCELLU	75	Department of Health and Human Se	7529	National I	75
613	PROJECT (	R21AG09	JDLVAVG\	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE	JR2RTJW1	HARVARD	9/30/2024	8/31/2026	466125	51714	SUBCELLU	75	Department of Health and Human Se	7529	National I	75
614	PROJECT (	R01NS12	JDLVAVG\	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE	JR2RTJW1	HARVARD	9/22/2021	8/31/2026	2654707	1794813	EFFECTS (	75	Department of Health and Human Se	7529	National I	75
615	PROJECT (	R35CA242	JDLVAVG\	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE	JR2RTJW1	HARVARD	9/1/2019	8/31/2026	6072082	3198157	TRACKING	75	Department of Health and Human Se	7529	National I	75
616	PROJECT (	R01NS124	LN53LCFJI	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE			9/17/2021	8/31/2026	3210977	1493565	GENETIC /	75	Department of Health and Human Se	7529	National I	75
617	COOPERA	U01CA28	JDLVAVG\	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE	JR2RTJW1	HARVARD	9/12/2023	8/31/2026	1001129	599697	IMAT-ITCI	75	Department of Health and Human Se	7529	National I	75
618	PROJECT (	R21NS13	JDLVAVG\	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE	JR2RTJW1	HARVARD	9/19/2024	8/31/2026	466125	26636	BMAL1 CI	75	Department of Health and Human Se	7529	National I	75
619	COOPERA	U01CA26	JDLVAVG\	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE	JR2RTJW1	HARVARD	9/24/2021	8/31/2026	1821529	1302751	PROGENIT	75	Department of Health and Human Se	7529	National I	75
620	COOPERA	U01FD00	JDLVAVG\	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE	JR2RTJW1	HARVARD	9/1/2023	8/31/2026	2157873	886876	GENERAT	75	Department of Health and Human Se	7524	Food and	75
621	PROJECT (	RF1MH13	LN53LCFJI	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE			9/1/2023	8/31/2026	2490741	1166853	THERMAL	75	Department of Health and Human Se	7529	National I	75
622	COOPERA	2116679	LN53LCFJI	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE			8/1/2021	7/31/2026	2799997	1697349	INSTITUTI	49	National Science Foundation	4900	National S	49
623	PROJECT (	2220703	LN53LCFJI	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE	ML98SNH	PRESIDEN	8/1/2022	7/31/2026	420000	420000	TOPOLOG	49	National Science Foundation	4900	National S	49
624	PROJECT (	2306216	LN53LCFJI	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE	ML98SNH	PRESIDEN	8/1/2023	7/31/2026	291459	152230	QUANTUI	49	National Science Foundation	4900	National S	49
625	PROJECT (	2310050	LN53LCFJI	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE	ML98SNH	PRESIDEN	8/1/2023	7/31/2026	100000	98571	COLLABOI	49	National Science Foundation	4900	National S	49
626	PROJECT (	2315953	LN53LCFJI	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE	ML98SNH	PRESIDEN	8/1/2023	7/31/2026	0		ARTS: A N	49	National Science Foundation	4900	National Science Fou	
627	PROJECT (	2310717	LN53LCFJI	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE	ML98SNH	PRESIDEN	8/1/2023	7/31/2026	300000	187898	NEW AND	49	National Science Foundation	4900	National S	49
628	PROJECT (	2305257	LN53LCFJI	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE	ML98SNH	PRESIDEN	8/1/2023	7/31/2026	194865	71948	FUKAYA C	49	National Science Foundation	4900	National Science Fou	
629	PROJECT (	2308043	LN53LCFJI	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE	ML98SNH	PRESIDEN	8/15/2023	7/31/2026	537856	275474	THE TIERF	49	National Science Foundation	4900	National S	49
630	PROJECT (	2414962	LN53LCFJI	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE			8/1/2024	7/31/2026	550000	56640	PFI-TT: DE	49	National Science Foundation	4900	National S	49
631	PROJECT (	2345627	LN53LCFJI	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE			8/1/2024	7/31/2026	30608	6815	COLLABOI	49	National Science Foundation	4900	National S	49
632	PROJECT (	F32GM14	JDLVAVG\	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE	JR2RTJW1	HARVARD	8/1/2023	7/31/2026	151756	88387	LINKING A	75	Department of Health and Human Se	7529	National I	75
633	PROJECT (	F32GM15	LN53LCFJI	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE			8/1/2023	7/31/2026	91606	79804	NEW ERA:	75	Department of Health and Human Se	7529	National I	75
634	PROJECT (	F30HL162	JDLVAVG\	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE	JR2RTJW1	HARVARD	3/1/2022	7/31/2026	113495	107574	STRUCTUI	75	Department of Health and Human Se	7529	National I	75
635	PROJECT (	F32AI178	JDLVAVG\	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE	JR2RTJW1	HARVARD	8/1/2023	7/31/2026	143364	86562	BIOCHEM	75	Department of Health and Human Se	7529	National I	75
636	PROJECT (	F31MH13	LN53LCFJI	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE			8/1/2023	7/31/2026	75430	56440	ENHANCII	75	Department of Health and Human Se	7529	National I	75
637	PROJECT (	N000142	LN53LCFJI	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE			8/1/2023	7/31/2026	$672,000		TOWARDS	97	Department of Defense	1700	Departme	97
638	PROJECT (	K99AR08	JDLVAVG\	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE	JR2RTJW1	HARVARD	8/1/2024	7/31/2026	100138	39670	STAPHYLC	75	Department of Health and Human Se	7529	National I	75
639	PROJECT (	R01AI039	JDLVAVG\	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE	JR2RTJW1	HARVARD	7/1/1996	7/31/2026	1.2E+07	3117517	CYTOTOX	75	Department of Health and Human Se	7529	National I	75
640	PROJECT (	R01AI167	LN53LCFJI	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE			8/1/2022	7/31/2026	1790507	1342675	STRUCTUI	75	Department of Health and Human Se	7529	National I	75
641	PROJECT (	R01GM14	LN53LCFJI	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE			9/15/2022	7/31/2026	1063664	630137	DISCOVEF	75	Department of Health and Human Se	7529	National I	75
642	PROJECT (	R01HD08	JDLVAVG\	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE	JR2RTJW1	HARVARD	4/1/2016	7/31/2026	2805238	863168	SIGNALS /	75	Department of Health and Human Se	7529	National I	75
643	PROJECT (	R01GM05	JDLVAVG\	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE	JR2RTJW1	HARVARD	7/1/1999	7/31/2026	7974502	1246957	MRNA CA	75	Department of Health and Human Se	7529	National I	75
644	PROJECT (	R01CA208	LN53LCFJI	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE			7/1/2016	7/31/2026	3321718	1373263	UNDERST	75	Department of Health and Human Se	7529	National I	75
645	PROJECT (	R03HD11	LN53LCFJI	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE			8/1/2024	7/31/2026	169000	10248	AN AXOLC	75	Department of Health and Human Se	7529	National I	75
646	PROJECT (	R24OD03	JDLVAVG\	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE	JR2RTJW1	HARVARD	8/1/2022	7/31/2026	2660751	1708055	XENCAT:)	75	Department of Health and Human Se	7529	National I	75
647	PROJECT (	T32AG05	JDLVAVG\	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE	JR2RTJW1	HARVARD	8/1/2015	7/31/2026	1858601	569009	MD-PHD T	75	Department of Health and Human Se	7529	National I	75
648	COOPERA	U01NS13	LN53LCFJI	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE			9/1/2023	7/31/2026	3210950	2331754	BRAIN CO	75	Department of Health and Human Se	7529	National I	75
649	COOPERA	HQ00342	LN53LCFJI	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE			7/22/2021	7/21/2026	########	2636545	SUPPORT	97	Department of Defense	97F5	Washingt	97
650	PROJECT (	2045981	LN53LCFJI	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE			7/1/2021	6/30/2026	315363	290172	CAREER: E	49	National Science Foundation	4900	National S	49
651	PROJECT (	2105903	LN53LCFJI	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE	ML98SNH	PRESIDEN	7/15/2021	6/30/2026	548109	427538	COLLABOI	49	National Science Foundation	4900	National S	49
652	PROJECT (	2152991	LN53LCFJI	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE			7/1/2022	6/30/2026	440000	265011	INTERACT	49	National Science Foundation	4900	National S	49
653	PROJECT (	2234308	LN53LCFJI	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE	ML98SNH	PRESIDEN	7/1/2023	6/30/2026	342550	91559	EVOLVED	49	National Science Foundation	4900	National S	49
654	PROJECT (	2246518	LN53LCFJI	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE	ML98SNH	PRESIDEN	7/1/2023	6/30/2026	47330	47330	POSITIVE	49	National Science Foundation	4900	National S	49
655	PROJECT (	2247817	LN53LCFJI	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE	ML98SNH	PRESIDEN	7/15/2023	6/30/2026	361035	205575	CAS: COLL	49	National Science Foundation	4900	National S	49
656	PROJECT (	2302388	LN53LCFJI	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE	ML98SNH	PRESIDEN	7/15/2023	6/30/2026	47340	47339	DISTRIBU	49	National Science Foundation	4900	National S	49
657	PROJECT (	2246630	LN53LCFJI	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE	ML98SNH	PRESIDEN	7/1/2023	6/30/2026	446934	208245	BIFURCAT	49	National Science Foundation	4900	National S	49
658	PROJECT (	2246746	LN53LCFJI	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE			7/1/2023	6/30/2026	163146	43290	CLASSIFIC	49	National Science Foundation	4900	National Science Fou	
659	PROJECT (	2313084	LN53LCFJI	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE	ML98SNH	PRESIDEN	7/1/2023	6/30/2026	450000	206803	COLLABOI	49	National Science Foundation	4900	National S	49
660	PROJECT (	2346173	LN53LCFJI	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE			7/1/2024	6/30/2026	738226		NSF POSE	49	National Science Foundation	4900	National S	49

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606	Institute c	539871	INSTITUTE	5300	Institute c	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$6,297	$57,648						
607	Departme	75NS00	NIH Natio	7529	National I	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$47,702	$26,126						
608	Departme	75NN00	NIH Natio	7529	National I	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$57,196	$67,976						
609	Departme	75NS00	NIH Natio	7529	National I	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$66,709	$58,123						
610	Departme	75NN00	NIH Natio	7529	National I	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$2,228,866	$358,320						
611	Departme	75NT00	NIH Eunic	7529	National I	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$678,216	$329,302						
612	Departme	75NN00	NIH Natio	7529	National I	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$1,048,621	$953,243						
613	Departme	75NN00	NIH Natio	7529	National I	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$96,193	$369,933						
614	Departme	75NQ00	NIH Natio	7529	National I	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$2,115,088	$539,619						
615	Departme	75NC00	NIH Natio	7529	National I	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$5,606,019	$466,063						
616	Departme	75NQ00	NIH Natio	7529	National I	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$2,620,977	$590,000						
617	Departme	75NC00	NIH Natio	7529	National I	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$795,884	$205,245						
618	Departme	75NQ00	NIH Natio	7529	National I	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$122,067	$344,058						
619	Departme	75NC00	NIH Natio	7529	National I	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$1,453,225	$368,304						
620	Departme	75DKKN	FDA CENT	7524	Food and	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$1,116,695	$1,041,178						
621	Departme	75N700	NIH Natio	7529	National I	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$1,658,404	$832,337						
622	National S	490301	DIVISION	4900	National S	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$1,860,729	[redacted]	Unspent Amount is Not Public Data					
623	National S	490307	DIVISION	4900	National S	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$420,000		Unspent Amount is Not Public Data					
624	National S	490306	MPS MUL	4900	National S	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$152,231		Unspent Amount is Not Public Data					
625	National S	490301	DIVISION	4900	National S	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$100,000		Unspent Amount is Not Public Data					
626	ndation	490801	DIVISION OF ENVIRONMENTAL			https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$0		Unspent Amount is Not Public Data					
627	National S	490301	DIVISION	4900	National S	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$228,982		Unspent Amount is Not Public Data					
628	ndation	490304	DIVISION OF MATHEMATICAL S			https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$84,547		Unspent Amount is Not Public Data					
629	National S	490302	DIVISION	4900	National S	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$364,032		Unspent Amount is Not Public Data					
630	National S	491503	TRANSLAT	4900	National S	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$133,681		Unspent Amount is Not Public Data					
631	National S	490801	DIVISION	4900	National S	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$10,677		Unspent Amount is Not Public Data					
632	Departme	75NS00	NIH Natio	7529	National I	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$120,596	$31,160						
633	Departme	75NS00	NIH Natio	7529	National I	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$89,918	$1,688						
634	Departme	75NH00	NIH Natio	7529	National I	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$141,574	$25,895						
635	Departme	75NM00	NIH Natio	7529	National I	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$115,522	$27,842						
636	Departme	75N700	NIH Natio	7529	National I	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$67,826	$7,604						
637	Departme	N00014	OFFICE OF	1700	Departme	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$571,460	$100,540						
638	Departme	75NB00	NIH Natio	7529	National I	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$64,725	$35,413						
639	Departme	75NM00	NIH Natio	7529	National I	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$12,393,649	$135,247						
640	Departme	75NM00	NIH Natio	7529	National I	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$1,521,133	$269,374						
641	Departme	75AM00	ASFR OFF	7571	Office of t	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$849,154	$214,510						
642	Departme	75NT00	NIH Eunic	7529	National I	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$2,783,280	$21,959						
643	Departme	75NS00	NIH Natio	7529	National I	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$9,496,947	$317,423						
644	Departme	75NC00	NIH Natio	7529	National I	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$3,272,229	$49,489						
645	Departme	75NT00	NIH Eunic	7529	National I	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$15,024	$153,976						
646	Departme	75NA00	NIH OFFIC	7529	National I	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$2,088,229	$572,522						
647	Departme	75NN00	NIH Natio	7529	National I	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$1,606,133	$252,468						
648	Departme	75NQ00	NIH Natio	7529	National I	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$2,597,213	$613,737						
649	Departme	HQ0642	WASHING	97F5	Washingt	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$4,821,699	$2,229,466						
650	National S	490304	DIVISION	4900	National S	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$306,932	[redacted]	Unspent Amount is Not Public Data					
651	National S	490801	DIVISION	4900	National S	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$449,512		Unspent Amount is Not Public Data					
652	National S	490304	DIVISION	4900	National S	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$286,047		Unspent Amount is Not Public Data					
653	National S	490404	DIV OF BE	4900	National S	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$129,691		Unspent Amount is Not Public Data					
654	National S	490304	DIVISION	4900	National S	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$47,330		Unspent Amount is Not Public Data					
655	National S	490309	DIVISION	4900	National S	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$238,514		Unspent Amount is Not Public Data					
656	National S	490304	DIVISION	4900	National S	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$47,340		Unspent Amount is Not Public Data					
657	National S	490304	DIVISION	4900	National S	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$260,810		Unspent Amount is Not Public Data					
658	ndation	490304	DIVISION OF MATHEMATICAL S			https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$43,291		Unspent Amount is Not Public Data					
659	National S	490501	DIV OF CC	4900	National S	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$253,006		Unspent Amount is Not Public Data					
660	National S	491503	TRANSLAT	4900	National S	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$66,237		Unspent Amount is Not Public Data					

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661	PROJECT (	2303486	LN53LCFJI	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE	ML98SNH	PRESIDEN	7/1/2023	6/30/2026	449535	449535	WARM PL	49	National Science Foundation	4900	National S	49
662	PROJECT (	F31CA284	JDLVAVG\	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE	JR2RTJW1	HARVARD	7/1/2024	6/30/2026	43203	24896	UNDERST	75	Department of Health and Human Se	7529	National I	75
663	PROJECT (	F31HL167	JDLVAVG\	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE	JR2RTJW1	HARVARD	4/1/2023	6/30/2026	78532	60880	INTEGRAT	75	Department of Health and Human Se	7529	National I	75
664	PROJECT (	F31CA281	JDLVAVG\	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE	JR2RTJW1	HARVARD	7/1/2023	6/30/2026	85126	66369	STRUCTUI	75	Department of Health and Human Se	7529	National I	75
665	PROJECT (	F31DC022	JDLVAVG\	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE	JR2RTJW1	HARVARD	7/1/2024	6/30/2026	36918	24896	SNIFF-COI	75	Department of Health and Human Se	7529	National I	75
666	PROJECT (	F32DK137	JDLVAVG\	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE		PRESIDEN	7/1/2023	6/30/2026	14991	14991	TRPV1 NC	75	Department of Health and Human Se	7529	National I	75
667	PROJECT (	F32NS133	JDLVAVG\	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE	JR2RTJW1	HARVARD	7/1/2023	6/30/2026	142968	92815	CIRCUIT S	75	Department of Health and Human Se	7529	National I	75
668	PROJECT (	F31CA281	JDLVAVG\	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE		PRESIDEN	7/1/2023	6/30/2026	60821	44185	METABOL	75	Department of Health and Human Se	7529	National I	75
669	PROJECT (	FA955023	LN53LCFJI	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE			7/1/2023	6/30/2026	$233,624		ANALYZIN	97	Department of Defense	5700	Departme	97
670	PROJECT (	N000142	LN53LCFJI	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE			7/1/2023	6/30/2026	$238,643		ESTIMATI	97	Department of Defense	1700	Departme	97
671	PROJECT (	R01HG00	LN53LCFJI	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE			9/16/2016	6/30/2026	3813131	1292639	HMMER A	75	Department of Health and Human Se	7529	National I	75
672	PROJECT (	R01HG01	JDLVAVG\	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE	JR2RTJW1	HARVARD	9/1/2022	6/30/2026	2078567	1277907	DEVELOPI	75	Department of Health and Human Se	7529	National I	75
673	PROJECT (	R21DA06	JDLVAVG\	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE	JR2RTJW1	HARVARD	7/15/2024	6/30/2026	254250	109188	CONTROL	75	Department of Health and Human Se	7529	National I	75
674	PROJECT (	R34NS13	LN53LCFJI	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE			8/6/2024	6/30/2026	327453	177895	VISCEROS	75	Department of Health and Human Se	7529	National I	75
675	PROJECT (	R01GM14	JDLVAVG\	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE	JR2RTJW1	HARVARD	7/1/2022	6/30/2026	1083478	779795	STRUCTUI	75	Department of Health and Human Se	7529	National I	75
676	PROJECT (	R01MH06	LN53LCFJI	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE			3/15/2000	6/30/2026	6671971	1029640	EVENT-RE	75	Department of Health and Human Se	7529	National I	75
677	PROJECT (	R01ES032	JDLVAVG\	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE	JR2RTJW1	HARVARD	9/10/2021	6/30/2026	2875471	2327078	DATA SCI	75	Department of Health and Human Se	7529	National I	75
678	PROJECT (	R21AR083	LN53LCFJI	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE			8/20/2024	6/30/2026	202312	31462	VIDEO DIS	75	Department of Health and Human Se	7529	National I	75
679	PROJECT (	R35GM14	LN53LCFJI	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE			8/18/2021	6/30/2026	1625232	1257069	THE GENE	75	Department of Health and Human Se	7529	National I	75
680	COOPERA	U19AI158	JDLVAVG\	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE	JR2RTJW1	HARVARD	9/7/2022	6/30/2026	7609272	5828688	EXPLOITIN	75	Department of Health and Human Se	7529	National I	75
681	PROJECT (	T32GM14	JDLVAVG\	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE	JR2RTJW1	HARVARD	7/1/2021	6/30/2026	1920307	1772230	PROGRAM	75	Department of Health and Human Se	7529	National I	75
682	PROJECT (	R35GM14	JDLVAVG\	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE	JR2RTJW1	HARVARD	9/1/2021	6/30/2026	1943949	1402289	ROBUST, (	75	Department of Health and Human Se	7529	National I	75
683	PROJECT (	U3030788	JDLVAVG\	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE	JR2RTJW1	HARVARD	7/1/2017	6/30/2026	2868475	1753179	NATIONA	75	Department of Health and Human Se	7526	Health Re	75
684	COOPERA	HR00112	JDLVAVG\	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE	JR2RTJW1	HARVARD	8/8/2022	6/13/2026	########	216570	THE PURP	97	Department of Defense	97AE	Defense A	97
685	PROJECT (	2047192	LN53LCFJI	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE			6/1/2021	5/31/2026	829539	461436	CAREER: E	49	National Science Foundation	4900	National Science Fou	
686	PROJECT (	2147694	LN53LCFJI	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE	ML98SNH	PRESIDEN	6/15/2022	5/31/2026	489462	304410	COLLABOI	49	National Science Foundation	4900	National S	49
687	PROJECT (	2231707	LN53LCFJI	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE	ML98SNH	PRESIDEN	6/1/2023	5/31/2026	250000	207680	COLLABOI	49	National Science Foundation	4900	National S	49
688	PROJECT (	DP1DK13(	LN53LCFJI	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE			9/17/2021	5/31/2026	3431659	2848901	CHARTINC	75	Department of Health and Human Se	7529	National I	75
689	PROJECT (	K01AI151	JDLVAVG\	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE	JR2RTJW1	HARVARD	8/13/2021	5/31/2026	444532	279524	TUBERCU	75	Department of Health and Human Se	7529	National I	75
690	PROJECT (	F31AG082	JDLVAVG\	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE	JR2RTJW1	HARVARD	6/1/2023	5/31/2026	84632	68924	SELECTIVE	75	Department of Health and Human Se	7529	National I	75
691	PROJECT (	K99DA06(	LN53LCFJI	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE			6/1/2024	5/31/2026	120015	76035	DISSECTIN	75	Department of Health and Human Se	7529	National I	75
692	PROJECT (	R01AI155	JDLVAVG\	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE	JR2RTJW1	HARVARD	6/7/2021	5/31/2026	2032111	1563667	THE PHYS	75	Department of Health and Human Se	7529	National I	75
693	PROJECT (	R01GM14	LN53LCFJI	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE			9/1/2022	5/31/2026	985344	784849	UNCOVER	75	Department of Health and Human Se	7529	National I	75
694	PROJECT (	R01GM12	JDLVAVG\	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE	JR2RTJW1	HARVARD	8/1/2017	5/31/2026	2193540	815500	HIGH-THR	75	Department of Health and Human Se	7529	National I	75
695	PROJECT (	R01HG00	JDLVAVG\	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE	JR2RTJW1	HARVARD	8/18/2012	5/31/2026	7458773	1953753	STRUCTUI	75	Department of Health and Human Se	7529	National I	75
696	PROJECT (	R01GM12	JDLVAVG\	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE		PRESIDEN	5/1/2018	5/31/2026	2678019	1215179	SENDING	75	Department of Health and Human Se	7529	National I	75
697	PROJECT (	R01GM10	LN53LCFJI	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE			7/1/2013	5/31/2026	4106477	1437632	MICROBIA	75	Department of Health and Human Se	7529	National I	75
698	PROJECT (	R01HL162	JDLVAVG\	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE	JR2RTJW1	HARVARD	6/15/2022	5/31/2026	2103324	1424624	MODERN	75	Department of Health and Human Se	7529	National I	75
699	PROJECT (	R01HD10	LN53LCFJI	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE			9/3/2021	5/31/2026	2748291	2131812	EXAMININ	75	Department of Health and Human Se	7529	National I	75
700	PROJECT (	RF1NS069	JDLVAVG\	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE	JR2RTJW1	HARVARD	7/1/2011	5/31/2026	1913551	1043406	MOLECUL	75	Department of Health and Human Se	7529	National I	75
701	PROJECT (	R35GM14	LN53LCFJI	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE			8/1/2021	5/31/2026	1640360	1392087	MOLECUL	75	Department of Health and Human Se	7529	National I	75
702	PROJECT (	R35GM13	LN53LCFJI	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE			6/1/2021	5/31/2026	3140250	2060413	BIOPHYSI(	75	Department of Health and Human Se	7529	National I	75
703	COOPERA	U24HG00	JDLVAVG\	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE	JR2RTJW1	HARVARD	8/21/2012	5/31/2026	5261630	2458024	SYSTEMA	75	Department of Health and Human Se	7529	National I	75
704	PROJECT (	80NSSC23	LN53LCFJI	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE			8/1/2024	5/10/2026	259232	149693	22-ACMA	80	National Aeronautics and Space Adm	8000	National A	80
705	PROJECT (	80NSSC23	LN53LCFJI	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE			9/27/2024	5/10/2026	245613	179020	22-ACMA	80	National Aeronautics and Space Adm	8000	National A	80
706	PROJECT (	2301246	LN53LCFJI	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE			5/1/2023	4/30/2026	216238	128694	COLLABOI	49	National Science Foundation	4900	National S	49
707	PROJECT (	2310908	LN53LCFJI	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE			5/15/2023	4/30/2026	450001	228054	BELMONT	49	National Science Foundation	4900	National Science Fou	
708	PROJECT (	DESC0025	LN53LCFJI	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE			11/1/2024	4/30/2026	200000		THE UNIV	89	Department of Energy	8900	Departme	89
709	PROJECT (	F31AR082	JDLVAVG\	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE	JR2RTJW1	HARVARD	5/1/2023	4/30/2026	78532	64868	REGULATI	75	Department of Health and Human Se	7529	National I	75
710	PROJECT (	F31AI176	JDLVAVG\	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE	JR2RTJW1	HARVARD	5/1/2023	4/30/2026	78532	64868	THE DYNA	75	Department of Health and Human Se	7529	National I	75
711	PROJECT (	R01AG06	JDLVAVG\	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE	JR2RTJW1	HARVARD	5/1/2021	4/30/2026	3852153	2522860	TARGETIN	75	Department of Health and Human Se	7529	National I	75
712	PROJECT (	R01GM14	JDLVAVG\	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE	JR2RTJW1	HARVARD	5/1/2021	4/30/2026	1659569	1244087	MECHANC	75	Department of Health and Human Se	7529	National I	75
713	PROJECT (	R01NS121	JDLVAVG\	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE	JR2RTJW1	HARVARD	5/1/2021	4/30/2026	4175491	3191306	STRUCTUI	75	Department of Health and Human Se	7529	National I	75
714	PROJECT (	R01MH12	JDLVAVG\	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE	JR2RTJW1	HARVARD	5/18/2022	4/30/2026	3735533	2150177	IMPROVIN	75	Department of Health and Human Se	7529	National I	75
715	PROJECT (	R01NS11	JDLVAVG\	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE		PRESIDEN	5/15/2022	4/30/2026	1285288	940261	NEURAL C	75	Department of Health and Human Se	7529	National I	75

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661	National S	490604	DIVISION	4900	National S	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$449,535	[redacted]	Unspent Amount is Not Public Data					
662	Departme	75NC00	NIH Natio	7529	National I	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$31,952	$11,251						
663	Departme	75NH00	NIH Natio	7529	National I	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$60,880	$17,652						
664	Departme	75NC00	NIH Natio	7529	National I	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$73,695	$11,431						
665	Departme	75N300	NIH Natio	7529	National I	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$31,952	$4,966						
666	Departme	75NK00	NIH Natio	7529	National I	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$14,991	$0						
667	Departme	75NQ00	NIH Natio	7529	National I	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$123,548	$19,420						
668	Departme	75NC00	NIH Natio	7529	National I	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$46,447	$14,374						
669	Departme	F4FGA0	F4FGA0 A	5700	Departme	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$90,916	$142,708						
670	Departme	N00014	OFFICE OF	1700	Departme	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$124,222	$114,421						
671	Departme	75N400	NIH Natio	7529	National I	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$3,087,138	$725,993						
672	Departme	75N400	NIH Natio	7529	National I	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$1,580,151	$498,416						
673	Departme	75N600	NIH Natio	7529	National I	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$161,887	$92,363						
674	Departme	75NY00	NIH Natio	7529	National I	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$270,635	$56,818						
675	Departme	75NS00	NIH Natio	7529	National I	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$938,407	$145,071						
676	Departme	75N700	NIH Natio	7529	National I	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$7,384,505	$472,437						
677	Departme	75NV00	NIH Natio	7529	National I	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$2,648,968	$226,503						
678	Departme	75NB00	NIH Natio	7529	National I	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$44,414	$157,898						
679	Departme	75NS00	NIH Natio	7529	National I	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$1,532,344	$92,888						
680	Departme	75NM00	NIH Natio	7529	National I	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$6,678,215	$931,057						
681	Departme	75NS00	NIH Natio	7529	National I	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$2,152,460	$353,002						
682	Departme	75NS00	NIH Natio	7529	National I	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$1,658,899	$285,050						
683	Departme	75RV00	HRSA HIV,	7526	Health Re	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$3,529,566	$230,555						
684	Departme	HR0011	DEF ADVA	97AE	Defense A	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$1,310,357	$2,860,145						
685	ndation	490603	DIVISION OF EARTH SCIENCES			https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$504,597	[redacted]	Unspent Amount is Not Public Data					
686	National S	490505	DIV OF CC	4900	National S	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$350,657	[redacted]	Unspent Amount is Not Public Data					
687	National S	490501	DIV OF CC	4900	National S	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$225,790	[redacted]	Unspent Amount is Not Public Data					
688	Departme	75NK00	NIH Natio	7529	National I	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$3,200,064	$231,595						
689	Departme	75NM00	NIH Natio	7529	National I	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$99,219	$0						
690	Departme	75NN00	NIH Natio	7529	National I	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$75,980	$8,652						
691	Departme	75N600	NIH Natio	7529	National I	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$103,945	$16,070						
692	Departme	75NM00	NIH Natio	7529	National I	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$1,982,550	$49,561						
693	Departme	75NS00	NIH Natio	7529	National I	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$853,301	$132,043						
694	Departme	75NS00	NIH Natio	7529	National I	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$2,120,785	$72,755						
695	Departme	75N400	NIH Natio	7529	National I	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$7,066,509	$731,264						
696	Departme	75AM00	ASFR OFF	7571	Office of t	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$2,672,596	$5,423						
697	Departme	75NS00	NIH Natio	7529	National I	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$4,091,781	$14,696						
698	Departme	75NH00	NIH Natio	7529	National I	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$1,649,410	$453,914						
699	Departme	75NT00	NIH Eunic	7529	National I	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$2,617,338	$130,953						
700	Departme	75NN00	NIH Natio	7529	National I	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$5,429,072	$591,075						
701	Departme	75NS00	NIH Natio	7529	National I	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$1,600,034	$40,326						
702	Departme	75NS00	NIH Natio	7529	National I	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$2,735,313	$404,937						
703	Departme	75N400	NIH Natio	7529	National I	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$10,592,574	$129,039						
704	National A	80NSSC	NASA SHA	8000	National A	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$259,232	$195,466		259232				
705	National A	80NSSC	NASA SHA	8000	National A	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$245,613	$184,186		245613				
706	National S	491109	DIV OF RE	4900	National S	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$133,015	[redacted]	Jnspent Amount is Not Public Data					
707	ndation	490601	INTEGRATIVE AND COLLABORA			https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$264,162	[redacted]	Jnspent Amount is Not Public Data					
708	Departme	892401	SCIENCE	8900	Departme	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$39,051	$160,949						
709	Departme	75NB00	NIH Natio	7529	National I	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$71,924	$6,608						
710	Departme	75NM00	NIH Natio	7529	National I	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$71,924	$6,608						
711	Departme	75NN00	NIH Natio	7529	National I	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$3,522,205	$726,159						
712	Departme	75NS00	NIH Natio	7529	National I	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$1,588,502	$71,067						
713	Departme	75NQ00	NIH Natio	7529	National I	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$3,802,795	$372,696						
714	Departme	75N700	NIH Natio	7529	National I	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$2,561,745	$1,173,788						
715	Departme	75NQ00	NIH Natio	7529	National I	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$234,620	$0						

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716	PROJECT (	80NSSC23	LN53LCFJI	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE			11/26/2024	4/20/2026	640736	316847	AURA SCII	80	National Aeronautics and Space Adm	8000	National A	80
717	COOPERA	1231319	LN53LCFJI	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE			10/1/2013	3/31/2026	4.4E+07	1.2E+07	CENTER F	49	National Science Foundation	4900	National Science Fou	
718	PROJECT (	2105048	LN53LCFJI	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE			4/15/2022	3/31/2026	570000	522435	TRANSPO	49	National Science Foundation	4900	National S	49
719	PROJECT (	2227964	LN53LCFJI	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE	ML98SNH	PRESIDEN	4/1/2023	3/31/2026	302900	219784	COLLABOI	49	National Science Foundation	4900	National S	49
720	PROJECT (	2427533	LN53LCFJI	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE			10/1/2024	3/31/2026	299993	87027	REDDDOT	49	National Science Foundation	4900	National S	49
721	PROJECT (	2334984	LN53LCFJI	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE			4/1/2024	3/31/2026	499957	62234	DESIGN: C	49	National Science Foundation	4900	National S	49
722	PROJECT (	F30DA057	JDLVAVG\	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE	JR2RTJW1	HARVARD	4/1/2023	3/31/2026	147989	71850	TRACKINC	75	Department of Health and Human Se	7529	National I	75
723	PROJECT (	F32NS129	JDLVAVG\	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE	JR2RTJW1	HARVARD	4/1/2023	3/31/2026	220120	105758	HIPPOCAI	75	Department of Health and Human Se	7529	National I	75
724	PROJECT (	F30DK131	JDLVAVG\	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE	JR2RTJW1	HARVARD	4/1/2022	3/31/2026	131592	101817	GATING C	75	Department of Health and Human Se	7529	National I	75
725	PROJECT (	F31AI176	JDLVAVG\	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE	JR2RTJW1	HARVARD	4/1/2023	3/31/2026	78533	73575	NK KILLIN	75	Department of Health and Human Se	7529	National I	75
726	PROJECT (	F31HL174	LN53LCFJI	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE			4/1/2024	3/31/2026	41403	36699	INVESTIG/	75	Department of Health and Human Se	7529	National I	75
727	PROJECT (	HT942524	JDLVAVG\	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE	JR2RTJW1	HARVARD	4/1/2024	3/31/2026	$235,237		SAFE TRE/	97	Department of Defense	97DH	Defense H	97
728	PROJECT (	K00CA253	LN53LCFJI	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE			4/1/2022	3/31/2026	362985	220697	CHARACT	75	Department of Health and Human Se	7529	National I	75
729	PROJECT (	P022A240	LN53LCFJI	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE			9/30/2024	3/31/2026	92216		FULBRIGH	91	Department of Education	9100	Departme	91
730	PROJECT (	K99NS133	LN53LCFJI	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE			4/1/2024	3/31/2026	130815	78282	A COMPA	75	Department of Health and Human Se	7529	National I	75
731	PROJECT (	R01EY025	JDLVAVG\	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE	JR2RTJW1	HARVARD	8/1/2015	3/31/2026	5734114	1674818	DEVELOPI	75	Department of Health and Human Se	7529	National I	75
732	PROJECT (	R33CA278	JDLVAVG\	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE	JR2RTJW1	HARVARD	4/7/2023	3/31/2026	1109965	596965	MICRO-C/	75	Department of Health and Human Se	7529	National I	75
733	PROJECT (	R01HG01	JDLVAVG\	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE	JR2RTJW1	HARVARD	6/15/2021	3/31/2026	2272401	1583433	SOLVING	75	Department of Health and Human Se	7529	National I	75
734	PROJECT (	R01GM14	LN53LCFJI	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE			6/1/2022	3/31/2026	1440812	1037783	MOLECUL	75	Department of Health and Human Se	7529	National I	75
735	PROJECT (	R01HD10	LN53LCFJI	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE			4/1/2021	3/31/2026	2734823	1938927	ENHANCII	75	Department of Health and Human Se	7529	National I	75
736	PROJECT (	R01HG01	JDLVAVG\	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE	JR2RTJW1	HARVARD	6/15/2022	3/31/2026	1737260	1205650	GRAMMA	75	Department of Health and Human Se	7529	National I	75
737	PROJECT (	RF1AG083	LN53LCFJI	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE			4/15/2023	3/31/2026	1756251	923691	WRITING	75	Department of Health and Human Se	7529	National I	75
738	PROJECT (	RM1HG01	JDLVAVG\	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE	JR2RTJW1	HARVARD	6/7/2021	3/31/2026	1E+07	7461241	CENTER F	75	Department of Health and Human Se	7529	National I	75
739	COOPERA	DEAR000:	LN53LCFJI	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE	ML98SNH	PRESIDEN	3/9/2023	3/8/2026	1889308	673308	NEW CON	89	Department of Energy	8900	Departme	89
740	PROJECT (	F32AG084	JDLVAVG\	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE	JR2RTJW1	HARVARD	9/30/2023	3/3/2026	143364	64468	THE ROLE	75	Department of Health and Human Se	7529	National I	75
741	PROJECT (	F31DK142	JDLVAVG\	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE	JR2RTJW1	HARVARD	3/1/2025	2/28/2026	36983		HIGH-RES	75	Department of Health and Human Se	7529	National I	75
742	PROJECT (	2502675	LN53LCFJI	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE			3/1/2025	2/28/2026	43000		CONFEREI	49	National Science Foundation	4900	National S	49
743	PROJECT (	F31NS130	JDLVAVG\	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE	JR2RTJW1	HARVARD	3/1/2023	2/28/2026	112678	74550	MOLECUL	75	Department of Health and Human Se	7529	National I	75
744	PROJECT (	F31GM15	JDLVAVG\	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE	JR2RTJW1	HARVARD	3/1/2024	2/28/2026	42957	39487	MECHANI	75	Department of Health and Human Se	7529	National I	75
745	PROJECT (	F31DC021	JDLVAVG\	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE	JR2RTJW1	HARVARD	3/1/2023	2/28/2026	78532	74550	MEASURII	75	Department of Health and Human Se	7529	National I	75
746	PROJECT (	FA955024	LN53LCFJI	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE			3/1/2024	2/28/2026	#######		(DURIP) Q	97	Department of Defense	5700	Departme	97
747	PROJECT (	K99DE033	JDLVAVG\	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE	JR2RTJW1	HARVARD	3/1/2024	2/28/2026	241116	91117	ROLES OF	75	Department of Health and Human Se	7529	National I	75
748	PROJECT (	R01AR070	JDLVAVG\	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE	JR2RTJW1	HARVARD	5/1/2016	2/28/2026	3675331	1231295	MUSCLE T	75	Department of Health and Human Se	7529	National I	75
749	PROJECT (	R36MH13	JDLVAVG\	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE	JR2RTJW1	HARVARD	3/15/2024	2/28/2026	45516	37533	FUNCTIOI	75	Department of Health and Human Se	7529	National I	75
750	PROJECT (	R35GM14	JDLVAVG\	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE	ML98SNH	PRESIDEN	5/1/2021	2/28/2026	865683	637301	STRUCTUI	75	Department of Health and Human Se	7529	National I	75
751	COOPERA	W911NF2	LN53LCFJI	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE			3/1/2025	2/28/2026	#######	224596	INCREMEI	97	Department of Defense	2100	Departme	97
752	PROJECT (	2337516	LN53LCFJI	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE			2/15/2024	1/31/2026	42250	10204	DOCTORA	49	National Science Foundation	4900	National S	49
753	PROJECT (	F30CA268	JDLVAVG\	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE	JR2RTJW1	HARVARD	2/1/2022	1/31/2026	212394	142348	INVESTIG/	75	Department of Health and Human Se	7529	National I	75
754	PROJECT (	F32NS129	JDLVAVG\	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE	JR2RTJW1	HARVARD	2/1/2023	1/31/2026	220120	114821	THE ROLE	75	Department of Health and Human Se	7529	National I	75
755	PROJECT (	K01AG068	JDLVAVG\	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE	JR2RTJW1	HARVARD	5/1/2021	1/31/2026	606960	375159	ALTERATI	75	Department of Health and Human Se	7529	National I	75
756	PROJECT (	F31NS132	JDLVAVG\	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE	JR2RTJW1	HARVARD	2/1/2024	1/31/2026	36856	34504	BIOLOGIC	75	Department of Health and Human Se	7529	National I	75
757	PROJECT (	R01MH11	JDLVAVG\	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE	JR2RTJW1	HARVARD	12/1/2017	1/31/2026	5758673	2027780	USE OF TE	75	Department of Health and Human Se	7529	National I	75
758	PROJECT (	R01MH12	LN53LCFJI	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE			4/1/2021	1/31/2026	3647946	2418851	TESTING F	75	Department of Health and Human Se	7529	National I	75
759	PROJECT (	R01GM14	LN53LCFJI	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE			3/15/2022	1/31/2026	1293879	928799	TRAPPINC	75	Department of Health and Human Se	7529	National I	75
760	COOPERA	W911NF2	LN53LCFJI	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE			11/1/2023	1/31/2026	$550,000		THE EFFO	97	Department of Defense	2100	Departme	97
761	PROJECT (	80NSSC23	LN53LCFJI	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE			1/15/2025	1/9/2026	376701	273939	THIS PROJ	80	National Aeronautics and Space Adm	8000	National A	80
762	PROJECT (	F31CA257	LN53LCFJI	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE			1/4/2021	1/3/2026	128942	101039	DETERMII	75	Department of Health and Human Se	7529	National I	75
763	PROJECT (	1907398	LN53LCFJI	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE			7/1/2019	12/31/2025	674805	350941	COLLABOI	49	National Science Foundation	4900	National S	49
764	PROJECT (	2121239	LN53LCFJI	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE	ML98SNH	PRESIDEN	1/1/2022	12/31/2025	114760	110915	COLLABOI	49	National Science Foundation	4900	National S	49
765	PROJECT (	2141382	LN53LCFJI	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE			1/15/2022	12/31/2025	329628	256280	COLLABOI	49	National Science Foundation	4900	National S	49
766	PROJECT (	2333466	LN53LCFJI	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE			1/1/2024	12/31/2025	299942	146979	EAGER: C(	49	National Science Foundation	4900	National S	49
767	PROJECT (	80NSSC22	LN53LCFJI	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE			2/19/2025	12/31/2025	867388	577577	21-XRP21	80	National Aeronautics and Space Adm	8000	National A	80
768	PROJECT (	F30AG074	JDLVAVG\	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE	JR2RTJW1	HARVARD	1/1/2022	12/31/2025	185737	118788	THE ROLE	75	Department of Health and Human Se	7529	National I	75
769	PROJECT (	F30AI181	JDLVAVG\	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE	JR2RTJW1	HARVARD	1/1/2024	12/31/2025	95545	43865	STRUCTUI	75	Department of Health and Human Se	7529	National I	75
770	COOPERA	80NSSC21	LN53LCFJI	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE			2/13/2025	12/31/2025	3689711	2601550	20-SCIACT	80	National Aeronautics and Space Adm	8000	National A	80

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716	National A	80NSSC	NASA SHA	8000	National A	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$855,842	$120,997		640736				
717	ndation					https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$44,000,567	[redacted]	Unspent Amount is Not Public Data					
718	National S	490307	DIVISION	4900	National S	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$601,809		Unspent Amount is Not Public Data					
719	National S	490809	DIV OF IN	4900	National S	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$258,994		Unspent Amount is Not Public Data					
720	National S	490804	EMERGIN	4900	National S	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$122,085		Unspent Amount is Not Public Data					
721	National S	490804	EMERGIN	4900	National S	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$252,473		Unspent Amount is Not Public Data					
722	Departme	75N600	NIH Natio	7529	National I	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$85,598	$62,392						
723	Departme	75NQ00	NIH Natio	7529	National I	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$142,537	$77,583						
724	Departme	75NK00	NIH Natio	7529	National I	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$132,248	$53,318						
725	Departme	75NM00	NIH Natio	7529	National I	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$78,279	$254						
726	Departme	75NH00	NIH Natio	7529	National I	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$44,827	$31,694						
727	Departme	HT0989	CONG DIF	97DH	Defense H	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$235,237	$0						
728	Departme	75NC00	NIH Natio	7529	National I	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$275,841	$87,144						
729	Departme	910034	OFFICE OF	9100	Departme	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$19,418	$72,798						
730	Departme	75NQ00	NIH Natio	7529	National I	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$130,815	$0						
731	Departme	75NW00	NIH Natio	7529	National I	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$4,431,981	$1,302,134						
732	Departme	75NC00	NIH Natio	7529	National I	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$725,134	$384,831						
733	Departme	75N400	NIH Natio	7529	National I	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$1,828,489	$443,912						
734	Departme	75NS00	NIH Natio	7529	National I	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$1,269,686	$585,396						
735	Departme	75NT00	NIH Eunic	7529	National I	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$2,486,524	$891,556						
736	Departme	75N400	NIH Natio	7529	National I	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$1,498,708	$238,552						
737	Departme	75NN00	NIH Natio	7529	National I	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$1,120,815	$635,436						
738	Departme	75N400	NIH Natio	7529	National I	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$8,777,077	$1,431,150						
739	Departme	897002	ADVANCE	8900	Departme	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$1,112,972	$776,336						
740	Departme	75NN00	NIH Natio	7529	National I	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$80,355	$63,009						
741	Departme	75NK00	NIH Natio	7529	National I	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$8,920	$28,063						
742	National S	490304	DIVISION	4900	National S	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$26,820	[redacted]	Unspent Amount is Not Public Data					
743	Departme	75NQ00	NIH Natio	7529	National I	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$85,722	$26,956						
744	Departme	75NS00	NIH Natio	7529	National I	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$41,839	$1,118						
745	Departme	75N300	NIH Natio	7529	National I	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$76,902	$1,630						
746	Departme	F4FGA0	F4FGA0 A	5700	Departme	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$1,594,014	$204,132						
747	Departme	75NP00	NIH Natio	7529	National I	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$122,879	$118,237						
748	Departme	75NB00	NIH Natio	7529	National I	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$3,446,303	$229,028						
749	Departme	75N700	NIH Natio	7529	National I	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$45,516	$0						
750	Departme	75NS00	NIH Natio	7529	National I	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$865,683	$0						
751	Departme	W36QYT	W262 PR(	2100	Departme	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$4,425,043	$1,069,790						
752	National S	490404	DIV OF BE	4900	National S	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$32,375	[redacted]	Unspent Amount is Not Public Data					
753	Departme	75NC00	NIH Natio	7529	National I	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$186,663	$25,731						
754	Departme	75NQ00	NIH Natio	7529	National I	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$150,642	$69,478						
755	Departme	75NN00	NIH Natio	7529	National I	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$473,920	$133,040						
756	Departme	75NQ00	NIH Natio	7529	National I	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$34,504	$0						
757	Departme	75N700	NIH Natio	7529	National I	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$4,992,321	$830,669						
758	Departme	75N700	NIH Natio	7529	National I	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$2,934,929	$1,360,969						
759	Departme	75NS00	NIH Natio	7529	National I	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$1,293,879	$0						
760	Departme	W36QYT	W262 PR(	2100	Departme	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$ -	$550,000						
761	National A	80NSSC	NASA SHA	8000	National A	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$376,701	$0		376701				
762	Departme	75NC00	NIH Natio	7529	National I	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$128,942	$0						
763	National S	491109	DIV OF RE	4900	National S	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$601,863	[redacted]	Unspent Amount is Not Public Data					
764	National S	490404	DIV OF BE	4900	National S	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$113,890		Unspent Amount is Not Public Data					
765	National S	490603	DIVISION	4900	National S	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$286,876		Unspent Amount is Not Public Data					
766	National S	490301	DIVISION	4900	National S	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$219,142		Unspent Amount is Not Public Data					
767	National A	80NSSC	NASA SHA	8000	National A	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$867,388	$0		867388				
768	Departme	75NN00	NIH Natio	7529	National I	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$164,546	$21,191						
769	Departme	75NM00	NIH Natio	7529	National I	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$57,695	$37,850						
770	National A	80NSSC	NASA SHA	8000	National A	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$3,689,711	$10,200		3689711				

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771	PROJECT (	80NSSC19	LN53LCFJI	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE			12/10/2024	12/31/2025	7680199	6977197	THERE IS /	80	National Aeronautics and Space Adm	8000	National /	80
772	PROJECT (	80NSSC22	LN53LCFJI	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE			12/3/2024	12/31/2025	371488	277363	REASSESS	80	National Aeronautics and Space Adm	8000	National /	80
773	PROJECT (	F31NS13(	JDLVAVG\	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE		PRESIDEN	2/1/2023	12/31/2025	75882	74550	VISUOMO	75	Department of Health and Human Se	7529	National I	75
774	PROJECT (	F31HD11	JDLVAVG\	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE	JR2RTJW1	HARVARD	1/1/2023	12/31/2025	120010	88903	ILLUMINA	75	Department of Health and Human Se	7529	National I	75
775	PROJECT (	F30AI174	JDLVAVG\	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE	JR2RTJW1	HARVARD	1/1/2023	12/31/2025	147825	81281	FIBROBLA	75	Department of Health and Human Se	7529	National I	75
776	PROJECT (	F31NS127	JDLVAVG\	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE	JR2RTJW1	HARVARD	1/1/2023	12/31/2025	109288	78386	DISSECTIN	75	Department of Health and Human Se	7529	National I	75
777	PROJECT (	R01AG06(	LN53LCFJI	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE			4/15/2021	12/31/2025	3463929	2260899	EFFECTS C	75	Department of Health and Human Se	7529	National I	75
778	PROJECT (	N0001425	LN53LCFJI	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE			1/1/2025	12/31/2025	$590,452		DURIP: EN	97	Department of Defense	1700	Departme	97
779	PROJECT (	HAA2903	LN53LCFJI	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE			1/1/2023	12/31/2025	349143	58188	MAPPING	418	National Endowment for the Humani	4340	National E	418
780	PROJECT (	R24OD03	JDLVAVG\	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE	JR2RTJW1	HARVARD	4/1/2022	12/31/2025	2104787	1343518	RESOURC	75	Department of Health and Human Se	7529	National I	75
781	PROJECT (	R01GM07	JDLVAVG\	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE	JR2RTJW1	HARVARD	2/1/2005	12/31/2025	5963786	1063618	EPIGENET	75	Department of Health and Human Se	7529	National I	75
782	PROJECT (	R01MH12	LN53LCFJI	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE			3/7/2022	12/31/2025	3258678	1413805	CHARACT	75	Department of Health and Human Se	7529	National I	75
783	PROJECT (	R35GM13	JDLVAVG\	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE	JR2RTJW1	HARVARD	1/1/2021	12/31/2025	3780614	2763333	DYNAMIC	75	Department of Health and Human Se	7529	National I	75
784	PROJECT (	FA875022	LN53LCFJI	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE			9/20/2022	12/19/2025	$441,000		DIAL ACCE	97	Department of Defense	5700	Departme	97
785	PROJECT (	F32MH13	JDLVAVG\	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE	JR2RTJW1	HARVARD	8/1/2022	12/18/2025	221430	114429	DISSECTIN	75	Department of Health and Human Se	7529	National I	75
786	PROJECT (	FA955023	LN53LCFJI	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE			12/15/2022	12/14/2025	$675,915		CORRELA	97	Department of Defense	5700	Departme	97
787	PROJECT (	1856215	LN53LCFJI	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE			6/15/2019	11/30/2025	201124	167785	BELMONT	49	National Science Foundation	4900	National Science Fou	
788	PROJECT (	2333904	LN53LCFJI	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE			12/1/2023	11/30/2025	300000	116116	EAGER: RI	49	National Science Foundation	4900	National S	49
789	PROJECT (	2408960	LN53LCFJI	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE			6/1/2024	11/30/2025	49500	45849	CONFEREI	49	National Science Foundation	4900	National S	49
790	PROJECT (	F30CA275	JDLVAVG\	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE	JR2RTJW1	HARVARD	8/1/2022	11/30/2025	134064	86760	TARGETIN	75	Department of Health and Human Se	7529	National I	75
791	PROJECT (	DEFG020:	LN53LCFJI	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE			9/1/2002	11/30/2025	4.4E+07	1.6E+07	MICROBIA	89	Department of Energy	8900	Departme	89
792	PROJECT (	F30AG07	JDLVAVG\	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE	JR2RTJW1	HARVARD	7/1/2022	11/30/2025	145682	133922	BEHAVIOI	75	Department of Health and Human Se	7529	National I	75
793	PROJECT (	F31HL170	JDLVAVG\	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE	JR2RTJW1	HARVARD	9/30/2023	11/30/2025	78556	44926	REGULATI	75	Department of Health and Human Se	7529	National I	75
794	PROJECT (	K99EY035	JDLVAVG\	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE	JR2RTJW1	HARVARD	9/30/2023	11/30/2025	248556	100104	PROHIBIT	75	Department of Health and Human Se	7529	National I	75
795	PROJECT (	R01CA255	JDLVAVG\	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE	JR2RTJW1	HARVARD	12/15/2020	11/30/2025	4041823	2428178	THE IMPA	75	Department of Health and Human Se	7529	National I	75
796	PROJECT (	R21CA287	JDLVAVG\	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE	JR2RTJW1	HARVARD	12/4/2023	11/30/2025	416018	275182	TETRAAC\	75	Department of Health and Human Se	7529	National I	75
797	PROJECT (	R01DK127	JDLVAVG\	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE	JR2RTJW1	HARVARD	1/1/2021	11/30/2025	2206521	1376270	NOCICEPT	75	Department of Health and Human Se	7529	National I	75
798	PROJECT (	R01MD01	JDLVAVG\	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE	JR2RTJW1	HARVARD	1/7/2020	11/30/2025	1727502	758653	WORK RE	75	Department of Health and Human Se	7529	National I	75
799	PROJECT (	R36MH13	LN53LCFJI	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE			12/1/2023	11/30/2025	91032	32980	VIOLENCE	75	Department of Health and Human Se	7529	National I	75
800	COOPERA	W911NF1	LN53LCFJI	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE			6/1/2019	11/30/2025	#######	126062	NO COST	97	Department of Defense	2100	Departme	97
801	PROJECT (	R35NS097	JDLVAVG\	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE	JR2RTJW1	HARVARD	12/1/2016	11/30/2025	7518853	2883483	MECHANI	75	Department of Health and Human Se	7529	National I	75
802	PROJECT (	RF1AG08(	JDLVAVG\	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE		PRESIDEN	12/15/2022	11/30/2025	2359602	1770368	DISSECTIN	75	Department of Health and Human Se	7529	National I	75
803	PROJECT (	W911NF2	LN53LCFJI	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE			6/1/2020	11/30/2025	#######	191199	TOWARD	97	Department of Defense	2100	Departme	97
804	PROJECT (	2129576	LN53LCFJI	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE			11/15/2021	10/31/2025	334909	310677	EXPLAINI	49	National Science Foundation	4900	National S	49
805	PROJECT (	2228359	LN53LCFJI	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE	ML98SNH	PRESIDEN	11/1/2022	10/31/2025	718313	321264	COLLABOI	49	National Science Foundation	4900	National S	49
806	PROJECT (	80NSSC22	LN53LCFJI	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE			6/3/2024	10/31/2025	36110	36110	SIMULATI	80	National Aeronautics and Space Adm	8000	National /	80
807	PROJECT (	F30CA26(	JDLVAVG\	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE		PRESIDEN	6/1/2021	10/31/2025	155482	133972	ROLE OF /	75	Department of Health and Human Se	7529	National I	75
808	PROJECT (	R01AI155	JDLVAVG\	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE	JR2RTJW1	HARVARD	11/17/2020	10/31/2025	3167054	2184202	INTRAVAS	75	Department of Health and Human Se	7529	National I	75
809	PROJECT (	R01MH12	JDLVAVG\	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE	JR2RTJW1	HARVARD	1/1/2020	10/31/2025	3094736	1682465	LEVERAGI	75	Department of Health and Human Se	7529	National I	75
810	PROJECT (	R03AI180	JDLVAVG\	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE	JR2RTJW1	HARVARD	12/26/2023	10/31/2025	169500	34920	UNDERST	75	Department of Health and Human Se	7529	National I	75
811	PROJECT (	1841403	LN53LCFJI	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE			3/15/2019	9/30/2025	596000	357123	PHASE II I,	49	National Science Foundation	4900	National Science Fou	
812	PROJECT (	2106887	LN53LCFJI	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE	ML98SNH	PRESIDEN	10/1/2021	9/30/2025	0		U.S.-IRELA	49	National Science Foundation	4900	National S	49
813	PROJECT (	2119351	LN53LCFJI	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE	ML98SNH	PRESIDEN	10/1/2021	9/30/2025	457194	438091	COLLABOI	49	National Science Foundation	4900	National S	49
814	PROJECT (	2107391	LN53LCFJI	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE	ML98SNH	PRESIDEN	10/1/2021	9/30/2025	1200000	1130859	HCC: MED	49	National Science Foundation	4900	National S	49
815	PROJECT (	2129580	LN53LCFJI	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE			10/1/2021	9/30/2025	161588	161072	REVITALIZ	49	National Science Foundation	4900	National Science Fou	
816	PROJECT (	2123965	LN53LCFJI	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE	ML98SNH	PRESIDEN	10/1/2021	9/30/2025	350000	213734	COLLABOI	49	National Science Foundation	4900	National S	49
817	PROJECT (	2217680	LN53LCFJI	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE	ML98SNH	PRESIDEN	10/1/2022	9/30/2025	249681	208351	COLLABOI	49	National Science Foundation	4900	National S	49
818	PROJECT (	2308272	LN53LCFJI	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE	ML98SNH	PRESIDEN	10/1/2023	9/30/2025	333652	162628	POSTDOC	49	National Science Foundation	4900	National S	49
819	OTHER RE	23CS1124	LN53LCFJI	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE			9/15/2023	9/30/2025	83805		ENGAGIN	12	Department of Agriculture	12C2	Forest Ser	12
820	PROJECT (	2451960	LN53LCFJI	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE			1/1/2025	9/30/2025	100000		TRAVEL G	49	National Science Foundation	4900	National S	49
821	PROJECT (	HDTRA12	LN53LCFJI	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE			4/12/2021	9/30/2025	#######	980001	FUNDAMI	97	Department of Defense	9761	Defense T	97
822	PROJECT (	90YR0171	LN53LCFJI	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE			9/30/2023	9/29/2025	50000	22909	AN ECOLC	75	Department of Health and Human Se	7590	Administr	75
823	PROJECT (	D23AP00:	LN53LCFJI	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE			9/30/2023	9/29/2025	500000	299332	FUNDING	14	Department of the Interior	1406	Departme	14
824	PROJECT (	F31HD11	JDLVAVG\	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE		PRESIDEN	9/30/2023	9/29/2025	26590	26220	NEUROCC	75	Department of Health and Human Se	7529	National I	75
825	PROJECT (	F31AI172	JDLVAVG\	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE		PRESIDEN	9/30/2022	9/29/2025	66964	59644	CHARACT	75	Department of Health and Human Se	7529	National I	75

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771	National A	80NSSC	NASA SHA	8000	National A	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$7,680,199	$0		7680199				
772	National A	80NSSC	NASA SHA	8000	National A	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$371,488	$0		371488				
773	Departme	75NQ00	NIH Natio	7529	National I	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$74,550	$1,332						
774	Departme	75NT00	NIH Eunic	7529	National I	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$95,959	$24,051						
775	Departme	75NM00	NIH Natio	7529	National I	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$92,653	$55,172						
776	Departme	75NQ00	NIH Natio	7529	National I	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$85,442	$23,846						
777	Departme	75NN00	NIH Natio	7529	National I	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$2,797,543	$666,386						
778	Departme	N00014	OFFICE OF	1700	Departme	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$ -	$590,452						
779	National E	433101	NATIONA	4340	National E	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$306,151	$42,992	Terminated					
780	Departme	75NA00	NIH OFFIC	7529	National I	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$1,759,485	$345,302						
781	Departme	75NS00	NIH Natio	7529	National I	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$6,620,986	$251,835						
782	Departme	75N700	NIH Natio	7529	National I	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$2,017,763	$1,240,915						
783	Departme	75NS00	NIH Natio	7529	National I	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$3,395,203	$385,411						
784	Departme	F4HBFT	F4HBFT A	5700	Departme	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$441,000	$0						
785	Departme	75N700	NIH Natio	7529	National I	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$156,558	$64,872						
786	Departme	F4FGA0	F4FGA0 A	5700	Departme	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$358,569	$317,346						
787	ndation	490601	INTEGRATIVE AND COLLABORA			https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$193,95	[redacted]	Unspent Amount is Not Public Data					
788	National S	490301	DIVISION	4900	National S	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$163,58		Unspent Amount is Not Public Data					
789	National S	490304	DIVISION	4900	National S	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$45,84		Unspent Amount is Not Public Data					
790	Departme	75NC00	NIH Natio	7529	National I	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$93,816	$40,248						
791	Departme	892401	SCIENCE	8900	Departme	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$66,625,313	$1,192,921	Ceiling: $67,818,234.00					
792	Departme	75NN00	NIH Natio	7529	National I	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$140,978	$4,704						
793	Departme	75NH00	NIH Natio	7529	National I	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$54,244	$24,312						
794	Departme	75NW00	NIH Natio	7529	National I	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$140,867	$107,689						
795	Departme	75NC00	NIH Natio	7529	National I	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$3,345,357	$696,466						
796	Departme	75NC00	NIH Natio	7529	National I	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$360,913	$55,105						
797	Departme	75NK00	NIH Natio	7529	National I	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$1,945,205	$261,316						
798	Departme	75NE00	NIH Natio	7529	National I	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$1,187,044	$540,458						
799	Departme	75N700	NIH Natio	7529	National I	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$45,770	$45,262						
800	Departme	W36QYT	W262 PR(	2100	Departme	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$1,232,374	$142,626						
801	Departme	75NQ00	NIH Natio	7529	National I	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$7,390,271	$128,582						
802	Departme	75NN00	NIH Natio	7529	National I	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$2,113,819	$245,783						
803	Departme	W36QYT	W262 PR(	2100	Departme	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$5,708,410	$541,590						
804	National S	490602	DIVISION	4900	National S	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$313,905	[redacted]	Unspent Amount is Not Public Data					
805	National S	490602	DIVISION	4900	National S	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$354,045		Unspent Amount is Not Public Data					
806	National A	80NSSC	NASA SHA	8000	National A	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$36,110	$0	Not Found in NASA System	36110				
807	Departme	75NC00	NIH Natio	7529	National I	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$154,443	$0						
808	Departme	75NM00	NIH Natio	7529	National I	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$2,872,081	$294,973						
809	Departme	75N700	NIH Natio	7529	National I	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$2,770,396	$324,340						
810	Departme	75NM00	NIH Natio	7529	National I	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$65,033	$104,467						
811	ndation	490510	CISE INFORMATION TECH RESE			https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$593,571	[redacted]	Unspent Amount is Not Public Data					
812	National S	490505	DIV OF CC	4900	National S	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$0		Unspent Amount is Not Public Data					
813	National S	490307	DIVISION	4900	National S	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$427,762		Unspent Amount is Not Public Data					
814	National S	490502	DIV OF IN	4900	National S	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$1,172,325		Unspent Amount is Not Public Data					
815	ndation	490808	DIV OF BIOLOGICAL INFRASTRU			https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$161,588		Unspent Amount is Not Public Data					
816	National S	490502	DIV OF IN	4900	National S	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$237,467		Unspent Amount is Not Public Data					
817	National S	490501	DIV OF CC	4900	National S	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$232,317		Unspent Amount is Not Public Data					
818	National S	490604	DIVISION	4900	National S	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$208,574		Unspent Amount is Not Public Data					
819	Departme	123604	NORTHER	12C2	Forest Ser	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	7,894	75,911	[redacted] DPP					
820	National S	490701	DIVISION	4900	National S	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$45,161	[redacted]	Unspent Amount is Not Public Data					
821	Departme	HDTRA1	DEFENSE	9761	Defense T	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$1,649,535	$350,465						
822	Departme	75KM00	ACF OFFIC	7590	Administr	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$22,910	$27,090						
823	Departme	140D04	IBC ACQ S	1406	Departme	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$500,000.00	$0						
824	Departme	75NT00	NIH Eunic	7529	National I	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$26,220	$0						
825	Departme	75NM00	NIH Natio	7529	National I	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$66,716	$0						

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826	PROJECT (	F30MH13	JDLVAVG\	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE	JR2RTJW1	HARVARD	9/30/2022	9/29/2025	145603	96897	BIOCHEM	75	Department of Health and Human Se	7529	National I	75
827	PROJECT (	RF1MH12	JDLVAVG\	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE	JR2RTJW1	HARVARD	9/17/2021	9/16/2025	1889320	1223579	COMPREH	75	Department of Health and Human Se	7529	National I	75
828	PROJECT (	FA955021	LN53LCFJI	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE			9/15/2021	9/14/2025	#######		TUNNELIN	97	Department of Defense	5700	Departme	97
829	PROJECT (	HQ00342	LN53LCFJI	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE	ML98SNH	PRESIDEN	9/15/2021	9/14/2025	#######		NATIONA	97	Department of Defense	97F5	Washingt	97
830	PROJECT (	RF1DA05(	JDLVAVG\	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE	JR2RTJW1	HARVARD	9/15/2022	9/14/2025	1198900	748116	NEURAL N	75	Department of Health and Human Se	7529	National I	75
831	PROJECT (	W81XWH	JDLVAVG\	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE	ML98SNH	PRESIDEN	9/15/2021	9/14/2025	#######		PIEZO-1-N	97	Department of Defense	2100	Departme	97
832	PROJECT (	1839870	LN53LCFJI	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE			9/15/2018	8/31/2025	450000	110717	FW-HTF: (	49	National Science Foundation	4900	National Science Fou	
833	PROJECT (	2023528	LN53LCFJI	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE			9/1/2020	8/31/2025	420437	267357	FOUNDAT	49	National Science Foundation	4900	National S	49
834	PROJECT (	2019RYBX	LN53LCFJI	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE			2/1/2019	8/31/2025	1129918	840169	THIS PROI	15	Department of Justice	1550	Office of J	15
835	COOPERA	2025158	LN53LCFJI	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE			9/1/2020	8/31/2025	5000000	3788850	NNCI: CEN	49	National Science Foundation	4900	National Science Fou	
836	PROJECT (	2036359	LN53LCFJI	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE	ML98SNH	PRESIDEN	9/1/2020	8/31/2025	407694	167869	FMRG: AR	49	National Science Foundation	4900	National Science Fou	
837	PROJECT (	2127882	LN53LCFJI	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE			9/1/2021	8/31/2025	2000000	1642371	COLLABOI	49	National Science Foundation	4900	National S	49
838	PROJECT (	1942438	LN53LCFJI	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE			9/1/2020	8/31/2025	703757	436657	CAREER: T	49	National Science Foundation	4900	National S	49
839	PROJECT (	2012023	LN53LCFJI	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE	ML98SNH	PRESIDEN	9/1/2020	8/31/2025	2076625	980901	PHYSICS A	49	National Science Foundation	4900	National S	49
840	PROJECT (	2013874	LN53LCFJI	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE			9/1/2020	8/31/2025	929916	629739	SPINDLE S	49	National Science Foundation	4900	National S	49
841	PROJECT (	2137723	LN53LCFJI	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE	ML98SNH	PRESIDEN	9/15/2021	8/31/2025	2500000	1819207	QUIC-TAC	49	National Science Foundation	4900	National S	49
842	PROJECT (	2207972	LN53LCFJI	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE	ML98SNH	PRESIDEN	9/1/2022	8/31/2025	300000	205396	NSF BSF: I	49	National Science Foundation	4900	National S	49
843	PROJECT (	2150290	LN53LCFJI	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE	ML98SNH	PRESIDEN	9/1/2022	8/31/2025	523416	215026	REU SITE:	49	National Science Foundation	4900	National S	49
844	PROJECT (	2100961	LN53LCFJI	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE	ML98SNH	PRESIDEN	9/1/2021	8/31/2025	1199099	999369	COLLABOI	49	National Science Foundation	4900	National S	49
845	PROJECT (	2101884	LN53LCFJI	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE			9/15/2021	8/31/2025	1632344	766748	DIGITIZAT	49	National Science Foundation	4900	National S	49
846	PROJECT (	2218427	LN53LCFJI	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE	ML98SNH	PRESIDEN	9/1/2022	8/31/2025	633223	350705	IDENTIFYI	49	National Science Foundation	4900	National S	49
847	PROJECT (	2206110	LN53LCFJI	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE	ML98SNH	PRESIDEN	9/1/2022	8/31/2025	468687	203624	WOU-MM	49	National Science Foundation	4900	National S	49
848	PROJECT (	2219069	LN53LCFJI	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE	ML98SNH	PRESIDEN	9/1/2022	8/31/2025	299883	268350	NSFGEO-N	49	National Science Foundation	4900	National S	49
849	PROJECT (	2217722	LN53LCFJI	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE	ML98SNH	PRESIDEN	9/1/2022	8/31/2025	250000	236103	COLLABOI	49	National Science Foundation	4900	National S	49
850	PROJECT (	2209623	LN53LCFJI	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE	ML98SNH	PRESIDEN	9/1/2022	8/31/2025	402107	353750	COLLABOI	49	National Science Foundation	4900	National S	49
851	PROJECT (	2327447	LN53LCFJI	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE	ML98SNH	PRESIDEN	9/15/2023	8/31/2025	338170	193393	WHEN TE	49	National Science Foundation	4900	National S	49
852	PROJECT (	2426448	LN53LCFJI	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE			10/1/2023	8/31/2025	398195	72871	CAREER: I	49	National Science Foundation	4900	National Science Fou	
853	PROJECT (	DP2AI175	JDLVAVG\	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE		PRESIDEN	9/14/2022	8/31/2025	1525500	1307620	CONSTRU	75	Department of Health and Human Se	7529	National I	75
854	PROJECT (	DP5OD02	LN53LCFJI	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE			9/10/2020	8/31/2025	2112500	1398227	THE MOL(	75	Department of Health and Human Se	7529	National I	75
855	PROJECT (	DP2MH13	LN53LCFJI	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE			9/1/2022	8/31/2025	1521000	1502853	THE OPTI(	75	Department of Health and Human Se	7529	National I	75
856	PROJECT (	DESC0024	LN53LCFJI	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE			9/1/2023	8/31/2025	660000	305839	AN ULTRA	89	Department of Energy	8900	Departme	89
857	PROJECT (	DESC0024	LN53LCFJI	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE			9/1/2023	8/31/2025	1000000		CROSS-SC	89	Department of Energy	8900	Departme	89
858	PROJECT (	7200AA22	LN53LCFJI	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE			9/1/2022	8/31/2025	871178	400000	BUILDING	72	Agency for International Developmer	7200	Agency fo	72
859	PROJECT (	DESC0021	LN53LCFJI	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE			9/1/2020	8/31/2025	750000	673085	CONVERT	89	Department of Energy	8900	Departme	89
860	PROJECT (	F31HD108	LN53LCFJI	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE			9/1/2022	8/31/2025	98325	78333	HUMAN II	75	Department of Health and Human Se	7529	National I	75
861	PROJECT (	F31NS129	JDLVAVG\	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE	JR2RTJW1	HARVARD	9/1/2022	8/31/2025	112808	94115	ANATOMI	75	Department of Health and Human Se	7529	National I	75
862	PROJECT (	DESC0022	LN53LCFJI	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE			9/1/2021	8/31/2025	2548807	2476590	MACHINE	89	Department of Energy	8900	Departme	89
863	PROJECT (	F30AI157	JDLVAVG\	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE	JR2RTJW1	HARVARD	9/1/2021	8/31/2025	177602	152873	CHARACT	75	Department of Health and Human Se	7529	National I	75
864	PROJECT (	F31MH13	LN53LCFJI	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE			9/1/2023	8/31/2025	68998	51851	INTEROCE	75	Department of Health and Human Se	7529	National I	75
865	PROJECT (	FA955022	LN53LCFJI	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE			9/1/2022	8/31/2025	$663,231		CELLULAR	97	Department of Defense	5700	Departme	97
866	PROJECT (	F30CA264	JDLVAVG\	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE	JR2RTJW1	HARVARD	4/1/2022	8/31/2025	145523	116922	RACIAL DI	75	Department of Health and Human Se	7529	National I	75
867	PROJECT (	DP2HD11	LN53LCFJI	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE			9/20/2022	8/31/2025	1513271	1190587	LIFE HIST(	75	Department of Health and Human Se	7529	National I	75
868	PROJECT (	G24AP00(	LN53LCFJI	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE			9/1/2024	8/31/2025	36315		PROJECT	14	Department of the Interior	1434	U.S. Geol(	14
869	PROJECT (	F31NS134	JDLVAVG\	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE	JR2RTJW1	HARVARD	9/1/2024	8/31/2025	53974	18476	NON-CLAS	75	Department of Health and Human Se	7529	National I	75
870	PROJECT (	FA955020	LN53LCFJI	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE			9/1/2020	8/31/2025	#######		(MURI) NI	97	Department of Defense	5700	Departme	97
871	PROJECT (	HAA2877	LN53LCFJI	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE	ML98SNH	PRESIDEN	9/1/2022	8/31/2025	199688	17706	METAPOL	418	National Endowment for the Humani	4340	National E	418
872	PROJECT (	F32AG07!	LN53LCFJI	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE			9/1/2022	8/31/2025	218266	151291	UNDERST	75	Department of Health and Human Se	7529	National I	75
873	PROJECT (	F32GM14	LN53LCFJI	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE			9/1/2022	8/31/2025	216430	141280	MULTI-NU	75	Department of Health and Human Se	7529	National I	75
874	PROJECT (	HT942523	JDLVAVG\	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE	ML98SNH	PRESIDEN	9/1/2023	8/31/2025	$716,069		PANCREA	97	Department of Defense	97DH	Defense H	97
875	PROJECT (	K99NS12!	JDLVAVG\	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE	JR2RTJW1	HARVARD	9/21/2022	8/31/2025	268433	219786	INVESTIG/	75	Department of Health and Human Se	7529	National I	75
876	PROJECT (	K99EB035	JDLVAVG\	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE	JR2RTJW1	HARVARD	9/22/2023	8/31/2025	237214	130141	DEVELOPI	75	Department of Health and Human Se	7529	National I	75
877	PROJECT (	P01AI056	JDLVAVG\	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE	JR2RTJW1	HARVARD	9/30/2003	8/31/2025	3.6E+07	7217475	T CELL CO	75	Department of Health and Human Se	7529	National I	75
878	PROJECT (	R01AI155	JDLVAVG\	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE	JR2RTJW1	HARVARD	9/22/2020	8/31/2025	3724992	2041607	INVESTIG/	75	Department of Health and Human Se	7529	National I	75
879	PROJECT (	R01NS117	LN53LCFJI	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE			9/1/2020	8/31/2025	591500	783883	IDENTIFYI	75	Department of Health and Human Se	7529	National I	75
880	PROJECT (	R01HD10(	JDLVAVG\	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE	JR2RTJW1	HARVARD	9/4/2020	8/31/2025	3243980	2082966	DOES NEU	75	Department of Health and Human Se	7529	National I	75

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826	Departme	75N700	NIH Natio	7529	National I	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$103,953	$41,650						
827	Departme	75N700	NIH Natio	7529	National I	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$1,462,829	$426,491						
828	Departme	F4FGA0	F4FGA0 A	5700	Departme	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$4,880,594	$1,119,406						
829	Departme	HQ0287	OUSD(AT	97AD	Immediat	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$2,850,152	$3,149,255						
830	Departme	75N600	NIH Natio	7529	National I	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$710,315	$278,035						
831	Departme	W91ZSQ	W03J HQ	2100	Departme	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$1,500,834	$892,866						
832	ndation	490703	DIV OF CIVIL, MECHAN MANUF			https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$448,950	[redacted]	Unspent Amount is Not Public Data					
833	National S	490304	DIVISION	4900	National S	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$294,086		Unspent Amount is Not Public Data					
834	Departme	15PNJD	OJP NATIC	1550	Office of J	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$1,129,918	$0	[redacted] DPP/ACP					
835	ndation	490702	DIVISION OF CHEMICAL BIOEN			https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$4,515,977	[redacted]	Unspent Amount is Not Public Data					
836	ndation	490703	DIV OF CIVIL, MECHAN MANUF			https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$407,693		Unspent Amount is Not Public Data					
837	National S	490309	DIVISION	4900	National S	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$1,753,339		Unspent Amount is Not Public Data					
838	National S	490404	DIV OF BE	4900	National S	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$613,243		Unspent Amount is Not Public Data					
839	National S	490306	MPS MUL	4900	National S	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$2,052,995		Unspent Amount is Not Public Data					
840	National S	490301	DIVISION	4900	National S	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$929,323		Unspent Amount is Not Public Data					
841	National S	490306	MPS MUL	4900	National S	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$2,025,415		Unspent Amount is Not Public Data					
842	National S	490301	DIVISION	4900	National S	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$233,462		Unspent Amount is Not Public Data					
843	National S	490602	DIVISION	4900	National S	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$223,505		Unspent Amount is Not Public Data					
844	National S	491109	DIV OF RE	4900	National S	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$1,069,196		Unspent Amount is Not Public Data					
845	National S	490808	DIV OF BI	4900	National S	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$695,338		Unspent Amount is Not Public Data					
846	National S	490404	DIV OF BE	4900	National S	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$382,473		Unspent Amount is Not Public Data					
847	National S	490306	MPS MUL	4900	National S	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$223,624		Unspent Amount is Not Public Data					
848	National S	490603	DIVISION	4900	National S	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$293,772		Unspent Amount is Not Public Data					
849	National S	490501	DIV OF CC	4900	National S	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$248,851		Unspent Amount is Not Public Data					
850	National S	490302	DIVISION	4900	National S	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$381,048		Unspent Amount is Not Public Data					
851	National S	491101	DIVISION	4900	National S	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$245,445		Unspent Amount is Not Public Data					
852	ndation	490603	DIVISION OF EARTH SCIENCES			https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$82,087		Unspent Amount is Not Public Data					
853	Departme	75NA00	NIH OFFIC	7529	National I	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$1,475,139	$50,361						
854	Departme	75NP00	NIH Natio	7529	National I	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$1,872,385	$240,115						
855	Departme	75N700	NIH Natio	7529	National I	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$1,521,000	$0						
856	Departme	892401	SCIENCE	8900	Departme	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$394,596	$265,404						
857	Departme	892401	SCIENCE	8900	Departme	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$389,598	$610,402						
858	Agency fo	7200AA	USAID M/	7200	Agency fo	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$400,000.00	$471,178.00	Already Terminated					
859	Departme	892401	SCIENCE	8900	Departme	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$708,048	$41,952						
860	Departme	75NT00	NIH Eunic	7529	National I	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$78,486	$19,839						
861	Departme	75NQ00	NIH Natio	7529	National I	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$101,571	$11,237						
862	Departme	892401	SCIENCE	8900	Departme	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$2,493,080	$55,727						
863	Departme	75NM00	NIH Natio	7529	National I	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$168,194	$9,408						
864	Departme	75N700	NIH Natio	7529	National I	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$58,907	$10,091						
865	Departme	F4FGA0	F4FGA0 A	5700	Departme	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$597,789	$65,442						
866	Departme	75NC00	NIH Natio	7529	National I	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$145,523	$0						
867	Departme	75NA00	NIH OFFIC	7529	National I	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$1,405,204	$108,067						
868	Departme	140G01	OFC OF AC	1434	U.S. Geol	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$13,458.06	$22,856.94						
869	Departme	75NQ00	NIH Natio	7529	National I	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$32,248	$21,726						
870	Departme	F4FGA0	F4FGA0 A	5700	Departme	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$6,110,248	$1,389,752						
871	National E	433101	NATIONA	4340	National E	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$128,474	$71,214	Terminated					
872	Departme	75NN00	NIH Natio	7529	National I	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$184,662	$33,604						
873	Departme	75NS00	NIH Natio	7529	National I	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$182,215	$34,215						
874	Departme	HT0989	CONG DIR	97DH	Defense H	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$568,492	$147,577						
875	Departme	75NQ00	NIH Natio	7529	National I	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$256,498	$11,935						
876	Departme	75N800	NIH Natio	7529	National I	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$175,714	$61,500						
877	Departme	75NM00	NIH Natio	7529	National I	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$42,272,418	$218,498						
878	Departme	75NM00	NIH Natio	7529	National I	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$2,903,014	$821,978						
879	Departme	75NN00	NIH Natio	7529	National I	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$2,366,000	$591,500						
880	Departme	75NT00	NIH Eunic	7529	National I	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$2,819,951	$424,029						

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881	PROJECT (	R305X22(	LN53LCFJI	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE			9/1/2024	8/31/2025	2276009	1500858	LEVERAGI	91	Department of Education	9100	Departme	91
882	PROJECT (	R33CA26:	JDLVAVG\	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE	ML98SNH	PRESIDEN	9/24/2021	8/31/2025	1532606	964574	INTEGRAT	75	Department of Health and Human Se	7529	National I	75
883	PROJECT (	R35GM13	JDLVAVG\	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE	JR2RTJW1	HARVARD	9/1/2020	8/31/2025	2302619	1574747	ELUCIDAT	75	Department of Health and Human Se	7529	National I	75
884	COOPERA	U01CA20(	JDLVAVG\	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE	JR2RTJW1	HARVARD	9/7/2015	8/31/2025	2.4E+07	7471683	4D NUCLE	75	Department of Health and Human Se	7529	National I	75
885	PROJECT (	W81XWH	JDLVAVG\	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE	ML98SNH	PRESIDEN	9/1/2022	8/31/2025	$825,247		IMPROVIN	97	Department of Defense	2100	Departme	97
886	COOPERA	UH3AR07	LN53LCFJI	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE			9/26/2019	8/31/2025	2253986	2044966	DEVELOPI	75	Department of Health and Human Se	7529	National I	75
887	PROJECT (	W911NF2	LN53LCFJI	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE			9/1/2022	8/31/2025	########	475339	HIGH SCH	97	Department of Defense	2100	Departme	97
888	COOPERA	U54CA24	LN53LCFJI	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE			9/25/2019	8/31/2025	8030670	4726329	BIOMATE	75	Department of Health and Human Se	7529	National I	75
889	PROJECT (	R50CA25	JDLVAVG\	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE	JR2RTJW1	HARVARD	9/1/2020	8/31/2025	1048711	593626	HIGH DIM	75	Department of Health and Human Se	7529	National I	75
890	PROJECT (	W911NF2	LN53LCFJI	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE			6/15/2020	8/31/2025	$512,640	45471	RESEARCH	97	Department of Defense	2100	Departme	97
891	PROJECT (	80NSSC22	LN53LCFJI	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE			11/26/2024	8/28/2025	674655	474307	21-S2SHY	80	National Aeronautics and Space Adm	8000	National A	80
892	PROJECT (	2.3E+08	LN53LCFJI	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE			3/1/2024	8/25/2025	100000		WHY IT W	458	United States Institute of Peace	9580	United Sta	458
893	PROJECT (	80NSSC22	LN53LCFJI	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE			8/29/2024	8/25/2025	827042	707435	21-APRA2	80	National Aeronautics and Space Adm	8000	National A	80
894	PROJECT (	R21MH13	JDLVAVG\	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE		PRESIDEN	8/25/2023	8/24/2025	466125	330969	EARLY LIF	75	Department of Health and Human Se	7529	National I	75
895	PROJECT (	7200AA21	LN53LCFJI	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE			8/18/2021	8/17/2025	1382140	1100000	FIXED AM	72	Agency for International Developmer	7200	Agency fo	72
896	PROJECT (	DESC0025	LN53LCFJI	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE			8/15/2024	8/14/2025	299999		QUANTUM	89	Department of Energy	8900	Departme	89
897	PROJECT (	DESC002(	LN53LCFJI	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE			8/15/2019	8/14/2025	3540000	2851970	UNDERST	89	Department of Energy	8900	Departme	89
898	PROJECT (	P015A22(	LN53LCFJI	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE			8/15/2024	8/14/2025	821415	644470	NATIONA	91	Department of Education	9100	Departme	91
899	PROJECT (	P015A23(	LN53LCFJI	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE			8/15/2024	8/14/2025	528808	292332	NATIONA	91	Department of Education	9100	Departme	91
900	PROJECT (	P015B22(	LN53LCFJI	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE			8/15/2024	8/14/2025	755241	528357	FOREIGN	91	Department of Education	9100	Departme	91
901	PROJECT (	P015B22(	LN53LCFJI	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE			8/15/2024	8/14/2025	1001601	820686	FOREIGN	91	Department of Education	9100	Departme	91
902	PROJECT (	R24OD03	LN53LCFJI	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE			8/15/2024	8/14/2025	146480		AUTOMAT	75	Department of Health and Human Se	7529	National I	75
903	PROJECT (	S10OD03(	JDLVAVG\	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE	JR2RTJW1	HARVARD	8/15/2024	8/14/2025	646616	193985	LIGHT SHE	75	Department of Health and Human Se	7529	National I	75
904	PROJECT (	1919073	LN53LCFJI	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE			8/15/2019	7/31/2025	195153	35859	COLLABOI	49	National Science Foundation	4900	National Science Fou	
905	PROJECT (	1914916	LN53LCFJI	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE			8/15/2020	7/31/2025	797669	531270	THE EVOL	49	National Science Foundation	4900	National S	49
906	PROJECT (	2005475	LN53LCFJI	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE			8/1/2020	7/31/2025	210000	145890	GEOMETF	49	National Science Foundation	4900	National Science Fou	
907	PROJECT (	2038059	LN53LCFJI	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE	ML98SNH	PRESIDEN	8/15/2020	7/31/2025	1000000	760574	2020 WAT	49	National Science Foundation	4900	National S	49
908	PROJECT (	2104150	LN53LCFJI	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE			8/1/2021	7/31/2025	111116	108828	COLLABOI	49	National Science Foundation	4900	National S	49
909	PROJECT (	2207119	LN53LCFJI	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE	ML98SNH	PRESIDEN	8/1/2022	7/31/2025	238111	233327	CONTROL	49	National Science Foundation	4900	National S	49
910	PROJECT (	2210173	LN53LCFJI	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE	ML98SNH	PRESIDEN	8/1/2022	7/31/2025	578882	485948	COLLABOI	49	National Science Foundation	4900	National S	49
911	PROJECT (	2216066	LN53LCFJI	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE	ML98SNH	PRESIDEN	8/15/2022	7/31/2025	300735	300735	MRI: ACQ	49	National Science Foundation	4900	National Science Fou	
912	PROJECT (	2221715	LN53LCFJI	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE	ML98SNH	PRESIDEN	8/1/2022	7/31/2025	360000	193130	MID-INFR	49	National Science Foundation	4900	National S	49
913	PROJECT (	2332539	LN53LCFJI	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE	ML98SNH	PRESIDEN	8/1/2023	7/31/2025	300000	254541	EAGER: C(	49	National Science Foundation	4900	National S	49
914	PROJECT (	2303681	LN53LCFJI	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE			8/15/2023	7/31/2025	1520000	821894	POSE: PH/	49	National Science Foundation	4900	National S	49
915	PROJECT (	2331228	LN53LCFJI	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE			8/15/2023	7/31/2025	300000	276036	EAGER: ID	49	National Science Foundation	4900	National S	49
916	PROJECT (	80NSSC21	LN53LCFJI	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE			7/18/2024	7/31/2025	602062	434133	IMPROVE	80	National Aeronautics and Space Adm	8000	National A	80
917	PROJECT (	DP2EY035	JDLVAVG\	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE	ML98SNH	PRESIDEN	9/30/2022	7/31/2025	1525500	895955	DEFINING	75	Department of Health and Human Se	7529	National I	75
918	PROJECT (	F31HG01	JDLVAVG\	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE	JR2RTJW1	HARVARD	5/1/2023	7/31/2025	72432	57780	THE TRAN	75	Department of Health and Human Se	7529	National I	75
919	PROJECT (	DESC0022	LN53LCFJI	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE			8/1/2022	7/31/2025	529191	455274	ANALYSES	89	Department of Energy	8900	Departme	89
920	PROJECT (	F32GM14	LN53LCFJI	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE			8/1/2022	7/31/2025	210154	144107	MOLECUL	75	Department of Health and Human Se	7529	National I	75
921	PROJECT (	F31NS127	LN53LCFJI	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE			8/1/2023	7/31/2025	75612	58283	SUBCELLU	75	Department of Health and Human Se	7529	National I	75
922	COOPERA	80NSSC24	LN53LCFJI	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE			12/12/2024	7/31/2025	197214	11539	NASA OPE	80	National Aeronautics and Space Adm	8000	National A	80
923	PROJECT (	2432024	LN53LCFJI	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE			8/1/2024	7/31/2025	37500	21760	CONFEREI	49	National Science Foundation	4900	National S	49
924	PROJECT (	DESC0012	LN53LCFJI	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE			8/1/2014	7/31/2025	2460000	1115106	EMERGEN	89	Department of Energy	8900	Departme	89
925	PROJECT (	DESC0021	LN53LCFJI	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE			8/1/2021	7/31/2025	0		EPITAXIAL	89	Department of Energy	8944	Assistant	89
926	PROJECT (	F32GM15	LN53LCFJI	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE			8/1/2023	7/31/2025	165484	99214	NATURAL	75	Department of Health and Human Se	7529	National I	75
927	PROJECT (	F32DK131	LN53LCFJI	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE			8/1/2022	7/31/2025	181279	159034	ENGINEEF	75	Department of Health and Human Se	7529	National I	75
928	PROJECT (	DP1MH12	JDLVAVG\	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE	JR2RTJW1	HARVARD	9/1/2020	7/31/2025	5926084	4324338	TOWARD	75	Department of Health and Human Se	7529	National I	75
929	PROJECT (	F31DC02(	JDLVAVG\	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE	JR2RTJW1	HARVARD	7/1/2023	7/31/2025	72556	55550	THE ROLE	75	Department of Health and Human Se	7529	National I	75
930	PROJECT (	F32GM15	LN53LCFJI	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE			8/1/2024	7/31/2025	74284	29093	ROLE OF (	75	Department of Health and Human Se	7529	National I	75
931	PROJECT (	K22CA258	JDLVAVG\	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE	JR2RTJW1	HARVARD	8/5/2022	7/31/2025	558768	376613	IDENTIFYI	75	Department of Health and Human Se	7529	National I	75
932	PROJECT (	K99GM15	LN53LCFJI	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE			8/1/2023	7/31/2025	249934	158062	BIOPHYSI(	75	Department of Health and Human Se	7529	National I	75
933	PROJECT (	P01AI098	JDLVAVG\	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE	JR2RTJW1	HARVARD	7/2/2013	7/31/2025	1.9E+07	6574465	VIRAL ANI	75	Department of Health and Human Se	7529	National I	75
934	PROJECT (	PE284340	LN53LCFJI	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE	ML98SNH	PRESIDEN	8/1/2022	7/31/2025	348340	44460	PRE-PROC	418	National Endowment for the Humani	4340	National E	418
935	PROJECT (	K99HD11(	JDLVAVG\	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE	JR2RTJW1	HARVARD	8/1/2023	7/31/2025	248556	158732	EMPLOYIN	75	Department of Health and Human Se	7529	National I	75

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881	Departme	910039	INSTITUTE	9100	Departme	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$1,644,231	$631,778						
882	Departme	75NC00	NIH Natio	7529	National I	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$1,202,853	$329,753						
883	Departme	75NS00	NIH Natio	7529	National I	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$2,195,448	$107,171						
884	Departme	75NA00	NIH OFFIC	7529	National I	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$22,613,587	$1,813,849						
885	Departme	W91ZSQ	W03J HQ	2100	Departme	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$675,288	$149,959						
886	Departme	75NQ00	NIH Natio	7529	National I	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$3,254,581	$8,099						
887	Departme	W36QYT	W262 PRC	2100	Departme	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$2,694,980	$1,094,780						
888	Departme	75NN00	NIH Natio	7529	National I	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$8,030,671	$0						
889	Departme	75NC00	NIH Natio	7529	National I	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$964,649	$84,062						
890	Departme	W36QYT	W262 PRC	2100	Departme	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$412,640	$100,000						
891	National A	80NSSC	NASA SHA	8000	National A	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$674,655	$33,156		674655				
892	United Sta	950458	Grants &	9580	United Sta	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$0	$100,000	95% certainty there were no outlays - Marshall Wood					
893	National A	80NSSC	NASA SHA	8000	National A	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$987,042	$612,958		827042				
894	Departme	75N700	NIH Natio	7529	National I	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$403,187	$62,939						
895	Agency fo	7200AA	USAID M/	7200	Agency fo	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$1,081,800.00	$300,340.00	Already Terminated					
896	Departme	892401	SCIENCE	8900	Departme	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$47,673	$252,326						
897	Departme	892401	SCIENCE	8900	Departme	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$3,069,988	$470,012						
898	Departme	910034	OFFICE OF	9100	Departme	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$702,174	$119,241						
899	Departme	910034	OFFICE OF	9100	Departme	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$363,765	$165,043						
900	Departme	910034	OFFICE OF	9100	Departme	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$575,357	$179,884						
901	Departme	910034	OFFICE OF	9100	Departme	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$907,686	$93,915						
902	Departme	75NA00	NIH OFFIC	7529	National I	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$0	$146,480						
903	Departme	75NS00	NIH Natio	7529	National I	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$646,616	$0						
904	ndation	490405	DIV OF SOCIAL AND ECONOMI			https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$188,823	[redacted]	Unspent Amount is Not Public Data					
905	National S	490301	DIVISION	4900	National S	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$760,681		Unspent Amount is Not Public Data					
906	ndation	490304	DIVISION OF MATHEMATICAL S			https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$205,400		Unspent Amount is Not Public Data					
907	National S	490804	EMERGIN	4900	National S	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$999,961		Unspent Amount is Not Public Data					
908	National S	490808	DIV OF BI	4900	National S	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$108,829		Unspent Amount is Not Public Data					
909	National S	490603	DIVISION	4900	National S	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$238,040		Unspent Amount is Not Public Data					
910	National S	490609	OFFICE OF	4900	National S	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$537,387		Unspent Amount is Not Public Data					
911	ndation	490309	DIVISION OF CHEMISTRY			https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$300,735		Unspent Amount is Not Public Data					
912	National S	490701	DIVISION	4900	National S	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$248,282		Unspent Amount is Not Public Data					
913	National S	490309	DIVISION	4900	National S	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$276,520		Unspent Amount is Not Public Data					
914	National S	491503	TRANSLAT	4900	National S	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$994,126		Unspent Amount is Not Public Data					
915	National S	490809	DIV OF IN	4900	National S	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$290,722		Unspent Amount is Not Public Data					
916	National A	80NSSC	NASA SHA	8000	National A	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$602,062	$0		602062				
917	Departme	75NA00	NIH OFFIC	7529	National I	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$1,095,475	$430,025						
918	Departme	75N400	NIH Natio	7529	National I	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$60,672	$11,760						
919	Departme	892401	SCIENCE	8900	Departme	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$529,191	$0						
920	Departme	75NS00	NIH Natio	7529	National I	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$181,262	$28,892						
921	Departme	75NQ00	NIH Natio	7529	National I	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$62,754	$12,858						
922	National A	80NSSC	NASA SHA	8000	National A	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$197,215	$2,785		197214				
923	National S	490304	DIVISION	4900	National S	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$27,700	[redacted]	Unspent Amount is Not Public Data					
924	Departme	892401	SCIENCE	8900	Departme	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$2,209,822	$250,178						
925	Departme	892401	SCIENCE	8900	Departme	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$619,951	$130,049	Ceiling: $750,000					
926	Departme	75NS00	NIH Natio	7529	National I	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$130,653	$34,831						
927	Departme	75NK00	NIH Natio	7529	National I	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$180,010	$1,269						
928	Departme	75NA00	NIH OFFIC	7529	National I	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$5,885,514	$40,570						
929	Departme	75N300	NIH Natio	7529	National I	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$62,606	$9,950						
930	Departme	75NS00	NIH Natio	7529	National I	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$48,072	$26,212						
931	Departme	75NC00	NIH Natio	7529	National I	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$427,879	$130,889						
932	Departme	75NS00	NIH Natio	7529	National I	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$187,740	$62,194						
933	Departme	75NM00	NIH Natio	7529	National I	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$19,212,791	$18,699						
934	National E	433101	NATIONA	4340	National E	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$296,165	$52,175	Terminated					
935	Departme	75NT00	NIH Eunic	7529	National I	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$209,170	$39,386						

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936	PROJECT (	R01DK11(	JDLVAVG\	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE	JR2RTJW1	HARVARD	9/1/2016	7/31/2025	5145575	2403867	BACTERIA	75	Department of Health and Human Se	7529	National I	75
937	PROJECT (	R01HS026	JDLVAVG\	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE	JR2RTJW1	HARVARD	9/30/2019	7/31/2025	1897794	1342639	PRESCRIB	75	Department of Health and Human Se	7528	Agency fo	75
938	PROJECT (	R01HD08	LN53LCFJI	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE			8/14/2015	7/31/2025	3533989	1031027	MICROCIF	75	Department of Health and Human Se	7529	National I	75
939	PROJECT (	R21AR081	JDLVAVG\	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE	JR2RTJW1	HARVARD	9/1/2023	7/31/2025	403478	181376	ELUCIDAT	75	Department of Health and Human Se	7529	National I	75
940	PROJECT (	R21MH13	LN53LCFJI	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE			8/1/2023	7/31/2025	464750	267185	GUT MICF	75	Department of Health and Human Se	7529	National I	75
941	COOPERA	UE5NS128	JDLVAVG\	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE	JR2RTJW1	HARVARD	8/1/2022	7/31/2025	257712	203632	MIND THE	75	Department of Health and Human Se	7529	National I	75
942	PROJECT (	RF1NS128	LN53LCFJI	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE	ML98SNH	PRESIDEN	8/1/2022	7/31/2025	2730261	1899374	ODOR TR/	75	Department of Health and Human Se	7529	National I	75
943	PROJECT (	R56AI106	JDLVAVG\	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE	JR2RTJW1	HARVARD	4/15/2014	7/31/2025	587026	272174	NUCLEAR	75	Department of Health and Human Se	7529	National I	75
944	PROJECT (	RF1AG078	JDLVAVG\	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE		PRESIDEN	8/2/2022	7/31/2025	2481834	2053557	DEFINING	75	Department of Health and Human Se	7529	National I	75
945	COOPERA	W911NF2	LN53LCFJI	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE			7/1/2021	7/31/2025	########	89748	UNDERST	97	Department of Defense	2100	Departme	97
946	PROJECT (	RF1MH12	JDLVAVG\	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE		PRESIDEN	7/15/2022	7/14/2025	2916210	2011159	SCALABLE	75	Department of Health and Human Se	7529	National I	75
947	PROJECT (	80NSSC21	LN53LCFJI	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE			7/29/2024	7/12/2025	276651	253288	WE WILL I	80	National Aeronautics and Space Adm	8000	National A	80
948	PROJECT (	2002771	LN53LCFJI	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE	ML98SNH	PRESIDEN	7/1/2020	6/30/2025	305324	159297	TOPOLOG	49	National Science Foundation	4900	National S	49
949	PROJECT (	1943902	LN53LCFJI	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE			7/1/2020	6/30/2025	400000	273396	CAREER: L	49	National Science Foundation	4900	National S	49
950	PROJECT (	2107078	LN53LCFJI	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE	ML98SNH	PRESIDEN	7/1/2021	6/30/2025	1216000	462001	CNS CORE	49	National Science Foundation	4900	National S	49
951	PROJECT (	2152149	LN53LCFJI	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE	ML98SNH	PRESIDEN	7/15/2022	6/30/2025	203163	142921	FRG: COLI	49	National Science Foundation	4900	National S	49
952	PROJECT (	2201799	LN53LCFJI	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE			7/1/2022	6/30/2025	87001	83496	COLLABOI	49	National Science Foundation	4900	National S	49
953	PROJECT (	2200449	LN53LCFJI	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE			7/1/2022	6/30/2025	400000	324337	SHIMURA	49	National Science Foundation	4900	National S	49
954	PROJECT (	2200981	LN53LCFJI	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE			7/1/2022	6/30/2025	162012	79525	UNLIKELY	49	National Science Foundation	4900	National Science Fou	
955	PROJECT (	2207659	LN53LCFJI	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE	ML98SNH	PRESIDEN	7/15/2022	6/30/2025	403935	387810	TOPICS IN	49	National Science Foundation	4900	National S	49
956	PROJECT (	2202772	LN53LCFJI	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE	ML98SNH	PRESIDEN	7/1/2022	6/30/2025	313105	198993	HIGH SPA	49	National Science Foundation	4900	National S	49
957	PROJECT (	2202984	LN53LCFJI	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE			7/1/2022	6/30/2025	539063	418426	PARTIALL'	49	National Science Foundation	4900	National S	49
958	PROJECT (	2202698	LN53LCFJI	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE	ML98SNH	PRESIDEN	7/1/2022	6/30/2025	68389	27152	COLLABOI	49	National Science Foundation	4900	National S	49
959	PROJECT (	2154245	LN53LCFJI	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE	ML98SNH	PRESIDEN	7/1/2022	6/30/2025	809585	682711	COLLABOI	49	National Science Foundation	4900	National S	49
960	PROJECT (	2150813	LN53LCFJI	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE	ML98SNH	PRESIDEN	7/1/2022	6/30/2025	261102	261102	COLLABOI	49	National Science Foundation	4900	National S	49
961	PROJECT (	2153335	LN53LCFJI	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE	ML98SNH	PRESIDEN	7/1/2022	6/30/2025	330000	270904	RANDOM	49	National Science Foundation	4900	National S	49
962	PROJECT (	2210757	LN53LCFJI	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE	ML98SNH	PRESIDEN	7/1/2022	6/30/2025	396217	287756	USING HC	49	National Science Foundation	4900	National S	49
963	PROJECT (	2303983	LN53LCFJI	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE	ML98SNH	PRESIDEN	7/1/2023	6/30/2025	396914	300182	SHF:SMAL	49	National Science Foundation	4900	National S	49
964	PROJECT (	2427291	LN53LCFJI	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE			3/15/2024	6/30/2025	805625	770351	COLLABOI	49	National Science Foundation	4900	National Science Fou	
965	PROJECT (	D8837552	JDLVAVG\	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE	JR2RTJW1	HARVARD	7/1/2020	6/30/2025	3080389	1434284	POSTDOC	75	Department of Health and Human Se	7526	Health Re	75
966	PROJECT (	80NSSC23	LN53LCFJI	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE			12/10/2024	6/30/2025	581442	421900	22-22FOF	80	National Aeronautics and Space Adm	8000	National A	80
967	PROJECT (	DP1AG06	LN53LCFJI	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE			9/30/2018	6/30/2025	5915000	2729308	UNCOVER	75	Department of Health and Human Se	7529	National I	75
968	PROJECT (	DESC0022	LN53LCFJI	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE			7/1/2022	6/30/2025	1150000	641795	ULTRAFAS	89	Department of Energy	8900	Departme	89
969	PROJECT (	DENA000	LN53LCFJI	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE			7/1/2022	6/30/2025	825000	548805	FROM Z T	89	Department of Energy	8900	Departme	89
970	PROJECT (	G24AP00	LN53LCFJI	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE			7/1/2024	6/30/2025	56978	11378	PROJECT T	14	Department of the Interior	1434	U.S. Geol	14
971	PROJECT (	F31AR082	LN53LCFJI	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE			7/1/2023	6/30/2025	75776	60506	DEFINING	75	Department of Health and Human Se	7529	National I	75
972	PROJECT (	FA955022	LN53LCFJI	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE			7/1/2022	6/30/2025	$450,000		OPTICALL	97	Department of Defense	5700	Departme	97
973	PROJECT (	F32HL168	JDLVAVG\	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE	JR2RTJW1	HARVARD	4/1/2023	6/30/2025	146256	110317	UNDERST	75	Department of Health and Human Se	7529	National I	75
974	PROJECT (	R01AI148	JDLVAVG\	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE	ML98SNH	PRESIDEN	7/23/2020	6/30/2025	4123650	2939692	SMALL M(	75	Department of Health and Human Se	7529	National I	75
975	PROJECT (	K99GM15	JDLVAVG\	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE	JR2RTJW1	HARVARD	7/1/2023	6/30/2025	249480	153113	INVESTIG/	75	Department of Health and Human Se	7529	National I	75
976	PROJECT (	K08CA248	JDLVAVG\	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE	ML98SNH	PRESIDEN	7/1/2020	6/30/2025	1157086	847404	TARGETIN	75	Department of Health and Human Se	7529	National I	75
977	PROJECT (	N0001421	LN53LCFJI	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE			7/1/2021	6/30/2025	$0		EXPLORAT	97	Department of Defense	1700	Departme	97
978	PROJECT (	N0001423	LN53LCFJI	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE			7/1/2023	6/30/2025	$0		FISH SKIN	97	Department of Defense	1700	Departme	97
979	PROJECT (	K99GM14	LN53LCFJI	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE			7/1/2022	6/30/2025	216040	177948	THE GENE	75	Department of Health and Human Se	7529	National I	75
980	PROJECT (	R01AT011	JDLVAVG\	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE	JR2RTJW1	HARVARD	9/15/2020	6/30/2025	5343393	3375727	SPINAL CC	75	Department of Health and Human Se	7529	National I	75
981	PROJECT (	R01DK127	JDLVAVG\	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE	JR2RTJW1	HARVARD	7/1/2021	6/30/2025	1676800	1262348	INVESTIG/	75	Department of Health and Human Se	7529	National I	75
982	PROJECT (	R01DK121	JDLVAVG\	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE	JR2RTJW1	HARVARD	9/25/2018	6/30/2025	8279085	3387943	MAPPING	75	Department of Health and Human Se	7529	National I	75
983	PROJECT (	R01GM13	JDLVAVG\	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE	JR2RTJW1	HARVARD	7/9/2021	6/30/2025	1888532	1500550	UNDERST	75	Department of Health and Human Se	7529	National I	75
984	PROJECT (	R01HL126	JDLVAVG\	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE	JR2RTJW1	HARVARD	9/1/2016	6/30/2025	3682849	1520362	A NOVEL (	75	Department of Health and Human Se	7529	National I	75
985	PROJECT (	R01GM04	JDLVAVG\	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE	JR2RTJW1	HARVARD	7/6/1991	6/30/2025	6813868	1199921	RNA POLY	75	Department of Health and Human Se	7529	National I	75
986	PROJECT (	R01GM12	JDLVAVG\	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE	JR2RTJW1	HARVARD	4/10/2017	6/30/2025	3687883	1543333	INFORMA	75	Department of Health and Human Se	7529	National I	75
987	PROJECT (	R01TW01	JDLVAVG\	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE	JR2RTJW1	HARVARD	7/1/2022	6/30/2025	631289	445500	FEASIBILI1	75	Department of Health and Human Se	7529	National I	75
988	PROJECT (	R324A240	LN53LCFJI	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE			10/28/2024	6/30/2025	355293		SPECIAL E	91	Department of Education	9100	Departme	91
989	PROJECT (	R305D220	LN53LCFJI	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE			7/1/2024	6/30/2025	894352	597041	PRACTICA	91	Department of Education	9100	Departme	91
990	PROJECT (	R305A200	LN53LCFJI	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE			7/1/2023	6/30/2025	1399993	1291886	DEVELOPI	91	Department of Education	9100	Departme	91

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936	Departme	75NK00	NIH Natio	7529	National I	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$4,619,502	$69,222						
937	Departme	75EL00	AHRQ CEI	7528	Agency fo	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$1,836,529	$61,265						
938	Departme	75NT00	NIH Eunic	7529	National I	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$3,256,679	$277,310						
939	Departme	75NB00	NIH Natio	7529	National I	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$221,393	$182,085						
940	Departme	75N700	NIH Natio	7529	National I	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$362,950	$101,800						
941	Departme	75NQ00	NIH Natio	7529	National I	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$250,004	$7,708						
942	Departme	75NQ00	NIH Natio	7529	National I	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$2,196,689	$533,572						
943	Departme	75NM00	NIH Natio	7529	National I	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$4,231,879	$178,974						
944	Departme	75NN00	NIH Natio	7529	National I	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$2,342,311	$139,523						
945	Departme	W36QYT	W262 PRC	2100	Departme	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$3,167,246	$582,754						
946	Departme	75N700	NIH Natio	7529	National I	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$2,372,145	$544,065						
947	National A	80NSSC	NASA SHA	8000	National A	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$276,651	$0		276651				
948	National S	490304	DIVISION	4900	National S	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$280,664	[redacted]	Unspent Amount is Not Public Data					
949	National S	490304	DIVISION	4900	National S	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$383,537		Unspent Amount is Not Public Data					
950	National S	490505	DIV OF CC	4900	National S	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$500,600		Unspent Amount is Not Public Data					
951	National S	490304	DIVISION	4900	National S	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$159,603		Unspent Amount is Not Public Data					
952	National S	491109	DIV OF RE	4900	National S	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$83,496		Unspent Amount is Not Public Data					
953	National S	490304	DIVISION	4900	National S	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$371,974		Unspent Amount is Not Public Data					
954	ndation	490304	DIVISION OF MATHEMATICAL S			https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$84,257		Unspent Amount is Not Public Data					
955	National S	490301	DIVISION	4900	National S	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$403,935		Unspent Amount is Not Public Data					
956	National S	490602	DIVISION	4900	National S	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$214,508		Unspent Amount is Not Public Data					
957	National S	490304	DIVISION	4900	National S	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$477,578		Unspent Amount is Not Public Data					
958	National S	490602	DIVISION	4900	National S	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$29,774		Unspent Amount is Not Public Data					
959	National S	490801	DIVISION	4900	National S	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$747,300		Unspent Amount is Not Public Data					
960	National S	490404	DIV OF BE	4900	National S	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$261,102		Unspent Amount is Not Public Data					
961	National S	490304	DIVISION	4900	National S	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$295,360		Unspent Amount is Not Public Data					
962	National S	490602	DIVISION	4900	National S	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$318,623		Unspent Amount is Not Public Data					
963	National S	490501	DIV OF CC	4900	National S	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$348,992		Unspent Amount is Not Public Data					
964	ndation	490609	OFFICE OF POLAR PROGRAMS			https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$805,625		Unspent Amount is Not Public Data					
965	Departme	75RQ00	HRSA BUF	7526	Health Re	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$1,715,287	$1,365,102						
966	National A	80NSSC	NASA SHA	8000	National A	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$581,442	$0		581442				
967	Departme	75NA00	NIH OFFIC	7529	National I	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$5,886,319	$28,681						
968	Departme	892401	SCIENCE	8900	Departme	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$641,795	$508,205						
969	Departme	892300	NNSA WE	8900	Departme	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$597,114	$227,886						
970	Departme	140G01	OFC OF A(	1434	U.S. Geol	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$30,276.08	$26,701.92						
971	Departme	75NB00	NIH Natio	7529	National I	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$67,562	$8,214						
972	Departme	F4FGA0	F4FGA0 A	5700	Departme	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$411,206	$38,794						
973	Departme	75NH00	NIH Natio	7529	National I	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$141,146	$27,933						
974	Departme	75NM00	NIH Natio	7529	National I	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$287,655	$0						
975	Departme	75NS00	NIH Natio	7529	National I	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$195,468	$54,012						
976	Departme	75NC00	NIH Natio	7529	National I	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$194,591	$0						
977	Departme	N00014	OFFICE OF	1700	Departme	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$ -	$0						
978	Departme	N00014	OFFICE OF	1700	Departme	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$ -	$0						
979	Departme	75NS00	NIH Natio	7529	National I	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$210,446	$5,594						
980	Departme	75N700	NIH Natio	7529	National I	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$4,924,982	$418,411						
981	Departme	75NK00	NIH Natio	7529	National I	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$1,506,128	$170,672						
982	Departme	75NA00	NIH OFFIC	7529	National I	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$8,266,119	$12,966						
983	Departme	75NS00	NIH Natio	7529	National I	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$1,751,002	$137,530						
984	Departme	75NH00	NIH Natio	7529	National I	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$2,846,239	$0						
985	Departme	75NS00	NIH Natio	7529	National I	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$7,970,277	$274,500						
986	Departme	75NS00	NIH Natio	7529	National I	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$3,656,715	$31,168						
987	Departme	75NF00	NIH Fogar	7529	National I	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$533,516	$97,773						
988	Departme	910039	INSTITUTE	9100	Departme	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$60,953	$294,340						
989	Departme	910039	INSTITUTE	9100	Departme	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$651,449	$242,903						
990	Departme	910039	INSTITUTE	9100	Departme	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$1,332,555	$67,438						

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991	COOPERA	UG3MH1	LN53LCFJI	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE			9/13/2021	6/30/2025	2358045	2144546	A TOOL F	75	Department of Health and Human Se	7529	National I	75
992	PROJECT	R305B20	LN53LCFJI	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE			7/1/2024	6/30/2025	3471638	2447580	PARTNERI	91	Department of Education	9100	Departme	91
993	PROJECT	R305A19	LN53LCFJI	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE	ML98SNH	PRESIDEN	7/1/2022	6/30/2025	1398956	1212062	CORE ACA	91	Department of Education	9100	Departme	91
994	PROJECT	R37MH11	LN53LCFJI	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE			7/1/2020	6/30/2025	9551449	5535359	NEURODE	75	Department of Health and Human Se	7529	National I	75
995	PROJECT	T32GM13	LN53LCFJI	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE			7/1/2020	6/30/2025	1234383	1033255	HARVARD	75	Department of Health and Human Se	7529	National I	75
996	PROJECT	T32GM13	LN53LCFJI	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE			7/1/2020	6/30/2025	2524088	2045234	JOINT PRO	75	Department of Health and Human Se	7529	National I	75
997	PROJECT	R21AI173	JDLVAVG\	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE	JR2RTJW1	HARVARD	7/17/2023	6/30/2025	462053	383592	SPATIOTE	75	Department of Health and Human Se	7529	National I	75
998	PROJECT	F32GM14	LN53LCFJI	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE			6/13/2022	6/12/2025	210154	156604	ANION AE	75	Department of Health and Human Se	7529	National I	75
999	PROJECT	80NSSC21	LN53LCFJI	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE			7/17/2024	6/2/2025	1000000	869973	WE PROP	80	National Aeronautics and Space Adm	8000	National A	80
1000	PROJECT	2151294	LN53LCFJI	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE	ML98SNH	PRESIDEN	6/15/2022	5/31/2025	665188	342104	REMOTE I	49	National Science Foundation	4900	National S	49
1001	PROJECT	2202113	LN53LCFJI	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE			6/1/2022	5/31/2025	1254206	902173	AGS-FIRP	49	National Science Foundation	4900	National S	49
1002	PROJECT	2148928	LN53LCFJI	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE	ML98SNH	PRESIDEN	6/1/2022	5/31/2025	155357	124791	COLLABOI	49	National Science Foundation	4900	National S	49
1003	PROJECT	2241885	LN53LCFJI	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE	ML98SNH	PRESIDEN	6/1/2023	5/31/2025	332169	30800	COLLABOI	49	National Science Foundation	4900	National S	49
1004	PROJECT	2306149	LN53LCFJI	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE			10/1/2022	5/31/2025	327018	327019	SPEECH A	49	National Science Foundation	4900	National S	49
1005	PROJECT	2346137	LN53LCFJI	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE			6/15/2024	5/31/2025	300000	13892	POSE: PH/	49	National Science Foundation	4900	National S	49
1006	PROJECT	2426145	LN53LCFJI	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE			6/1/2024	5/31/2025	199479	134860	RAPID: OI	49	National Science Foundation	4900	National Science Fou	
1007	PROJECT	DP2GM14	LN53LCFJI	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE	ML98SNH	PRESIDEN	9/30/2020	5/31/2025	2447915	1746801	IDENTIFYI	75	Department of Health and Human Se	7529	National I	75
1008	PROJECT	DENA000	LN53LCFJI	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE			6/1/2022	5/31/2025	525000	468584	METALLIC	89	Department of Energy	8900	Departme	89
1009	PROJECT	DESC001	LN53LCFJI	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE			9/1/2018	5/31/2025	887543	751495	QUANTUI	89	Department of Energy	8900	Departme	89
1010	PROJECT	F30AI172	JDLVAVG\	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE	JR2RTJW1	HARVARD	7/1/2022	5/31/2025	142934	110349	PINPOINT	75	Department of Health and Human Se	7529	National I	75
1011	PROJECT	F31NS127	JDLVAVG\	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE		PRESIDEN	6/1/2022	5/31/2025	76012	65555	THE ROLE	75	Department of Health and Human Se	7529	National I	75
1012	PROJECT	K24AG06	JDLVAVG\	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE	JR2RTJW1	HARVARD	9/30/2020	5/31/2025	661000	399318	A RESEAR	75	Department of Health and Human Se	7529	National I	75
1013	PROJECT	N000142	LN53LCFJI	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE			6/1/2021	5/31/2025	$560,000		MATERIAI	97	Department of Defense	1700	Departme	97
1014	PROJECT	R01AG07	LN53LCFJI	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE			9/15/2020	5/31/2025	3129600	2397736	DIRECT AI	75	Department of Health and Human Se	7529	National I	75
1015	PROJECT	N000142	LN53LCFJI	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE			6/1/2022	5/31/2025	########		CARBON I	97	Department of Defense	1700	Departme	97
1016	PROJECT	R01AR07	JDLVAVG\	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE	JR2RTJW1	HARVARD	9/18/2019	5/31/2025	3391609	1811689	ELUCIDAT	75	Department of Health and Human Se	7529	National I	75
1017	PROJECT	R01AR05	JDLVAVG\	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE	JR2RTJW1	HARVARD	8/1/2010	5/31/2025	6275713	1697494	CHARACT	75	Department of Health and Human Se	7529	National I	75
1018	PROJECT	R21AI178	JDLVAVG\	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE	JR2RTJW1	HARVARD	6/6/2023	5/31/2025	453273	427314	IDENTIFYI	75	Department of Health and Human Se	7529	National I	75
1019	PROJECT	R21AI171	JDLVAVG\	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE	JR2RTJW1	HARVARD	6/1/2022	5/31/2025	466063	366795	IDENTIFIC	75	Department of Health and Human Se	7529	National I	75
1020	PROJECT	R01NS116	LN53LCFJI	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE			4/15/2020	5/31/2025	2888753	1805360	DISTRIBU	75	Department of Health and Human Se	7529	National I	75
1021	PROJECT	R01NS118	JDLVAVG\	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE	JR2RTJW1	HARVARD	9/30/2020	5/31/2025	4716450	2974967	SINGLE-CE	75	Department of Health and Human Se	7529	National I	75
1022	PROJECT	RF1AG07	JDLVAVG\	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE		PRESIDEN	6/1/2022	5/31/2025	2615789	1670110	AUGMEN	75	Department of Health and Human Se	7529	National I	75
1023	COOPERA	UC2DK12	LN53LCFJI	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE			9/1/2020	5/31/2025	3951635	2509902	EX VIVO G	75	Department of Health and Human Se	7529	National I	75
1024	PROJECT	W911NF2	LN53LCFJI	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE	ML98SNH	PRESIDEN	3/1/2020	5/31/2025	$0		OPTION 1	97	Department of Defense	2100	Departme	97
1025	PROJECT	R37CA225	JDLVAVG\	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE	JR2RTJW1	HARVARD	9/1/2023	5/31/2025	3013060	1176021	ILLUMINA	75	Department of Health and Human Se	7529	National I	75
1026	PROJECT	DESC0005	JDLVAVG\	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE	JR2RTJW1	HARVARD	8/15/2010	5/14/2025	7938000	2256761	OPTO-CHI	89	Department of Energy	8900	Departme	89
1027	OTHER RE	HR001125	LN53LCFJI	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE			5/5/2025	5/5/2025	$199,612		UNLEASH	97	Department of Defense	97AE	Defense A	97
1028	PROJECT	FA955022	LN53LCFJI	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE			5/3/2022	5/2/2025	$492,000		NETWORI	97	Department of Defense	5700	Departme	97
1029	PROJECT	F32DK13	JDLVAVG\	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE	JR2RTJW1	HARVARD	3/3/2022	5/1/2025	225074	175809	DROSOPH	75	Department of Health and Human Se	7529	National I	75
1030	PROJECT	N000142	LN53LCFJI	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE			5/2/2022	5/1/2025	$498,913		MEMORY	97	Department of Defense	1700	Departme	97
1031	PROJECT	2040378	LN53LCFJI	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE			7/1/2020	4/30/2025	336000	267638	HODGE FI	49	National Science Foundation	4900	National Science Fou	
1032	PROJECT	2412346	LN53LCFJI	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE			5/15/2024	4/30/2025	45000	27724	CONFERE	49	National Science Foundation	4900	National S	49
1033	PROJECT	DESC0017	LN53LCFJI	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE			5/1/2017	4/30/2025	3140000	1982690	MIXED-M	89	Department of Energy	8900	Departme	89
1034	PROJECT	F31CA271	JDLVAVG\	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE	JR2RTJW1	HARVARD	5/1/2022	4/30/2025	118730	98292	DEFINING	75	Department of Health and Human Se	7529	National I	75
1035	PROJECT	FA955022	LN53LCFJI	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE			5/1/2022	4/30/2025	$422,096		OPTICAL S	97	Department of Defense	5700	Departme	97
1036	PROJECT	F32GM14	LN53LCFJI	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE			5/1/2023	4/30/2025	146256	107157	CATALYTI	75	Department of Health and Human Se	7529	National I	75
1037	PROJECT	P41GM13	JDLVAVG\	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE	JR2RTJW1	HARVARD	8/1/2019	4/30/2025	6780000	3957967	FUNCTIOI	75	Department of Health and Human Se	7529	National I	75
1038	PROJECT	N000142	LN53LCFJI	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE			5/1/2020	4/30/2025	#######		NEXT-GEI	97	Department of Defense	1700	Departme	97
1039	PROJECT	N000142	LN53LCFJI	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE			5/1/2022	4/30/2025	#######		AN END-T	97	Department of Defense	1700	Departme	97
1040	PROJECT	R01AR07	JDLVAVG\	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE	JR2RTJW1	HARVARD	8/1/2020	4/30/2025	3050710	1854956	BMP2 REC	75	Department of Health and Human Se	7529	National I	75
1041	PROJECT	R01DE02	JDLVAVG\	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE	JR2RTJW1	HARVARD	5/8/2020	4/30/2025	2000653	1173318	BIOLOGY	75	Department of Health and Human Se	7529	National I	75
1042	PROJECT	R01EY030	LN53LCFJI	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE			5/1/2020	4/30/2025	2057005	1320384	STRUCTUI	75	Department of Health and Human Se	7529	National I	75
1043	PROJECT	R01AI153	LN53LCFJI	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE			5/21/2020	4/30/2025	3648717	2419353	TARGETIN	75	Department of Health and Human Se	7529	National I	75
1044	PROJECT	R01AI146	JDLVAVG\	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE	JR2RTJW1	HARVARD	5/1/2020	4/30/2025	3586589	2027971	STRENGTI	75	Department of Health and Human Se	7529	National I	75
1045	PROJECT	R01NS08	JDLVAVG\	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE	JR2RTJW1	HARVARD	9/25/2013	4/30/2025	2358670	1492503	REGULATI	75	Department of Health and Human Se	7529	National I	75

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991	Departme	75N700	NIH Natio	7529	National I	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$2,341,904	$16,141						
992	Departme	910039	INSTITUTE	9100	Departme	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$2,657,591	$814,047						
993	Departme	910039	INSTITUTE	9100	Departme	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$1,231,091	$167,865						
994	Departme	75N700	NIH Natio	7529	National I	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$9,176,512	$1,338,453						
995	Departme	75NS00	NIH Natio	7529	National I	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$1,466,187	$108,725						
996	Departme	75NS00	NIH Natio	7529	National I	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$2,973,606	$233,162						
997	Departme	75NM00	NIH Natio	7529	National I	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$462,053	$0						
998	Departme	75NS00	NIH Natio	7529	National I	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$195,074	$15,080						
999	National A	80NSSC	NASA SHA	8000	National A	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$1,000,000	$0		1000000				
1000	National S	490807	DIVISION	4900	National S	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$404,575	[redacted]	Unspent Amount is Not Public Data					
1001	National S	490602	DIVISION	4900	National S	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$998,841		Unspent Amount is Not Public Data					
1002	National S	490405	DIV OF SC	4900	National S	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$144,934		Unspent Amount is Not Public Data					
1003	National S	490405	DIV OF SC	4900	National S	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$30,800		Unspent Amount is Not Public Data					
1004	National S	490404	DIV OF BE	4900	National S	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$327,019		Unspent Amount is Not Public Data					
1005	National S	491503	TRANSLAT	4900	National S	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$25,850		Unspent Amount is Not Public Data					
1006	ndation	490602	DIVISION OF ATMOSPHERIC AN			https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$188,577		Unspent Amount is Not Public Data					
1007	Departme	75NA00	NIH OFFIC	7529	National I	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$2,430,017	$17,898						
1008	Departme	892300	NNSA WE	8900	Departme	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$521,890	$3,110						
1009	Departme	892401	SCIENCE	8900	Departme	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$887,543	$0						
1010	Departme	75NM00	NIH Natio	7529	National I	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$140,582	$2,352						
1011	Departme	75NQ00	NIH Natio	7529	National I	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$69,490	$0						
1012	Departme	75NN00	NIH Natio	7529	National I	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$566,640	$94,360						
1013	Departme	N00014	OFFICE OF	1700	Departme	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$560,000	$0						
1014	Departme	75NN00	NIH Natio	7529	National I	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$3,113,556	$16,044						
1015	Departme	N00014	OFFICE OF	1700	Departme	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$1,022,845	$177,155						
1016	Departme	75NB00	NIH Natio	7529	National I	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$3,285,926	$105,683						
1017	Departme	75NB00	NIH Natio	7529	National I	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$6,109,362	$166,351						
1018	Departme	75NM00	NIH Natio	7529	National I	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$447,936	$5,337						
1019	Departme	75NM00	NIH Natio	7529	National I	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$440,384	$25,679						
1020	Departme	75NQ00	NIH Natio	7529	National I	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$2,794,169	$94,584						
1021	Departme	75NQ00	NIH Natio	7529	National I	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$3,879,249	$837,201						
1022	Departme	75NN00	NIH Natio	7529	National I	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$2,220,665	$395,124						
1023	Departme	75NK00	NIH Natio	7529	National I	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$3,570,744	$380,891						
1024	Departme	HR0011	DEF ADVA	97AE	Defense A	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$ -	$0						
1025	Departme	75NC00	NIH Natio	7529	National I	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$909,118	$0						
1026	Departme	892401	SCIENCE	8900	Departme	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$6,510,166	$607,834	Ceiling: $7,118,000					
1027	Departme	HR0011	DEF ADVA	97AE	Defense A	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$33,269	$166,343						
1028	Departme	F4FGA0	F4FGA0 A	5700	Departme	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$448,133	$43,867						
1029	Departme	75NK00	NIH Natio	7529	National I	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$216,447	$8,627						
1030	Departme	N00014	OFFICE OF	1700	Departme	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$466,063	$32,850						
1031	ndation	490304	DIVISION OF MATHEMATICAL S			https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$335,799	[redacted]	Unspent Amount is Not Public Data					
1032	National S	490304	DIVISION	4900	National S	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$28,778		Unspent Amount is Not Public Data					
1033	Departme	892401	SCIENCE	8900	Departme	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$2,938,384	$601,616	Ceiling: $3,540,000					
1034	Departme	75NC00	NIH Natio	7529	National I	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$112,420	$6,310						
1035	Departme	F4FGA0	F4FGA0 A	5700	Departme	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$374,598	$47,498						
1036	Departme	75NS00	NIH Natio	7529	National I	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$136,400	$9,856						
1037	Departme	75NS00	NIH Natio	7529	National I	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$6,780,000	$0						
1038	Departme	N00014	OFFICE OF	1700	Departme	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$7,121,057	$378,943						
1039	Departme	N00014	OFFICE OF	1700	Departme	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$786,834	$472,007						
1040	Departme	75NB00	NIH Natio	7529	National I	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$2,827,169	$223,541						
1041	Departme	75NP00	NIH Natio	7529	National I	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$1,859,489	$141,164						
1042	Departme	75NW00	NIH Natio	7529	National I	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$2,057,005	$0						
1043	Departme	75NM00	NIH Natio	7529	National I	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$3,582,825	$65,892						
1044	Departme	75NM00	NIH Natio	7529	National I	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$3,260,198	$326,391						
1045	Departme	75NQ00	NIH Natio	7529	National I	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$4,942,226	$247,516						

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1046	PROJECT (	R01GM12	LN53LCFJI	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE			1/1/2017	4/30/2025	3013519	1285925	MECHANI	75	Department of Health and Human Se	7529	National I	75
1047	PROJECT (	R21AI178	JDLVAVG\	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE	JR2RTJW1	HARVARD	5/24/2023	4/30/2025	466125	434128	RIBOSOM	75	Department of Health and Human Se	7529	National I	75
1048	PROJECT (	R35GM13	LN53LCFJI	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE			5/1/2020	4/30/2025	5124850	3369193	CHROMO:	75	Department of Health and Human Se	7529	National I	75
1049	PROJECT (	R37AI059	JDLVAVG\	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE	ML98SNH	PRESIDEN	3/1/2005	4/30/2025	4826365	1944971	RNA PRO(	75	Department of Health and Human Se	7529	National I	75
1050	PROJECT (	RF1NS126	LN53LCFJI	PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE	ML98SNH	PRESIDEN	5/15/2022	4/30/2025	2190918	1680167	TWO-PHC	75	Department of Health and Human Se	7529	National I	75
1051	Direct Pay	AY2AX000005		PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE			9/26/2023	9/25/2028	#######	#######	A TRANSF	75	Department of Health and Human Se	7529	National I	75
1052	Direct Pay	AY2AX000031		PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE			7/15/2024	7/14/2027	#######	#######	DISEASE-/	75	Department of Health and Human Se	7529	National I	75
1053	Direct Pay	OT2OD033758		PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE			8/1/2022	7/31/2025	#######	#######	DATA EXP	75	Department of Health and Human Se	7529	National I	75
1054	Direct Pay	AY2AX000028		PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE			8/13/2024	8/12/2026	#######	#######	ACCELERA	75	Department of Health and Human Se	7529	National I	75
1055	Direct Pay	OT2DB000004		PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE			9/25/2021	9/24/2025	#######	#######	THE HARV	75	Department of Health and Human Se	7529	National I	75
1056	Direct Pay	OT2CA278689		PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE			6/22/2022	5/31/2025	$626,777	$527,369	CANCAN -	75	Department of Health and Human Se	7529	National I	75
1057	Direct Pay	OT2CA278654		PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE			6/22/2022	5/31/2025	$599,304	$568,924	CANCAN-I	75	Department of Health and Human Se	7529	National I	75
1058																

	Q	R	S	T	U	V	W	X	Y	Z	AA	AB	AC	AD	AE	AF
1046	Departme	75NS00	NIH Natio	7529	National I	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$2,951,608	$61,911						
1047	Departme	75NM00	NIH Natio	7529	National I	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$466,125	$0						
1048	Departme	75NS00	NIH Natio	7529	National I	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$5,053,168	$71,682						
1049	Departme	75NM00	NIH Natio	7529	National I	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$6,449,887	$0						
1050	Departme	75NQ00	NIH Natio	7529	National I	https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$1,950,243	$240,675						
1051	Department of Health and Human Services					https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$26,075,910	$43,791,134						
1052	Department of Health and Human Services					https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$3,884,147	$18,126,233						
1053	Department of Health and Human Services					https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$3,545,996	$1,412,520						
1054	Department of Health and Human Services					https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$1,065,100	$3,230,307						
1055	Department of Health and Human Services					https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$1,495,870	$658,259						
1056	Department of Health and Human Services					https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$527,369	$99,408						
1057	Department of Health and Human Services					https://w	HARVARD	COLLEGE	$568,924	$30,380						
1058																

From: Simonpour, Alexander (HQ-AA000)[GSA]
To: Josh Gruenbaum - Q
Cc: Horne, Marvin L. (HQ-LP010); Carlson, Trey (KSC-AAD00)
Subject: NASA Grants
Date: Thursday, May 8, 2025 5:52:35 PM
Attachments: image001.png
image002.png
Notice of Termination harvard 5_8_25.pdf
Harvard Terminated List 5.8.25.xlsx

Hi team,

Attached is NASA termination letter for 5 of 22 Harvard Contracts determined by the A-suite based on mission impacts.

Thanks.



Alex Simonpour
Advisor
Mary W. Jackson NASA Headquarters
300 E Street SW, Washington, DC 20546
alexander.simonpour@nasa.gov
Post production redaction

From: Horne, Marvin L. (HQ-LP010)
To: Simonpour, Alexander (HQ-AA000)[GSA]; Carlson, Trey (KSC-AAD00); Josh Gruenbaum - Q; Hoyt, Joshua T. EOP/WHO; Jackson, Karla Smith (HQ-LP010)
Cc: Mailman, May EOP/WHO; Kambli, Abhishek (OASG)
Subject: RE: [EXTERNAL] Re: NASA Grants
Date: Monday, May 12, 2025 1:43:16 PM
Attachments: image001.png
image002.png

Alex,

You are correct, I checked with the team, the NASA Harvard letter was issued on last Friday.

Karla collaborated with NASA's Administrator Suite on this and followed NASA historical practice with contractor notification. [redacted] DPP/ACP Abhi and WHCO [redacted] DPP/ACP

Thanks,
Marvin

From: Simonpour, Alexander (HQ-AA000)[GSA] <alexander.simonpour@nasa.gov>
Sent: Monday, May 12, 2025 12:07 PM
To: Carlson, Trey (KSC-AAD00) <trey.carlson-1@nasa.gov>; Josh Gruenbaum - Q <josh.gruenbaum@gsa.gov>; Hoyt, Joshua T. EOP/WHO [redacted]>; Horne, Marvin L. (HQ-LP010) <marvin.l.horne@nasa.gov>; Jackson, Karla Smith (HQ-LP010) <karla.s.jackson@nasa.gov>
Cc: Mailman, May EOP/WHO [redacted]>; Kambli, Abhishek (OASG) <Abhishek.Kambli@usdoj.gov>
Subject: RE: [EXTERNAL] Re: NASA Grants

[redacted] DPP/ACP

Alex Simonpour
Advisor
Mary W. Jackson NASA Headquarters
300 E Street SW, Washington, DC 20546
alexander.simonpour@nasa.gov
[redacted] Post production redaction

From: Simonpour, Alexander (HQ-AA000)[GSA] <alexander.simonpour@nasa.gov>
Sent: Saturday, May 10, 2025 12:06 PM
To: Carlson, Trey (KSC-AAD00) <trey.carlson-1@nasa.gov>; Josh Gruenbaum - Q <josh.gruenbaum@gsa.gov>
Cc: Mailman, May EOP/WHO [redacted]>; Hoyt, Joshua T. EOP/WHO [redacted]; Kambli, Abhishek (OASG) <Abhishek.Kambli@usdoj.gov>; Horne, Marvin L. (HQ-LP010) <marvin.l.horne@nasa.gov>; Jackson, Karla Smith (HQ-LP010) <karla.s.jackson@nasa.gov>
Subject: Re: [EXTERNAL] Re: NASA Grants

Minor correction:

The original list included 22 grants, one of which was already expired, bringing NASA to 21 in total.

NASA will terminate 5 out of 21 grants when we get the green light, leaving us with 16.

[redacted]DPP/ACP

Thanks.

From: Carlson, Trey (KSC-AAD00) <trey.carlson-1@nasa.gov>
Sent: Friday, May 9, 2025 3:59:41 PM
To: Josh Gruenbaum - Q <josh.gruenbaum@gsa.gov>; Simonpour, Alexander (HQ-AA000)[GSA] <alexander.simonpour@nasa.gov>
Cc: Mailman, May EOP/WHO [redacted]>; Hoyt, Joshua T. EOP/WHO [redacted]; Kambli, Abhishek (OASG) <Abhishek.Kambli@usdoj.gov>; Horne, Marvin L. (HQ-LP010) <marvin.l.horne@nasa.gov>; Jackson, Karla Smith (HQ-LP010) <karla.s.jackson@nasa.gov>
Subject: Re: [EXTERNAL] Re: NASA Grants

Correct.

Trey Carlson
Acting Agency Chief of Staff
Office of the Administrator
Mary W. Jackson NASA Headquarters
300 E Street SW, Washington, DC 20546
M: [redacted]Post production redaction
Trey.Carlson-1@nasa.gov

From: Josh Gruenbaum - Q <josh.gruenbaum@gsa.gov>

Sent: Friday, May 9, 2025 6:21:44 PM
To: Simonpour, Alexander (HQ-AA000)[GSA] <alexander.simonpour@nasa.gov>
Cc: Mailman, May EOP/WHO [redacted]v>; Hoyt, Joshua T. EOP/WHO [redacted]>; Kambli, Abhishek (OASG) <Abhishek.Kambli@usdoj.gov>; Horne, Marvin L. (HQ-LP010) <marvin.l.horne@nasa.gov>; Carlson, Trey (KSC-AAD00) <trey.carlson-1@nasa.gov>; Jackson, Karla Smith (HQ-LP010) <karla.s.jackson@nasa.gov>
Subject: Re: [EXTERNAL] Re: NASA Grants

So that WH is tracking, NASA is saying they will proceed on 5 of their 22 grants to Harvard

U.S. General Services Administration
Josh Gruenbaum
Commissioner of Federal Acquisition Service
[redacted]
josh.gruenbaum@gsa.gov

On Fri, May 9, 2025 at 6:10 PM Simonpour, Alexander (HQ-AA000)[GSA] <alexander.simonpour@nasa.gov> wrote:

Hi team,

[redacted]
DPP

Thanks.

Alex Simonpour
Advisor
Mary W. Jackson NASA Headquarters
300 E Street SW, Washington, DC 20546
alexander.simonpour@nasa.gov

Post production redaction

From: Jackson, Karla Smith (HQ-LP010) <karla.s.jackson@nasa.gov>
Sent: Friday, May 9, 2025 7:16 AM
To: Josh Gruenbaum - Q <josh.gruenbaum@gsa.gov>; Simonpour, Alexander (HQ-AA000)[GSA] <alexander.simonpour@nasa.gov>
Cc: Hoyt, Joshua T. EOP/WHO [redacted]>; Kambli, Abhishek (OASG) <Abhishek.Kambli@usdoj.gov>; Horne, Marvin L. (HQ-LP010) <marvin.l.horne@nasa.gov>; Carlson, Trey (KSC-AAD00) <trey.carlson-1@nasa.gov>; Mailman, May EOP/WHO [redacted]>
Subject: Re: [EXTERNAL] Re: NASA Grants

Hi Josh

[redacted] DPP/ACP

Thx

Karla

From: Josh Gruenbaum - Q <josh.gruenbaum@gsa.gov>
Sent: Thursday, May 8, 2025 11:06:22 PM
To: Simonpour, Alexander (HQ-AA000)[GSA] <alexander.simonpour@nasa.gov>
Cc: Hoyt, Joshua T. EOP/WHO [redacted]>; Kambli, Abhishek (OASG) <Abhishek.Kambli@usdoj.gov>; Horne, Marvin L. (HQ-LP010) <marvin.l.horne@nasa.gov>; Carlson, Trey (KSC-AAD00) <trey.carlson-1@nasa.gov>; Mailman, May EOP/WHO [redacted]>; Jackson, Karla Smith (HQ-LP010) <karla.s.jackson@nasa.gov>
Subject: Re: [EXTERNAL] Re: NASA Grants

[redacted] DPP/ACP

U.S. General Services Administration
Josh Gruenbaum
Commissioner of Federal Acquisition Service
[redacted]
josh.gruenbaum@gsa.gov

On Thu, May 8, 2025 at 10:58 PM Simonpour, Alexander (HQ-AA000)[GSA] <alexander.simonpour@nasa.gov> wrote:

[redacted]
DPP/ACP/AWP

Thanks.

NASA Meatball Logo

Alex Simonpour
Advisor
Mary W. Jackson NASA Headquarters
300 E Street SW, Washington, DC 20546
alexander.simonpour@nasa.gov
Post production redaction

From: Hoyt, Joshua T. EOP/WHO <Joshua.T.Hoyt@who.eop.gov>
Sent: Thursday, May 8, 2025 8:51 PM
To: Kambli, Abhishek (OASG) <Abhishek.Kambli@usdoj.gov>; Simonpour, Alexander (HQ-AA000)[GSA] <alexander.simonpour@nasa.gov>; Josh Gruenbaum - Q <josh.gruenbaum@gsa.gov>; Horne, Marvin L. (HQ-LP010) <marvin.l.horne@nasa.gov>
Cc: Mailman, May EOP/WHO <may.mailman@who.eop.gov>; Carlson, Trey (KSC-AAD00) <trey.carlson-1@nasa.gov>; Jackson, Karla Smith (HQ-LP010) <karla.s.jackson@nasa.gov>
Subject: RE: [EXTERNAL] Re: NASA Grants

NASA, WHCO [redacted] DPP/ACP/AWP [redacted]

Best,

Joshua

From: Kambli, Abhishek (OASG) <Abhishek.Kambli@usdoj.gov>
Sent: Thursday, May 8, 2025 8:14 PM
To: Simonpour, Alexander (HQ-AA000)[GSA] <alexander.simonpour@nasa.gov>; Josh Gruenbaum - Q <josh.gruenbaum@gsa.gov>; Horne, Marvin L. (HQ-LP010) <marvin.l.horne@nasa.gov>
Cc: Mailman, May EOP/WHO [redacted]; Hoyt, Joshua T. EOP/WHO <Joshua.T.Hoyt@who.eop.gov>; Carlson, Trey (KSC-AAD00) <trey.carlson-1@nasa.gov>; Jackson, Karla Smith (HQ-LP010) <karla.s.jackson@nasa.gov>
Subject: RE: [EXTERNAL] Re: NASA Grants

NASA,

[redacted]
DPP/ACP/AWP
[redacted]

Thanks,

Abhi

From: Simonpour, Alexander (HQ-AA000)[GSA] <alexander.simonpour@nasa.gov>
Sent: Thursday, May 8, 2025 6:36 PM
To: Josh Gruenbaum - Q <josh.gruenbaum@gsa.gov>; Horne, Marvin L. (HQ-LP010) <marvin.l.horne@nasa.gov>
Cc: Mailman, May EOP/WHO [redacted]>; Kambli, Abhishek (OASG) <Abhishek.Kambli@usdoj.gov>; Hoyt, Joshua T. EOP/WHO [redacted]>; Carlson, Trey (KSC-AAD00) <trey.carlson-1@nasa.gov>; Jackson, Karla Smith (HQ-LP010) <karla.s.jackson@nasa.gov>
Subject: RE: [EXTERNAL] Re: NASA Grants

Attaching the documents from my original email here.

NASA Meatball Logo

Alex Simonpour

Advisor

Mary W. Jackson NASA Headquarters

300 E Street SW, Washington, DC 20546
alexander.simonpour@nasa.gov

Post production redaction

From: Josh Gruenbaum - Q <josh.gruenbaum@gsa.gov>
Sent: Thursday, May 8, 2025 6:30 PM
To: Horne, Marvin L. (HQ-LP010) <marvin.l.horne@nasa.gov>
Cc: Simonpour, Alexander (HQ-AA000)[GSA] <alexander.simonpour@nasa.gov>; Mailman, May EOP/WHO [redacted]>; Kambli, Abhishek (OASG) <Abhishek.Kambli@usdoj.gov>; Hoyt, Joshua T. EOP/WHO [redacted]>; Carlson, Trey (KSC-AAD00) <trey.carlson-1@nasa.gov>; Jackson, Karla Smith (HQ-LP010) <karla.s.jackson@nasa.gov>
Subject: Re: [EXTERNAL] Re: NASA Grants

Ok abhi [redacted DPP/ACP]

[redacted DPP/ACP]

U.S. General Services Administration
Josh Gruenbaum
Commissioner of Federal Acquisition Service
[redacted]
josh.gruenbaum@gsa.gov

On Thu, May 8, 2025 at 6:26 PM Horne, Marvin L. (HQ-LP010) <marvin.l.horne@nasa.gov> wrote:

> Hi Josh,

[redacted] NASA OGC [redacted]

Thanks,

Marvin

From: Josh Gruenbaum - Q <josh.gruenbaum@gsa.gov>
Sent: Thursday, May 8, 2025 6:02:20 PM
To: Simonpour, Alexander (HQ-AA000)[GSA] <alexander.simonpour@nasa.gov>; Mailman, May EOP/WHO [redacted]>; Kambli, Abhishek (OASG) <Abhishek.Kambli@usdoj.gov>; Hoyt, Joshua T. EOP/WHO [redacted]yt[redacted]
Cc: Horne, Marvin L. (HQ-LP010) <marvin.l.horne@nasa.gov>; Carlson, Trey (KSC-AAD00) <trey.carlson-1@nasa.gov>
Subject: [EXTERNAL] Re: NASA Grants

NASA team [redacted]

[redacted]

U.S. General Services Administration
Josh Gruenbaum
Commissioner of Federal Acquisition Service
[redacted]
josh.gruenbaum@gsa.gov

On Thu, May 8, 2025 at 6:00 PM Josh Gruenbaum - Q <josh.gruenbaum@gsa.gov> wrote:

> Great thanks Alex
>
> [redacted] DPP/ACP
>
> Adding WHCO DPC and DOJ [redacted] DPP/ACP
>
> [redacted] DPP/ACP
>
> U.S. General Services Administration
> **Josh Gruenbaum**
> Commissioner of Federal Acquisition Service
> [redacted]

josh.gruenbaum@gsa.gov

On Thu, May 8, 2025 at 5:54 PM Simonpour, Alexander (HQ-AA000)[GSA] <alexander.simonpour@nasa.gov> wrote:

> Hi team,
>
> Attached is NASA termination letter for 5 of 22 Harvard Contracts determined by the A-suite based on mission impacts.
>
> Thanks.

NASA Meatball Logo

Alex Simonpour

Advisor

Mary W. Jackson NASA Headquarters

300 E Street SW, Washington, DC 20546
alexander.simonpour@nasa.gov

Post production redaction

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Further information on the Task Force, including updates on the recommendations made in this report, can be found at https://www.harvard.edu/task-force-on-antisemitism/

A Note to Our Readers

We recognize that we are releasing this report at a particularly challenging time, and we have significant concerns that the important work that was entrusted to us will be undermined.

We want to be clear. The adoption of the recommendations of this report, born of the experiences of our Jewish and Israeli community, are of the utmost importance to us. So is the way they are adopted.

These significant reforms must be adopted through internal processes that have widespread buy-in within the Harvard community. We are concerned that external parties, even if well-intentioned, will seek to compel adoption of some of our proposed reforms. If they do so, they will make it more difficult for Harvard to fix itself.

The experiences set out in this report and its recommendations come from Harvard. So, too, must the resolutions and the reforms. Our Jewish and Israeli community deserves nothing less.

— *The Members of the Presidential Task Force on Combating Antisemitism and Anti-Israeli Bias*

Introduction

Each year, a program at Harvard University hosts a forum in which student fellowship recipients share their stories in short speeches. In the 2023-24 academic year, one of these recipients, a Jewish Harvard student, planned to describe how their experiences as a grandchild of Holocaust survivors inspired their career goals. In prepared remarks shared with the forum's student organizers, the student speaker described how their grandfather survived the Holocaust by migrating to the then-British Mandate of Palestine, and ultimately helped tens of thousands of others find refuge in territory that is now part of the modern State of Israel. The student recounted what happened next:

> The [student] directors of the conference pulled me aside and said that I cannot mention my grandfather's rescue missions in my speech, because his rescue missions involve Israel. Nowhere does my speech mention the current war or Zionism. It is strictly about the Holocaust. [The two student organizers] told me that my family's Holocaust narrative is not "tasteful" and … I asked "what is not tasteful?" [One of the students] laughed in my face and said, "oh my God." This response was incredibly hurtful and inappropriate. They told me that my family history is inherently one-sided because it does not acknowledge the displacements of Palestinian populations, and I believe this accusation is an antisemitic double standard.

According to the student speaker, while the forum organizers eventually allowed the speaker to mention their grandfather's rescue mission, they insisted that the speaker omit reference to the British Mandate of Palestine as their grandfather's destination.

In many ways, this story epitomizes what we heard about the experiences of numerous Jewish and Israeli students at Harvard in the period after the October 7, 2023 attacks on Israel. Some Jewish students were informed by peers, teaching fellows, and in some cases, faculty, that they were associated with something offensive, and, in some cases, that their very presence was an offense. Perhaps the best way to describe the existence of many Jewish and Israeli students at Harvard in the 2023-24 academic year is that their presence had become triggering, or the subject of political controversy, and the students found themselves, as with the student above, on the wrong side of a political binary that provided no room for the complexity of history or current politics. Many Jewish Harvard affiliates were routinely asked to clarify that they were "one of the good ones" by denouncing the State of Israel and renouncing any attachment to it.

This is the Final Report of the Presidential Task Force on Combating Antisemitism and Anti-Israeli Bias. When established in January of 2024,[1] then-Interim President Alan Garber charged the Task Force to:

> Examine the recent history of antisemitism and its current manifestations on the Harvard campus. It will identify causes of and contributing factors to anti-Jewish behaviors on campus; evaluate evidence regarding the characteristics and frequency of these behaviors; and recommend approaches to combat antisemitism and its impact on campus.

[1] The Task Force first convened under the name "Presidential Task Force on Combating Antisemitism," with "Anti-Israeli Bias" added in June 2024 to better reflect the Task Force's charge.

Our work was preceded by a letter from 33 Harvard student groups that held Israel "entirely responsible" for the October 7th Hamas attacks on Israel. The letter, which was made public as the Hamas invasion of Israel was still underway, caught Harvard's Jewish community in a moment of intense vulnerability and grief and created a horrifying split screen, as community members juxtaposed horrific videos of violence and assault on Israeli civilians, all while encountering media reports in which fellow Harvard community members appeared to be blaming the victims, whose blood was not yet dry, for their own deaths.

This event marked the beginning of what history may remember as the "American campus front" in the hostilities between Israel and Hamas beginning in October 2023 and, as of the date of writing, still ongoing. These hostilities have expanded to include conflicts in several neighboring countries in the Middle East. As students on all sides of the issue have organized demonstrations and sought support from outside groups, Harvard, like other elite universities, has faced a profound crisis.

Since Fall 2023, different factions at Harvard have fought to force various University leaders to make statements, invest, divest, hire, fire, doxx, un-doxx, discipline students and undiscipline them. Without a doubt, the 2023-24 academic year was one of the most challenging years in recent history in American higher education. Campuses found themselves struggling to understand how to handle wide differences of opinion across and within educational communities. By January 2024, the situation at Harvard was particularly difficult, as the institution contended with the sudden departure of its recently installed president and faced legal challenges alleging systematic antisemitism and anti-Arab bias within the University.

This current crisis would have been unimaginable just a few years ago. To illustrate the stark departure from past practices, we heard from a firsthand observer that, as recently as 2017, a co-president of the Harvard Undergraduate Palestine Solidarity Committee occasionally attended dinners at Harvard Hillel. While disagreements undoubtedly arose, this student and their Zionist peers engaged with each other as fellow members of a shared academic community — and as friends — recognizing the value of dialogue and understanding across differences. This period reflects a different era in intergroup relations at Harvard — one in which students appeared to take more seriously their good fortune in being at Harvard and the opportunities this afforded them to bridge divides and engage constructively with diverse viewpoints, even across well-known and deeply felt disagreements.

This report summarizes the findings of the Task Force's study of conditions at Harvard University. We gathered oral and written documentation between March and September 2024, and we devoted the rest of 2024 and beginning of 2025 to writing the report. Our work involved meeting with hundreds of students, faculty, and staff in listening sessions for specific segments of the campus community as well as private conversations with individuals. We also met with members of the wider Harvard community, including alumni. In our outreach, we spoke with non-Jews, American Jews, and Jewish and Arab citizens of the State of Israel within the Harvard community. Additionally, we reviewed a substantial volume of materials provided by Harvard affiliates and received valuable feedback from members of Jewish organizations both on campus and in the alumni community. The work of former President Claudine Gay's Antisemitism Advisory Group also proved beneficial.[2]

Our Task Force, comprised of faculty and students, views this report as a starting point rather than a definitive conclusion, laying the groundwork for wide-ranging recommendations essential in our view for the future of our campus community. We each come to this work with our own experiences here at Harvard, and while those may inform our individual perspectives, our work over the past year relies

[2] Harvard's Antisemitism Advisory Group was formed in October 2023 by then-President Claudine Gay in response to rising concerns about antisemitism on campus, particularly after the Hamas attack on Israel. Its stated purpose was to "work closely with [the president], guided by [the provost] and with the help of the School deans, to develop a robust strategy for confronting antisemitism on campus." The group's work concluded at the end of President Gay's tenure. While the Task Force that produced this report benefited from receiving the Advisory Group's report, the two groups are otherwise unrelated. The Task Force is a separate entity, established by a different president, with a distinct mandate and almost entirely different membership (only one member in common).

principally on the experiences of others. We are not dispassionate in these efforts. We have found many of the narratives we heard upsetting, at times deplorable, often heartbreaking, but we have sought in this report to share what we were told generally without overlay or gloss, leaving to the readers of this report their own conclusions about what has transpired over the past year at a university we cherish.

In keeping with our charge, we did not conduct our work as if we were a court or a jury. While our doors (and inboxes) were open to all, and we made extensive efforts to reach out and listen broadly, we do not assert that we heard from every person or perspective at Harvard on these issues. We listened carefully to the accounts and personal narratives shared with us and have presented them here as they were conveyed, recognizing the possibility of selection bias, among other limitations, inherent in our approach. While in some instances we received corroborating evidence for the narratives shared, we did not require such evidence. We do not claim that these experiences expressed in these narratives are universal or uniformly felt within the University. However, as detailed below, throughout countless interactions with community members during the course of our work, we encountered certain themes and patterns repeatedly. What we describe in this report reflects the experiences related to us by many members of the Harvard community through listening sessions, discussions with student groups, individual reports, and feedback from the open responses offered through an online survey.

As the Task Force went about its work, it was aware of historic continuities between the current moment and past crises that have affected the Jewish people. The lives of Jews in one part of the world have always been liable to affect Jews living elsewhere. When Jews at Harvard and elsewhere in 2023 placed posters and held rallies to raise awareness of Israelis held hostage, they were following the same religious and cultural prerogative to redeem hostages as the global Jewish community in the 17th century that banded together to rescue refugees from Ukrainian pogroms who had been taken captive and put up for sale in the slave markets of Istanbul.[3] Our Jewish community's concern for Israel was a continuation of a tradition of American Jewish philanthropic solidarity for persecuted Jews throughout the world and, in the 20th century, for the establishment and nurturing of a Jewish state. In 2023, Hamas' invasion of Israel led to a moment of intense vulnerability for Jews in America, thousands of miles away. Many Jews at Harvard felt this vulnerability with a particular intensity. Due to constant media coverage, Harvard became a focal point among many college and university campuses in the greatest wave of global antisemitism and anti-Jewish political mobilization since the 1930s. These challenges were deeply traumatic for many Jews both on and off campus. The events and experiences of this period on campus confounded the expectations of Harvard's Jewish alumni community, which had assumed that the largely robust and barrier-free Jewish life that they had known as students was a norm that would continue indefinitely. Many Jewish and Israeli students (Jewish and non-Jewish Israelis alike) recounted a year in which events in Israel and reactions to those events here constituted obstacles to their ability to engage fully in academic and co-curricular life at Harvard.

We learned through our work that the crisis of 2023 did not arrive in a vacuum. At the turn of the millennium, changes in American demographics and Harvard's admissions policies meant that by 2023 the Jewish student community was much smaller than it had been in the early 2010s. The discussion of Israel-Palestine on campus had also become much more extreme. In the 1980s and 1990s, pro-Israel organizers and pro-Palestinian organizers had disagreed strongly yet often worked together to build bridges and to imagine jointly a better future for the region. Those efforts started to fade in the 2000s amidst the Second Intifada and through the Israel-Hamas wars of the 2010s, and by the time Hamas crashed through the Israeli border fence in 2023 the conditions at Harvard (as in the Middle East itself) were very different.

[3] Teller, A., and Project Muse. *Rescue the Surviving Souls: The Great Jewish Refugee Crisis of the Seventeenth Century*. Princeton University Press (2020).

A new politics of some pro-Palestinian organizing appears to view bridge-building activities as a form of betrayal, and a new generation of student activists seems to have begun to perceive Israel as a symbol and vehicle of the evils of the United States and the rest of the Western world. As one Harvard student wrote to their classmates shortly after October 7th in an email we reviewed, the student could not reverse the partition of India that had traumatized their grandparents, but they could organize other students to help free Palestine. A central feature of this politics is arguably the notion that despite its military strength, Israel is nonetheless vulnerable and dependent, that it can be affected by marches on American campuses and divestment and boycott campaigns in a way that could not apply to, say, China, Russia, or America itself. It is precisely this sense of vulnerability that many Israelis and American Jews at Harvard felt so intensely in the aftermath of the October 7th attacks, and which often created a wide gap between how Jewish and Israeli students experienced campus protests and what some of the protestors told us they thought they were protesting for.

The protests of academic year 2023-24 appeared to have had diverse motives. For many students, including Jewish ones, sympathy with the Palestinians was a natural response to Israel's massive military response to the October 7th attacks and a rapidly mounting toll of death and destruction. This sympathy did not mean that each and every participating student was calling for Israel's violent downfall or hatred of Jews worldwide. Yet for some protestors, at times the anti-Zionism enunciated in the student protests crossed a line from a call for freedom and security for Palestinians and Jews alike to a stereotyped notion: that Israel is not a state, but rather a "settler colony" of white Europeans who have no real connection with the land they had stolen, that epitomized aggression, and was bereft of virtues. This view had support among segments of Harvard's faculty, staff, and students, including a small but vocal segment of Jewish students. It can also be found in some Harvard curricula and study abroad programs.[4] As we describe in greater detail in Chapter 4, some curricula, study abroad programs, and parts of degree programs have offered a disturbingly one-sided education on Israel-Palestine.[5] However, these programs are not the only places where problems have emerged. They may have received the bulk of the attention during the 2023-24 academic year, but at the end of the day they provide a window into a set of wider problems at the University and in academia writ large.

As we document concretely throughout this report, many Jewish students, staff, and faculty, as well as non-Jewish Israelis, often find this intensely politicized environment difficult to navigate. Many non-Israeli Jews told us they just prefer to avoid the topic of Israel, which is generally not a choice that Israeli students can make. A Harvard faculty member who works closely with students reported to us that some Jewish students choose to hide their identities on campus, which was something the faculty member could not have imagined would ever be the case at Harvard. Many of the most engaged Jews

[4] While this may seem surprising to the reader — it was to us before we began this work — the organizers of the programs that we discuss at greater length in Chapter 4 have published articles explaining their views and pedagogical goals, see e.g.: 1. "Touring Absences, Erasures, and Futures in the Unholy Land: A Religiously Literate Diasporic Reading of Palestine/Israel," Palestine/Israel Rev. Oct. 1, 2024; 1 (2): 313-342, https://scholarlypublishingcollective.org/psup/pir/article/1/2/313/390095/Touring-Absences-Erasures-and-Futures-in-the (an article from organizers of an Israel/Palestine-focused program at the Harvard Divinity School explaining their goal of training pro-Palestine activists); 2. "Social medicine education towards structural transformation in Palestine," Soc. Sci. & Med. vol. 361, 2024, https://www.sciencedirect.com/science/article/pii/S027795362400786X/pdfft?md5=6c1eb9b462216d207ced14742d8862fc&pid=1-s2.0-S027795362400786X-main.pdf (an article from organizers of programming at the FXB Center and the Harvard T.H. Chan School of Public Health); 3. https://link.springer.com/article/10.1186/s13031-024-00634-0 (an article from organizers of the FXB Center Palestine Program in Health and Human Rights (with co-authors) dismissing calls for "political neutrality" for humanitarian health centers at universities as "curtailing thought" in light of "genocide, colonialism and imperialism" and urging "unwavering demands for justice and disruptive action."); 4. https://pmc.ncbi.nlm.nih.gov/articles/PMC9790940/pdf/hhr-24-02-229.pdf. (an editorial from organizers of the FXB Center Palestine Program in Health and Human Rights).

[5] We wish to acknowledge that both Harvard Divinity School and Harvard T.H. Chan School of Public Health had decanal transitions during the 2023-24 academic year. The incoming deans inherited many of the challenges outlined in this report. Notably, at HDS, the program we consider most problematic, has since undergone a leadership change, suggesting a potential for considerable improvement.

on campus, who often have deep knowledge of the history of the region and, in many cases, a heartfelt commitment to Palestinian rights, also told us that they found dialogue on campus to be exhausting because their own histories and narratives were dismissed as either offensive or false.

Returning to the opening story about the student at the Harvard forum, the student organizers who reportedly refused to allow the sharing of a peer's family story allegedly did so in the name of inclusivity. In telling their fellow student that their family history was unspeakable at Harvard in 2023, these students were expressing an inability to deal with historical complexities, precisely the opposite of what a Harvard education should make possible. The message in our view seemed to be that the student's story of their family finding refuge in what is now the modern State of Israel cannot be spoken because to consider Jews as victims of persecution and to bring attention to the fact that the ancestors of many Israelis arrived as refugees would be to justify oppression. And, as such, a student's true story about their ancestor's heroic rescue of thousands of people becomes at best unspeakable, at worst a lie, and in either case the attempt to portray Jews and Israelis as anything other than malefactors is somehow a threat to others.

The hostility about which we heard has had significant consequences that are degrading to the University. Some Jewish students told us they turned down offers of admission at Harvard Schools. Some Jewish students completing PhDs said they decided to leave for private industry because of the perception and experience of academia being unfriendly to Jews. Some non-Jewish faculty told us that Jewish candidates turned down post-doctoral fellowships at Harvard. We also heard from Jewish medical school students that they shied away from residencies at Harvard's hospitals because of the deep politicization of the climate. We have heard from many dozens of non-Jewish students, faculty, and staff who were profoundly troubled at what they described as an intolerance that has crept into higher education and that is also on display at Harvard.

We heard a common question from a wide range of interlocutors: If Harvard cannot preserve a welcoming, pluralistic community of excellence for teaching and research, then who can? And what does the current state of higher education, particularly in the wake of the 2023-24 academic year, say about its future?

A question we have often been asked to consider is whether anti-Zionism is a form of antisemitism. Anti-Zionist students vow that they oppose Israel, not Jews. Zionist students usually grant that certain criticisms of Israel are not antisemitic but claim that opposing Israel as a Jewish state is antisemitic. Both statements require clarification.

Harvard students, like everyone in this country, have rights to freedom of conscience. Those rights include a right to think critically of Israel and to express that criticism, even in ways that people who identify as Israeli or Zionist may find discomfiting. The State of Israel, like other nations, engages in behaviors that members of our community may find objectionable, even deplorable, and students and others have the right to say as much, subject to the University's policies and rules. However, "criticism" does not justify intimidation, exclusion, bullying, or harassment of members of our community, nor does it justify disruption of the University's functioning. It is disingenuous to use a mild word like "criticism" to describe raucous, aggressive, and inflammatory protest activity on our campus. Nor is it mere "criticism" when Harvard faculty take Jewish students on study abroad trips to bear witness to alleged crimes the students are told they share in; as the organizers of a study abroad program offered at one School described it:

> [Jewish American students on the trip] became overwhelmed with their sorrow at how the Jewish tradition has become indistinct from a settler colonial nation-state project. They aspire to extricate themselves from such a conflation, which implicates them in atrocities.[6]

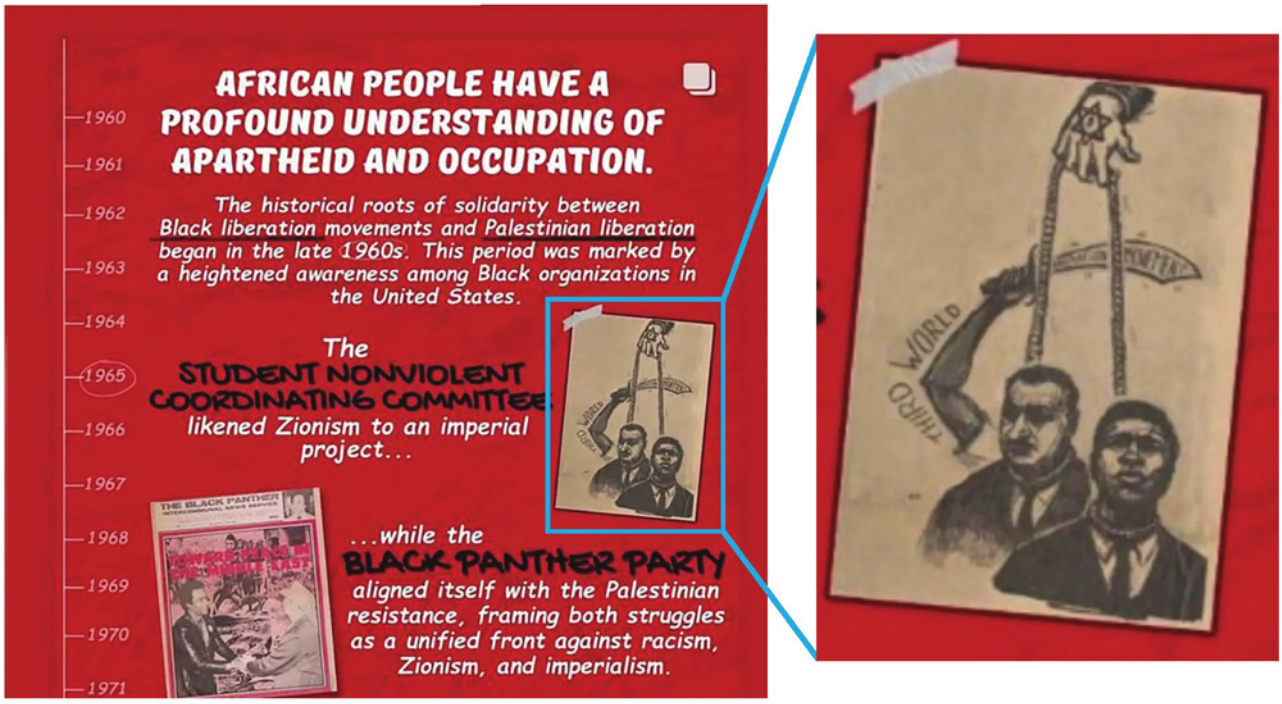
[6] See https://scholarlypublishingcollective.org/psup/pir/article/1/2/313/390095/Touring-Absences-Erasures-and-Futures-in-the (describing a Harvard study abroad sponsored by the Religion and Public Life program at the Divinity School).

This is describing a form of hereditary and collective guilt, where American Jews are guilty of alleged crimes committed in some cases generations ago by other people. In this formulation, American Jews are guilty of "atrocities" unless they distance themselves from the State of Israel. This is not simply "criticism of Israel" — except insomuch as "Israel" is the ancient sobriquet of the Jewish people.

Moreover, even if hostility towards Israel is not necessarily antisemitic, it is unacceptable when its expression violates our community's fundamental values. The exclusion of Israeli or Zionist students from social spaces and extracurricular activities; the posting of threatening messages regarding Israel on social media; the attempts to persuade Jewish students not to enroll or to continue their education at Harvard; and the failure of some of our instructors to teach about Israel/Palestine with academic breadth and rigor are shameful acts. The fact that their ostensible target is Israel and not Jews as a collective is irrelevant. Last but certainly not least, the slippage between "Israel" and "Jews" is widespread, as demonstrated by the increase since October 2023 in classic antisemitic beliefs among the American public and attacks against Jewish individuals and institutions throughout the world.

The ease with which "anti-Zionism" slips into what is effectively antisemitism can be illustrated by two events on Harvard's campus.

The first was an antisemitic cartoon circulated in February 2024 by groups of pro-Palestinian Harvard students, staff, and faculty on social media. The cartoon, depicting a white hand with a Jewish star holding a noose around the heads of a Black man (Muhammad Ali) and an Arab man (Gamal Abdel Nasser), came from 1960s Black student activism, and it was widely condemned as antisemitic by Black leaders at that time. In a joint statement in 1967, prominent civil rights activists Whitney M. Young Jr., A. Philip Randolph, and Bayard Rustin condemned the image as "filled with antisemitic venom."[7]



So why would antisemitic content from the 1960s re-appear on the social media feed of Harvard students and faculty in 2024? One answer may be that many campus activists do not know much about antisemitism, which makes it harder for them to "walk the line" between antisemitism and anti-Zionism. Another answer may be that antisemitism is still present and has in recent years continued to be used as

[7] "SNCC Attack Draws Attacks: Group Repeats Attack on Jews." *New York Amsterdam News*, August 19, 1967.

a political organizing tool in societies as different as the United Kingdom and Pakistan, and the parties involved are engaged in an ideological project to re-inject antisemitism into American politics in the hopes that doing so will weaken American support for Israel. We are not in a position to know which of these two causal forces or other factors is at work. Either way the consequences are unacceptable.

A second example came at Harvard's 2024 Commencement. The University invited a prominent humanitarian, Maria Ressa, to be the keynote speaker. After her invitation was announced, she was attacked on social media by a group of right-wing commentators, including some who were Jewish. We understand why she viewed the attacks as unfair. And we know she was aware of giving her speech on a campus that was, at the time of Commencement, in turmoil, as some pro-Palestinian protestors had been subjected to discipline that kept them from graduating with their class. Large numbers of students and faculty objected to those disciplinary measures. At Commencement, many graduates wore visible symbols of their pro-Palestinian politics. (Jeannie Suk Gersen, the John H. Watson, Jr. Professor of Law at Harvard Law School, memorably described the experience of Harvard's graduation this past year as being like looking at "representatives of rival armies," clad in stoles and other clothing signaling identity and tribal affiliation.)[8] As we explain in greater detail in Chapter 2, Ressa chose not to deliver prepared remarks that were meant to urge pro-Israel and pro-Palestine students to reconcile. Instead, she substituted new remarks praising the student protestors and delivered off-the-cuff comments that appeared to echo traditional conspiracy theories about Jews, money, and power. Why did a renowned humanitarian ad-lib seemingly antisemitic remarks against her Jewish critics at a highly scripted Harvard graduation ceremony? We do not know. To speculate, one answer may be that standing astride visible political opposition to Israelis may make it easier for a speaker to slip into political opposition to Jews and say hostile things about the Jewish people who had attacked her. In the Harvard audience she addressed, it may have seemed there was no cost to offending Jews. Elsewhere on Harvard's campus that week, a different graduation speaker claimed that Israel was committing genocide against people in the Democratic Republic of the Congo, underscoring the concerning climate surrounding discussions of Israel and Jewish identity at Harvard.

The more time we spent on this problem, the more we learned about how demonization of Israel has impacted a much wider swath of campus life than we would have imagined. Friend groups broke down in the wake of October 7th as students traded recriminations or, in some cases, just stopped speaking to one another on the assumption that they did not agree on important things. The bullying and attempts to intimidate Jewish students were in some places successful. We were informed that a Jewish student took a leave of absence after the chants from the protests shattered their sense of safety, and others with a wide range of opinions on Israel reported they largely withdrew from campus life. We met an Israeli graduate student who related being the subject of relentless bullying by pro-Palestinian activists who knew nothing of the student or their past or politics but were pressuring their friends to stop talking to this student. To our understanding, the activists did not have any kind of political conversation with the Israeli student that might have occasioned this shunning; they simply saw an Israeli as an enemy and treated this fellow student accordingly. One of the Israeli student's non-Jewish friends also told us of being personally impacted by the relentless harassment of the Israeli student, as the bullies proclaimed that they would not be friends with any student who was friends with a Zionist. As a result of this ordeal, both the Israeli student and the non-Jewish friend, who had no connection to or knowledge of Middle Eastern politics, said they struggled to participate in many aspects of their Harvard degree program.

In another revealing account, we were told that a few years ago — long before October 7th — an Israeli student in a Harvard degree program had been paired for group work with another student. The other student informed the faculty member that they had pro-Palestinian politics that required them to avoid normal relations, such as collaborating on a school group project, with an Israeli. This student asked the

[8] https://www.newyorker.com/news/daily-comment/speech-under-the-shadow-of-punishment.

faculty member for a new partner, noting that they had no objection to the Israeli student's personality and no critique of their academic work but that as a matter of political principle they would not work with the Israeli. The instructor granted the request.

This course had nothing to do with the Middle East. The instructor, we were told, decided to grant the request for a different work-partner because in their view a student who supported the cause of an oppressed group should not be forced to work with a student identified as a member of an "oppressor group." We believe that this example illustrates a yawning gap between the University's goal of an inclusive, pluralistic, and interactive community of learning and academic excellence and how it is being interpreted on the ground.

While Harvard publicly champions inclusion and pluralism, these values are not consistently upheld by all of Harvard's teachers, and, consequently, are not consistently encouraged among Harvard's students. This lack of common values is challenging for the University, which, as an entity committed to free inquiry, is not designed for policing and disciplining its employees or its students. Discriminatory incidents like these are hard to monitor, as the students who are victims of discrimination often prefer to avoid any kind of administrative process that they may fear is designed to protect the instructor, not the complainant.

For the record, we are not claiming here that Harvard's processes are unfair; however, they are often seen as obscure and very slow, and we understand why students say they sometimes are afraid, in seeking enforcement of policies and discipline, of what seems like a huge distraction that may be unlikely to yield a good result.

One faculty member expressed concern to the Task Force that:

> The general shift of power from regular faculty and to para-academic administrators has played an outsized role in the politicization and radicalization of academia and its intellectual and reputational decline. In the case at hand, it is hard to believe that years of one-sided programming by such appointees has not played a role in "hatred of the Jewish state" [becoming] the default position across campus.

While this perspective reflects the view of one faculty member, the Task Force acknowledges the potential influence of such a power shift on campus climate. In this regard, we heard from students expressing concerns about prejudiced behavior among some teaching fellows and junior personnel. Additionally, the Task Force has received reports alleging that some senior faculty members espouse anti-Israeli biases and express suspicion toward the Jewish community, suggesting their potential influence in shaping campus climate should not be disregarded.

In this report, we will outline severe problems that will be hard to solve. We provide a detailed description of the history of Jews at Harvard that may help illuminate some of the features that make this new era, which started in the 2010s, a break from the past. We depict the profound difficulties that many Jewish students report having encountered since October 2023.

We do not want to overstate the challenges, as Harvard also has much to be proud of and has a thriving, albeit diminished and stressed, Jewish community. But it is also clear that significant trends within the University seem at odds with the University's stated values (which were summarized in 2018 by the Presidential Task Force on Inclusion and Belonging), where pluralistic excellence is at the heart of what Harvard aims for:

> Harvard University aspires to provide education and scholarship of the highest quality — to advance the frontiers of knowledge; to equip students, staff, and faculty and academic personnel for fulfilling experiences of life, work, and inclusive leadership in a complex world; and to provide all members of our diverse community with opportunities for growth.

The 2018 statement goes on to maintain that achieving these goals requires affirming five values on campus: "respect for the rights, differences, and dignity of others"; "honesty and integrity in all dealings"; "conscientious pursuit of excellence in our work"; "accountability for actions and conduct in the community"; and "responsibility for the bonds and bridges that enable all to grow with and learn from one another."

This is what Harvard wants. Our final chapter on recommendations describes how Harvard can pursue its stated goals more fully and successfully. (In Appendix 1, we outline some improvements that the University and the Schools reported they have made in recent months.) We must undo an environment at Harvard where, as an Israeli Arab student told us:

> Instead of diversity moderating people, people become more extreme. One Palestinian student showed up [at Harvard], talking with Israelis. By the end [of their time at Harvard, the student] cut off ties with Israelis and posted [on social media] in favor of Hamas.

We heard similar statements from many other people, including faculty and staff who work closely with students. They saw Harvard as a place where, over time, many students' politics become more radical and where students become less tolerant of people who disagree with them. Faculty who work closely with students told us that in this generation, students too often feel they are carrying the weight of their identities, since they say that is how they sold themselves to Harvard in the application process. This positioning contributes to a kind of affective polarization that, we believe, Harvard has neither anticipated nor developed a set of tools to counteract. Reversing this polarization will require hard decisions and strong leadership. The Israeli Arab student we spoke with provided a suggestion that we think is crucial for moving forward:

> Harvard should change [its] admissions policy to reflect what campus should look like: people listening to each other.

We agree, and we think Harvard has sufficient influence within the world of higher education to lead the field into a better place. To be sure, we believe that the way forward will be very challenging. But the work is important and the vision of higher education that Harvard encapsulates at its very best is worth fighting for. During the course of the Task Force's work, we did see that better version of Harvard on display throughout the University as well. The University has summarized some of the actions they have taken since our Task Force released our Preliminary Recommendations in June 2024.[9] Here are a few examples:

- In our work, we found courses and programming at the Harvard Kennedy School of Government where students had meaningful and significant conversations about the Middle East, with guests representing a wide range of experiences and perspectives — for example, in the public conversations facilitated by Professor Tarek Masoud and in similarly wide-ranging, high-quality, and respectful conversations sponsored by the Weatherhead Center for International Affairs under the directorship of Professor Melani Cammett.
- We discovered classes at Harvard Law School that students praised for offering thoughtful discussion of contentious issues, such as a law of war class taught by Professor of Practice Naz K. Modirzadeh where veterans of the Israeli and American militaries and those who had lived through Middle Eastern conflicts as civilians had difficult and thoughtful exchanges on supremely challenging issues.
- Harvard College has, for its most recent admissions cycle, added a question for all applicants asking them to describe a time when they strongly disagreed with someone, about an idea or issue, how they communicated or engaged with this person, and what they learned from this experience.
- A Jewish Harvard College student organized an Israel-Palestine hotline, staffed by Muslim, Christian, and Jewish volunteers, that offers informative and nonpartisan answers to questions posed by the general public.
- The Edmond and Lily Safra Center for Ethics has been running the Intercollegiate Civil Disagreement Fellowship Program since 2020, which provides students with training in moderating conversations with peers on difficult subjects, and which also sponsors public dialogue events on controversial topics with speakers who represent multiple viewpoints.

[9] https://www.harvard.edu/task-force-on-antisemitism/#implementationupdates.

- The annual student-conceived and student-run Harvard College Israel Trek, founded in 2014, which has included Arab as well as Jewish Israeli student leaders from its inception, takes Harvard undergraduates to both Israel and Palestine, introduces them to Israeli and Palestinian political, cultural, and intellectual leaders, and encourages participants to think broadly and critically about their experience. There are many recorded testimonials from non-Jewish participants describing the trip as their "best experience at Harvard" and as what they imagined Harvard community and a Harvard education would be like.
- At Harvard Business School, the Jewish Students Association and the Middle East and North Africa Club co-sponsored a faculty panel on "Geopolitical Implications of the Israel/Gaza Conflict," with a student from each organization moderating. For their leadership and community contributions throughout the year, the co-presidents of both student organizations were recognized at the 2024 Commencement with the prestigious Dean's Award.
- Perhaps most encouraging of all, some students do continue to reach out substantively to one another across the differences that so often divide many others. Students at Harvard College launched a group that hosts conversations between Jewish, Israeli, Arab, Muslim and Palestinian students. This group, which formally started in 2022 prior to October 7th, worked with Harvard professors such as Arthur Segel and Michael Sandel to host notable Palestinian and Israeli guests. Additionally, some members of this group jointly visited Israel and Palestine. This student group continued meeting after October 7th and, despite political differences, established deep trust and got to know each other's backgrounds and perspectives.
- The President's Building Bridges Fund, created in response to interim recommendations of this Task Force and its sibling Task Force, was launched in Fall 2024. It made its first awards in Spring 2025, supporting student-initiated programming designed to encourage constructive dialogue across groups with fundamental areas of disagreement. These efforts will complement programming offered across the College and the graduate and professional Schools with similar objectives.

A more extensive list of illustrative examples from School and University initiatives appears in Appendix 1.

Examples like the ones above show Harvard at its best. Given the nature of our task, the remainder of our report mostly discusses what may be Harvard at its worst. But these examples show that there is another Harvard besides the one we describe, and that something different is possible. To be clear, we believe that Harvard's positives, including for Jewish students, far outweigh the negatives. But Harvard, by its nature, is never comfortable with anything but the superlative, and we approached our task with that yardstick in mind.

We also feel the need to re-emphasize that Harvard is home to a dazzlingly talented and thriving Jewish community that perseveres even in the face of challenges. Jewish Harvard affiliates often expressed to us their frustration that the public discussion of Harvard focused only on the negatives. We recognize that this report and the public discussion that we hope it sparks will be frustrating for some of them, but we believe this will begin a discussion that will lead to a better Harvard, and hopefully a better higher education, for all students.

Executive Summary

Our report is the product of a process that began when our Task Force started meeting in February 2024. After Spring Recess, the Presidential Task Force on Combating Antisemitism and anti-Israeli Bias convened some 50 listening sessions that reached approximately 500 students, faculty, and staff. The listening sessions took place over a period of two months. After the completion of the sessions, the Task Force worked in subcommittees on the history of the Jewish experience at Harvard; current Jewish student life; University policies and procedures on complaints, protest, and discipline; and the particular challenges at the locationally distinct Longwood Medical Area. Our Task Force also featured two subcommittees formed jointly with our colleagues on the Presidential Task Force on Combating Anti-Muslim, Anti-Arab, and Anti-Palestinian Bias. One joint subcommittee designed and implemented a University-wide survey of student, faculty, and staff opinion about their sense of belonging and comfort expressing their identities and political views. The other joint subcommittee drew up proposals to foster a more pluralistic environment conducive to respectful engagement and disagreement — something that both Task Forces believe to be imperative.

The subcommittees worked over Summer and early Fall 2024 before submitting their reports to the Task Force co-chairs, who drew on them along with other materials when writing this final report.

Background

To understand the events at Harvard in Fall 2023 and thereafter, it is helpful to appreciate them against the backdrop of changes within pro-Palestinian organizing strategies and the University and its students. These changes were already present long before October 7th, but the Hamas attack and its aftermath appear to have accelerated and intensified pre-existing trends.

1. Changes in Pro-Palestine Organizing

In the history section in Chapter 1, we cover the history of pro-Palestinian organizing at Harvard University along with the history of the University's Jewish community, as the two are highly intertwined. As we show, pro-Palestinian organizing at Harvard used to look quite different than it does today. When Dina Abu-Ghaida '91 co-founded the Palestine Solidarity Committee on campus in 1990, she created a group that aimed for engagement with sympathetic Jewish organizations on campus and a two-state solution. During the 1980s and 1990s, it was not unusual for pro-Israeli and pro-Palestinian students on campus, as well as their supporters, to hold joint events that very much reflected and supported the Oslo peace process of the time. This is not to say all was well — we document several incidents of intense disagreement between students over the Israeli-Palestinian conflict — but the issue was characterized by engagement and joint work towards justice, freedom, and security for both Israelis and Palestinians.

This hopeful environment began to sour in the 2000s, as the Second Intifada and the Israeli military response to it shattered the Oslo peace process and moderates in both Israel and Palestine lost power. In 2005, pro-Palestinian activists worldwide founded the Boycott, Divestment, Sanctions (BDS) movement, which condemned the kind of joint programming that had characterized earlier periods at Harvard as

"normalization." The BDS movement quickly migrated into American higher education, where pro-Palestinian organizers (including at Harvard) urged their universities to divest endowment assets from Israel and companies seen as supporting either the Israeli settlement enterprise in the Occupied Territories or, in some cases, Israel as such.

Further changes in the campus atmosphere regarding Israel came in the 2010s, partly in response to what was a disastrous decade for the Palestinian cause and for the lives of many Palestinians. The period was punctuated by periodic violence between Israel and Palestinian militant groups, especially in Gaza, resulting in the deaths of thousands of Palestinians. The political process that Oslo had set in motion, and that optimists hoped would lead to Palestinian statehood, collapsed. In its place, Israel began making one-off peace deals with regional Arab powers under the U.S.-sponsored Abraham Accords, putting the Palestinians in peril of disappearing into a region that appeared to be losing interest in their plight and a world that appeared to view the Palestinians as "inconvenient." If in the 1990s, many Palestinians dreamed of an independent state with a capital in East Jerusalem, the acceleration of the Israeli settlement movement over the 2010s appeared to leave the Palestinians closer to losing the land they continued to hold than regaining any territory lost in the Israeli-Arab wars of the 20th century. In our work, the spillover from the Abraham Accords onto the Harvard campus was notable for not only bitterness on the part of pro-Palestinian students, but also the optimism of Arab students from the Gulf states that had recently normalized relations with Israel. Some of these students were excited about the possibilities of peace between Israel and the Arab world and expressed deep sympathy in discussions with the Task Force for what they saw as the unfair treatment of Jewish students at Harvard.

In partial response to the collapse of the path of peace in the late 2010s, pro-Palestinian organizing on campus took on a more aggressive tenor. Gone were the unity events with Israeli and Jewish students that were common 20 years before, and what replaced them were protests, arguably far more aggressive, that aimed to build awareness for the Palestinian cause in many corners, including at Harvard. As universities are always being re-invented by new students, the current generation participating in pro-Palestinian advocacy may or may not have an understanding of how the political movement was changing, but these changes are observable over time in the history section we present in Chapter 1.

This new era of pro-Palestine organizing has brought new tactics to the table. One tactic focuses on identifying and leveraging organizations and structures that were susceptible to pro-Palestinian messaging and could be mobilized against Israel. Initially, scholarly associations were a common target of this tactic. For example, around 2010 a group of anti-Israel academics worked to take control of the board of the American Studies Association with the apparent goal of (among other things) issuing a statement supporting the boycott of Israeli universities.[10] At Harvard, such tactics were echoed by activists in the local graduate student labor union who, after October 7th, issued their own statement condemning Israel, prompting the resignation of many Jewish members and their allies. Similarly, as we will describe in Chapter 4, some Harvard instructors appear in recent years to have used courses and academic programs at certain Harvard Schools as focal points for a particular type of pro-Palestine politics and activism.

A second tactic that some pro-Palestinian organizers have adopted is trying to inject discussion of the Palestinian cause wherever possible and to use disruptive tactics to raise awareness of the cause. At Harvard, student lifecycle events that are meant to build a common civic identity as Harvard students (such as

[10] We know much about what transpired at the American Studies Association because one of us closely followed and wrote about the case brought by several ASA members against the ASA and its directors for alleged violations of corporate law in the adoption of a BDS resolution. See e.g. https://www.wsj.com/articles/anti-israel-activists-subvert-a-scholarly-group-1512337924. Emails and other documents turned over in discovery indicated that an anti-Israel activist joined the nominating committee in 2010 and then worked over the course of several years to add pro-Palestine activists to the leadership of the ASA. Emails indicate that the activists seeking election to the board wrote to each other about the importance of hiding from members their plans to support a boycott of Israeli universities, and other documents and testimony suggest that member voting was manipulated to increase the likelihood that the BDS resolution would (appear to) pass.

First-Year Convocation at Harvard College, and residency "Match Day" at Harvard Medical School) have become sites of pro-Palestinian protests as protestors seek to inject "the question of Palestine" into areas of student life. At a student-led conference in 2024, pro-Palestinian students at one School ensured that Palestine was a major topic, and the pro-Palestinian "virtual tote bag" given to participants contained an "action toolkit." (This School's leadership responded admirably to this event, acting promptly and decisively to remove the irrelevant material and re-focusing the event on its intended purpose.) Some faculty at Harvard and elsewhere have sought to support and inspire students to engage in these types of protests by excusing them from class, by signaling support with symbolic clothing, or by saying so directly or indirectly. As we discuss in Chapter 4, we found evidence that certain faculty were injecting highly partisan discussions of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict and of American Jewish groups in courses that had no direct connection with these subjects, apparently even before October 7th.

These tactics seem to reflect a type of politics of protest, and an echo of the dire state of the Palestinian cause in the Middle East. Because of the principle of academic freedom, faculty also have unusual power over their classrooms and over students, and thus there may be a relatively low cost to using part of their authority in the service of pro-Palestinian organizing, whereas a mid-level manager at a major company could risk summary termination if they engaged in political organizing at work.

At their most extreme these tactics tend to reflect a conceptual framework that can be summarized as follows: Israel is not a sovereign state so much as a "settler colony" created and sustained by Western colonial powers and that, for all its military strength, can be broken and dismembered. As Harvard Out of Occupied Palestine (HOOP), a pro-Palestinian student group at Harvard that is not recognized by the University, said on October 8, 2024, a year after the Hamas invasion of Israel, "[Israel] is a genocidal regime [that] has exposed itself as an illegitimate state with no concern for life, its very foundation being the dehumanization and subjugation of Palestinians, aided and abetted by our own government's and University's callous disregard for Palestinian life … Make no mistake: The Zionist entity is crumbling and grasping for regional war as its only path towards survival."

Pro-Palestinian activists often target what they see as key planks in Western support for Israel:

1. the belief that Israeli Jews have a historic connection to the territory of the modern State of Israel;
2. a view of Israel as a Western liberal democracy; and
3. the post-Holocaust social prohibition on antisemitism, whether expressed as outright Jew-hatred or the denial of the State of Israel's legitimacy.

The apparent hope is that, over time, by attacking the connections between Israel and Israelis and the United States, they believe — echoing the words of HOOP — the "Zionist entity [will] crumbl[e]."

This political project is often advanced through activism in universities, including Harvard. In our work, we found this activism negatively affecting the academic mission of Harvard in three ways:

1. Some across academia, including at Harvard, have been engaged in a broad effort to show (as an article recently assigned to students in an elective course at one School said) that the relationship between modern Jews and any origin story in the territory of the British Mandate of Palestine is ahistorical.[11] A cluster of academics elsewhere promote this theory, disputing any link between the Jewish population in the ancient Middle East, Jews in the modern Western world, and the Land of Israel (as it is known in the Jewish tradition). This polemical literature is contradicted by scholarship demonstrating longstanding connections between ancient Middle Eastern and modern Jewish populations as well as the religious concepts, charitable networks, and migration flows that have long

[11] See pages 158-159. We note that the article was assigned in one semester of the class in 2022. The instructor removed it from the assigned reading in future versions of the course after a student complaint prompted an internal review of the course by the School's education committee.

connected Jews to the Land of Israel, distinct though those bonds may be from modern Zionism. However, some have succeeded in turning this subject into an academic debate, and faculty assigning these materials may do so without also assigning readings that offer differing perspectives.

2. Some across academia, including at Harvard, are engaged in an effort to convince Americans (both Jewish and non-Jewish) that Israelis are only "Western" in the sense of being colonial masters and rapacious oppressors. At one School, there seems to have been a sizable volume of programs over the past few years accusing Israelis of engaging in willful mass killing, with limited context about how relations between Israel and Hamas-run Gaza deteriorated to the point that such violence is possible and what actions Hamas fighters may have taken to prompt Israel's military conduct in Gaza. The deaths and carnage that the School's events discuss are very real, and the horrific civilian death toll in Gaza since late 2023 dwarfs the already disastrous casualty figures from prior Israel-Hamas conflicts in the 2000s and 2010s. This sort of totalizing rhetoric, however, according to which Israelis exist only as abstract figures intent on genocide, risks stymieing in-depth understanding of Israeli politics, policy, and society, as well as an understanding of Hamas and Palestinian politics.

   This rhetoric can be, moreover, particularly harmful when applied to Israeli students at Harvard, whose own views about the political situation in Israel/Palestine, we should note, vary widely.

   A deeply troubling application of this strategy we have heard about across Harvard is an attempt by student activists to drive Israeli students (and Jewish students who feel connected to Israel) out of student life. This often takes the form of "shunning." Israeli Jewish students complained to our Task Force of great difficulties participating in student organizational and club life, for example, and told us alarming stories of people walking away from them mid-conversation as soon as it came up that they were from, for instance, Tel Aviv. As American Jews at Harvard often have Israeli immigrant heritage or other connections to Israel, this type of organizing often undermines the ability of Jewish students to participate in Harvard's learning environment. We also learned of Israeli Muslim and Israeli Christian students and staff who experienced social discrimination because of their Israeli national identity.

   An Israeli Arab student told us:

   > You get used to social discrimination from [the] first day at Harvard by people of Arab descent. People refusing to speak to you. Not even pretending to be nice. Some people pretend to be nice and end conversation in [a] polite manner when they find out [I am] Israeli and then don't talk to [me] again.

   Faculty in some parts of Harvard also expressed fear that their colleagues would not vote to appoint a Zionist or an Israeli to a faculty position in their departments.

   We came to understand that this effort by some students to block Israelis at Harvard from building bridges and friendships could be seen as an attempt to practice what pro-Palestine activists have termed "anti-normalization." Across Harvard, non-Jewish students unconnected to Israel told our Task Force that they had come under social pressure to end friendships with Israeli students. American Jewish students told us similar stories, where they felt pressure to condemn Israel to prove they were "one of the good ones" (meaning, an "anti-Zionist Jew"), and faced social consequences when they refused. This is best understood as an attempt to deny the humanity of Israelis, by treating them as pariahs unworthy of respect as fellow humans rather than fellow Harvard affiliates.

3. There is an ideological effort underway to weaken the post-World War II social consensus that antisemitism is a form of bias, like anti-Black racism or xenophobia, that society should stigmatize and guard against. In the US, this effort has taken the form of pushing mainstream Jewish organizations out of progressive coalitions as "unworthy interlocutors" on civil rights issues.

Harvard's campus may be particularly susceptible to this trend. While the University has expressed a growing institutional commitment to combating bias, antisemitism has historically been absent from the forms of prejudice addressed in student orientation programs and other platforms where Harvard communicates its values; we understand that efforts to rectify this deficiency are underway. This omission may stem from a misperception that Jewish success at Harvard negates the existence of antisemitism. But other factors may also contribute to this gap.

Jewish students told us stories of Harvard-run "privilege trainings" where they were told that they were deemed to be privileged not only by dint of being identified as White but also because of their Jewishness, which allegedly endowed them with an even higher level of privilege. This discourse creates absurd situations in which Jewish students from working class backgrounds are told by authority figures that they are oppressing classmates from much wealthier backgrounds and with stronger preparation for academic and social life at Harvard. These sorts of exercises are deeply poisonous and risk creating barriers between students who often naturally seek to connect through common interests.

We also encountered an effort by some to redefine antisemitism in a way that drains the term of meaning. For example, while we were writing this report a prominent Jewish leader on campus made public statements about what this person saw as antisemitism in a University program. We then received complaints from Jewish and non-Jewish Harvard affiliates that essentially inverted the accusation, claiming that the prominent Jewish leader was antisemitic and that the program the individual had criticized was the only unit on campus in their view fighting antisemitism. This position changes antisemitism from a serious bias worth combating into an accusation that is strategically deployed in order to obfuscate legitimate concerns. Similarly, 500 Harvard affiliates wrote a letter in Fall 2024 condemning an outside Jewish organization's scheduled antisemitism training session at Harvard. Such a pre-emptive response towards anti-bias education would be hard to imagine if the topic were bias against any other group.

In practice, we found that Jewish Harvard affiliates do not think in terms of clear, formal definitions of antisemitism: they were likely to complain about antisemitism when they felt that people were treating them differently because they were Jewish. For example, when other students (Jewish or not) told them that what they were experiencing was not antisemitism, Jewish students often felt this negation of their actual experiences and perceptions as a form of bias that was inconsistent with the prevailing anti-bias framework that prioritizes "lived experiences" and "discriminatory impact." Some Jewish students experienced this dissonance, frequently and acutely, as a widespread and sometimes institutionalized double standard.

Many Jewish Harvard affiliates expressed that implementing any or all three of the above-mentioned strategies — denying spiritual and historical connections between Jews and historic Palestine, presenting Israel entirely within a framework of rapacious settler-colonialism, and refusing to consider Jews to be members of a historically vulnerable minority group — constituted antisemitism, which we define in this report as an identity-based bias that has kept Jewish Harvard affiliates from fully participating in Harvard's educational, co-curricular, and social life. Many perceived attempts by others to revise their history or to introduce unfounded "debates" about established facts — not legitimate subjects of academic discourse — as forms of antisemitism. Even many non-Israeli Jews (and at this point in Harvard's history it is likelier that a higher percentage of Harvard's Jewish students have some Israeli connection than ever before) often view attempts to demonize Israelis as one-sided and antisemitic. Notably, we spoke with both Zionist and anti-Zionist Jewish students who expressed discomfort with, and identified elements of antisemitism in, the pro-Palestine protest movement on Harvard's campus.

During the 2023-24 academic year, some Jewish staff, faculty, and students felt that injecting the Israeli-Palestinian conflict into unrelated contexts and events at Harvard was effectively an attempt to make them feel uncomfortable or exclude them from educational, co-curricular, or social programs. As previously

mentioned, many Jewish students described being pressured by classmates to condemn Israel, with some also feeling pushed to wear clothing that signified solidarity with pro-Palestinian and anti-Israeli efforts. Some Jewish staff described feeling pressured by pro-Palestinian coworkers to take political positions they found uncomfortable yet also feeling uneasy refusing when confronted by groups of coworkers. And many Jewish Harvard affiliates expressed profound dislike for being told they cannot label something antisemitic when they experience it as such.

Similarly, both Israeli Jews and Arabs experience anti-Israeli bias, defined in this report as an identity-based bias that has kept Harvard affiliates with Israeli nationality or background from fully participating in Harvard's educational, co-curricular, or social life. It is a form of national origin discrimination.

During our work, we were aware of three formal definitions of antisemitism developed or endorsed by NGOs over the past two decades. The first, developed by the European Monitoring Center on Racism and Xenophobia, was crafted, in the words of the American Jewish Committee, as a "'working definition' to help government and civil society monitors as well as law enforcement in their work."[12] Made public in 2005, it was endorsed 11 years later by the International Holocaust Remembrance Alliance and is now commonly known as the IHRA definition. Two others were published in 2021 in *Nexus White Paper: Understanding Antisemitism at its Nexus with Israel and Zionism* and the *Jerusalem Declaration on Antisemitism*. As we carefully reviewed the situation at Harvard, speaking with hundreds of individuals and poring over the historic record of the position of Jewish and Israeli students at Harvard, and recognizing that no one definition can be applied to all contexts, the Task Force opted to prioritize faculty, staff, and students' actual experiences over definitions developed by outside parties. When members of the Harvard community experience hateful conduct and exclusion, the problem is the conduct and the exclusion — not whether it maps onto a lengthy definition of antisemitism or any other form of bias.

As we were completing this report, Harvard University settled two lawsuits. The settlement conditions included Harvard's recognition for certain purposes of the IHRA definition, aligning with IHRA's 2019 acceptance by the US Department of Education's Office for Civil Rights for the purpose of Title VI enforcement.[13] While this Task Force was not involved in the settlement negotiations, we hope this development encourages greater investment at Harvard in building a more robust pluralistic atmosphere, and enhancing opportunities for substantive study of antisemitism, the history of Israel, and the Middle East.

Jewish and Israeli affiliates also told us that they felt their experience on campus was unique, and that no other group was constantly told that their history was a sham, that they or their co-religionists or co-ethnics were supremacists and oppressors, and that they had no right to the protections offered by antibias norms. Many Jewish students told us they feel that they are objects of suspicion. Some Jewish students with historical literacy complained that the world was full of "ethnostates" created in the first half of the 20th century through partition and population transfers, but only one was the focus of intense activist attention (usually without reference to examples that would place the Israel/Palestine conflict in any kind of context). We are not aware of any other group on campus that is subject to social exclusion as part of an intentional campaign by political organizers. One Jewish graduate student who had been at Harvard as an undergraduate years before told us that "Jews are now being treated like Republicans were when I was in college," which of course points to another problem with which elite universities have been struggling.

We observed that some Jewish students in programs at the Harvard Schools ostensibly most committed to social justice seemed to struggle to navigate environments they perceived as systemically antisemitic. This struggle appeared particularly acute when they encountered what they believed to be one-sided programming that portrayed Israelis as uniquely villainous. Indeed, a Jewish student at one School, recently interviewed by

[12] American Jewish Committee, "The Working Definition of Antisemitism: What Does it Mean, Why is it Important, and What Should We Do With It?" https://www.ajc.org/the-working-definition-of-antisemitism
[13] https://www.insidehighered.com/news/quick-takes/2024/05/02/house-passes-new-bill-codify-antisemitism-definition

The New York Times, expressed surprise upon rereading some of her work from the 2023-24 academic year for her professors at HDS. She was dismayed by how insensitive her writing had been to the Israeli perspective. According to the article, she said that "anti-Zionist views seem built into some classes."[14]

The three strategies described above, which many members of our community consider to be antisemitic, present significant challenges for universities that aim to empower faculty and student creativity. While the Task Force shares the view that courses at Harvard should strive for both creativity and academic integrity, efforts to assure quality control may encounter resistance from faculty and staff justly concerned about censorship and threats to academic freedom. However, an academic venue such as a publication or class is no guarantee of integrity. The proliferation of scholarly journals creates opportunities for motivated actors to publish polemics without adhering to objective standards of evidence. While this outlet for creativity represents a core strength of academia, it can also undermine academic integrity. Moreover, if a faculty member teaching a course unrelated to Israel/Palestine incorporates derogatory references to "Israelis" and "Zionists," as we were told happened at multiple Harvard Schools over the course of the 2023-24 academic year, the University is likely to respond with some frustration, even exasperation, but may, nonetheless, strive to defend the academic freedom of its instructors.

These strategies also may place the universities in a highly vulnerable position, because "Israel" is not an abstract idea — it is a real country that exists, whose citizens are students, faculty, and staff on American campuses, including at Harvard. Universities relate to those Israeli community members not through the prism of political questions about the biblical narrative or settler colonialism but instead through the laws that require universities to ensure an educational environment free of national origin discrimination. Politically driven research and one-sided programming present brand and reputation risks that American universities need to take seriously. Whenever student governments in various Harvard Schools have voted to call for a boycott of Israel or to end student exchange programs, numerous Israeli and Jewish students have written to the Task Force about what they feel is an act by some students to protest the existence of other students in their own community.

2. Changes in the University and its Students

Key features of Harvard, as it was on the eve of October 7, 2023, help us better understand what happened to Harvard after October 7th and why. In Fall 2023, Harvard was in many ways in a state of flux, undergoing multiple changes that altered life on campus:

- Harvard's student body globalized over the course of the early 21st century. As the University expanded both internationally and across a wider range of high schools and regions within the United States, incoming Harvard students probably had less familiarity with Jews than they did in, say, 1990. There are few Jews outside of Israel and major American, European, and Latin American cities.
- The students at the University often had their education and personal development significantly disrupted by the COVID-19 pandemic.
- In its conversations with staff, the Task Force learned that the COVID-19 pandemic, particularly the safety measures in place at its peak — such as suspending in-person classes and shifting to online learning — probably disrupted continuity and institutional memory across Harvard's student organizations. This period appears to have greatly impacted extracurricular life, leaving a void of experience with established norms and expectations that continued to affect student organizations into the 2023-24 academic year.
- Over the past few years, Harvard College students have, we were told, become more likely to segregate, socially and residentially, into narrowly defined identity groups and to engage in in-group policing than

[14] See https://www.nytimes.com/2024/12/14/us/college-campuses-gaza-conversations.html.

in the past, which some faculty and staff who interact intensively with College students believe is a source of polarization.

- In 2017, Harvard College reportedly rescinded admissions offers to several prospective students due to their alleged involvement in sharing racist, antisemitic, and sexually offensive messages on social media.[15] This action, we were told, led some students to believe that the College and other parts of the University would continue to monitor and take action against similar expressions of prejudice on social media within the student body.
- While social media is not a new phenomenon at this point, its pervasive presence means that, compared to previous generations of students, a far greater portion of students' exchanges of thoughts and opinions now occur outside of Harvard's classrooms and other traditional campus spaces.
- In our work, we observed that many students expected the various equity, diversity, inclusion, and belonging (EDIB) offices created in the Central Administration and the Schools in the last decade to resolve instances of identity-based bias, which then led to frequent appeals for intervention and classification regarding a wide range of student grievances. We found that some students may have had an inflated view about the EDIB office's authority and capacity to address such matters.
- The University's 2021 creation of an Anti-Bullying Working Group[16] — tasked with recommending University-wide policies and procedures to address potentially abusive and intimidating misconduct, recommendations that later informed the 2023 Non-Discrimination and Anti-Bullying (NDAB) Policies — may have inadvertently led some students to misunderstand the University's capacity to address a wide range of student concerns that, while important, fall outside the scope of these policies.
- Beginning in the mid-2010s, University leaders increasingly commented on matters of public controversy — including geopolitical developments and U.S. social and political issues — even when those matters were not directly related to the University's core functions of research, teaching, and learning. These statements, which took various forms, may have fostered an expectation among some members of the Harvard community that the University would always take their side on political and social matters of concern to them.[17]
- In the Task Force's view, University leaders made significant concessions in response to various protest campaigns throughout the 2010s, including, for example, those advocating for fossil fuel divestment. The relative success of these earlier protest movements — compared to the pro-Palestinian protest movement in Fall 2023 — may have fueled both a degree of hope and then frustration among pro-Palestinian protestors, who may have perceived these past successes as a potential roadmap for their own efforts.[18]

In addition to these broader University trends and developments, several others specific to Jewish life at Harvard emerged during our conversations:

- Though the University does not collect statistics on the religious affiliation of students, the Task Force, based on a variety of factors, surmises that the Jewish population at Harvard in Fall 2023 was probably considerably smaller than in previous decades.

[15] Rebecca Heilweil, "Harvard Rescinds Admissions To 10 Students For Offensive Facebook Memes," Forbes, June 5, 2017,
[16] https://communitymisconductpolicies.harvard.edu/.
[17] In April 2024, the Institutional Voice Working Group, co-chaired by Professors Noah Feldman and Alison Simmons, was formed by then-interim President Alan Garber and then-interim Provost John Manning to address when and how Harvard should speak on public matters. This group's core recommendation, accepted by University leadership, was that Harvard should exercise restraint in issuing official statements on matters outside its core functions of research, teaching, and learning. As a result, this behavior will presumably now be different.
[18] See e.g. https://www.thecrimson.com/article/2024/8/30/rakesh-khurana-photo-essay, about then-College Dean Rakesh Khurana trying to quiet a crowd to create space for a moment of silence in honor of victims of police violence.

- Given broader demographic changes within the American Jewish community, as well as the University's increasing globalization, the Task Force infers that among Jewish students at Harvard, a larger proportion than in previous decades may have Israeli nationality, be Israeli-Americans, have family in Israel, or have studied in Israel as part of high school or gap-year programs.
- As pro-Palestinian student organizers and their sympathetic peers have assumed a more visible role on Harvard's campus in recent decades, their activism has become increasingly disruptive, including more frequent interruptions of University events, such as the College's First-Year Convocation. This development has contributed to some Jewish students feeling alienated from central aspects of student life.
- Two academic programs at Harvard Schools, detailed in Chapter 4, stand out as focal points for concerns about one-sided approaches to Israel/Palestine topics within their coursework, experiential learning offerings, and, in one case, a degree program.
- In the three years preceding October 7, 2023, the Task Force found, there was a scarcity of instruction on the history and politics of Israel/Palestine at the University, aside from the two academic programs mentioned in the previous bullet, which students who spoke with us criticized for presenting one-sided or distorted perspectives.
- During the latter half of the 2010s, in the view of some in the Harvard community, anti-Israel bias had become normalized, especially within politically progressive spaces. This normalization, we were told, put pressure on Jewish students to disavow Israel and are especially difficult for Jewish students with progressive politics who wanted to inhabit those spaces. Norms about non-discrimination and equal treatment among Harvard students appear to have faded, or at the very least, we were told there is an "Israel exception" to those rules (or an equally pernicious notion that anti-discrimination norms apply unevenly to Harvard affiliates based on supposed relative privilege).

While we cannot make a causal claim about any of the changes at Harvard, it is notable that October 7th arrived on a campus with growing animosity against Israel and suspicion, if not downright hostility, towards Israelis, Jews, and others sympathetic to Israel.

This Executive Summary continues below with brief overviews of Chapters 1-5, offering a concise introduction to the report's key findings and recommendations. However, for a full and comprehensive treatment of the topics, readers should refer to the chapters themselves.

Chapter Overviews

OVERVIEW

Chapter 1
Historical Context: the Jewish Experience at Harvard up to October 7, 2023

The origins of the crisis that Harvard currently faces precede October 7, 2023. During the 1960s, longstanding barriers to the admission of Jews to Harvard fell away, and for a half century Harvard had by all accounts a large and flourishing Jewish student body. This is the Harvard that many of our Jewish alumni attended and remember with great affection. Heated campus debates about Israel/Palestine go back to the 1980s, but until a few years ago, students with differing political perspectives on the issue were in conversation and did not on the whole demean each other. Because of that ongoing dialogue and fundamental sense of community, most Jewish students at Harvard continued to feel at home on campus.

In the mid-2010s, Harvard's atmosphere began to change. The Israel/Palestine issue became more divisive and polarizing within the campus community. In the early 2020s, there were signs of decline in constructive conversation, respectful disagreement, and mutual respect between students regarding many issues, including Israel/Palestine. And after October 7th, our Harvard community fell apart.

Chapter 1 of this report draws upon substantial research to trace the rise and fall at Harvard of respectful engagement regarding Israel/Palestine, how these processes have affected our Jewish students, and how we can learn from them in order to repair what our colleague Professor Ali Asani, one of the co-chairs of the Task Force on Combating Anti-Muslim, Anti-Arab, and Anti-Palestinian Bias, has called "Harvard's broken community."

In this chapter, we also demonstrate how, after several decades of relatively healthy interactions between students with differing views regarding Israel/Palestine, certain negative trends developed in the 2010s and 2020s:

- Growing polarization, "anti-normalization" with regard to Israel, and diminished willingness to seek compromise positions.
- Targeting of pro-Israel events, learning opportunities, and campus guests.
- Intensified debate about defining antisemitism and determining the line between discomforting and hateful speech.
- Growing acceptance of stances once seen as outside mainstream debate.
- Social exclusion of some Jewish students and a resulting reluctance on their part to fully express Jewish or Israeli identities or pro-Israel views.
- Complaints of alienation and marginalization on the part of some Jewish students with pro-Palestinian sympathies.
- Growing reliance on the University to manage and protect against offensive behavior.

Underneath all of these developments was a notion of a "Palestine Exception" to free speech on campus. This term, which was popularized by a Palestinian NGO in 2015, alleged widespread censorship, self-censorship, and chilling of critical discourse about Israel. Some Harvard students and faculty claimed that the Palestine Exception operated on campus, when in fact, as this report shows in detail, at Harvard over the past decade pro-Palestinian perspectives have been frequently offered in University programs and centers, courses, and events. These perspectives rarely made room for nuanced and in-depth understanding of Israel.

The academic climate at Harvard during the 2010s and 2020s reflected social and political changes on a national level. We believe, however, that Harvard must not be passive in the face of such changes. The University, in our view, has the ability — and indeed the responsibility — to restore and re-imagine the best aspects of earlier forms of student interaction regarding difficult political issues.

OVERVIEW

Chapter 2
Historical Context: Harvard Since October 7, 2023

A Harvard Kennedy School of Government study showed that, during the 2023-24 academic year, Harvard had the second-highest number of days with protest activity among major U.S. universities. While most of Harvard's peer institutions experienced approximately 40 days of protest, Harvard saw roughly 70 — though still less than one-third of Stanford's total. Chapter 2 narrates the events of that tumultuous year at Harvard with concluding remarks about the situation in Fall 2024. The chapter's major points are as follows:

- Over the course of the Fall 2023 term, the Central Administration faced widespread criticism from many Harvard affiliates and alumni for what they saw as its lack of a firm or effective response to the Hamas massacre and the ensuing pro-Palestine protests on campus, which were frequent and raucous. Many Jewish and Israeli students reported experiencing social shunning, verbal abuse, intimidation, and bullying. In November 2023 there were reports of pro-Palestine activists disrupting classes in Harvard Yard. The defacing of hostage posters around campus with antisemitic slogans in January 2024, and the posting in February of a classic antisemitic cartoon on social media by the Harvard Undergraduate Palestine Solidarity Committee and the African and African American Resistance Organization — along with the resharing of it by Harvard Faculty and Staff for Justice in Palestine — kept many Jewish students on edge.
- After the resignation of President Claudine Gay in early January 2024, the University, under the leadership of then-Interim President Alan Garber, began to take measures to strengthen policies regarding protest. Turmoil continued, however, culminating in a three-week encampment in April and May. It resulted in no violence or arrests and was one of the shortest-lived in the country. Yet the penumbra of the year of disturbances was apparent at Commencement, where hundreds of graduates staged a mass walkout. They were protesting the imposition of disciplinary measures on 13 seniors — barred from graduating with their class for their alleged participation in the encampment. Moreover, there were two controversial Commencement Week addresses (one at Commencement itself) whose remarks appeared to engage with antisemitic themes. Controversies about student discipline continued into the summer. In July, administrative boards at the College and various Schools eliminated or reduced penalties that they had imposed on undergraduate and graduate students in connection with various protests and related events of the previous year, and in the same month the Harvard Corporation conferred degrees on 11 of the 13 seniors whose degrees had been withheld.
- During Summer 2024, the University administration issued revised policies[19] regarding the use of campus grounds and buildings. Additionally, it announced that the University Committee on Rights and Responsibilities would engage in standardized fact-finding procedures for disciplinary cases involving more than one unit. These measures signaled the administration's awareness of the need to institute major reforms in Harvard's policies regarding protest and its disciplinary procedures.

[19] https://evp.harvard.edu/campus-use-rules?utm_source=SilverpopMailing&utm_medium=email&utm_campaign=EVP%20Campus%20Use%20Announcement%208.1.24%20(1).

Fall 2024 lacked the large-scale protests that had marked the previous year. Pro-Palestinian activism mainly took the form of silent demonstrations in the University's libraries,[20] though there were scattered instances of vandalism on campus[21] and the posting of swastika stickers near Harvard Hillel's Rosovsky Hall.[22] Notably, the College's First-Year Convocation, which pro-Palestinian demonstrators had interrupted for several consecutive years, proceeded smoothly in September 2024. This relative quiet on campus, however, concealed ongoing tensions within our community that manifested themselves throughout the Fall 2024 term and in the first weeks of the Spring 2025 term.

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Chapter 3
Findings

In Chapter 3, we summarize what the Task Force learned about the alienating and hostile atmosphere that many Jewish and Israeli students at Harvard described experiencing, particularly in the 2023-24 academic year.

The Task Forces on Combating Antisemitism and Anti-Israeli Bias and Combating Anti-Muslim, Anti-Arab, and Anti-Palestinian Bias collaborated on an online survey, conducted between May and August 2024. This survey attracted some 2,295 responses from students, faculty, and staff, with likely high levels of participation among Jewish, Israeli, Muslim, and Arab affiliates relative to their numbers within the Harvard community.[23] The survey revealed extensive levels of discomfort, alienation, and fear among students who identify with one or more of these categories.

In virtually every category, Jewish students reported more negative experiences than their Christian or atheist/agnostic peers, though Muslim students reported even greater negative experiences than Jewish students. It is not the goal of this Task Force, nor of the parallel Task Force on Combating Anti-Muslim, Anti-Arab, and Anti-Palestinian Bias, to engage in a contest to prove which group has suffered more. Rather, like our sibling Task Force, we aim to understand how the students within our Task Force's purview have perceived events over the past year, identify the sources of their pain, and use that knowledge to formulate strategies for fostering a sense of community and mutual respect at Harvard.

Among Jewish students, substantial numbers reported having the following feelings to at least some extent:

- Not at home at Harvard (39%).
- Physically unsafe (26%).
- Mentally unsafe (44%).
- Unsupported in their well-being at Harvard (49%).

[20] Max J. Krupnick, "Silent Study-Ins: Harvard Library Protests Challenge University Regulations," *Harvard Magazine*, November 14, 2024.
[21] Michelle N. Amponsah and Joyce E. Kim, "Windows Smashed, John Harvard Statue Vandalized in Act of 'Palestinian Resistance,'" *The Harvard Crimson*, October 9, 2024.
[22] "Stickers of Swastikas on Israeli Flag Posted Around Harvard Square, Police Say," *Boston Globe*, October 15, 2024.
[23] The survey was distributed to faculty, staff, and students using various channels that ranged from emails with an embedded survey link to sharing with relevant affinity groups and mentions in *The Harvard Gazette* and *The Harvard Crimson*. The intent was to complement the listening sessions and provide a convenient and anonymous survey that could be taken by Harvard campus community members who were impacted by and/or had views on the issues related to the two Task Forces' mandate. Since this population is not readily identifiable a priori, and also because the survey was not administered or marketed as a University-wide survey (such as the 2019 Pulse survey), it is not as feasible to provide accurate response rates. While we do provide relative demographic coverage comparisons to the 2019 Pulse survey, the Task Force joint survey is best viewed as a way to incorporate more opinions from those community members who wanted to weigh in on their experiences on campus and observations during the Fall 2023 to Summer 2024 period.

- Uncomfortable expressing their beliefs or opinions to people "whose political views may be in conflict with mine and/or go against my sense of identity/nationality" (46%).

By comparison, students who identify as neither Jewish nor Muslim reported significantly lower percentages when asked the same questions as above — 21%, 12%, 24%, 33%, and 32%, respectively. In other words, Jewish students were twice as likely as their non-Jewish, non-Muslim peers to feel unwelcome and unsafe at Harvard.

Responding to a slightly differently worded question, even larger percentages of Jewish students (67%) expressed discomfort sharing their opinions in general, with that number rising to 73% when it came to expressing political opinions. Students who are neither Muslim nor Jewish were 20 percentage points less likely to express such discomfort.

Almost 60% of Jewish students reported experiencing "discrimination, stereotyping, or negative bias on campus due to [their] views on current events," and only 25% believed that there was no "academic or professional penalty" at Harvard for expressing their views.

The survey's quantitative findings were further corroborated by qualitative data collected during a series of listening sessions held between March 21 and May 20, 2024. Members of our Task Force held approximately 50 sessions, engaging with more than 500 members of the Harvard community. While most participants were students, there were also some staff- and faculty-focused sessions as well as a session with Resident Deans.

These listening sessions were tailored to different segments of the Harvard community. Sessions were held for undergraduate students in the College as well as for students in Harvard's 12 graduate and professional Schools. Additional sessions were organized within undergraduate students' residential Houses and with various Jewish student groups, such as Hillel and Chabad.

In these sessions, the participants' views were documented via typed notes in which all identifying features of the speaker were anonymized except for the nature of their affiliation (e.g., undergraduate, graduate student, faculty, staff, School). Participation in the sessions was lively, with many, most, or all participants sharing their views. Our documentation of the sessions therefore reflects the contributions of hundreds of individuals.

Several major themes emerged from the listening sessions:

- Substantial numbers of Jewish students feel that since October 7th they have lived in an increasingly hostile atmosphere in their residences, classes, organizations, and clubs, as well as in the public spaces of Harvard Yard and the Science Center Plaza.
- Many Israeli students have felt particularly victimized, often in the form of social shunning.
- Fear of encountering hostility has led some Jewish students to conceal their Jewish identity from classmates.
- Certain Harvard Schools, departments, institutes, centers, and instructors were described as promoting or tolerating anti-Israeli critiques that blend into animosity towards Jews.
- Many students described administrative responses to student complaints as unclear and unconscionably slow.
- There were widespread perceptions that anti-Israeli and anti-Jewish expression are tolerated in a way that hostile rhetoric towards other groups would not be; that some of Harvard's offices for Equity, Diversity, Inclusion, and Belonging have not taken antisemitism seriously; and that discipline against students who engaged in bullying, harassment, and intimidation has been lax.
- Social media has worsened the well-being of many Jewish students by enabling the rapid and repeated production of cruel and hateful messages, often anonymously.
- Some Jewish students who identify as anti-Zionist report the same sort of bullying and shunning that other Jewish students describe encountering from pro-Palestinian students.
- Harvard lacks relevant courses and programming to address the campus climate and discuss events in Israel/Palestine in a constructive, informed, and non-threatening way.

OVERVIEW

Chapter 4
Case Studies from Harvard's Schools

Chapter 4 examines instances where administrators and faculty at certain Harvard Schools seemingly fell short in their responsibility to uphold principles of open inquiry, civility, and respectful disagreement within specific courses, programs, and events. The chapter focuses on four Schools, and presents accounts and illustrative case studies based on feedback from students, faculty, and staff who reported experiences of antisemitism and anti-Israeli bias, particularly during the 2023-24 academic year. These experiences manifested as:

- Ostracism of many Zionist and Israeli students that adversely affected their participation in both classroom and co-curricular settings.
- Politicization of instruction or academic settings that effectively made a specific view on the Israel-Hamas conflict a litmus test for full classroom participation and ended up disparately impacting many Jewish and Israeli students.
- Politicized instruction that mainstreamed and normalized what many Jewish and Israeli students experience as antisemitism and anti-Israeli bias.

The chapter identifies a lack of rigorous academic oversight in program design and instruction, particularly for courses taught by non-ladder faculty, as a contributing factor. The Task Force expresses concern that the prestige associated with teaching at Harvard might be leveraged to advance partisan agendas, potentially compromising academic integrity, and contributing to a climate of hostility and exclusion.

The chapter concludes by calling for:

- Increased leadership and supervision from ladder faculty for courses and programming offered by centers, including faculty participation in related events.
- Realignment of center missions to prioritize advancing the frontiers of knowledge, with governance structures refocused on academic integrity.
- Cultivation of respect for viewpoint diversity and a norm of respectful engagement, relation, and cooperation, even with those with whom we vehemently disagree.
- An expectation that programming engaging controversial subjects will feature viewpoint diversity.
- Increased depth of high-caliber scholarly expertise on campus concerning the modern Middle East, including Israel/Palestine.

Chapter 4 underscores the urgent need for Harvard to uphold its core values and ensure a learning environment free from bias and discrimination, where all members of the community feel safe, respected, and empowered to thrive. The chapter provides specific examples from our work that illustrate these points.

OVERVIEW

Chapter 5
Conclusions and Recommendations

In Chapter 5 of the report, we call for comprehensive, integrated, and sustained changes in how the University operates.

First, we call for changes in admissions and student life that align with the report of the Joint Task Force Subcommittee on Pluralism. This subcommittee emphasizes:

> The promotion of a culture of pluralism, defined as recognizing the diversity of identities and ideologies on campus; respecting, relating, and cooperating with one another; and connecting personal and campus civic values to advance our educational and research mission. These campus civic values are anchored in the University's Values Statement advancing respect for the rights, differences, and dignity of others; honesty and integrity in all dealings; conscientious pursuit of excellence in our work; accountability for actions and conduct in the community; and responsibility for the bonds and bridges that enable all to grow with and learn from one another.

To achieve these goals, we specifically call for changes in:

- **Admissions** We believe classes at Harvard should consist of students who are eager to contribute to a learning community grounded in open inquiry and mutual respect.
- **Early student experiences** Early student experiences, especially for undergraduates, should focus on establishing norms that reflect Harvard's aspirations for its learning community.
- **Academics** Students deserve a classroom experience that embodies the desired learning community — one free from antisemitism, anti-Israeli bias, and all other forms of discrimination — and supported by enhanced course opportunities offered by Harvard's Schools and faculty.
- **Academic offerings** Academic offerings should provide significantly more plentiful and diverse opportunities for the study of Jewish civilization, antisemitism and the Holocaust, Israel, and the Israeli-Palestinian conflict.
- **Co-curricular activities and residential life** Student organizations need support and guidance to ensure their activities do not have antisemitic or anti-Israeli impacts, so they can effectively contribute to the kind of learning community Harvard aspires to beyond the classroom.
- **Building a pluralistic community** To foster a campus culture of pluralism at Harvard, a central hub should be established.
- **Religious life** We believe that faith can be an important source of support for Harvard's students and an integral part of the learning community, and that steps can be taken to strengthen this aspect of campus life.
- **Administrative infrastructure** A robust administrative infrastructure is needed to support, coordinate, and sustain the efforts outlined above. This infrastructure should include substantive, equitable disciplinary procedures to the greatest extent possible, across Harvard's Schools.
- **Complaint mechanisms** Complaint mechanisms should be aligned across Harvard's Schools to the greatest extent possible, and should be easily accessed, user-friendly, efficient, and capable of generating publicly reportable aggregate data.

We also call for changes that touch on governance issues to strengthen ladder faculty oversight of educational programs and instructor training across Harvard's Schools.

As noted above, Harvard has recently entered into legal settlements and resolutions. While these are still very new, we note that they may address — and potentially even obviate the need for — some of the recommendations set forth in this report. Additionally, the University has publicly summarized some of the actions it has taken since our Task Force released its Preliminary Recommendations in June 2024.[24]

Finally, we urge the University and its Schools to take on the mantle of moral leadership in the fight against antisemitism and anti-Israeli bias. We are deeply concerned that these forms of bigotry are becoming increasingly normalized in academia, particularly within what seem to be highly politicized disciplines such as public health, medicine, and education. Harvard has a responsibility to actively counter this trend and serve as a model for higher education institutions nationwide.

[24] https://www.harvard.edu/task-force-on-antisemitism/#implementationupdates.

Full Report

Chapter 1

Historical Context: the Jewish Experience at Harvard up to October 7, 2023

Introduction

Questions regarding what constitutes antisemitism and the overall situation for Jewish students at Harvard came to the forefront after the Hamas attack on Israel on October 7, 2023. The attack had an immediate and profound effect on our campus. On October 8, a statement from the Harvard Undergraduate Palestine Solidarity Committee, along with more than 30 other student organizations, held "Israel responsible for all unfolding violence …. The apartheid regime is the only one to blame."[25]

The statement triggered harsh backlash, which took the form of online denunciations, doxxing, and public criticism from alumni and the national media. The administration's responses to ensure student safety amid threats and harassment were widely seen as insufficient. The campus atmosphere grew tense, featuring polarizing events, accusations of both antisemitism and Islamophobia, and considerable distress among many Jewish students. Voices on one side demanded more decisive actions by Harvard to address antisemitism, while those on the other side argued that claims of antisemitism were being used to suppress critiques of Israel.

Events at Harvard after October 7th did not emerge from a vacuum. Rather, we saw an acceleration of trends within our community dating back to the early 2000s. These trends stand in sharp contrast with how the Israeli-Palestinian conflict had previously been represented at Harvard and how previous generations of Harvard's Jewish students had experienced campus life.

This chapter traces the history of the Jewish community at Harvard from the early 20th century up to the end of 2023. It focuses on the years since the 1980s, when the Israeli-Palestinian conflict began to visibly influence campus life. The chapter examines Jewish social and organizational life at Harvard, interactions between Jewish and non-Jewish students, and the effects of social and cultural changes on the national level on campus dynamics and Harvard's Jewish community. One primary focus is to understand how Jewish student life at Harvard has been influenced by the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. We have relied upon primary sources like *The Harvard Crimson* and materials from the Harvard University archives, along with interviews with alumni and secondary sources on admissions and student life.

[25] "Joint Statement by Harvard Palestine Solidarity Groups on the Situation in Palestine," *The Harvard Crimson,* October 10, 2023. https://www.thecrimson.com/widget/2023/10/10/psc-statement/

Summary and Overview

After auspicious beginnings in the late 1800s, Harvard's Jewish community experienced significant challenges in the 1920s with the imposition of admissions quotas. Although the number of Jews at Harvard increased after World War II, only in the 1960s did Harvard fully overcome its exclusionist past and admit Jews on a prejudice-free basis. The full opening of Harvard to Jews, the incorporation of Radcliffe into Harvard, and the growth in admission of Black students were coterminous, suggesting that the position of Jews at Harvard was directly related to that of other historically marginalized groups, e.g., women and Black Americans.

The period from the 1960s until the 2010s was a golden age for Jews at Harvard. They constituted a substantial percentage of the undergraduate student body (between 20 - 25%), and based on what we heard, encountered little prejudice and were well-integrated into everyday campus life. Harvard Hillel provided a welcoming and warm environment for Jewish students. Major events in the Middle East like the 1967 and 1973 Arab-Israeli wars were discussed on campus, but they did not evoke intense activism.

In the 1980s the First Lebanon War and First Intifada catalyzed an escalation in student activism at Harvard. Comparisons between Israel and apartheid South Africa became more common. Critiques of Israeli policies, however, rarely employed antisemitic rhetoric. Both sides in these debates invited controversial speakers to campus, but there were also sincere attempts to engage in reasoned dialogue and to propose limits of valid criticisms of Israel.

Activism on both sides increased in the 1990s, mirroring both the growing violence in the Middle East and — conversely — the peace efforts that occurred in this decade. There were robust debates on campus about balancing free speech and harassment, informed by University-wide attempts to manage such tensions by publishing guidelines for free speech on campus. Pro-Palestinian activism grew with the establishment of the Palestine Solidarity Committee (PSC) and increased activity by the Society of Arab Students (SAS). Despite these tensions, there were efforts to foster dialogue and reconciliation, including joint events between Hillel and the SAS and broader campus initiatives. Tensions between Black and Jewish students also surfaced, notably in controversies involving speakers like Anthony Martin and Leonard Jeffries, yet conciliatory efforts persisted through organized discussions and mutual activities.

Discourse on the Israeli-Palestinian conflict heightened further in the 2000s, shaped significantly by escalating violence in the region and controversial international events. Student activism intensified with groups like Hillel, SAS, and Harvard Students for Israel (HSI) organizing vigils, rallies, and discussions. When accusations of antisemitism surfaced, they were articulated publicly by faculty such as Lawrence Summers, Ruth Wisse, and Alan Dershowitz, rather than the student groups themselves. Students typically aimed to clarify that their critiques focused on policies rather than Israel's legitimacy. Efforts at dialogue continued despite divisions, with separate and joint events highlighting attempts at understanding. Prominent debates included a controversial divestment campaign and its subsequent rebuttals, raising questions about the fine line between criticism of Israel and antisemitism. Despite these tensions, there were also moments of constructive engagement through student-led dialogues and initiatives aimed at finding common ground.

A gradual though significant change in the experience of Jewish students at Harvard began around 2010. Discussions about Israel and Palestine became increasingly confrontational. While some efforts to foster dialogue persisted, student activism became more assertive, directly challenging Israel-related activities on campus. Organizations like the PSC and Harvard Out of Occupied Palestine (HOOP) led protests against Israeli products like SodaStream and Sabra hummus, and disrupted events hosted by pro-Israel

groups.[26,27] Campaigns for divestment and the boycotting of trips to Israel, such as Birthright and Harvard College Israel Trek, also intensified. Consequently, conversations about antisemitism grew more contentious, with frequent debates over when criticism of Israeli policies crossed into antisemitism. While early voices warned that confrontational tactics were polarizing debates, these assertive approaches became more normative over time, diminishing opportunities for balanced discussions. Controversial events like Israeli Apartheid Week further highlighted the divided campus climate. A pro-Palestinian discourse equating Zionism with racism and likening Israel to Nazi Germany was deeply disturbing to many Jewish students. Efforts to find common ground and appreciate differing perspectives waned, reflecting broader social and political dynamics that influenced campus activism during this period.

Over this same time, the number of Jewish students at Harvard declined, most likely due to changes in admissions practices that sought greater racial and ethnic diversity. The decline in Jewish enrollments exacerbated feelings of vulnerability among Jewish students, especially those who identified with progressive politics and felt unwelcome in progressive-oriented campus clubs and activities unless they disavowed attachments to Israel.

Harvard's campus met the October 7th attack in an already divided state. Following the attack, pro-Palestinian activism surged. The Harvard PSC and more than 30 other student groups attributed blame for the violence solely to Israel, provoking significant backlash including online denunciations and doxxing. The administration faced criticism for perceived inadequate responses to threats and harassment against students. In mid-October, a PSC panel condemned Israel without presenting counterarguments, further inflaming campus debate. Social media posts expressing violent hostility to Israel and threats to Jews contributed to Jewish students' distress.[28,29] In early November, Harvard President Claudine Gay's condemnation of the "from the river to the sea" chant as antisemitic received mixed reactions.[30] Protests and criticism persisted throughout November, culminating in increased unrest and safety concerns. In late 2023 and early 2024, the climate intensified with ongoing protests, contentious events, and disciplinary actions. President Gay faced scrutiny over allegedly insufficient responses to antisemitism, and in January 2024 Harvard was sued for failing to act appropriately against antisemitism on campus, and Title VI complaints about anti-Arab, anti-Muslim, and anti-Palestinian bias were filed to the US Department of Education.[31,32] Pro-Palestinian activism continued, with significant protests and controversial imagery exacerbating feelings of marginalization among many Jewish students.[33]

[26] "HUDS Suspends Purchases from Israeli Soda Company," *The Harvard Crimson*, December 17, 2014. https://www.thecrimson.com/article/2014/12/17/huds-soda-stream-suspend-purchase/
[27] "Harvard Out of Occupied Palestine Protests Sabra Hummus in Harvard Yard," *The Harvard Crimson*, February 9, 2022. https://www.thecrimson.com/article/2022/2/9/students-protest-sabra-hummus/
[28] "Harvard Asks Sidechat to Enforce Content Moderation as Jewish Students Decry 'Vicious' Antisemitism," *The Harvard Crimson*, January 22, 2024. https://www.thecrimson.com/article/2024/1/22/sidechat-antisemitism-enforce-moderation/
[29] https://www.adl.org/resources/article/hamas-attack-draws-cheers-extremists-spurs-antisemitism-and-conspiracies-online
[30] "More than 100 Harvard Faculty Sign Letter Criticizing President Gay's Censure of Pro-Palestine Slogan," *The Harvard Crimson*, November 15, 2023. https://www.thecrimson.com/article/2023/11/15/faculty-condemn-president-gay-statement/
[31] "Harvard Students Allege Anti-Palestinian Discrimination in Complaint to U.S. Ed Department," *The Harvard Crimson*, January 30, 2024. https://www.thecrimson.com/article/2024/1/30/antipalestinian-discrimination-education-complaint/
[32] "Jewish Students Sue Harvard University, Allege 'Severe' Antisemitism on Campus," *The Harvard Crimson*, January 12, 2024. https://www.thecrimson.com/article/2024/1/12/harvard-lawsuit-campus-antisemitism/
[33] "As Harvard Warns of Disciplinary Action, Groups Apologize for Antisemitic Image," *The Harvard Crimson*, February 20, 2024. https://www.thecrimson.com/article/2024/2/20/harvard-antisemitic-image-apology/

Over the past 10 to 15 years, several common themes affecting the experience of Jewish members of the Harvard community have emerged:

Growing polarization and diminished willingness to seek dialogue, compromise, and understanding of opposed positions As activism adopted more assertive stances rejecting compromise, and opposing "normalization" of Israel, over the past decade, moderate positions received less support. It became significantly more difficult for Jewish students with nuanced views to feel their perspectives were respected or welcomed.

Targeting of pro-Israel events and guests Regular disruptions, protests, and calls to boycott pro-Israel activities like Birthright and Israel Trek presented challenges for students wanting to engage with those opportunities or express support for Israel's right to exist.

Intensified debate about defining antisemitism and determining the line between discomforting and hateful speech As discussions about when criticism crosses that line became more contentious, Jewish students came to feel that their concerns were not taken seriously by peers, faculty, and administrators.

Growing acceptance of stances once seen as outside mainstream debate Assertive tactics and rhetoric rejecting compromise between opposing viewpoints became more widely accepted and normalized.

Social exclusion of Jewish students and their reluctance to fully express Jewish/pro-Israel identities As compromise became more difficult and dissent risked social consequences, some Jewish students reported growing pressure to censor themselves. Concurrently, Orthodox Jewish students felt that their personal safety was jeopardized by visible signifiers of their identity like a kippa (yarmulke).

Complaints of alienation and marginalization on the part of Jewish students with pro-Palestinian sympathies These students felt rejected by Hillel, Chabad, and other Jewish spaces. These students struggled to find a community that fully embraced their views and identities.

Growing reliance on the University to manage offensive behavior and provide protection Over the years, as campus debates became more heated and instances of targeted behavior became more commonplace, students increasingly looked to the University administration to intervene and ensure a safer environment. Students expected the University to address hate speech, provide clear guidelines on acceptable discourse, and enforce measures to prevent harassment and discrimination. The need for administrative support grew as students sought institutional backing to shield them from offensive actions and rhetoric**.**

Events in the Middle East likely have influenced the tone of campus activism around the Israeli-Palestinian conflict and debates about antisemitism at Harvard, but it is a mistake to imply a direct correlation between what has happened "there" and "here." Certainly, Harvard has seen periods of relative congruence between increased intensity of conflict in the region and campus activism. During the period of the Oslo Accords in the 1990s, Harvard students and faculty often engaged in constructive and peaceful dialogue, reflecting a broad hope for regional peace. Similarly, during the Second Intifada in the early 2000s, heightened violence in Israel and the Palestinian territories was mirrored by increased polarization and activism on campus. However, there were also instances of incongruence: during the 2000s, despite significant violence and turmoil in the Middle East, political discourse at Harvard sometimes remained respectful and focused on inclusive debate. Additionally, even in times of faltering peace efforts or rampant violence, student initiatives sought to foster understanding and dialogue (e.g., after the assassination of Israeli Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin in 1995). While students certainly responded to events occurring in the Middle East, the tone and forms of engagement should not be assumed to be wholly analogous to dynamics in the region.

The National Context

Changes in Jewish student experiences at Harvard reflect national trends. Several broad social movements emerging in the early 2000s affected dynamics on campus. The Boycott, Divestment, Sanctions (BDS) movement, which was founded in 2005, ushered in a confrontational style that differed from previous

forms of pro-Palestinian activism on campuses. In 2011, the Occupy movement inspired students with its emphasis on direct action and public confrontations, further shaping the tenor of campus engagement. Over the 2010s, postcolonial approaches in the humanities and interpretive social sciences were routinely applied to the Israeli-Palestinian conflict as an example of a settler-colonial movement subjugating or expelling an indigenous people. This way of thinking discouraged engagement with people who had attachments to Israel.

Another contextual factor is the generational shift in students' sensitivities. Jonathan Haidt and Greg Lukianoff have pointed to the rise of fragility, emotional (rather than intellectual) reasoning, and a polarized "us vs. them" mentality among college students, all of which began to significantly shape campus dynamics around 2013-2014.[34] These changes have been mirrored in the increasingly divisive environment at Harvard, where discussions about Israel and the Palestinians have become more contentious and uncompromising. Haidt and Lukianoff also pointed to a culture of safetyism precipitating the decline of open debate on campus. This cultural shift helps explain why assertive activism has gained traction and Jewish students, regardless of their positions on Israel, have felt more insecure. While some have criticized Haidt and Lukianoff for focusing on group psychology and neglecting the sociopolitical dimensions of problems on college campuses,[35] the processes they describe align well with the decline in constructive interaction and rising divide between students at campuses nationwide.

A related phenomenon is the rise over the past three decades of affective polarization — that is, the intensification of hostility and intolerance as political emotions, influenced by social media and the COVID-19 pandemic. This phenomenon has affected young people more than their elders and has risen more rapidly in the United States than in most other Western countries.[36] Affective polarization has influenced many aspects of student interaction, including activism on a wide variety of issues beyond Israel/Palestine.

Sociologists Amy J. Binder and Jeffrey L. Kidder have discovered growing differences between the ways student groups on the left and on the right develop their strategies and tactics. Binder and Kidder show that conservative students are finding less purchase on campus due to largely unsympathetic administrators and faculty, and ultimately rely on external organizations for support, where they can also translate their campus activism to a post-graduation career. While most pro-Israel students at Harvard do not identify as conservative, many of them have become frustrated by a perceived lack of sympathy on campus and are relying instead on outside funding and networks to bolster their activism.

Conversely, progressive students often have better access to campus resources and can gain on-campus success more easily (e.g., renaming buildings, establishing cultural centers) but have less external support. Thus, over the past several decades, progressive activism has tended to remain confined to campuses, while conservative activism has tended to provide more career pathways after graduation.[37] These strategic differences in approach, depending on support structures and institutional contexts,

[34] Greg Lukianoff and Jonathan Haidt, *The Coddling of the American Mind: How Good Intentions and Bad Ideas are Setting up a Generation for Failure* (New York: Penguin Press, 2018).
[35] E.g., Howard A. Doughty, "The Coddling of the American Mind: How Good Intentions and Bad Ideas Are Setting Up a Generation for Failure," (Ottawa: The Innovation Journal, 2018); Jonathan Marks, "Bad Therapy: The Coddling of the American Mind: How Good Intentions and Bad Ideas Are Setting Up a Generation for Failure," Commentary 146, no. 2 (2018).
[36] Noam Gidron, James Adams, and Will Horne, *American Affective Polarization in Comparative Perspective* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2020); Elizabeth C. Connors, "Social Desirability and Affective Polarization," Public Opinion Quarterly 87, no. 4 (2023), 911–34; Christian Staal Bruun Overgaard, "Perceiving Affective Polarization in the United States: How Social Media Shape Meta-Perceptions and Affective Polarization," Social Media + Society 10, no. 1 (2024). https://journals.sagepub.com/doi/full/10.1177/20563051241232662
[37] Amy J. Binder and Jeffrey L. Kidder, *The channels of student activism: how the left and right are winning (and losing) in campus politics today*, ed. Jeffrey L. Kidder (Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press, 2022).

mirror some aspects of the interplay of support and opposition that characterizes activism around the Israeli-Palestinian conflict at Harvard. Indeed, in a controversial June 2024 op-ed, Dean of Social Science Lawrence D. Bobo observed:

> Modern student protest appears less and less likely to target major non-University events, businesses, or government bodies. Rather, they're comfortably situated in the confines of college campuses, directing demands for change at university administrators and boards of directors.[38]

The changing composition of student bodies may also partially explain the growing polarization on campus around the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. Over the past thirty years, colleges throughout the United States have diversified their student bodies, partly to reflect demographic changes in the country, and in part to redress past discrimination against underrepresented minorities. Students of Middle Eastern, South Asian, and African heritage have been in the forefront of support for the Palestinian cause nationwide.

Striving for Belonging: Jewish Life and Challenges at Harvard, 1900-1979

The early to mid-20th century saw significant growth and institutionalization of the Jewish presence at Harvard. Despite the imposition of quotas intended to limit Jewish admissions, Jewish students established a strong sense of community by creating and expanding organizations dedicated to their support. Groups such as the Harvard Menorah Society and Harvard-Radcliffe Hillel became central to Jewish identity and communal life.

Although the formal quotas disappeared after World War II, Jewish students continued to experience some antisemitic discrimination. Jewish students responded in contrary ways; some felt a need to assimilate, while others aimed to strengthen their Jewish identity. During the 1960s and 1970s, antisemitism diminished markedly, and Jewish students became fully integrated into the University community.

Israel and the Arab-Israeli conflict entered Harvard's discourse in the late 1940s, sparking diverse reactions ranging from fervent support to pointed criticism of Israel. Debates about the wars of 1948, 1967, and 1973 typically centered on Cold War dynamics and other geopolitical concerns. They rarely linked conflicts in the Middle East or critiques of Israel with negative judgments of Jewish students, who in turn had little concern about attachment to Israel serving as a source of antisemitism.

From the Era of Quotas to a "Golden Age" for Jews at Harvard

In the early 20th century, an influx of Jewish immigrants highly valuing education led to growing numbers of Jewish students at top universities like Harvard. By 1925, Jews made up more than a quarter of Harvard's student body. While some Christian administrators, faculty, and students appreciated Jewish academic dedication, others held negative stereotypes. Antisemitism had risen nationwide since the start of World War I. National anxieties surrounding immigration led Ivy League institutions to adopt restrictive admissions practices in order to maintain social homogeneity amidst demographic changes.[39]

By the 1920s, most Jewish applicants to Harvard were American born, but they were also seen as stamped by an East European immigrant background and undesirable social traits. In response, President A. Lawrence Lowell pursued policies to limit Jewish admissions through selective admission processes that

[38] Lawrence D. Bobo, "Faculty Speech Must Have Limits," *The Harvard Crimson*, June 15, 2024. https://www.thecrimson.com/article/2024/6/15/bobo-faculty-speech-limits/

[39] Strauss, Valerie. "Analysis | a Brief History of Antisemitism in U.S. Higher Education," *Washington Post*, November 14, 2023. https://www.washingtonpost.com/education/2023/11/13/how-restricting-jews-created-modern-college-admissions/

emphasized criteria that could disadvantage them, such as character assessments and interviews, which were more subjective than academic qualifications alone.[40] These practices brought the percentage of Jews at Harvard down to a range of between 10 - 15%. Moreover, Jews admitted to Harvard were expected to conform to standards of gentility set by elite Protestant society. Radcliffe was different, as it was about one-fifth Jewish during the 1930s. Radcliffe also had a substantial Catholic population, and most of its Jewish and Catholic students were commuters. They were not part of the male, Protestant, and affluent elite that comprised Harvard's core constituency.

The implementation of quotas for Jewish students at Harvard in the early 20th century sparked significant debate both within and outside the University. Alumni expressed disappointment and support. Within the student body, quotas stimulated intense discussion. Jewish students who felt targeted advocated for admissions based on merit alone rather than attributes like religion or ethnicity. The faculty and administration were also divided on this issue. Some supported the president's stance, viewing the quotas as a pragmatic response to worrying social and demographic changes in American society. Others, however, strongly opposed the quotas, arguing that they compromised academic integrity and fairness.[41]

Despite quotas and other challenges, the Jewish organizational presence at Harvard experienced significant growth and diversification over the first half of the 20th century. Before World War I, Harvard's Menorah Society provided students with a place to celebrate their cultural identity and history, to educate members about Judaism, and to provide a supportive community.[42] The Menorah Society spawned the intercollegiate Menorah Association, which by 1917 had chapters throughout North America and published a periodical devoted to Jewish history and thought, *The Menorah Journal*.[43] The Menorah Society demonstrated the vibrancy and commitment of Harvard's Jewish community despite the challenges it confronted in the interwar era.

In 1941, the Harvard Hillel Foundation was established to provide more structured programming for Jewish students. Over time, as Hillel expanded its campus involvement, it hired full-time leadership and acquired additional space in Harvard Square. As the postwar years saw growing numbers of Jewish students, Hillel became an important place for fostering a sense of connection and belonging on campus. Its expanded facilities and dedicated staff helped many new students find friendship, guidance, and spiritual enrichment during their time at the University. Hillel organized cultural and religious programming like Shabbat dinners and holiday celebrations to connect Jewish students with their heritage and each other.[44]

In its founding documents, combating antisemitism was not mentioned as a key aim of the new organization.[45] Nevertheless, Hillel sent delegates to a Seminar on Anti-Semitism for Student Leaders at Andover Newton Theological School in 1945. The seminar offered suggestions for addressing issues facing Jews on campus, e.g.:

> Make a survey of your campus to find out the people holding offices in campus organizations, the extent to which offices are open to all groups on campus.

[40] "Retrospection: President Lowell's Quotas," *The Harvard Crimson*, March 26, 2015. https://www.thecrimson.com/article/2015/3/26/retrospection-president-lowells-quotas/
[41] Nitza Rosovsky, *The Jewish Experience at Harvard and Radcliffe* (Cambridge, MA, 1986).
[42] "Menorah Society Will Meet: Intercollegiate Quinquennial Convention to be Held in New York," *The Harvard Crimson*, December 19, 1917. "MENORAH SOCIETY TO GIVE FIRST SHOWING OF 'ADAM'," *The Harvard Crimson*, February 18, 1930.
[43] Pearl K. Bell, "The Harvard Menorah Society," in Rosovsky.
[44] Henry Rosovsky, "From Periphery to Center,"; Maurice L. Zigmond, "The Early Days of Hillel," ibid.
[45] Society Harvard-Radcliffe Hillel, "Records of the Harvard-Radcliffe Hillel Society, 1943-1994," manuscript.

> Discover the reactions and feelings of key students to "social distances". Enlist the help of your sociology or psychology faculty for this. You'll need it! ...
>
> Promote interest groups on your campus built up on lines other than religion or race.[46]

These goals reflected a desire for the integration into campus, the promotion of access for Jewish students, and the breaking down of social barriers. Reminiscences of alumni who were at Harvard during the interwar years also speak of a patrician and exclusionary atmosphere. No Jew, even the most aristocratic and wealthy, was admitted to a final club. (Sherman Starr '46 was accidentally invited to a final club interview because no one could tell that he was Jewish from his name.). "No Christian ever came to my room — nor did I go to any Christian's room," recalled the future judge Charles Wyzanski, Jr. '27, JD '30.[47] Albert Cohen '38 had grown up in a neighborhood where "antisemitism was very unsubtle" and "tended to be loud, verbal and physical."[48] At Harvard, there was a chasm between him and the "Gold Coast" students from wealthy families. Robert Riesman '40 took it for granted that Jews had no access to prestigious activities like writing for the *Crimson* or the *Harvard Lampoon*. He found camaraderie with Gentiles in the dramatics society and in boxing. At Radcliffe, Jewish women like Pearl Andelman Brown '34, Hadassah Waldman Blocker '35, and Lucille Gray '39 had generally good relationships with their Catholic counterparts, who were commuters like themselves, but they had their share of encounters with antisemitic administrators.[49] At this time Harvard's Jewish students did not expect, let alone demand, equal treatment and opportunity. Leonard Wolsky '44, MD '46 went into Harvard knowing he would have to work harder than Gentile students.

After World War II, Harvard began to overcome its aversion to admitting Jewish students. Henry Rosovsky, who received a doctorate in economics from Harvard in 1959 and in 1973 became Harvard's first Jewish Dean of the Faculty of Arts and Sciences, claimed that the common fight by all Americans against Hitler caused Harvard to "welcome … us with open arms, as students and teachers in all its varied faculties."[50] Nonetheless, shortly after the end of the war Provost Paul Buck was worried about the influx into Harvard of "sensitive, neurotic boys" from heavily Jewish public high schools in New York City and New Jersey. The 15% quota from the Lowell era was relaxed, but the Harvard admissions office feared that wealthy Gentile youth would choose to attend Yale or Princeton if Harvard was seen as admitting too many Jews. This ongoing prejudice flew in the face of postwar expansion throughout America of legislation mandating fair employment and fair education practices as well as the 1947 United States presidential commission denouncing quotas on Jewish and Black Americans. By 1952, Harvard's freshman class was one-quarter Jewish, but the Dean of Admissions, Wilburt Bender, was not at ease with these numbers, warning that if admissions were based on intelligence alone, there would be too many Jews at Harvard.[51] In 1960, about three-fourths of applicants from the heavily Jewish secondary schools Bronx Science and Stuyvesant were rejected, while only 30% applying from elite boarding schools like Andover and Exeter were turned away.

Ongoing discomfort experienced by Jews at Harvard after 1945 is described by the future journalist Anthony Lewis '48, who recalled Boston and Cambridge as antisemitic environments and Harvard as a place with few Jewish professors. In general, he wrote, Jews were still not "wholly at ease." Joan Bolker '60 (MAT '62, Ed.

[46] "FINDINGS: SEMINAR ON ANTI-SEMITISM held at Andover Newton Theological School, Newton Center, Mass. February 9-11, 1945," in Harvard-Radcliffe Hillel, "Records of the Harvard-Radcliffe Hillel Society, 1943-1994."
[47] Rosovsky, 86.
[48] Ibid, 91.
[49] Ibid, 89-91, 93.
[50] Ibid, 56.
[51] Jerome Karabel, *The Chosen: The Hidden History of Admission and Exclusion at Harvard, Yale, and Princeton* (New York: Houghton Mifflin, 2005), 253.

D.) wrote in the *Chronicle of Higher Education* (Nov. 13, 1979): "When I first came here, my being a Jew made me feel outrageously, uncomfortably different … There was much in the college … that made me feel that way." Nonetheless she wrote of the possibility to "come through Harvard, to live in comfort in one's own skin, as one of one's own people."

In a senior thesis from 1961, Elliott Gershon interviewed 27 self-identified Jewish students and asked them about their sense of what being Jewish meant, their ideological beliefs, and their interactions related to their Jewish identity. Many of Gershon's respondents expressed a desire for assimilation and appreciated that Harvard did not emphasize their Jewish identity, which made their campus experience feel undifferentiated from that of other students. However, a smaller group of respondents articulated an awareness of antisemitism as a salient threat and a general sense of being different from other students because they were Jewish. The students' perception of antisemitism seemed to encapsulate both direct discrimination and subtler forms of social exclusion or stereotyping. Fourteen students reported experiencing direct discrimination because they were Jewish, and 19 anticipated encountering antisemitism in the future, although they generally viewed such instances as isolated rather than pervasive. Despite these concerns, most students found the Harvard environment largely congenial, with minimal emphasis on their Jewish identity compared to other campuses perceived as more hostile, such as Princeton.[52]

During the postwar years, one source of concern about antisemitism was the invitation of controversial speakers to campus. In early 1948, the right-wing extremist Merwin K. Hart '04 was brought to campus by the Free Enterprise Society. During his speech, Hart made several remarks that undeniably showcased his antisemitic views, including assertions that "an international Jewish organization" wielded significant influence over the Truman administration, the Marshall Plan, and the United Nations. His controversial opinions sparked outrage. A *Crimson* article criticized Hart's "untenable, enigmatic nature" and his defense of Franco Spain.[53] The Harvard Liberal Union (H.L.U.), led by Frederic D. Houghteling '50, expressed disappointment in a letter criticizing the Free Enterprise Society for its poor judgment and lack of due diligence. Houghteling rejected the Society's claim that Hart's economic views could be seen in isolation from his fascistic and antisemitic ideologies, emphasizing that "bringing him here despite their knowledge of his record, they were adding to his prestige and thus aiding him in his undercover warfare against the principles of democracy."[54] A decade later, the White supremacist and segregationist speaker David Wang was invited by the Liberal Union and the Young Republican Club to speak at Harvard. Wang's rhetoric, often conveyed through poetry, included virulently racist and antisemitic views. For instance, he claimed that "Rooshun filth [is] worse than talmudic filth."[55]

The use of religious spaces on campus was another issue that affected Jews' sense of inclusion on campus. In Spring 1958, controversy erupted at Harvard over the prohibition against using Memorial Church for non-Protestant ceremonies. The issue became public when it was revealed that a Jewish couple had been prevented from marrying in Memorial Church a few years earlier. Psychology Professor Jerome S. Bruner criticized the Church's policy, arguing that it contradicted the inclusive spirit of the University.[56] In an April 15, 1958 letter to the *Crimson*, Bruner wrote, "I cannot avoid the feeling that matters of sectarian religious doctrine have been put ahead of concern for the Harvard community." He argued that Memorial Church had become a "symbol of disunity," undermining Harvard's solidarity.[57]

[52] Elliot S. Gershon, "The Experience of Being Jewish in Harvard Students" (Senior Thesis, Harvard University, 1961).
[53] "Hart in the Right Place?" *The Harvard Crimson*, February 5, 1948.
[54] "Answers to Free Enterprise Society." *The Harvard Crimson*, February 7, 1948.
[55] "Wang Speaks In Cambridge February 14: Avid Racist Heckled After Penn Speech," *The Harvard Crimson*, February 22, 1958.
[56] Charles J. Wells, "Opening the Doors to a Pluralistic Church," *The Harvard Crimson*, June 1 2008.
https://www.thecrimson.com/article/2008/6/1/opening-the-doors-to-a-pluralistic/
[57] Jerome S. Bruner, "THE SECULAR TRADITION," *The Harvard Crimson*, April 15, 1958.
https://www.thecrimson.com/article/1958/4/15/the-secular-tradition-pto-the-editors/

Opponents of opening the Church to non-Protestant services, such as philosophy professors Raphael Demos and Donald C. Williams, defended the Church's traditional usage. In an April 21 letter to the *Crimson*, they wrote, "A church is not a cafeteria in which all religions may be served to all comers," highlighting concerns about maintaining religious sanctity.[58] However, the Harvard Corporation decided to open Memorial Church to private services for all non-Protestant religions, stating that "the Harvard community is today a mixed society."[59] This decision generated further debate, with supporters like Bruner advocating for a "secular university" and opponents like Williams arguing that such a move diluted religious traditions. The decision marked a significant shift towards religious inclusivity and pluralism on Harvard's campus.[60]

Harvard put antisemitism aside only in the 1960s and early 1970s as part of the transformative movements that integrated women into Harvard and saw substantial increases in the admission of Black Americans to Harvard College. In 1963, Radcliffe women began to receive Harvard degrees, and the two institutions formally amalgamated in 1975. In 1960, less than 1% of Harvard's freshman class was Black; a decade later, it was 8%. As Jerome Karabel has written, by the mid-1970s there was no more formal discrimination against women or Jews at Harvard.[61] The connection between the improvement of the positions of Black and Jewish students at Harvard was embodied by Henry Rosovsky. According to Larry Summers, under Rosovsky's deanship of the Faculty of Arts and Sciences (FAS) (1973-84), Harvard finally completed "the transition from being a WASP redoubt to being a truly open gatherer of extraordinarily talented future leaders."[62] In 1969, Rosovsky had concurred with Black student activists about the need for a degree-granting program in Afro-American Studies. Six years later, when Rosovsky was Dean, the W. E. B. Du Bois Institute for Afro-American Research (later incorporated within the newer and larger Hutchins Center) was founded. And in 1978 Rosovsky oversaw the establishment of the Center for Jewish Studies (CJS) at Harvard University under the directorship of Professor Isadore Twersky.

CJS coordinated a wide range of courses related to Judaism offered across various departments, including History, Near Eastern Languages and Cultures, Philosophy, Literature, and Government. Prior to the 20th century, the study of Hebrew and Judaism at Harvard had been limited and was taught from a Christian perspective. The appointment in 1925 of Harry Austryn Wolfson '11 (MA '12, PhD '15) as the inaugural Lucius Littauer Professor of Hebrew Literature and Philosophy marked the founding of Jewish Studies at Harvard (and indeed in the United States, as he was the first scholar to hold a chaired position in Jewish Studies). The establishment of CJS marked a major expansion of Jewish Studies at Harvard. As an academic unit catering to the entire student body, CJS was of benefit to more than the Harvard Jewish community, but its courses, lectures, and other activities strengthened Jewish students' knowledge of their tradition and comfort with their Jewish identity.[63]

[58] Raphael Demos and Donald C. Williams, "On the church issue," *The Harvard Crimson*, April 21, 1958.
[59] "Religion: God & Man at Harvard," *TIME*, May 5, 1958. https://time.com/archive/6800797/religion-god-man-at-harvard-2/
[60] Wells, "Opening the Doors to a Pluralistic Church." Beyond Harvard's community, figures from the surrounding community occasionally caused controversy and compromised Jewish Harvardians' sense of security and belonging. Father Leonard J. Feeney was once a prominent Catholic poet and a popular figure among Harvard and Radcliffe students. He founded St. Benedict's Center in 1943. Originally established as an information center for Catholic students, it became the home of "the Slaves of the Immaculate Heart of Mary," a group known for its virulently antisemitic stance. In his publication, *The Point*, Feeney claimed that Harvard was corrupted by "an enemy far more dangerous than McCarthy—the Jews in attendance there." He also suggested that President Pusey was brought in to "pry the Jews loose gently." In addition, Feeney denigrated Harvard as "a place filled with sissies and psychotics, a breeding ground of depravity, disloyalty, and despair." Feeney's stance reached a breaking point in 1953 when the Vatican excommunicated him and his followers for heresy. In 1958, Feeney and his group, numbering approximately 50 individuals, departed from Cambridge. Bernard M. Gwertzman, "Father Feeney Attacks College, Buildings, Jews, Time Magazine," *The Harvard Crimson*, March 29, 1954. John E. Mcnees, "Father Feeny Quits Cambridge; St. Benedict's Center Up for Sale," ibid., January 17, 1958.
[61] Karabel, 483.
[62] *The New York Times,* November 16, 2022. https://www.nytimes.com/2022/11/16/education/henry-rosovsky-dead.html
[63] Nitza Rosovsky, "The Center for Jewish Studies," in *The Jewish Experience at Harvard and Radcliffe* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1986).

That feeling of comfort was expressed by David Guberman '71 JD/MBA '74 (75) who related that although most of his friends were Jewish, being Jewish was "unremarkable" and "not an issue" at Harvard at the time. Marc Granetz '78, JD '86 "reveled in the sheer number of Jews at Harvard" in both the College and at Harvard Law School. On occasion he encountered swastikas in men's bathrooms and heard antisemitic comments, "but for the most part Harvard [was] a place where Jews [felt] much less like a minority."[64] Students were largely united by opposition to the Vietnam War; anti-war solidarity coalesced with a strong American economy and excitement about the achievements and promise of the civil rights movement. Jewish students engaged with Hillel and the Havurah movement (small, intimate prayer and social communities influenced by 1960s counterculture). They also became involved in the Student Struggle for Soviet Jewry, which had been founded in 1964, and in journalistic ventures like the newspaper *Genesis 2*.

The Arab-Israeli Conflict and the Harvard Community Up to 1979

Anthony Lewis' testimony about his time at Harvard mentioned the founding of Israel in 1948 as marking a divide in Jewish self-awareness and self-confidence on campus. David Guberman's testimony described the relief and joy that Jewish students felt across the University after Israel's victory in the 1967 Six-Day War: "Just as Israel was a natural, albeit special, fact of our existence, so was being Jewish." Nor did Israel present a problem for Jewish students who wanted to feel fully accepted at Harvard. Discussions of Israel and the Arab-Israeli conflict in the 1960s and 1970s were engaged and multifaceted, but they were relatively subdued compared to the fervent debates of later years. The intensity of discourse did not remotely match that surrounding civil rights or the Vietnam War.

Debates on Harvard's campus went back to the early 1950s, when, at a Law School Forum in October 1952, columnist Dorothy Thompson and Boston attorney Faris Malouf criticized Israel for being financially supported by American dollars and condemned the Balfour Declaration as "the most double-faced document ever issued by anyone."[65] In response, the prominent attorney Bartley Crum and Rev. Karl Baehr defended Israel's existence and actions. Crum argued that Israel could potentially be "the greatest friend the Arabs ever had" and urged them to accept a cooperative and beneficial relationship.[66] In 1964, Elmer Berger, an anti-Zionist leader and executive vice-president of the anti-Zionist American Council for Judaism, accused Israel of seeking to be recognized as a normal nation while leveraging Zionism to gain international sympathy. Berger believed this approach fostered suspicion and hostility among Arab nations and called for Israel to clarify its position on the global stage, arguing that the United States needed to judge Israel "either as a Middle Eastern state or as a humanitarian venture, but not as both."[67]

Harvard students responded to the June 1967 war between Israel and its neighbors with a mixture of support for Israel, criticism of Arab leaders, and little examination of the war's potential ramifications. Several articles in the *Crimson* highlighted the resolve of Harvard and Radcliffe students who joined the Israel Summer Work Program to support Israeli agriculture and industry during the war. Susan A. Kotlier '70, noted, "It is not a romantic cause…but a matter of conscience" to aid Israel during its time of need.[68] A year after the war, however, Yehudi Lindeman offered a more critical assessment of the war, noting

[64] Rosovsky, 105.
[65] "Dorothy Thompson Debates Israel's past at Law Forum," *The Harvard Crimson*, October 11, 1952.
[66] Ibid.
[67] "Anti-Zionist Leader Accuses Israel Of Creating Tension in Middle East," *The Harvard Crimson*, January 10, 1964.
[68] Anne De Saint Phalle, "Area Students to Aid Israeli Harvest; Volunteers Will Ease Manpower Crisis," *The Harvard Crimson*, June 5, 1967. https://www.thecrimson.com/article/1967/6/5/area-students-to-aid-israeli-harvest/. See also David Blumenthal, "Israel: Three Voices of Ayeleth: Second of two parts," *The Harvard Crimson*, October 19, 1967. https://www.thecrimson.com/article/1967/10/19/israel-three-voices-of-ayeleth-pthere/

Palestinian disillusionment and anger over living under an oppressive occupation. Lindeman painted a somber picture of coexistence marked more by tension than by attempts at mutual understanding.[69]

The relative absence of Palestine from Harvard student discourse in the mid to late 1960s may seem surprising given the emergence at the time of a new left movement that was notably more outspoken and radical than preceding leftist groups. This new wave was emblematic of a generation of students galvanized by the election of President John F. Kennedy and the gradual loosening of McCarthy-era constraints on radical politics. The Students for a Democratic Society (SDS) at Harvard and nationwide epitomized this New Left. The movement resonated deeply within the student body, eventually attracting large crowds to anti-Vietnam War protests.[70]

SDS at Harvard aimed to change American society through participatory democracy and "direct action" on a variety of pressing issues such as labor rights and civil rights.[71] Unlike previous movements that relied on structured leadership, SDS fostered an egalitarian atmosphere with democratic decision-making processes. Despite their radical stance, the group refrained from endorsing violence.[72] When "Proud Eagle Tribe," a revolutionary women's organization, bombed the Center for International Affairs (CFIA), SDS strongly criticized the act despite their criticism of CFIA.[73] Nevertheless, the SDS' activism often brought them into direct conflict with University authorities. One of the most intense confrontations occurred on April 10, 1969, when more than 400 police officers forcibly removed several hundred students occupying University Hall. The raid resulted in the arrest of between 250 and 300 students, with nearly 75 sustaining injuries.[74]

Despite the high level of anti-war and civil rights activism on campus, there was minimal public outcry regarding the Israeli occupation of the West Bank and Gaza following the Six-Day War in 1967. While SDS and other groups were vocal about Vietnam and domestic socio-political issues, the plight of Palestinians did not appear prominently on their agenda. This silence could be attributed to a variety of factors, including low numbers of students from the Global South and a primary focus on Vietnam.[75]

Not unlike the Six-Day War, public responses at Harvard to the 1973 Yom Kippur War — while involving debate on the ramifications of the war and some pro-Israel activism — were muted in comparison with responses to the Israeli-Palestinian conflict in following decades. Several Harvard faculty members, including Nathan Glazer, Seymour Martin Lipset, and Martin Peretz, signed statements advocating for increased support for Israel, expressing concerns about Israel's security, and calling for a comprehensive peace involving all parties in the conflict.[76] However, there were also calls for understanding and addressing Palestinian grievances. A student journalist named Renate Lehmann wrote

[69] Yehudy Lindeman, "Bogeymen in the Mid-East," *The Harvard Crimson*, April 9, 1968.
[70] Daniel J. Singal, "SDS — Harvard's New Left — Feels 'Underprivileged' In Generation Which Prizes Making Own Decisions," *The Harvard Crimson*, June 3, 1966. https://www.thecrimson.com/article/1966/6/3/sds-harvards-new-left-feels-underprivileged-in/
[71] Ibid.
[72] For example, in 1969, a splinter group called the "Revolutionary Youth Movement (RYM)" apparently "broke into the Center for the Study of International Affairs (CIA) [sic] painted the walls with slogans signed SDS, put up a banner identified with SDS, beat up someone, and threw rocks through the windows of the secretaries' offices." SDS denied responsibility for this attack. Beth Harvey, "SDS Not Involved," *The Harvard Crimson*, September 27, 1969. https://www.thecrimson.com/article/1969/9/27/sds-not-involved-pto-the-editors/
[73] "CFIA Bombed," *The Harvard Crimson*, June 17, 1971. https://www.thecrimson.com/article/1971/6/17/cfia-bombed-pat-1238-am-on/. See also "Explosion goes off on Harvard campus," *The New York Times*, October 14, 1970.
[74] "Police Raid Sit-In at Dawn; 250 Arrested, Dozens Injured. Pusey Says Decision Reached at 10 p.m.," *The Harvard Crimson*, April 10, 1969. https://www.thecrimson.com/article/1969/4/10/police-raid-sit-in-at-dawn-250/
[75] Richard Blumenthal, "SDS Shifting From Protest to Organizing," *The Harvard Crimson*, June 15, 1967. https://www.thecrimson.com/article/1967/6/15/sds-shifting-from-protest-to-organizing/
[76] "Several Faculty Members Ask Increased Support for Israel," *The Harvard Crimson*, October 20, 1973. https://www.thecrimson.com/article/1973/10/20/several-faculty-members-ask-increased-support/

movingly about the Palestinians' plight, and this view resonated among parts of the Harvard community, although it was framed as an acknowledgment of the suffering of both sides rather than a unilateral condemnation of Israel.[77] During the war, student activism was overwhelmingly supportive of Israel, taking the form of student volunteering and fundraising.[78]

Conclusion

Throughout the early to mid-20th century, the Jewish presence at Harvard grew and became institutionalized despite the imposition of quotas and ongoing antisemitism. Organizations like the Harvard Menorah Society, Harvard-Radcliffe Hillel, and the Center for Jewish Studies played pivotal roles in fostering a sense of community and belonging for Jewish students. By the 1970s, although antisemitism did not disappear altogether, Jewish student life flourished. Discussions around Israel and the Arab-Israeli conflict were present but did not yet bring that conflict to the campus itself, nor did Jewish students feel that they were victims of antisemitism in the form of anti-Israeli critique.

Israel/Palestine at Harvard During the 1980s: Regional Escalation and On-Campus Tension

The 1980s saw violence increase between Israel and its neighbors, in particular in the Occupied Palestinian Territories and in Lebanon. The escalation in the Middle East also impacted campus debates over Israel, Palestine, and antisemitism. Among the key developments in this period were:

- The 1982 Israel-Lebanon War, which began as Israel — responding to repeated cross-border attacks by militant groups — invaded Lebanon with the stated aim of expelling the Palestinian Liberation Organization (PLO) from the country. The Israeli siege of West Beirut in Summer 1982 and the Sabra and Shatila Massacre of Palestinians in September of that year — executed by Christian Phalangists and backed by Israeli forces — garnered severe censure both internationally and within Israel.
- The first Palestinian uprising — the First Intifada — erupted at the end of 1987 with widespread strikes, demonstrations, and civil disobedience across the West Bank and Gaza. Palestinians also attacked Israeli military targets and Jewish civilians. The Israel Defense Forces (IDF) responded harshly with mass arrests, teargas, and live ammunition.
- Terrorist attacks by Palestinian militant groups spanned the decade and the globe.

Debates at Harvard grew more polarized over this period compared to preceding decades. Student and faculty on both sides organized protests and panels. Despite the increased politicization of the campus, however, discussions of Israel/Palestine tended to focus on specific policies and events rather than champion or condemn an ideological stance. Students and faculty alike distinguished between criticism of Israel's actions and targeting Israel as a whole. Efforts at understanding different perspectives through respectful — if heated — dialogue were prominent and appeared in the form of exchanges in the *Crimson*.

[77] Renate Lehmann, "The Dispossessed in Palestine: The Disinherited: Journal of a Palestinian Exile by Fawaz Turki, New York: Monthly Review Press, 1972," *The Harvard Crimson*, August 7, 1973. https://www.thecrimson.com/article/1973/8/7/the-dispossessed-in-palestine-pbbbefore-the/. Peter Shapiro, "The Middle-East: Do The Arabs Really Want Peace?," *The Harvard Crimson*, February 7, 1974. https://www.thecrimson.com/article/1974/2/7/do-the-arabs-really-want-peace/

[78] Nicholas Lemann, "Answering Israel's Call," *The Harvard Crimson*, October 19, 1973. https://www.thecrimson.com/article/1973/10/19/answering-israels-call-pbradley-bloom-75/. "Harvard Begins Israeli Fund Drive In the Wake of New Mideast Conflict," *The Harvard Crimson*, October 10, 1973. https://www.thecrimson.com/article/1973/10/10/harvard-begins-israeli-fund-drive-in/

While antisemitic incidents did occur at Harvard and in Cambridge, Jewish students did not speak of a general pattern of antisemitism, intimidation, or exclusion. Activism targeted particular speakers or initiatives, not the legitimacy of engaging with opposing views. Students whose sympathies lay primarily with Israel or the Palestinians both attempted to acknowledge complexity and find common ground amid disagreement. Allegations of antisemitism were at times associated with debates over the Israeli-Palestinian conflict but came as well within a different context, that of relations between Black and Jewish students.

The Early 1980s: Responses to the Lebanon War and the Sabra and Shatila Massacre

The Lebanon War, and in particular the Sabra and Shatila Massacre, deeply affected students and communities around Harvard's campus. In the aftermath of the events in the refugee camps in Beirut, several protests and rallies were held.

On September 22, 1982, around 300 people gathered at Holyoke Center for a candlelight vigil organized by the Boston-based Lebanon-Palestine Crisis Coalition. The vigil condemned the "butchery" of Palestinians in Lebanon by Israeli forces and called for an end to US aid to Israel.[79] Meanwhile, about 15 members of the Spartacus Youth League held a smaller protest outside of the Freshman Union, also decrying Israel's involvement in the killings in Lebanon. A counter-protest of about 75 ensued.[80]

Palestinian students at Harvard in particular saw the events in personal terms: Bishara Bahbah, a graduate student from East Jerusalem, referred to the situation in Lebanon as "Holocaust II" and noted that his sister in Beirut had gone missing when Israeli forces surrounded the city.[81] George Bisharat, the president of the Arab Students Society, said there was "deep outrage" among Harvard's Arab community against the Phalange (a Lebanese Christian political party and paramilitary organization), Israel, and the US.[82] Two days later, the Harvard-Radcliffe Zionist Alliance and the Boston-based Lebanon-Palestine Crisis Coalition held rival demonstrations outside the Holyoke Center. Protesters from the Zionist Alliance told the *Crimson* that they themselves were distraught about the events in Lebanon, but they objected to the use of these events to challenge Israel's right to exist and the constant comparison of Israel with the Nazis through references to "genocide".[83] The *Crimson* noted the outrage among Israelis in response to the massacre, and called for an Israeli withdrawal from Lebanon,[84] whereas a dissenting opinion accused the IDF of complicity with the massacre.[85]

In campus debate, some students tried to distinguish between Prime Minister Begin's administration and Israel itself. Organizers of a rally at the Harvard John F. Kennedy School of Government (HKS) protesting an address by the Israeli Ambassador to the US, Moshe Arens, wrote to the *Crimson*:

> Concurrently [to Arens' speech] there will be a vigil outside of Harvard students, faculty and employees who support an equitable and just peace in the Middle East. We wish to make very clear

[79] Adam S. Cohen, "Anti-Israeli Protest Draws 300 To Candlelight Vigil at Holyoke," *The Harvard Crimson*, September 22, 1982.
[80] Ibid.
[81] Bahbah eventually became national chairman of "Arab Americans for Trump." Bishara A. Bahbah, "Arab and Muslim Americans could hand Trump a victory," *The Times of Israel*, June 30, 2024. https://blogs.timesofisrael.com/arab-and-muslim-americans-could-hand-trump-a-victory/
[82] Adam S. Cohen and John D. Solomon, "Conflicting Rallies Highlight Lebanon," *The Harvard Crimson* 1982. https://www.thecrimson.com/article/1982/9/24/conflicting-rallies-highlight-lebanon-pwith-two/. Bisharat eventually became a UC Law San Francisco professor and a prominent supporter of the BDS movement. E.g., George E. Bisharat, "Israel Is Committing War Crimes," *Wall Street Journal*, January 10, 2009. https://www.wsj.com/articles/SB123154826952369919?mod=googlenews_wsj
[83] Cohen and Solomon, "Conflicting Rallies Highlight Lebanon."
[84] "Time to Question," *The Harvard Crimson*, September 29, 1982.
[85] Michael S. Terris, "Beyond Questions," *The Harvard Crimson*, September 29, 1982.

> from the outset that this is not an anti-Israeli rally — on the contrary, it is because of our strong commitment to the secure existence of the state of Israel that we must join the over 400,000 Israelis — both Jews and Arabs — who joined the Israeli Peace Now movement (a movement led by Israeli army reserve officers) in expressing their revulsion, as loyal Israelis, to their government's role in the brutal Phalangist massacre of Palestinian civilians at the Shatila and Sabra refugee camps in Beirut.[86]

Some signers of a faculty petition asking for US aid to Israel to be cut back expressed similar sentiments. Approximately 50 Harvard professors joined more than 450 academics signing this nationwide petition.[87] Harvard historian John Womack Jr. said that they "don't want a cut off all aid… [but rather] to stop aid that Congress itself decides is promoting the aggressive policies" in Lebanon, and Harvard Divinity School (HDS) professor Harvey G. Cox said that his signature "is definitely not an anti-Israel statement" but is "supporting the anti-Begin people in Israel".[88]

The Sabra and Shatila Massacre continued to preoccupy the Harvard community, especially once the Israeli Commission of Inquiry for the events, the Kahan Commission, published its conclusions in February of 1983. George Bisharat '86, the president of the Harvard Arab Student Society, strongly criticized Israel's actions in Lebanon, citing the findings of the Kahan Commission report on the Sabra and Shatila massacres.[89] Conversely, William Marks '83 counter-argued that Bisharat committed "many factual errors through omission and distortion."[90] Eric Stecket '84 then wrote a letter defending Israel and claiming that Bisharat suffered from "muddled thinking."[91] Antony Blinken '84 noted that critiques of Israel do sometimes verge on being "venomous" and "hateful, "such as comparisons of Israelis to Nazis. However, he recognized that some criticism comes from Jews who support Israel.[92]

Comparisons Between Israel and South Africa

During the 1980s tensions arose between Black and Jewish student organizations over how to address the ongoing conflict. The early 1980s saw growing debates about the military and economic ties between Israel and an increasingly isolated South Africa. In 1983, Jesse M. Fried '86 critiqued a planned U.N. conference examining alleged ties between Israel and South Africa.[93] He argued that at the U.N. "anything associated with Israel's existence — from her founding ideology of Zionism to the manner in which she carries out public works projects — tends to prove an acceptable target." Fried claimed that Israel's economic ties to South Africa were relatively small, and that many other countries had stronger economic links yet faced less scrutiny.[94] Later that year, a two-part article by Errol T. Louis '84 presented a different image of close military and economic ties, including extensive arms sales, between Israel and South Africa.[95] Louis suggested that these ties played a role in propping up South Africa's apartheid system. He wrote, "should

[86] Joseph M. Schwartz and Thomas Canel, "Oppose Begin, Not Israel," *The Harvard Crimson*, October 19, 1982. For more about Ahrens's visit see Robert Levey, "Israeli rules out annexing of W. Bank," *The Boston Globe*, October 20, 1982.
[87] Muriel Cohen, "Professors ask halt in US aid to Israel," *The Boston Globe*, November 16, 1982.
[88] Martin F. Cohen, "Professors' Petition Asks U.S. To Cut Back Aid to Israel," *The Harvard Crimson*, November 18, 1982. Eight faculty members also took out a full-page advertisement in *The New York Times* protesting actions by the Israeli government that they said suppressed the academic freedom of Palestinian universities. Their representatives said this action was meant to raise awareness, and they had no further plans at this time. "Petition," *The Harvard Crimson*, April 5, 1983.
[89] George E. Bisharat, "Questioning Israel's Morality," *The Harvard Crimson*, March 5, 1983.
[90] William Marks, "Israel's Morality," *The Harvard Crimson*, March 8, 1983.
[91] Eric Stecket, "Defending Israel," *The Harvard Crimson*, March 19, 1983.
[92] Antony J. Blinken, "Israel's Saving Grace," *The Harvard Crimson*, September 23, 1982.
[93] UN Centre against Apartheid, "International Conference on the Alliance between South Africa and Israel, Vienna, 11 to 13 July 1983," (New York: UN, October 1983).
[94] Jesse M. Fried, "The Same Old Song," *The Harvard Crimson*, May 27, 1983.
[95] Errol T. Louis, "Close Ties," *The Harvard Crimson*, December 1, 1983.

Israel not successfully separate herself from the apartheid state, it may in the long run risk sharing the fate of South Africa."[96]

Louis's article received some support, with Robert A. Watts '84 praising Louis for "making it clear to all who oppose the apartheid regime in South Africa that they must also begin to oppose the foreign and military policies of Israel, the strongest ally of the white supremacist government."[97] However, the article also prompted rebuttals.[98] Jordan B. Millstein '85 questioned the evidentiary basis for Louis's claims and conclusions. He wrote, "Louis … puts together a list of alleged economic and military connections between Israel for its ties with the racist state [and] attempts to justify singling out Israel over other countries for having these relations. This justification fails miserably as his evidence disappears in a cloud of unproven assertions."[99] The controversy continued in the *Crimson* throughout the 1980s.[100]

Tensions increased in 1989 around plans for a conference on "Apartheid's Arc and the Palestinian Uprising," to be held at the Harvard Divinity School.[101] Associate Dean Timothy Cross denied access to the space, citing logistical reasons related to renovations requiring power shutdowns on the proposed date. This decision rekindled the debate in the *Crimson*. Some students and faculty argued the conference should have been allowed in the interest of open discussion and free speech. Others felt comparisons between Israel and apartheid South Africa were misleading and intended to delegitimize Israel rather than enable an honest debate.[102] While one student argued that equations of Israel and South Africa amounted to a form of "Jewish McCarthyism," others maintained the need for open-ended debate allowing speech from various viewpoints.[103]

Debates Over Antisemitism and Criticism of Israel

These conversations raised questions about whether criticisms of Israel's policies, as well as more general anti-Zionist stances, amount to antisemitism. Alan Dershowitz argued that the 1980s had seen "the most pervasive and dangerous proliferation of anti-Semitism in history." While acknowledging that a recent bombing of a Paris synagogue had been attributed to neo-fascists, Dershowitz identified "leftist anti-Semitism" as posing the greater threat. Speaking at Hillel, he claimed the "old poison" of antisemitism had been "rebottled" and relabeled as "anti-Zionism" by leftist groups. Dershowitz singled out the Soviet Union as a major source of this "new propaganda." He said various leftist groups, including some Black, pro-Palestinian, and pro-Iranian organizations, were promoting their causes by attacking Israel. Dershowitz also condemned the UN General Assembly for "sanctioning anti-Zionism under international law" and suggested resolutions critical of Israel would pass the Assembly regardless of their factual veracity.[104]

[96] Errol T. Louis, "Too Close for Comfort," *The Harvard Crimson*, December 2, 1983.
[97] Robert A. Watts, "Israel & South Africa: 'Remarkable'," *The Harvard Crimson*, December 10, 1983.
[98] E.g., Jonathan David, "'Questionable'," *The Harvard Crimson*, December 10, 1983.
[99] Jordan B Millstein, "'Half-Truths' About Israel," *The Harvard Crimson*, December 14, 1983.
[100] Charles T. Kurzman, "No More Excuses," *The Harvard Crimson*, February 10, 1984.
[101] L. Humphrey Walz, "Harvard Divinity School Backs Away from Examination of Israel-South Africa Ties," *Washington Report on Middle East Affairs*, no. January (1990). https://www.wrmea.org/1990-january/harvard-divinity-school-backs-away-from-examination-of-israel-south-africa-ties.html
Joshua M. Sharfstein, "Talking Israel and South Africa," *The Harvard Crimson*, November 1, 1989; Edmund R. Hanauer, "Defending Chomsky's Views on Israeli Policies," *The Harvard Crimson*, November 29, 1989.
[102] Lori E. Fein, "Don't Legitimate Propaganda," *The Harvard Crimson*, November 2, 1989; Ivan Dominguez and Louis Green, "Israel-S.Africa," *The Harvard Crimson*, November 4, 1989; Glen I. A. Schwaber, "Delink Israel and South Africa," *The Harvard Crimson*, November 16, 1989.
[103] Daniel B. Baer, "Israel's Next Plan of Attack," *The Harvard Crimson*, November 7, 1989.
[104] "Anti-Semitism Threat," *The Harvard Crimson*, October 4, 1980.

This sentiment was shared by at least some students. Allen S. Weiner '82, for example, published an article discussing how the Israel-Lebanon conflict in 1982 had increased tensions and anti-Israel/antisemitic sentiments. He argued that at least some criticism of Israel stemmed from underlying antisemitic views:

> Many might balk at the claim that political condemnation of Israel signals the presence of anti-Semitism. Of course, the relationship is by no means categorical — many Jews and Judeophiles themselves, for example, have vehemently attacked Tel Aviv's foreign policy in recent months. And the idea that anti-Semitism could warp people's views on political issues seem distant to most. It's easy to forget that only 40 years ago, one of the most civilized nations on the globe carried out the systematic slaughter of six million people out of pure anti-Semitism. The frequent and sometimes offhand mention of the Holocaust obscures how real, timely, and savage hatred for Jews can be. Hitler's genocide has become just another landmark event, and when someone mentions it, instead of gasping "The Horror!" we chronicle it with the Norman Conquest, the Reformation, and other distant historical happenings.[105]

Scott A. Rosenberg '81 wrote in response that Weiner conflated different identities and groups, such as Jews and Zionists, Israelis and their government. For Rosenberg, equating criticism of Israel and antisemitism injects "extremist rhetoric" into the debate over Israel, Palestinians, and Lebanon. According to Rosenberg, much criticism of Israel is based on legitimate concerns about the policies of then-Prime Minister Menachem Begin's government. Rosenberg also chided Weiner for using "self-pity" in his article, saying that while it may be difficult being Jewish, it has been much harder recently for Palestinians and Lebanese impacted by the conflict.[106]

The Poster Wars

Debates over the Israeli-Palestinian conflict played out through "poster wars" on Harvard's campus in the 1980s. Tensions over text and imagery on material distributed by opposing student groups spurred heated debate over the accuracy and appropriateness of speech.

In April 1981, opponents and supporters of American aid to Israel distributed competing leaflets around Harvard's campus. Members of the Harvard-Radcliffe Zionist League (HRZL) responded to leaflets criticizing unconditional US aid to Israel that had been distributed by a group calling itself the Committee of Concerned Americans (CCA). The CCA leaflets stated that American aid had "subsidized Israeli policies that are stumbling blocks to peace." In response, HRZL members including Rona G. Shapiro '83 and Peter A. Bronstein '82 held an "emergency meeting" where they drafted pro-Israel pamphlets entitled "Israel Represents Our Best Interests in the Middle East." The pamphlets aimed to "inform people how important Israel is to American foreign policy," according to Bronstein. When asked, CCA representatives refused to provide information about the nature and views of their organization.[107]

In March 1988, the Harvard-Israel Public Affairs Committee (HIPAC) began posting pro-Israeli fact sheets around campus to provide context for news coverage of the Palestinian uprising against Israeli occupation of the West Bank. However, Adam Sabra '90, president of the Society of Arab Students (SAS), called the posters "almost racist" and criticized their assertions that the conflict in Lebanon showed "Arab intolerance toward non-Islamic religious groups" and the "impossibility of a [Palestinian Liberation Organization] democratic, secular state."[108] Dina Abu-Ghaida — future co-founder of the Palestine Solidarity

[105] Allen S. Weiner, "Behind the Mask," *e Harvard Crimson*, November 8, 1982, https://www.thecrimson.com/article/1982/11/8/behind-the-mask-pbibt-hasnt-been/

[106] Scott A. Rosenberg, "A Matter of De nition," *e Harvard Crimson*, November 18, 1982.

[107] Jacob M. Schlesinger, "Leaflet Conflict Outside Yard Centers on U.S. Aid to Israel," *The Harvard Crimson*, April 4, 1981.

[108] Spencer S. Hsu, "Pro-Israeli Posters Stir Debate," *e Harvard Crimson*, March 10, 1988.

Committee at Harvard — asked "What has to happen for them to understand us [Palestinians]? ... Yet again, the Jews and the Arabs seem not able to talk to one another."[109]

HIPAC apologized "for the poor wording of the remark" about Arab governance, and highlighted that "the purpose of these pamphlets is not to promote controversy or stifle debate, but to encourage meaningful intellectual discussion on the subject."[110] The SAS then posted fact sheets of their own, including one listing Palestinian grievances and one depicting an Israeli soldier slapping an unarmed Palestinian woman.[111] When challenged by pro-Israel students, the SAS clarified they opposed only the Israeli occupation, not Israel's existence, and depicted scenes solely from occupied lands. The SAS insisted that they sought open discussion rather than condemnation and accused pro-Israeli students of employing "hackneyed arguments" and "accusations prey[ing] on base assumptions."[112]

The Late 1980s: Debates Expand to Local Politics

When the first Intifada flared, debate about Israel intensified both at Harvard and in Cambridge. In Fall 1988, a debate emerged over "Question 5" on the Cambridge ballot for forthcoming elections. Question 5 called for US Representatives to vote "in favor of a resolution calling upon Congress to stop all expenditure of US funds for Israel's occupation of the West Bank and Gaza." The resolution also demanded that Israel end its violations of Palestinian human rights and advocated the establishment of an independent Palestinian state "with peace for all states in the region, including Israel."[113]

The issue sharply divided opinion. Michael "Trig" Tarazi '89, president of the SAS, supported Question 5, saying "The United States does determine what is going on when they give $45 billion to one side in a conflict and not the other."[114] However, others like Ellen L. Chubin from Americans for Peace in the Middle East opposed it, arguing the referendum "simplifies a very complex situation." She said, "I think the phrase 'peace in the Middle East' was distorted in the question", adding that most voters likely agreed with the question's peaceful-sounding intentions, but also "didn't go so far as to analyze the specific program that was proposed."[115] A debate was held between James J. Zogby of the Arab-American Institute and Alan Dershowitz, with both sides accusing the other of bias. The debate, held in the Science Center, was closed to the public and limited to members of the Harvard Community and invited guests. It included hisses and shouts from audience members, along with insults between Zogby and Dershowitz.[116] Question 5 was endorsed by faculty like biologists Ruth Hubbard, Richard Lewontin, and George Wald and historian Everett Mendelsohn, who wrote that "having campaigned against racism in our country, apartheid in South Africa, the iron fist of Pinochet, the atrocities of the Khomeni regime and against funding of Contra terror and death squads in Central America, [they] cannot turn a blind eye to the oppression visited upon the Palestinian people as they try to end Israeli occupation."[117]

[109] Hsu, "Pro-Israeli Posters Stir Debate."
[110] Glen I. A. Schwaber, Joseph Enis, and Laura E. Fein, "HIPAC," *The Harvard Crimson*, March 14, 1988.
[111] Matthew M. Hoffman, "Posters Spur New Debate Over Israel," *The Harvard Crimson*, April 6, 1988.
[112] Trig Tarazi et al., "No Anti-Israel Campaign," *The Harvard Crimson*, April 13, 1988.
[113] Madhavi Sunder, "Aid to Israel Debated; Forum Closed to Public," *The Harvard Crimson*, November 4, 1988. The referendum came under attack from Jewish groups who claimed Israel is being singled out compared to its neighboring countries. Phillip van Niekerk, "Middle East issues come to ballot box," *The Boston Globe*, September 20, 1988.
[114] Sean P. Mclaughlin, "Congress Members Lead Opposition to Question 5," *The Harvard Crimson*, November 1, 1988. Tarazi ultimately became a legal adviser to the PLO. Michael Tarazi, "Two Peoples, One State," *The New York Times*, October 4, 2004. https://www.nytimes.com/2004/10/04/opinion/two-peoples-one-state.html?searchResultPosition=7
[115] Kelly A. Matthews, "Cambridge Votes Yes on 5," *The Harvard Crimson*, November 9, 1988.
[116] Sunder, "Aid to Israel Debated; Forum Closed to Public."
[117] Ruth Hubbard et al., "Condemning Oppression," *The Harvard Crimson*, November 5, 1988.

On November 8, Cambridge residents voted on Question 5. It narrowly passed by a margin of 19,173 to 17,441.[118] Supporters like Tarazi saw this as the "first time anything questioning Israel's politics has passed on the grass-roots level."[119] Others like Jonathan Savett '90 lamented the tenor of the debate on campus and expressed the wish that the community continue "discussion — exchanges of opinions through letters, yes, but better yet through personal contact, and even better yet everyone should take a break from opinion-ramming and just concentrate closely on what actually happens during the coming weeks."[120]

Antisemitic Incidents on Campus and Beyond

Over this decade, antisemitic incidents like threatening graffiti and vandalism against Jewish structures appeared sporadically on Harvard's campus and in the surrounding area. For example, in 1980, Hillel posters in Pennypacker Hall dormitory at Harvard were defaced with swastikas and antisemitic graffiti, according to Rabbi Ben Zion Gold, who noted that "prejudices are part of the human situation" and such incidents "hurt many segments of this country."[121] In 1982 and 1983 swastikas occasionally appeared on the Jewish Law Students Association's (JLSA) bulletin boards and announcements. JLSA member David M. Mirchin speculated that " a lot of the inhibitions about being insensitive to Jews that existed for a long time after World War II no longer exist," and that "In a certain way, anti-Semitism is okay."[122] In 1984, Ellen Resnick discovered that her mezuzah had been removed from her door at Currier House. She was disturbed by the possibility that a member of the Harvard community deliberately removed it due to antisemitic sentiment. She found it particularly troubling that this could have happened during the Christmas season, which historically has been a time of increased ill will towards Jews in Europe. Resnick said Harvard deserves its reputation for tolerance, but this "subtle gesture" showed an "appalling and unacceptable private prejudice" that she had not previously observed. She worried that if such sentiments remain private and hidden, manifesting only in isolated acts, it would be difficult to rationally challenge them.[123]

This increase in antisemitic incidents was part of a regional trend. In 1982, a sukkah built by Yale students in New Haven was destroyed by vandals, though Judah Shechter '85 dismissed the idea of active antisemitism, suggesting it was "probably just drunken vandalism."[124] In the same year, a sukkah at Brown University was vandalized in what administrative assistant Sharon E. Cohen considered "a deliberate and partially anti-Semitic act."[125] Boston University experienced several other instances of anti-Jewish graffiti and vandalism.[126]

As disturbing as these events were, the reaction from students known for being highly critical of Israel was supportive of their Jewish classmates. In 1983, 16 student organizations (including the Arab Student Society, the Black Law Students Association, and the Third World Coalition) issued a statement condemning an antisemitic incident at Harvard Law School (HLS):

> A couple of weeks ago, swastikas, the symbol of Hitler's Third Reich, were scrawled across three posters advertising Jewish activities at Harvard Law School. Last fall, someone etched a swastika into the Jewish Law Student Association Bulletin Board. As members of the Harvard Law School

[118] Matthews, "Cambridge Votes Yes on 5."
[119] Ibid.
[120] Jonathan Savett, "Question 5," *The Harvard Crimson*, November 19, 1988.
[121] Stacey L. Mandelbaum, "Pennypacker Meets To Discuss Recent Anti-Semitic Graffiti," *The Harvard Crimson*, November 13, 1980.
[122] "Swastikas," *The Harvard Crimson*, March 3, 1983.
[123] Ellen Resnick, "Bigotry," *The Harvard Crimson*, January 23, 1984.
[124] "Sukkah Destroyed," *The Harvard Crimson*, October 16, 1982.
[125] "Jewish Structures Vandalized At Three Ivy League Schools," *The Harvard Crimson*, October 23, 1982.
[126] "Anti-Semitism," *The Harvard Crimson*, December 8, 1987.

> Community, we are outraged by these abhorrent expressions of anti Semitism. We join together in condemning the intolerance and hatred that motivated these acts of vandalism.[127]

Controversial Visitors on Campus

Some of the more fervent debates of the 1980s emerged around controversial speakers, both on the Palestinian and the Israeli side. A 1983 visit by Hassan Abdul Rahman of the PLO at HLS sparked significant tensions. While initial reporting suggested that pro-Israel students attempted to prevent the talk from taking place, William Marks '83 argued that around 200 students demonstrated "to oppose the PLO's tactics and ideology, not to prevent Rahman from speaking."[128] Organizers of the event critiqued the news coverage of the event as an endorsement of PLO tactics, arguing that Abdul-Rahman's invitation "represents no statement of approval or disapproval of the aims and methods of the PLO, about which the respective organizations have differing views. But it does represent our firm affirmation of the right of representatives of the PLO to engage in direct dialogue with the American public, and to represent its aspirations and policies in its own terms."[129]

Rona Shapiro '84 of the Harvard-Radcliffe Zionist Alliance expressed dissatisfaction with how the talk by PLO official Hassan Abdul-Rahman was carried out. She argued Jewish students were not given adequate notice and questions from the floor were not allowed, "stacking the cards" against alternative viewpoints. About the atmosphere at the talk, she wrote:

> I arrived with my appropriate placard and screamed my position while inside. Rahman and his supporters screamed theirs. Our individual identities were subsumed in our flags and titles, leaving no room for a common ground or the search for one. What we witnessed instead was a debate of hatred. I would argue that we learn very little from such screaming, that we merely reinforce established prejudices.[130]

Shapiro proposed that a series of co-sponsored speakers from different perspectives could have fostered mutual understanding.[131]

However, members of the Hillel Steering Committee claimed that the heckling "was not a planned part of the protest but stemmed from the emotional pride of the anti-PLO students" and admitted that "the audience should have ideally exercised more self-control."[132] Furthermore, the Committee pointed out that their objection was to Rachman and the PLO specifically, but not to Palestinian rights:

> During the protest outside the marchers held signs that said "Palestinians — Yes, PLO — No" and the only full round of applause that Rachmun received followed his remarks that the rights of all people in the region should be respected. We protested the PLO's maximalism and rejectionism, not the human rights of Palestinians. The two should not be confused. The Middle East problem is horribly complex and no simple solutions will solve it, and there is no room for an organization predicated on the destruction of Israel.[133]

[127] American Indian Law Students Association et al., "Anti-Semitism," *The Harvard Crimson*, March 4, 1983.
[128] William Marks, "'Anti-Jewish'," *The Harvard Crimson*, April 29, 1983.
[129] George E. Bisharat, "Rahmun's Speech," *The Harvard Crimson*, May 4, 1983.
https://www.thecrimson.com/article/1983/5/4/rahmuns-speech-pbto-the-editors-of/
[130] Rona Shapiro, "Stacked Cards," *The Harvard Crimson*, April 29, 1983.
https://www.thecrimson.com/article/1983/4/29/stacked-cards-pbto-the-editors-of/
[131] Ibid.
[132] Jeffrey R. Mendelsohn et al., "Another View," *The Harvard Crimson*, May 4, 1983.
https://www.thecrimson.com/article/1983/5/4/another-view-pbto-the-editors-of/.
[133] Ibid.

The Committee expressed the wish for better dialogue and understanding between the sides on campus: "We must not allow an artificial division to develop between the groups who protested and those that sponsored the speech … Misunderstandings grow all too easily in an environment of mutual ignorance. To avoid this, we must be willing to talk and listen to each other as students and as peers."[134]

In 1984, the Harvard Black American Law Students Association (BALSA) also hosted a panel discussion featuring a representative from the Palestinian Liberation Organization (PLO). When Jewish students from the Jewish Law Students Association (JLSA) attended, outnumbering BALSA members, the BALSA moderator Muhammad Kenyatta refused to recognize any questions from White or Jewish students.[135] This led professors Martin Kilson and Orlando Patterson to argue that BALSA had violated norms of free speech and fairness. They wrote:

> The ugliness of Mr. Kenyatta's behavior, cowardly acquiesced in by Afro-American students associated with BALSA, is especially shocking, in light of Black Americans long and bitter experience with racist victimization and brutalization. It is hard to believe that Mr. Kenyatta's and BALSA's knowledge of this experience is so shallow and unsophisticated that they could transform the occasion of the PLO's UN representative's talk into one of the vilest assaults on the norms of fairness and free speech to occur at Harvard in many years.[136]

Along with Alan Dershowitz, Kilson and Patterson asked President Derek Bok and HLS to condemn and censure Muhammad Kenyatta and BALSA.[137] BALSA defended the event as private, in order to minimize counterprotests, though they acknowledged inviting JLSA to observe. They rejected the notion that inviting a PLO representative was tantamount to supporting terrorist acts.[138] Kilson continued arguing that discussion of Palestinian issues at Harvard must respect norms of fairness and free speech.[139]

Tensions rose further in 1985 when a letter criticized the Harvard Radcliffe Black Students Association (HRBSA) for having invited a Libyan official to a conference on campus, describing it as an "outrage" given Libya's oppression.[140] The letter accused Black students of supporting Muslim oppression of Jews by sympathizing with Palestinians. Accusations of "Black racist intellectual anti-Semitism" were levied against HRBSA. Joachim Cario Santos Martillo-Ajami '78 argued Jewish groups should deny assistance to all Black groups until HRBSA "cleans up its act."[141]

Jewish and Israeli speakers were also a source of controversy. In 1985, Meir Kahane threatened to sue Harvard Hillel if he was not allowed to speak on campus. Kahane, who advocated expelling Israel's Arab citizens, was told he was not welcome at Hillel due to the organization's refusal to engage with the racist and violent views of Kahane's Jewish Defense League. However, Hillel later changed its decision, allowing Kahane to enter the building and speak.[142]

Four years later, pro-Palestinian demonstrators protested the presence of Israeli Major General Amram Mitzna as a fellow at Harvard's Center for International Affairs (CFIA). Mitzna had overseen Israeli military operations in the West Bank from 1987-1989. The protesters, organized by the Cambridge

[134] Ibid.
[135] "Minority Priority," *The Harvard Crimson*, April 26, 1984.
[136] Martin Kilson and Orlando Patterson, "Condemnation," *The Harvard Crimson*, April 25, 1984.
[137] Ibid.
[138] Black Law Students Association, "HJLSA: Wrong," *The Harvard Crimson*, April 28, 1984.
[139] Martin Kilson, "BLSA," *The Harvard Crimson*, May 1, 1984.
[140] Mohammed Abdul-Assiz, third secretary to the Libyan mission, had been invited to the Third World Conference on Human Rights, which took place in February 17, 1979. Sarah M. Mcgillis, "Third World Conference Criticizes U.S.," *The Harvard Crimson*, February 17, 1979. https://www.thecrimson.com/article/1979/2/17/third-world-conference-criticizes-us-pspeakers/
[141] Joachim Cario Santos Martillo-Ajami, "Anti-Semitism," *The Harvard Crimson*, April 2, 1985.
[142] Gil Citro, "Hillel to Allow Talk By Uninvited Rabbi," *The Harvard Crimson*, November 7, 1986.

Coalition for Palestinian Rights, accused Mitzna of human rights abuses and considered him a "war criminal."[143] HIPAC argued that criticism of Mitzna, seen as a moderate in Israel, was unfounded and that denying him the fellowship would amount to censorship.[144] The anti-Mitzna protesters said their goal was to get Mitzna to leave Harvard, end US aid for alleged "Israeli oppression," and pressure Israel to stop "atrocities" in the occupied territories. Counter-protesters said the Coalition aimed to impose censorship and discourage dialogue.[145]

Being Jewish and Zionist at Harvard

During the late 1980s, debates around Jewish identity and support for Israel were at times fierce. In a November 1989 op-ed in the *Crimson*, John Larew '91 criticized what he termed "Zealots," whom he defined as American Jews who supported Israel unconditionally and rationalized alleged human rights violations. Bemoaning the "poster wars" on campus, he described "Zealot" behavior thus:

> Once during my first year, a Palestinian student posted a sign on the entryway bulletin board that showed an Israeli soldier beating an unarmed Palestinian woman with the butt of his rifle. Within hours, a Jewish student in the entryway had torn the poster down. When the Palestinian confronted her about the incident, the Jewish student responded, "I'm sorry, but I just couldn't bear to see it there." During my sophomore year, I saw a similar reaction in Winthrop House. Another bulletin board, another poster, the same photo. Someone had written across the photograph in huge letters: "BULLSHIT!" The gesture was more pathetic than vexing. Some poor student wore ideological blinders so thick that he or she dismissed an indisputable photographic record of Israeli brutality as "bullshit." Those who took Psychology 1 may recognize this phenomenon as the mental defense mechanism known as "denial." The facts conflict with their beliefs, therefore the facts do not exist.[146]

In response, Donald Seeman '89 argued that Israeli policymakers often faced a difficult choice between "evils" and felt a military occupation, though "evil," was preferable to threats against Israel's existence from groups like the PLO.[147] Glen I.A. Schwaber '91 rebutted Larew in a letter affirming his support of Israel and accusing Larew of twisting the words of others to suit his arguments.[148]

More general questions about Jewish identity and integration into campus also emerged in the late 1980s. In 1989, Jonathan S. Cohn criticized the newly formed Jewish fraternity Sigma Alpha Mu at Harvard. In an article called "Life Isn't a Kosher Deli", Cohn argued the fraternity went against Harvard's goal of diversity, saying it promoted the idea that "Jews should only socialize with other Jews."[149] In response a student of South Asian background wrote that Cohn's criticism was unfairly harsh and "hinted at antisemitism." It presented student-driven social organization as a wellspring of diversity, not an obstacle to it. In this view, minority students have a natural need to engage with others from their own backgrounds as part of their integration into broader social networks.[150]

Amidst the flare-ups of tension regarding the Israeli-Palestinian conflict came attempts to facilitate respectful exchanges of perspectives on the topic. In 1984, Harvard hosted an Israeli-Palestinian symposium organized by Professor Herbert C. Kelman, who had been working on Israeli-Palestinian

[143] "News Briefs," *The Harvard Crimson*, September 28, 1989.
[144] "Israeli General Sparks Protest: Demonstrators Divided on Mitzna's Fellowship at CFIA," *The Harvard Crimson*, October 7, 1989.
[145] Ibid.
[146] John L. Larew, "Israel's Worst Best Friends," *The Harvard Crimson*, November 29, 1989.
[147] Donald Seeman, "Israel Chooses the Lesser of Two Evils," *The Harvard Crimson*, November 30, 1989.
[148] Glen I. A. Schwaber, "The Defense of Israel Is No Vice," *The Harvard Crimson*, December 2, 1989.
[149] Jonathan S. Cohn, "Life Isn't a Kosher Deli," *The Harvard Crimson*, October 11, 1989.
[150] Madhavi Sunder, "Need to Go National?," *The Harvard Crimson*, October 17, 1989.

issues for over a decade. The symposium brought together a high-level delegation from Israel, including Knesset member Yossi Sarid, the leader of the delegation and a prominent dove in Israel's Labor party. On the Palestinian side, the delegation included Professor Walid Khalidi, a renowned scholar and founder of the Institute of Palestinian Studies in Beirut, as well as scholars from the West Bank and Gaza.

Israeli journalist Dalia Shehori, who attended the symposium, saw it as "one of the most encouraging gatherings ever" in the history of Israeli-Palestinian conferences. Shehori noted Professor Khalidi's relief upon accepting the political framework presented by Sarid. Shehori saw the symposium as "a reminder that there are still in Israel people who hold the right direction" toward peace.[151]

In November 1989, Palestinian academic and activist Taysir Aruri spoke at Harvard's Jefferson Hall. Aruri, who had been deported from the West Bank by Israeli authorities earlier that year, told the 80 attendees that residents in Israel, the occupied territories, and the broader Middle East increasingly supported a resolution involving two independent states. Aruri, who was touring the US sponsored by Amnesty International, noted that the Intifada had shifted attitudes toward a separate Palestinian state and changed the dynamics of the Israeli occupation. He believed that under a peace agreement, the independent Palestinian state and Israel could develop economic and diplomatic ties that would benefit both peoples. The Progressive Jewish Alliance and Harvard's Society of Arab Students organized the event.[152]

In December 1989, Arab and Jewish students at Harvard sought to find common ground and ease tensions through open discussion. Students from, among other groups, the New Jewish Agenda and the American-Arab Anti-Discrimination Committee came together for a conference in Boylston Hall, After splitting into small groups, participants reconvened for a larger discussion. They agreed the best path forward was through education — creating a joint task force to increase understanding between their communities. Ideas proposed included hosting lectures at local high schools and pairing Jewish and Arab-American community members. The students also discussed jointly lobbying the US government to redefine its aid to Israel. "I think it's something very helpful, the fact that 40 Jews showed up to talk about this issue," said Majed Tomeh of the American-Arab Anti-Discrimination Committee.[153]

Conclusion

Debates around the Israeli-Palestinian conflict at Harvard in the 1980s reflected the rising tensions and polarization occurring regionally during the period. The discourse on campus featured debates over specific Israeli policies and attempted to distinguish appropriate criticism from a blanket delegitimization of Israel and criticism of the PLO from discussion of Palestinian rights. While tensions occasionally flared between Jewish and Arab student groups, efforts also emerged to develop understanding through dialogue.

While concerns about antisemitism did arise during the 1980s, they did not dominate the public discourse surrounding Middle East discussions. Instead, many speakers critical of Israel strove to distinguish their critiques of specific policies from broader condemnations of Israel as a whole. Individuals and groups were often careful to clarify their points if there was a risk of misinterpretation. The decade saw a concerted push toward informed debates that sought to draw clear lines between policy critique and antisemitic rhetoric.

[151] Dalia Shehori, "Mid-East at Harvard," *The Harvard Crimson*, February 27, 1984.
[152] Francesca E. Bignami, "Middle East Peace Possible," *The Harvard Crimson*, November 21, 1989.
[153] "Arab and Jewish Groups Talk of Common Ground," *The Harvard Crimson*, December 4, 1989.

Jews at Harvard in the 1990s: Tension and Dialogue with Pro-Palestinian and Black Student Groups

> TO THE EDITORS
>
> February 26, 1994
>
> We were shocked and appalled to hear of the horrific tragedy that occurred yesterday when an Israeli settler brutally massacred more than 40 people in a mosque in Hebron. The killings occurred during the holy month of Ramadan and were directed against innocent people in prayer. It is hard to conceive that one human being is capable of such unthinkable evil. We extend our deepest condolences to the families of those murdered and to the entire Arab and Islamic community. We pray for a world free from such violence.
>
> — *Elie G. Kaunfer '95 Chair, Coordinating Council Harvard-Radcliffe Hillel*[154]

> TO THE EDITORS
>
> March 6, 1996
>
> The Harvard/Radcliffe Society of Arab Students would like to express its deep regret for the loss of innocent civilian lives during the latest attacks in Jerusalem and Tel-Aviv. We sincerely hope that the Palestinians and Israelis will continue their quest for a just and lasting peace.
>
> — *Ramy M. Tadros '97, President Harvard/Radcliffe Society of Arab Students*[155]

These two letters, written by Jewish and Arab students respectively in response to murderous violence in the West Bank and Israel, demonstrate the capacity of Harvard students during the 1990s for mutual sympathy and understanding despite political differences. For Jewish students, the decade was marked less by concern about antisemitism from pro-Palestinian students than by broader debates over free speech — what kinds of statements might be deemed offensive to the Jewish community, and who had the right to make that determination. To be sure, events in the Middle East directly impacted the Harvard campus, e.g., the 1991 Madrid Peace Conference and the 1993/1995 Oslo Accords, the assassination of Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin; numerous terrorist attacks in Israel; the 1996 opening of the Temple Mount Tunnel and the ensuing riots and severe Israeli response; and the negotiations of the Wye River Memorandum in 1998. These occurrences reverberated on Harvard's campus, stimulating debates and student activism. But relations between Jewish and Black students were especially fraught and more likely to elicit accusations of antisemitism.

Balancing Free Speech with Protection from Harassment

Harvard took part in the national controversy of the late 1980s and early 1990s about ensuring free speech on campus while protecting students from harassment.[156] In September 1988, HLS adopted new free speech guidelines in response to previous disruptions of talks by controversial speakers.[157] HLS described the guidelines as an attempt to balance future opportunities for speakers to present their worldviews and

[154] Elie G. Kaunfer, "Appalled at the Hebron Killings," *The Harvard Crimson*, February 26, 1994. (The actual number of Muslims murdered by the perpetrator, Baruch Goldstein, was 29.)
[155] Ramy M. Tadros, "Arabs Regret Loss," *The Harvard Crimson*, March 6, 1996.
[156] At Yale, for example, Yale President Benno C. Schmidt asserted that defacing a Jewish student's door with swastikas was "unlawful harassment," whereas Yale College Dean Donald Kagan initially said that the defacers were protected by freedom of expression. John L. Johnson, "Anti-Semitism, Free Speech Controversy Erupts at Yale," *The Harvard Crimson*, November 5, 1991.
[157] Crystal Nix, "Contra Chief's Harvard Appearance Disrupted," *The New York Times*, October 4, 1987, 1.

allow protesters the right of dissent.[158] In 1990, FAS followed suit and approved comprehensive Free Speech Guidelines aimed at safeguarding the principles of free expression within the academic community. The guidelines emphasized that the long-term benefits of a robust marketplace of ideas outweighed the short-term discomfort of potentially offensive views. They outlined procedures for managing disruptions, including issuing warnings and removing individuals who persist in disruptive behavior, and acknowledged the need for security measures to protect these freedoms. In order to maximize freedom of expression, the guidelines made clear that sanctions for violations would be based on the nature of the infraction rather than the content of speech.[159]

As the Faculty considered how to implement the guidelines, some argued that speech amounting to the harassment of minorities needed to be curtailed for the benefit of the academic environment. Daniel E. Mufson, for example, asked the University to assert "the importance of academic freedom as well as the need for an educational environment in which that freedom can be enjoyed."[160] The president of the *Crimson* pointed out that "harassment of minorities is a detriment rather than an addition to the 'marketplace of ideas.'"[161] Conversely, critics of these restrictions described them as overreaches that stifled free expression.[162]

The debate over free speech versus protection from harassment was evident in campus discussions on antisemitism and controversies over activism connected to the Israel/Palestine activism. Tensions surfaced over the freedom to invite controversial speakers to campus and the publication of materials critiquing Israel, which some perceived as bordering on antisemitism.

The Pro-Israeli and Pro-Palestinian Communities at Harvard

In the 1990s, Harvard's Jewish community was thriving in every respect. On the organizational side, Hillel functioned as not only a religious space but also a cultural and social hub for Jewish life on campus. Rabbi Sally Finestone, acting chair of Harvard-Radcliffe Hillel, noted that Jewish students felt integrated into campus life, stating, "I don't think Jews feel like guests at Harvard anymore."[163]

In 1997, a Chabad House was established at Harvard. It sought to provide an informal, welcoming environment for Jewish students to explore their heritage through classes, discussions, and Shabbat experiences. Chabad reached out to Jewish students who were not already involved in campus Jewish life.[164] Leaders Rabbi Hirschy Zarchi and Elkie Zarchi reported that students appreciated the opportunity to take a break from the competitive campus environment and engage with Judaism in a meaningful way. Within six years, Rabbi Zarchi attained official Jewish chaplain status on campus.[165]

[158] Seth A. Gitell, "Harvard Law School adopts new 'free speech' guidelines," *The Boston Globe*, September 25, 1988.
[159] Harvard University Faculty of Arts and Sciences, *Free Speech Guidelines, as adopted by the Faculty of Arts and Sciences on February 13 and May 15, I 990* (1990). https://hwpi.harvard.edu/files/facultyresources/files/fs_guidelines_1990.pdf
[160] Daniel E. Mufson, "Free Speech Stops at Harrassment," *The Harvard Crimson*, February 7, 1990.
[161] Julian E. Barnes, "PRESIDENT'S NOTE: An Open Letter," *The Harvard Crimson*, May 4, 1992. https://www.thecrimson.com/article/1992/5/4/an-open-letter-pearly-this-morning/
[162] Lori E. Smith, "Frank Defends Free Speech: Comments Draw Fire at Law School Seminar on Bigotry," *The Harvard Crimson*, February 12, 1990; "Nye Free Speech Report: Censure, Don't Censor," *The Harvard Crimson*, February 13, 1990.
[163] Anna D. Wilde, "Harvard Is A 'Home' For Jewish Students: Students Say Past Prejudice Is No Longer a Barrier," *The Harvard Crimson*, November 16, 1992.
[164] "Introducing the Leaders of the Future to their Past: A new Chabad House opens its doors to the Harvard community," *Chabad.Org News*, March 5, 1999. https://www.chabad.org/news/article_cdo/aid/407/jewish/Introducing-the-Leaders-of-the-Future-to-their-Past.htm
[165] Sue Fishkoff, *The Rebbe's Army: Inside the World of Chabad-Lubavitch* (New York: Knopf Doubleday Publishing Group, 2009), 101-05; Samuel C. Heilman, *The Rebbe: The life and afterlife of Menachem Mendel Schneerson* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2010), 7.

Throughout the 1990s Harvard featured a lively pro-Israel community that put on events and advocated on issues related to the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. The events ranged from rallies and demonstrations to cultural celebrations and visits by high-profile politicians. In response to SCUD missile attacks on Israel in January 1991, some 200 people gathered in front of Widener Library to show solidarity with Israel. In October 1994, Harvard Hillel held a vigil on the steps of Widener Library to mourn the victims of a terrorist bombing in Tel Aviv. Israeli foreign minister Shimon Peres spoke to an audience of some one thousand at Memorial Hall in February 1994.[166] In October 1996, Harvard Students for Israel held a demonstration advocating for negotiations amidst Israeli-Palestinian violence sparked by the opening of the Temple Mount Tunnel in Jerusalem.[167] A 1999 conference on "Boston, Israel, and YOU!," co-sponsored by the American-Israel Public Affairs Committee (AIPAC) and Harvard Students for Israel (HSI), provided advice from lobbyists, analysis, and politicians on how Harvard's Jewish students could become future leaders.

These acts of celebration and advocacy did not go unanswered. When Einat Wilf, the HSI chair, wrote a piece for the *Crimson* defending Israel and its efforts to attain peace with its neighbors, she received criticism as well as support from fellow affiliates.[168] The criticism reflected mounting frustration with Israel's occupation of the West Bank and Gaza, frustration that led three undergraduate students to establish the Palestine Solidarity Committee. According to one of the organizers, Dina N. Abu-Ghaida '91, this new group aimed to be "very visible on campus" and actively supported a two-state solution, differing from the Society of Arab Students (SAS), which Abu-Ghaida noted was "primarily a cultural group."[169] Abu-Ghaida, a Palestinian born in Damascus and who had lived in Beirut, Amman, and Vienna before coming to Harvard, said that the outbreak of the intifada and the Gulf War left her with "no choice but to respond." She referred to both hostility from Jewish students and positive experiences with the Progressive Jewish Alliance, with whom she worked to build bridges between concerned Arabs and Jews.[170] Other pro-Palestinian activists, including Imraan Coovadia '92, reported facing hostility on campus, and Rhoda A. Kanaaneh '92 noted frequent removal of PSC posters. Lucas P. Barr '91 described a hostile atmosphere where actions like spitting at pro-Palestinian demonstrators reflected an "anti-Arab sentiment" among the community.[171]

Like pro-Israel students, supporters of the Palestinian cause organized rallies, issued public statements, and held conferences. In October 1991, some 35 people gathered in front of Widener Library to protest the killing of 19 Palestinians by Israeli police. The event was led by members of SAS and the Subterranean Review, a leftist campus publication. Imraan Coovadia '92, a protest organizer, described the incident as "an inexcusable massacre." Protestors carried signs saying, "Economic sanctions on Israel now," "Stop Israeli genocide against Palestinians" and "End the Israeli occupation now."[172] In October 1996, more than 80 people participated in a vigil in front of Holyoke Center to protest Israeli violence against Palestinians. Participants chanted slogans like "Self-determination, end the occupation!" Ramy M. Adeeb '00, a member of the Harvard-Radcliffe Society of Arab Students said: "As a human being, I am here to say I

[166] Sarah J. Schaffer, "Israel's Peres to Visit Harvard Next Week," *The Harvard Crimson*, January 24, 1994; Sarah J. Schaffer, "Peres Stresses Peace, Security," *The Harvard Crimson*, February 19, 1994.
[167] "Pro-Israel Students Rally for Peace," *The Harvard Crimson*, October 4, 1996. For background, see Serge Schmemann, "10 MORE DIE IN MIDEAST RIOTS AS VIOLENCE ENTERS 3D DAY; MOSQUE IS SCENE OF A CLASH," *The New York Times*, September 28, 1996, 1.
[168] Einat Wilf, "Israel's Independence Day," *The Harvard Crimson*, May 5, 1995.
[169] Tracy Kramer, "Pro-Palestinian Group Planned: Campus Organization Will Focus on Political Agenda," *The Harvard Crimson*, October 25, 1990. https://www.thecrimson.com/article/1990/10/25/pro-palestinian-group-planned-pfrustrated-by-the/
[170] Seth A. Gitell, "Searching for an Identity and a Homeland: Dina N. Abu-Ghaida '91," *The Harvard Crimson*, June 6, 1991.
[171] Kramer, "Pro-Palestinian Group Planned: Campus Organization Will Focus on Political Agenda."
[172] Jonathan Samuels, "Students Protest Israeli Killings," *The Harvard Crimson*, October 11, 1990.

don't agree with this destruction of the peace process."[173] Complaints about anti-Palestinian media bias were published in the *Crimson*.[174]

Not only speech but also imagery was a source of contention between students in rival political camps. After an early 1990 incident where posters supporting Palestinian university students in the West Bank were removed or defaced on campus, economist David S. Landes argued that while the posters were provocative to some, their removal violated principles of free speech. While acknowledging both the concerns of pro-Israel students and the right to express support for Palestinians, he questioned how universities should handle such contentious displays.[175]

Another controversy erupted around a poster campaign by the Harvard-Radcliffe Committee on Palestine (COP) in December 1990, commemorating the third anniversary of the outbreak of the intifada. On December 10, COP placed posters around Harvard Yard and student Houses with messages like "As a center of protest this university has been closed. — Israeli Military Command" and "You have 48 hours to evacuate before this house is demolished. — Israeli Military Command." Within hours, most of these posters were removed. COP members Dina Abu-Ghaida '91 and Rhoda Kanaaneh '92 wrote to the *Crimson*, claiming this was a "stark violation of [their] freedom of speech on campus" and an attempt to "stifle any Palestinian self-expression or form of protest."[176] Adam Taxin '93 responded, arguing that the posters were "vicious propaganda" designed to "defame the Jewish state and its supporters." He suggested that COP intended for the posters to be removed quickly so they could "gain martyr status" and draw parallels between Harvard and Palestinian universities.[177]

In April 1992, SAS reported that posters advertising their event about the psychological effects on Palestinian children under Israeli occupation in the West Bank and Gaza Strip were repeatedly removed shortly after being put up. This incident, along with similar occurrences over the past two years, prompted SAS to place an advertisement in the *Crimson* to announce their event. Laila Sahyoun '94 and Leith Masri '94, representing SAS, expressed concern about this "disturbing violation of its freedom of expression" and called on those responsible to "reconsider their actions." The letter writers viewed these incidents as deliberate attempts to suppress their voice on campus.[178]

Cartoons in the *Crimson* also set off controversies. On October 16, 1990, the paper published a cartoon by Oliver Chin titled "Wailing Wall Indeed ...", depicting an Israeli soldier with an M-16 rifle standing unmoved next to a dying Palestinian at the Western Wall. In a letter dated October 18, Glen Schwaber '91 argued that the cartoon perpetuates harmful stereotypes about Jews and trivializes both the sanctity of the religious site and the loss of life in the conflict. Schwaber contended that the cartoon oversimplifies a complex situation and unfairly places blame on one side. To illustrate his point, he asked readers to imagine a hypothetical cartoon showing Palestinians attacking Jewish worshippers, suggesting that such an image would be considered offensive if directed at Muslims or Islam.[179]

Conversely, a cartoon by Paul Tarr, published on February 13, 1991, depicted the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO), Palestinians, and Arabs in a manner that some readers found offensive. Samia Mora '92, Dina N. Abu-Ghaida '91, and Shaden M. Tageldin '92 criticized the cartoon for portraying Palestinians as "either raving, maniacal monsters or weak, flailing dim-wits, or both," depicting the PLO

[173] "At Vigil, 80 Protesters Decry Israel's Actions," *The Harvard Crimson*, October 3, 1996.
[174] Rhoda Kanaaneh, "Pro-Israel Bias," *The Harvard Crimson*, October 11, 1990; Leila Suwwan de Felipe and Waqaas Fahmawi, "U.S. Media Misrepresent Palestinians," *The Harvard Crimson*, October 22, 1996.
[175] David S. Landes, "Palestinian Posters," *The Harvard Crimson*, January 4, 1990.
[176] Dina Abu-Ghaida and Rhoda Kanaaneh, "Palestinian Group's Rights Violated," *The Harvard Crimson*, December 17, 1990.
[177] Adam Taxin, "Posters Were Vicious Propaganda," *The Harvard Crimson*, December 17, 1990.
[178] Laila Sahyoun and Leith Masri, "SAS Posters Were Removed," *The Harvard Crimson*, April 10, 1992.
[179] Glen Schwaber, "Cartoon Offends," *The Harvard Crimson*, October 18, 1990.

as "a modern Nazi equivalent" that wishes to "gas the Israelis," misrepresenting the goals of the PLO and the nature of the Palestinian intifada, and portraying Palestinians as "two-faced hypocrites." They argued that Tarr's cartoon promoted "Orientalist attitudes" and hindered a deeper understanding of the region's issues.[180] Tarr later reflected on the challenges cartoonists face when addressing sensitive topics, noting that "even the most delicate cartoon on racial issues has the potential to offend someone." He acknowledged the historical context of racist stereotyping in media while defending his right to critique political positions, including those of the PLO.[181]

Given the divisions between pro-Israel and pro-Palestinian student organizations and individuals on campus, it is not surprising that there were confrontations between them. However, confrontations were often accompanied by gestures of correction, apology, and sympathy towards the opposing side. Three episodes — the debate over the revocation of UNGA Resolution 3379 in 1991, the Cave of the Patriarchs massacre in 1994, and the assassination of Israeli Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin in 1995 — illustrate how, despite deep-seated differences, both groups also made steps to understand and address each other's perspectives in moments of conflict and tragedy.

In December 1991, there were heated debates over the question whether Zionism constitutes racism, mirroring the contentious global discussion ignited by the move to repeal the 1975 U.N. Resolution 3379 that had equated Zionism with racism.[182] The SAS distributed flyers describing Zionism as racism, to which several Jewish students responded. Richard A. Primus '92 wrote, "Being a Zionist, I was upset that someone else had decided to define my political ideology for me. Being an anti-racist, I was upset that someone had attributed an odious mindset like racism to me … Zionism is a part of my identity. To call it racism is to call my identity racist."[183] He argued against non-Jews making proclamations about Jews' beliefs, as well as SAS members' apparent refusal to dialogue with campus Jews. The Harvard-Radcliffe Hillel Coordinating Council echoed Primus's sentiments. Daniel J. Libenson '92 and Shai A. Held '94 voiced the Jewish community's concerns, with Held emphasizing that equating Zionism with racism wrongfully labels an entire cultural and religious identity. They found it particularly troubling that, amid a broader push for dialogue and understanding between identity groups on campus, other groups would circulate materials that they perceived as equating their identity with racism. "This is not to say that all Jews feel equally passionate about Israel or nationalism in general", the wrote. "As in any free society, we all have different feelings about the extent to which the national part of our ethnicity is important in our lives. Still, a yearning for Zion (a Biblical name for the land we now call Israel) permeates every level of Jewish worship and community."[184] Members of the Harvard Radcliffe Zionist Alliance, the Harvard Israel Political Affairs Committee, and the Progressive Jewish Alliance jointly issued a condemnation as well. They wrote that "it is insulting to have to defend one's nationalism, especially to people who cannot find a harsh word to say about Arab countries which torture and kill their own people, and do not let Jews into (Saudi Arabia) or out of (Syria) their countries. But because the SAS has decided to undermine the

[180] Samia Mora, Dina Abu-Ghaida, and Shaden M. Tageldin, "Tarr's Message Was Offensive," *The Harvard Crimson*, February 16, 1991.
[181] Paul Tarr, "Race, Rats and political Cartoons," *The Harvard Crimson*, May 6, 1991.
https://www.thecrimson.com/article/1991/5/6/race-rats-and-political-cartoons-pbab/
[182] Paul Lewis, "U.N. Repeals Its '75 Resolution Equating Zionism With Racism," *The New York Times*, December 17, 1991.
[183] Richard A. Primus, "Zionism isn't racism," *The Harvard Crimson*, December 17, 1991.
[184] Daniel J. Libenson and Shai A. Held, "SAS's Attack on Judaism," *The Harvard Crimson*, December 19, 1991. Additionally, the Harvard Gulf Arab Alliance similarly criticized SAS for endorsing the belief that Zionism is a form of racism, calling it a "fossilized belief." They criticized the society more generally for having extreme political positions and suggested that its homogeneously Palestinian makeup has diverted it from its original purpose of promoting Arab culture and serving the Arab community at Harvard. Bader A. El-Jeaan, "A Society of Pan-Arabists," *The Harvard Crimson*, December 19, 1991.

peace process and further the dreams of destroying Israel at a time when our thoughts should be of peace and mutual understanding, we are forced to respond."[185]

SAS members responded in two separate letters. Three members wrote a letter claiming they had been misunderstood: "The aim of this fact sheet was to present to the Harvard community the adverse consequences of the policies stemming from the Zionist ideology. These policies have undeniably resulted in discrimination against the Palestinian people."[186] They reiterated that their intent was not to attack Judaism or Jewish people and expressed disappointment that their own attempts at fostering dialogue and mutual understanding had been overlooked.[187] These SAS members further explained that Zionism, in their view, has led to two diverging outcomes: the establishment of a Jewish homeland, which they support, and the simultaneous displacement of Palestinians, which they oppose. "We do not believe that a people's rights should be sacrificed in order to grant a different people the same rights," they stated.[188] They expressed their ongoing commitment to Palestinian rights, emphasizing that their opposition to Zionism does not equate to opposing Jewish people.

A second group of SAS members wrote a more confrontational letter describing Zionism as a political ideology distinctly separate from Judaism and as inherently discriminatory. They argued that opposing Zionism does not equate to antisemitism, likening it to opposing Nazis without being anti-German. This second group maintained that their distribution of fliers was undertaken to defend principles of truth, morality, and justice. They cited an example involving Ethiopian Jews being evacuated to Israel during the civil war, contrasting with non-Jewish Ethiopians left behind, to argue that Zionism discriminates based on religion.[189]

The 1994 Hebron massacre, where an Israeli settler killed 29 Muslim worshippers and injured many more at the Cave of the Patriarchs,[190] deeply shocked Harvard students across campus. The incident, occurring during Ramadan, drew immediate condemnations from both Jewish and Arab student organizations. Elie G. Kaunfer '95, chair of Harvard-Radcliffe Hillel, expressed the collective distress, stating, "We were shocked and appalled to hear of the horrific tragedy ... it is hard to conceive that one human being is capable of such unthinkable evil."[191] Similarly, Martin Lebwohl '96 and Mayer Bick '95, co-chairs of Harvard Students for Israel, emphasized their condemnation of the violence and reaffirmed Israel's dedication to peace.[192]

Students on campus engaged in exchanges to understand and address the implications of the massacre. "Everyone in the room was incredibly upset, very angry, and just shocked at the actions of this crazy man in Hebron," noted Kaunfer, highlighting the atmosphere at a Hillel gathering.[193] Meanwhile, Hashen E. Montasser '97, an Egyptian Muslim, remarked, "Obviously your sentiments are shocked when this happens, whether the [victims] are Muslim, Jewish, or Christian."[194]

Following the massacre, Harvard students participated in various initiatives to foster solidarity and communication. At the Cultural Rhythms festival, dancers from Hillel wore black armbands to signal

[185] Sharon Fenick et al., "SAS Flier Offends Jews," *The Harvard Crimson*, December 17, 1991.
[186] Hazem Ben-Gacem, Naseem Tuffaha, and Joana Samhoun, "Our Letter Was Misinterpreted," *The Harvard Crimson*, December 19, 1991.
[187] Ibid.
[188] Ibid.
[189] Mohammed Yassin, Leith M. Masri, and Radi Annab, "Zionism Is Racism," *The Harvard Crimson*, December 19, 1991.
[190] Clyde Haberman, "AT LEAST 40 SLAIN IN WEST BANK AS ISRAELI FIRES INTO MOSQUE," *The New York Times*, February 26, 1994.
[191] Kaunfer, "Appalled at the Hebron Killings."
[192] Martin Lebwohl and Mayer Bick, "Act Was Meant to Derail Peace," *The Harvard Crimson*, February 26, 1994.
[193] Geoffrey C. Hsu, "Hebron Attack Stuns Students: Violence Dismays Undergrads," *The Harvard Crimson*, February 28, 1994.
[194] Hsu, "Hebron Attack Stuns Students: Violence Dismays Undergrads."

solidarity. Additionally, intergroup events and discussions were arranged to bridge the divide. Kaunfer mentioned that Hillel reached out to offer support to any memorial services planned by the Islamic Society, emphasizing, "No one at Hillel feels the way this man felt."[195]

Despite divergent perspectives, students largely focused on the need for continued dialogue and mutual understanding. Radi M. Annab '95, president of the SAS, pointed out systemic issues, stating, "It's one thing to have peace between leaders, but it's different having peace in the actual territories."[196] Others highlighted the shared hope for a better future, with Zainab Khan '96 noting her personal fear that such violence could happen anywhere, underscoring the need for empathy and solidarity.[197]

Alongside articles criticizing the media for portraying Arabs as terrorists when clearly fundamentalists of other religion engage in violence,[198] criticizing Israel for allowing settler violence to permeate,[199] and criticizing public speakers for demonizing Israel due to one person's actions,[200] a *Crimson* editorial called for the sides to continue dialogue toward peace. "The peace process has been put in danger by the action of one fanatic. Salvaging it must be the work of many, reasonable people from all sides."[201]

In January 1997, when an Israeli soldier fired his assault rifle at a crowd of Palestinians in Hebron, injuring seven people, students expressed a shared condemnation of violence and reinforced a commitment to the peace process, while also expressing a desire to address and understand the underlying issues while fostering dialogue and cooperation between the communities. David Andorsky '97, Adam Kleinbaum '98, and Yuval Segal '97 of Harvard-Radcliffe Hillel and HSI condemned the act, expressing outrage and emphasizing that such violence opposed the principles of Jewish tradition. They also praised Israeli and Palestinian efforts to manage the situation and underscored the importance of cooperation for peace.[202]

In the aftermath of Israeli Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin's assassination, the Harvard community displayed a boundary-crossing grief. Many expressed hopes for peace, transcending the polarized environment surrounding discussions on Israel and Palestine. The immediate response featured reactions from different student groups who expressed condolences and a desire to continue Rabin's peace initiatives. For example, the SAS, led by Muna Sukhnan, expressed "deep regret for the loss of Israeli Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin," and hoped his legacy would be one of peace.[203] Harvard-Radcliffe Hillel echoed the sentiment, condemning the violence that led to Rabin's death but maintaining hope that his dream of peace would not be in vain.[204]

[195] Ibid.
[196] Ibid.
[197] Ibid.
[198] Rami A. Thabet, "Palestinian Anxiety Is Warranted: Even before the Hebron massacre, Palestinians had reason to distrust the Israeli government," *The Harvard Crimson*, March 4, 1994.
[199] Jonathan F. Dresner, "Israel Should Disarm Settlers," *The Harvard Crimson*, March 5, 1994; Hassen A. Sayeed, "Israel Not Without Responsibility," *The Harvard Crimson*, March 7, 1994.
[200] David J. Andorsky, "Knowing Where to Place Blame: One Man Committed a Heinous Act; Why is All Israel Paying the Price?," *The Harvard Crimson*, March 10, 1994. See also "Salvage the Mideast Peace Process," *The Harvard Crimson*, March 1, 1994; Robert Ditzion, "Massacre Must Not Stop Peace," March 11, 1994; Roy Astrachan, "A Patriotic Peace: For Israelis, Avoiding Peace Would Be Treasonous," *The Harvard Crimson*, March 16, 1994; Mayer Bick, "Speed Up the Peace Process," *The Harvard Crimson*, April 13, 1994.
[201] The *Crimson* Staff, "Salvage the Mideast Peace Process," *The Harvard Crimson*, March 1, 1994. Similar sentiments were expressed in some letters to the *Crimson*. E.g., Robert Ditzion, "Massacre Must Not Stop Peace," March 11, 1994; Roy Astrachan, "A Patriotic Peace: For Israelis, Avoiding Peace Would Be Treasonous," *The Harvard Crimson*, March 16, 1994; Mayer Bick, "Speed Up the Peace Process," *The Harvard Crimson*, April 13, 1994.
[202] David J. Andorsky, Adam Kleinbaum, and Yuval Segal, "Jewish World Outraged by Recent Hebron Shootings," *The Harvard Crimson*, January 6, 1997.
[203] Muna Sukhnan, "Arab Students Express Regret," *The Harvard Crimson*, November 6, 1995.
[204] Harvard-Radcliffe Hillel Coordinating Council, "Hillel Mourns Loss of Rabin," *The Harvard Crimson*, November 6, 1995.

Events were held to commemorate Rabin and process the tragedy collectively. Hillel organized a memorial service where more than 500 Harvard community members, including Hillel Director Bernard Steinberg, gathered on the Widener steps and shared their grief. Steinberg described the community's sadness and called for unity.[205]

The assassination also prompted reflective discussions about Israeli society and the implications for peace. Some op-eds pointed to Rabin's death as a turning point, stressing the need to confront violent rhetoric and political extremism within Israel. Samuel J. Rascoff, in his *Crimson* columns, discussed the deeper societal fragmentation that the assassination highlighted and the urgent need for internal peace in Israel. He urged that Israel's path towards peace must also address internal divisions to prevent future tragedies.[206] However, this view was met with criticism from Einat Wilf '96, who argued that Rascoff's perspective questioned the very legitimacy of the Israeli state. Wilf called for a strong reassertion of democratic values rather than reviving external threats like antisemitism to strengthen Israeli society. She emphasized that "Israeli civic society must rest on shared common values such as the agreement to disagree within acceptable boundaries," advocating for unity and responsibility in public discourse.[207]

Commemorative events continued a year after Rabin's death, with students gathering again to reflect on his contributions. Poems and songs by students such as Marnie A. Friedman '99 and Julie B. Geller '97 encapsulated the emotional weight and continued hope for peace that Rabin's life symbolized.[208] Dalia Rabin Pelosoff and Camelia Sadat, the daughters of Rabin and Egyptian President Anwar Sadat, respectively, paid tribute to their fathers' legacies in a poignant forum at HKS, reinforcing the vision for peace that both leaders pursued.[209] Rabin's death thus not only elicited sorrow but also bridged divides, encouraging a collective reaffirmation of peace efforts in his memory.

In these episodes and others, clashes between the communities were also opportunities for dialogue and mutual understanding. Acts of condemnation, regret, and collaboration reflected a shared commitment to peace and reconciliation amid deeply contentious issues. In the *Crimson* on October 18, 1990, Hazem Ben-Gacem '92 of SAS called for peaceful coexistence and mutual understanding. He emphasized the importance of breaking "the psychological barrier between Jews and Arabs on campus" and working collaboratively to advance peace in the Middle East.[210] Efforts towards cooperation were also evident in cultural and artistic endeavors. For instance, in November 1994, Israeli and Palestinian artists collaborated on an art exhibit titled "Prelude to Peace, Israeli and Palestinian Artists Build Bridges" at Dudley House. The initiative was fostered by Ivonne A-Baki, who highlighted the unifying power of art, stating, "I have always tried to unite politics and art for the purpose of furthering peace." Despite the existing tensions, such gatherings were presented by organizers as a testament to the possibility of finding common ground, as organizer Hoda Abou-Jamra pointed out, "We can't let differences in the past ruin the opportunities for the future."[211]

Moreover, there were multiple structured dialogues between groups like the Harvard-Radcliffe Hillel and the SAS. For example, a brunch discussion was held on May 6, 1996, to address the conflict in southern Lebanon. Despite the emotionally charged nature of the topic, Shahm M. Alwir '98 characterized the

[205] Alexander T. Nguyen, "Slain Israeli Leader Eulogized," *The Harvard Crimson*, November 7, 1995.
[206] Samuel J. Rascoff, "Reflecting on a Hero's Death: Rabin's Assassination Raises Questions About Israel, Peace," *The Harvard Crimson*, November 6, 1995.
[207] Einat Wilf, "Rascoff Proposes Odd Solutions," *The Harvard Crimson*, November 13, 1995.
[208] "Speakers Pay Tribute to Rabin," *The Harvard Crimson*, December 4, 1996.
[209] Ibid.
[210] Hazem Ben-Gacem, "A Call for Cooperation," *The Harvard Crimson*, October 18, 1990.
[211] Wilson J. Liao, "Israelis, Palestinians Collaborate On New Dudley House Art Exhibit," *The Harvard Crimson*, November 9, 1994.

meeting as constructive and civil, noting that "all in all, people tried to be very scientific about it."[212] Such dialogues continued throughout the decade, with leaders like Ramy M. Tadros '97 and Yuval Segal '97 expressing a commitment to these discussions despite rising tensions in the Middle East.[213] Students took direct leadership of these meetings. Tadros said in preparation for a meeting, "Last year, [Assistant Professor of Government Eva] Bellin was the mediator, but this year, we decided to have a member from each group chair the meeting."[214] After a 1999 dialogue event, a co-organizer said such meeting will "form the foundation for a positive relationship between Hillel and SAS."[215]

Beyond student groups, the broader Harvard community also engaged in numerous initiatives aimed at fostering dialogue and promoting cooperation in the Middle East. Faculty members played a significant role in these efforts. For over 20 years, Cabot Professor of Social Ethics Herbert C. Kelman led workshops, many of them held at Harvard's Center for International Affairs, aimed at facilitating understanding between Arab and Israeli leaders. Kelman described these sessions as a way to cultivate "the sense of possibility, the idea that problems can be bridged." William A. Graham Jr., a professor of the history of religion and Islamic studies, recognized Kelman's influential role in the peace process, noting, "No one who knows him could be surprised that he would have a hand, direct or indirect, in any eventual solution."[216]

Black and Jewish Relations Throughout the 1990s

There was significant tension between the Black and Jewish communities at Harvard, often centered around issues of free speech and offensive rhetoric in the context of high-profile controversies involving figures such as Leonard Jeffries and Noam Chomsky. These tensions mirrored national issues, including antisemitic statements from the Nation of Islam and conflicts like the Crown Heights riots of 1991. However, both communities made efforts to engage in dialogue and bridge the gaps between them.

In 1992, Jeffries, a professor at the City University of New York, was invited to speak at Harvard by the Black Students Association (BSA), the Black Law Students Association, and the Dubois Graduate Society.[217] Jeffries was well known for making statements perceived as antisemitic and promulgating theories about Jews' world domination.[218] His invitation drew criticism, particularly within Harvard's Jewish community.[219] J. Eliot Morgan '92, a Black Jew,[220] said "it's really important to note just how serious bigotry and anti-Semitism are on Harvard's campus." Morgan attributed the motivation of the BSA to extend the invitation to "the Black student-intellectuals' fascination with racial mythology and their insensitivity toward other oppressed peoples."[221] Morgan, a *Crimson* editor, claimed that during an interview Jeffries "ordered his bodyguards to take Morgan's tapes, when [he] found out that many *Crimson*

[212] "Hillel, SAS Hold Brunch Discussion on Conflict in Lebanon," *The Harvard Crimson*, May 6, 1996.
[213] Nicole W. Green, "Jewish and Arab Groups Continue Discussions," *The Harvard Crimson*, September 30, 1996.
[214] "Student Leaders Will Discuss Violence in Israel: Meeting Will Be Held Between HSI and SAS to Express Views on Netanyahu's Decision," *The Harvard Crimson*, October 8, 1996.
[215] Kyle D. Hawkins, "Hillel, SAS Discuss Middle East Conflict," *The Harvard Crimson*, May 5, 1999.
[216] Ryan A. Hackney, "Prof. Assists Mideast Peace: For 20 Years, Kelman Has Quietly Promoted Negotiation," *The Harvard Crimson*, October 2, 1993.
[217] Stephen E. Frank, "CUNY Professor Leonard Jeffries To Give Lecture," *The Harvard Crimson*, February 1, 1992.
[218] Among other conspiracy theories regarding Jews, Jeffries maintained that Jewish businessmen ran the Slave Trade. Richard M. Benjamin, "The Bizarre Classroom of Dr. Leonard Jeffries," *The Journal of Blacks in Higher Education*, no. 2 (1993). http://www.jstor.org/stable/2962577
[219] Anna D. Wilde, "FBT Discusses Jeffries: Table Hosts Black-Jewish Dialogue," *The Harvard Crimson*, February 10, 1992.
[220] J. Eliot Morgan, "Now is the Time to Protest," *The Harvard Crimson*, February 5, 1992.
[221] Frank, "CUNY Professor Leonard Jeffries To Give Lecture."

executives have Jewish surnames." Then, according to Morgan, Jeffries "threatened to kill Morgan if the interview were published."[222] Jeffries later denied this incident occurred.[223]

Conversely, Hillel Chair Shai A. Held '93 believed that the invitation was not extended with an intention to harm or offend others. He acknowledged that the event "will obviously still be offensive to a great many people" and hoped that it would not affect "the developing dialogue and cooperation" between Hillel and BSA.[224] BSA President Art A. Hall '93 pushed back against criticism, arguing that "by inviting any Black speaker there is the potential of offending somebody because of the fact that these are Black individuals who are making statements that not everybody within the Black community agrees with." Hall said that "even the fact that a Black individual is succeeding, that in itself has been seen in the past as offensive to some people." Hall maintained that BSA does not endorse Jeffries' positions, but rather endorses "his Blackness as a Black individual and a Black intellectual."[225]

During the speech, Jeffries made several controversial remarks, which were met with applause from some Black students — in particular BSA members.[226] *Crimson* editors Allan S. Galper '93 and Kenneth A. Katz '93 wondered why "no Black Harvard student … denounced Jeffries' views in public, and only a handful of Black students were among the 450 demonstrators [against Jeffries' talk] at the protest Wednesday night. If Harvard's Black community is really as diverse as BSA claims, then where are those opposed to Jeffries' views?"[227] A Black student responded by drawing a parallel to the lack of criticism surrounding celebrations of historical figures who were slave owners.[228]

Several days after the speech, the Freshman Black Table (FBT) hosted a discussion on Black-Jewish relations at Harvard.[229] White students emphasized the severity of Jeffries' rhetoric. One said that "there are lots of code words that have been used to insult Jews that are part of [his] consciousness" and that perhaps not everyone would see these "code words" as biased. Another student said he thinks " you have to take the Jewish community's word for it that Jeffries is extremely, extremely offensive."[230]

Only two months later, in April 1992, another significant controversy unfolded involving S. Allen Counter, the Director of the Harvard Foundation for Intercultural and Race Relations. The controversy was sparked by a letter he co-authored with Harvard Foundation Student Committee Co-chair Natosha Reid '93 and published in the *Crimson*. The letter criticized the newspaper's coverage on race relations, accusing it of being biased and unfair and not representing the broader student consensus. It specifically pointed out that "*Crimson* writers active in Hillel have written extensively" on Black-Jewish relations and argued that the *Crimson* frequently cited Harvard-Radcliffe Hillel as being dissatisfied with the Foundation's work. "Recently, students from Hillel have protested Harvard Foundation support of guest speakers such as MIT professor Noam Chomsky who was called "too political " for the Foundation's mandate (Professor Chomsky was invited to the University by the Society of Arab Students) and popular Black 'rap' recording star, 'Chuck D.'"[231]

The letter further claimed that the "most intractable racial conflict has been between Jewish and Black students." It mentioned complaints from Black students who felt that Jewish students attempted to

[222] "BSA Hypocrisy: THE JEFFRIES LECTURE," *The Harvard Crimson*, February 3, 1992.
[223] Kenneth A. Katz, "Revenge of the Ice People," *The Harvard Crimson*, February 7, 2024, 1992.
[224] Frank, "CUNY Professor Leonard Jeffries To Give Lecture."
[225] Ibid.
[226] Wilde, "FBT Discusses Jeffries: Table Hosts Black-Jewish Dialogue."
[227] Katz, "Revenge of the Ice People."
[228] Wilde, "FBT Discusses Jeffries: Table Hosts Black-Jewish Dialogue."
[229] Anna D. Wilde, "Campus Notebook," *The Harvard Crimson*, March 6, 1992, 1992.
[230] Wilde, "FBT Discusses Jeffries: Table Hosts Black-Jewish Dialogue."
[231] S. Allen Counter and Natosha O. Reid, "The Crimson Misrepresented the Harvard Foundation," *The Harvard Crimson*.

"abridge their freedom of choice in speakers" and "manipulate them."[232] This assertion was contentious and led to a strong backlash from Hillel members and other Jewish students. Shai A. Held characterized the letter as "filled with misrepresentations, distortions, and outright lies." He contended that it made "insinuations and accusations which certainly smack of standard anti-Semitic fare," implying a false conspiracy between Hillel and the *Crimson*.

The reaction to the letter led to demands for Counter's resignation, arguing that his role should require greater sensitivity and impartiality in handling intercultural and race relations.[233] Conversely, Matthew C. Weiner defended Counter and criticized those who had, in his view, overstated discrimination against Jews, as such comparisons trivialized the significant discrimination faced by Black students.[234] In response to the backlash, Counter apologized for any misunderstanding caused by his letter,[235] but despite the apologies, a formal complaint was filed, leading to an investigation into Counter's conduct by the University administration.[236]

In December 1994, additional controversy arose at Harvard when BSA invited Anthony Martin, a Wellesley College Africana Studies professor, to speak on "*The Bell Curve* and Other Issues of Racism."[237] Martin, author of *The Jewish Onslaught*, a book alleging Jewish organization attacks on Black leaders and scholars, denying the notion of a Black-Jewish alliance, and claiming Jews played a key role in the slave trade, was a particularly divisive figure.[238] His invitation sparked strong reactions from Harvard-Radcliffe Hillel, whose leaders distributed a letter at Martin's speech denouncing his book as "viciously anti-Semitic."[239]

BSA President Kristen M. Clarke '97 defended the choice, calling Martin "an intelligent, well-versed Black intellectual who bases his information on indisputable fact."[240] BSA Treasurer Joshua D. Bloodworth '97 added that "in inviting him we [BA] were not trying to push the campus to one view, but to open it up to a variety of views."[241] This endorsement intensified the backlash from Jewish students, who felt that Martin's views were not only offensive but also academically unsound. Hillel Coordinating Council Chair Elie G. Kaunfer '95 emphasized that Martin's claims, especially those targeting Jewish texts such as the Talmud, were baseless and promoted antisemitic stereotypes.[242]

The relationship between the BSA and Hillel became strained as a result of the controversy. Many Hillel members were dismayed by the choice of Martin, arguing that there were better-qualified scholars to critique *The Bell Curve*. They viewed the invitation of Martin, who had a history of promoting divisive rhetoric, as an unnecessary provocation.[243] Despite this, both BSA and Hillel leaders expressed a commitment to dialogue.[244]

[232] Counter and Reid, "The Crimson Misrepresented the Harvard Foundation."
[233] Gordon Lederman, "Dissent: Counter Is an Anti-Semite," *The Harvard Crimson*, April 27, 1992.
[234] Matthew C. Weiner, "Counter Is Correct," *The Harvard Crimson*, April 20, 1992.
[235] Wilde, "Counter Apologizes for Offending Hillel: Foundation Director Says He Is Sorry for Misunderstanding Caused by Letter."
[236] Joanna M. Weiss, "University to Investigate Charges Against Counter," *The Harvard Crimson*, May 1, 1992.
[237] Jeff Beals, "Martin Speaks At BSA Event: Hillel Distributes Letter of Protest," *The Harvard Crimson*, December 1, 1994.
[238] Wellesley College publicly repudiated Martin's book and refused to offer history credit for his courses in which this book was assigned. Stephanie P. Wexler, "Anti-Semitic Courses Won't Count," *The Harvard Crimson*, March 18, 1994. See also Alice Dembner, "At Wellesley, a war of words," *The Boston Globe*, January 29, 1994.
[239] Beals, "Martin Speaks At BSA Event: Hillel Distributes Letter of Protest."
[240] Jeff Beals, "Martin Speech Tests Hillel-BSA Relationship: Wellesley Prof. Viewed as Anti-Semitic," *The Harvard Crimson*, December 2, 1994.
[241] Ibid.
[242] Beals, "Martin Speaks At BSA Event: Hillel Distributes Letter of Protest." See also Elie G. Kaunfer, "The Real Reason Martin Is a Bigot," *The Harvard Crimson*, December 5, 1994.
[243] Beals, "Martin Speech Tests Hillel-BSA Relationship: Wellesley Prof. Viewed as Anti-Semitic."
[244] Ibid.

To address the fallout, members of BSA and Hillel organized a meeting to ameliorate tensions and improve communication. During the session, participants were divided into smaller groups led by representatives from both organizations to ensure a balanced dialogue. "I thought I got a better understanding of where the problems arose," said BSA Vice President Alison L. Moore '97. "I think we found several ways the communication could be improved."[245] Co-organizer Michael H. Price '95, former interethnic chair of Hillel, described the discussions as "open and helpful," noting, that in his group "there was definitely interaction. It was not rhetoric, but frank and open conversation." Both Moore and Price emphasized that the event fostered a deeper mutual understanding, with Moore remarking, "I think each side got a better sense of where the other side was coming from." Price also highlighted the commitment of both the BSA and Hillel to continue such dialogues, saying, "I think it's significant that events like this have been occurring quite often in the last two semesters. That is very much due to commitment on the parts of both the BSA and Hillel."[246]

This meeting was only one of several efforts to improve relations between Black and Jewish students. In February 1993 there was a public screening and discussion of the movie "Liberators," which tells the story of Black American soldiers who helped liberate Nazi concentration camps. Dean of Students Archie C. Epps III praised the event, saying, "I think we achieved a level of discussion I could not have imagined. The impact on people was extremely great." He hoped it would help the two communities "retrieve the nature of these interactions" and cooperate as they had during World War II. Hillel Chair Jeremy A. Dauber '95 viewed the event positively, stating, "I'm hoping that we don't define race relations in terms of conflict anymore. We should define it in terms of cooperation."[247] However, some students, like former Hillel chair Shai A. Held '94, cautioned against overemphasizing Black-Jewish relations as a stand-in for all interracial dialogue, saying it "may burden the start of the open discussion between the two communities."[248]

In February 1998, BSA and Hillel co-sponsored an "inter-ethnic discussion" attended by over 100 students. Noah Oppenheim '98, who attended the event, reported that during small group discussions, significant progress was made. He recounted one exchange: "Why don't Jews do more to help other struggling minorities? You of all peoples should understand what struggle is like," a student asked. A Jewish student countered, "Why doesn't your community take more responsibility for its own plight?" Oppenheim described a moment of shared understanding: "The eyes of the black students lit up as they explained that they felt the same uneasiness about their future in this country. As we bonded over our shared sense of exile, one black student did point out a crucial difference: if blacks are ever kicked out, or even just socially marginalized into oblivion, they have no homeland to which to turn."[249]

Thus, despite the significant tensions, the 1990s at Harvard also saw concerted efforts towards reconciliation and dialogue between Black and Jewish students through organized discussions and mutual initiatives like co-sponsored events.

Other Sources of Controversy and Their Effect on Jewish Students

Beyond the specific incidents highlighted earlier, Harvard's campus in the 1990s grappled with broader questions related to antisemitism, free speech, and diversity. Various controversies, such as the Confederate flag and swastika debates, challenges to Hillel's stance on LGBTQ rights, vandalism of

[245] The Crimson Staff, "BSA, Hillel Discuss Groups' Relationship: Organizations Scrutinize Race Issues," *The Harvard Crimson*, December 15, 1994.
[246] The Crimson Staff, "BSA, Hillel Discuss Groups' Relationship: Organizations Scrutinize Race Issues."
[247] Melissa Lee, "How real are Black-Jewish tensions?," *The Harvard Crimson*, February 8, 1993.
[248] Melissa Lee, "Reflect on the Future Of Black-Jewish Relations," *The Harvard Crimson*, February 12, 1993.
[249] Noah Oppenheim, "Between Blacks and Jews," *The Harvard Crimson*, February 27, 1998.

religious structures, and allegations of editorial discrimination at the *Crimson*, underscored the environment of contention and dialogue.

In February 1990, sophomore Jon P. Jiles hung a Confederate flag in the window of his room in Leverett House tower. This act sparked a debate on free speech, tolerance, and racial sensitivity. Initially, the *Crimson*'s editorial team argued that the flag's display was a legitimate, if insensitive, exercise of free speech. The editors advocated for community dialogue to encourage the flag's voluntary removal, stating that "voluntary removal of the flag, not administrative coercion, is the optimal resolution."[250] In contrast, a dissenting opinion by Paul Leonard contended that the Confederate flag represents racial harassment similar to a Nazi swastika. Leonard insisted that the College should compel its removal to maintain an environment free from harassment.[251] Despite a long history of disagreements with Black students at Harvard, in this case Hillel and the BSA were on the same side.

Bowing to pressure, Jiles decided to take down the flag. He acknowledged that the flag, which symbolized Southern friendliness and hospitality to him, had been widely misinterpreted. "Removing the flag seemed like a better way" to represent his values, he stated.[252] Ultimately, Jiles rehung the flag inside his room, out of public view. He lamented that "there's room for a lot more tolerance instead of just talk about tolerance at Harvard." Jiles also emphasized that his intention was never to offend but to showcase the positive aspects of his Southern culture.[253]

Shortly after Jiles, Brigid L. Thomas '92, a transfer student from the University of Virginia, displayed a Confederate flag in her Kirkland House bedroom.[254] She said she was disappointed by Jiles' change of heart, labeling the flag's removal a defeat for free speech and a triumph of "small-minded liberalism."[255] Nigel W. Jones '91, a Black student, contested, "I wasn't going to walk into the Kirkland quad and walk by the Confederate flag every day." Thomas defended her actions as an expression of Southern heritage and free speech, but the controversy intensified as other Confederate flags appeared across campus.[256]

Taking a provocative counter-stance, Jacinda T. Townsend '92, a Black student from Kentucky, crafted a swastika flag with the words "Racism, no" to underscore what she perceived as the flawed free speech argument defending the Confederate flags. Townsend explained her rationale: "If that's not racism, if that's just 'free speech,' then I guess I can hang a swastika."[257] Her display garnered mixed reactions; some viewed it as a powerful statement while others, including members of the Jewish community, found it offensive. Townsend eventually removed the swastika but expressed frustration with Harvard Hillel and the wider Jewish community in a *Crimson* letter: "Harvard Hillel and other members of the Jewish community have chosen not to see the more important goal ... they have chosen not to unite with other communities to eliminate the displays of such racist and odious symbols."[258]

In response, Hillel defended its efforts, emphasizing their alignment with the BSA. Daniel J. Libenson '92, Chair of Harvard/Radcliffe Hillel, clarified, "Hillel has been the most active group on this campus, aside from the BSA, in the protest against the Confederate flags ... As our namesake, the great sage Hillel,

[250] The Crimson Staff, "STARS AND BARS AT LEVERETT: When Free Speech Hurts," *The Harvard Crimson*, February 20, 1990.
[251] Paul Leonard, "The Flag is Harassment," *The Harvard Crimson*, February 20, 1990.
[252] Peter R. Silver, "Student Removes Rebel Flag: Leverett House Free Speech Controversy Comes to a Close," *The Harvard Crimson*, February 22, 1990.
[253] Jon P. Jiles, "Why I Moved the Flag," *The Harvard Crimson*, February 22, 1990.
[254] Gayla and Yared, "Our Own Little War."
[255] Silver, "Student Removes Rebel Flag: Leverett House Free Speech Controversy Comes to a Close."
[256] Gayla and Yared, "Our Own Little War."
[257] Ibid.
[258] Jacinda T. Townsend, "Silencing Speech," *The Harvard Crimson*, April 24, 1991.

said, 'If I am for myself alone, what am I?' We continue to work with the BSA and other minority groups to address issues of sensitivity on this campus."

Most of the issues confronting Jewish students at Harvard during the 1990s involved Israel/Palestine or Black-Jewish relations. But a third problem emerged in 1991, when a conservative Harvard student group called the Association Against Learning in the Absence of Religion and Morality (AALARM) took a hostile stand towards diversity in sexual orientation and, through a chain of circumstances, Harvard Hillel. Responding to AALARM's postering campaign denouncing homosexuality, the Coordinating Council of Harvard-Radcliffe Hillel condemned AALARM's "implied contempt for homosexuals and all attacks on homosexual members of the undergraduate community."[259] In response, AALARM publicly condemned Harvard-Radcliffe Hillel for supporting LGBTQ rights, arguing that such support contradicts Jewish religious teachings. In their words, since "Hillel claims to represent one segment of the Judeo-Christian moral and ethical tradition upon which our society and many others are based," its support of LGBTQ rights is hypocritical. AALARM's co-presidents, E. Adam Webb '93 and Kenneth DeGiorgio '93, asserted in a letter to the *Crimson* that their organization better represented Jewish values than Hillel did, referencing the Bible and the Talmud to support their claim: "The very idea of homosexuality is anathema to the Jewish faith," they wrote. "If AALARM is to be condemned for its belief in the immorality of homosexuality and sodomy, then we merely request that Hillel ascend from shallow hypocrisy and admonish all groups and institutions espousing similar beliefs", they concluded.[260] Richard A. Primus '92, a member of Hillel's Coordinating Council, responded by pointing out the diversity of Jewish beliefs regarding homosexuality and highlighting the historical and cultural context within which Jewish values evolve. He contended that AALARM's approach was fundamentally un-Jewish, reminiscent of "certain Protestant sects" rather than Jewish tradition, which values exegesis and adaptation. He affirmed that Hillel, not AALARM, appropriately represented the Jewish community at Harvard. Primus also critiqued AALARM's claim that Hillel had been "subverted by a radical faction," noting that Hillel's decision to oppose attacks on gay and lesbian students enjoyed overwhelming internal support.[261]

More blatant forms of antisemitism included the vandalism in October 1991 of the Hillel Sukkah. The vandals spent at least an hour removing over 50 bolts, making the structure unstable yet outwardly intact. According to Lori Fein, "Jews who used the sukkah without noticing the damage, such as the children who were the first to enter the sukkah Saturday morning, could have been gravely injured or killed." She concluded that the malicious nature of the act, aimed at causing harm without visible hate symbols, made it "far more hateful and pernicious."[262] Also, in September 1997, an antisemitic poster was found on a kiosk behind Sever Hall at Harvard University, just days after White supremacist flyers had appeared in Harvard Yard. The poster, titled "Harvard Notice," claimed that 40% of Harvard graduate students were Jewish, compared to 2.5% of the US population, and labeled this a "Community Concern."[263]

A final incident worth noting foreshadowed future Jewish student concerns about reverse discrimination on account of perceived Whiteness. In 1998, a controversy erupted regarding the editorial practices and diversity policies at the *Crimson*. The catalyst was an article titled "Counting Noses at *The Harvard Crimson*," written by Justin C. Danilewitz '99 and published in *Commentary* magazine.[264] Danilewitz alleged that he was denied positions on the editorial board and as a columnist due to discriminatory

[259] Richard A. Primus, "Whose Religion Is It, Anyway?," *The Harvard Crimson*, April 17, 1991.
[260] E. Adam Webb and Kenneth DiGiorgio, "AALARM: Hillel Is Hypocritical," *The Harvard Crimson*, April 16, 1991.
[261] Primus, "Whose Religion Is It, Anyway?"
[262] Lori E. Fein, "An Act of Racism," *The Harvard Crimson*, October 3, 1991.
[263] Ethan M. Katz, "Anti-Semitic Poster Found Behind Sever," *The Harvard Crimson*, September 23, 1997.
[264] Justin C. Danilewitz, "Counting noses at the 'Harvard Crimson'," *Commentary*, 1998, Gale.
https://link.gale.com/apps/doc/A20437689/LitRC?u=mlin_oweb&sid=sitemap&xid=68b70e78

practices targeting Jewish students. He described an interview with Valerie MacMillan, a former managing editor of the *Crimson*, where she allegedly remarked that the high percentage of Jewish columnists represented a "problem." Danilewitz cited the position papers of soon-to-be editorial chairs Daniel M. Suleiman '99 and Geoffrey C. Upton '99, who both addressed the need to diversify the staff. Suleiman highlighted that "seven out of ten are white Jews from the tri-state area" while Upton emphasized that "eight of ten columnists are Jewish and just one is not white." Both sought to introduce greater ethnic and ideological diversity.[265]

In response to these allegations, former and current leaders of the *Crimson* defended their editorial decisions. Joshua J. Schanker '98, a former *Crimson* president, responded sharply to Danilewitz's claims: "I feel sorry for [Danilewitz] that he has to make up fictitious quota systems to justify his not getting a position."[266] MacMillan, while acknowledging that the predominance of Jewish columnists had been discussed, asserted that the *Crimson*'s diversity efforts were inclusively aimed at broadening the range of voices, stating, "The *Crimson*'s efforts to diversify are at rock bottom inclusive in nature."[267]

Suleiman and Upton, who took over the editorial board, further defended their actions by pointing out that the number of Jewish columnists actually increased that semester, rising from eight to ten due to the expansion in the total number of columnists. Suleiman also commented on their commitment to varied perspectives: "We need to work harder on ideological diversity, but we're trying hard."[268] The controversy didn't remain confined to campus discussions; it quickly caught the attention of major media outlets, being reported on by the Associated Press, Fox News Channel, and The Washington Post.[269] The editorial chairs, Suleiman and Upton, later issued a printed response in the *Crimson* to counteract Danilewitz's claims, asserting that no antisemitic policies existed and that their focus was on inclusivity and engaging the campus with diverse perspectives.[270]

Conclusion

The 1990s at Harvard witnessed two competing trends. The campus featured both considerable tension between Jewish and pro-Palestinian students, but those students also endeavored to moderate those tensions.

Jewish students continued to feel integrated into the Harvard community. Joey Shabot '01 recalled in an interview a sense that the historical presence of Jews at Harvard was better known and recognized than was the case for students of Muslim or Arab origin:

> I felt like sort of Jewish identity and sort of pro-Israel was the norm in terms of, like, you know, the political norms of the time ... I just felt very accepted … Whereas I don't know that my friends in the Arab or Muslim community felt the same way. It seemed to me that they were relatively more marginalized and less well-understood.[271]

Shabot also acknowledged occasional antisemitic incidents but denied the presence of a consistent pattern of antisemitic behaviors or sentiments:

> And if we saw something like that, or heard that something like that [happened]… I think our reaction would have been like, "what a bunch of wackos," you know? [Our response] wouldn't be a

[265] Ibid.
[266] James Y. Stern, "*Crimson* Criticized In Magazine Article," *The Harvard Crimson*, April 2, 1998.
[267] Ibid.
[268] Ibid.
[269] Harvard *Crimson* Editorial Chairs, "To Our Readers: Setting the Record Straight," *The Harvard Crimson*, May 13, 1998.
[270] Ibid.
[271] Interview with Shai Dromi, 8/13/2024.

> defensive one or one where we felt we had to start to educate the campus that this was just, you know, bad and false and anti-Semitic.[272]

Many potential clashes between the sides were moderated by the level of restraint student activists exhibited. For example, during a 1990 pro-Palestinian demonstration protesting the killing of 19 Palestinians during the Intifada, HIPAC stood by to offer passers-by information about the Israeli side but chose not to counter-demonstrate. HIPAC co-chair Yvette C. Alt '92 explained this decision:

> [HIPAC] felt it was inappropriate to counter-protest … We don't fundamentally disagree with the view that Arabs shouldn't be killed. But through our flyers, we just want to make sure people realize that the Arabs' attack on the Jews at the Wall was premeditated, and that's why we are upset.[273]

One significant concern among the Jewish community was whether outsiders had the authority to determine what constitutes offensive behavior. This issue came to the forefront in various controversies throughout the decade, such as AALARM's condemnation of Hillel's support for LGBTQ rights and the controversy over Leonard Jeffries' speech. But despite these tensions, the 1990s at Harvard also saw concerted efforts toward reconciliation and dialogue. Student groups and administrators organized initiatives like the 1998 inter-ethnic discussion co-sponsored by the BSA and Hillel, which aimed to bridge gaps and foster better understanding among diverse campus communities.

While the next decade saw ongoing efforts toward peacebuilding and bridging differences, these tendencies competed with growing polarization and a declining interest in fostering dialogue among growing factions on campus.

The 2000s: The Second Intifada's Effects on Harvard

The Israeli-Palestinian conflict took a sharp turn for the worse in the early 2000s. Violence within and around Israel and changes in global perceptions about these events energized student activism on US college campuses. Notable episodes include the 2000-2005 Al-Aqsa Intifada/Second Palestinian Uprising; the 2006 Hamas takeover of Gaza; the 2006 Lebanon War; and the Israeli 2008-2009 "Cast Lead" military operation in Gaza.

Two international events also had a great impact on representations of Israel on American campuses. First, the 2001 UN World Conference Against Racism in Durban, South Africa focused intensively on Israel/Palestine. The conference's likening of Israel to apartheid South Africa and Nazi Germany infuriated Israelis and supporters of Israel, and the US and Israel withdrew from the conference in response.[274] For pro-Palestinian actors, however, the conference conveyed legitimate criticisms of Israel's treatment of Palestinians.[275] Second, the Boycott, Divestment, Sanctions (BDS) movement, established in 2005, hoped to pressure Israel to end the occupation of territories captured in 1967, recognize Palestinian national rights, and allow Palestinian refugees and their descendants to return to lands that are now part of Israel.[276] The BDS movement issued guidelines on "anti-normalization," which conditioned joint projects between Israelis and Palestinians on a focus on Palestinian national aspirations and resistance, rather than presenting the situation as a discourse between equal partners. Therefore, projects presenting both

[272] Ibid.
[273] Samuels, "Students Protest Israeli Killings."
[274] Kenneth S. Stern, *The Conflict over the Conflict: The Israel/Palestine Campus Debate*, ed. Nadine Strossen (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2020), 77-80.
[275] Yasmeen Abu-Laban and Abigail B. Bakan, *Israel, Palestine and the politics of race: exploring identity and power in a global context*, ed. Abigail B. Bakan, First edition. ed. (London and New York: I.B. Tauris, 2019), 2-4.
[276] For a more recent statement of the BDS movement's goals and tactics, see, "Palestinian Civil Society Call for BDS," *BDS Movement*, July 9, 2005. https://bdsmovement.net/call

Palestinians and Israelis as sharing grief or loss were deemed unacceptable since rather than further the goal of Palestinian liberation, they were perceived as normalizing the current situation.[277]

This global environment affected Harvard as it did other college campuses. Nonetheless, although there were antisemitic incidents at Harvard to which Jewish students responded with concern, antisemitism was not central to how Jewish students framed debates about Israel. Often, accusations of antisemitism were publicly expressed by faculty members such as Lawrence Summers, Ruth Wisse, and Alan Dershowitz rather than the student groups themselves. Pro-Palestinian student organizations often insisted that their critiques targeted Israel's policies and not Israel's existence, distanced themselves from controversial rhetoric or actions, and emphasized the substantive matters fueling tensions in the conflict. Although student groups became more divided regarding Israel/Palestine, attempts at constructive dialogue and understanding differing perspectives also continued.

Protesting Separately, Mourning Together?

As violence escalated in the Middle East during the early 2000s, student activism and debate around the Israeli-Palestinian conflict intensified. Groups like Hillel, the Society of Arab Students (SAS), and Harvard Students for Israel (HSI) held vigils, rallies, and discussions to express their views and mourn casualties on both sides. However, tensions frequently flared as these events took opposite stances. While disagreements were often articulated publicly, concerns about antisemitism were rarely expressed overtly in these contexts. In fact, student groups exhibited caution at various junctures — for example, clarifying that their critiques were aimed at Israeli policies but not at Israel's existence, distancing themselves from activists deemed to be extreme, and seeking understanding and humanization of opposing groups.

Initial student group responses to the Al Aqsa Intifada are a case in point. Over 200 people gathered on the steps of Widener Library on October 9, 2000 — the afternoon of Yom Kippur — for a vigil organized by Hillel's main Jewish denominations. Bernard Steinberg, executive director of Hillel, began by reading a statement co-signed by the rabbis and student leaders mourning the loss of both Israeli and Palestinian lives while supporting Israel's right to self-defense. Rabbi Shai A. Held '94 and Tova A. Serkin '02 recited Psalms, followed by a moment of silent meditation. Rabbi Robert D. Klapper emphasized that vigil organizers took "every precaution not to make this political."[278] Michael Rosenberg '01 noted that "people who gathered here represent a wide spectrum of religious political views. We all share a desire to see prisoners of war returned and to mourn the loss of lives."[279] The vigil concluded with a prayer for the State of Israel, aiming to express Jewish solidarity in the face of violence through communal mourning and calls for peace.[280]

The next day, the Society of Arab Students (SAS) at Harvard University organized a vigil on the steps of Memorial Church to mourn victims of ongoing violence between Palestinians and Israelis in the Middle East. Around 150 people gathered on the steps holding candles to listen to speakers describe the experiences of those affected by the conflict. According to SAS President Rayd K. Abu-Ayyash '01, this event was not intended to be political. A human rights lawyer gave a speech describing a "chain of suffering and violence", and Jane L. Risen '01 read messages from friends of a youth killed in the violence who was quoted as saying "What has the world come to — there are no answers."[281] SAS students also read letters from witnesses including a Palestinian girl in Jerusalem who said she saw a child shot and

[277] BDS Movement, "Anti-Normalization," *BDS Movement*. https://bdsmovement.net/ar/tags/anti-normalization
[278] Melissa R. Brewster, "Yom Kippur Vigil Calls for Peace in Middle East," *The Harvard Crimson*, October 10, 2000.
[279] Ibid.
[280] Ibid.
[281] Margaretta E. Homsey, "Vigil Mourns Mideast Victims," *The Harvard Crimson*, October 11 2000.

expressed hope for "one generation of Palestinian children [to] have a normal childhood."[282] Organizers felt the vigil "brought the Harvard community together" and participant Andrew F. Khouri '03 said that "the most important responsibility is to be 100% objective" and that "both sides must admit that each side has made mistakes."[283] The *Crimson* reported, however, that "Israel supporters" were "distributing inflammatory fliers" in the vicinity of this vigil.[284]

Responding to questions about why the two groups mourned separately, rather than together, Abu-Ayyash said: "It is not because we do not stand together, but simply that different people need a different outlet to mourn." The key stumbling block, he claimed, was Hillel wishing to mourn all killed, including Israeli soldiers. Abu-Ayyash said: "I cannot mourn for an Israeli defense soldier in the same vigil in which I mourn for a 12-year old child ... or a friend of mine who got killed ..."[285] Rita Hamad '03, also of SAS, said that "both groups deserve to be mourned, but not at the same time" and that "that might not be appropriate, but we are all praying for peace." She hoped the crisis would not damage Arab-Jewish relations at Harvard, since if students there could not resolve their differences, it would be unrealistic to expect Arabs and Jews experiencing the crisis itself to do so.[286]

Several people were critical of the decision for Hillel and the SAS to hold separate events rather than a joint one. Specifically, the *Crimson* reported that members of Hillel's Interethnic Committee had sought to hold a joint vigil but that discussions broke down over the delimitation of who, as per Abu-Ayyash's comment above, would be mourned. Nathan Perl-Rosenthal '04, who later became co-chair of Hillel's Interethnic Committee, thought the separate vigils were a "hideous picture" and "unnecessarily and incredibly divisive."[287] Joey Shabot, the former co-chair of Hillel's Interethnic Committee, said he felt "really disappointed" that the groups could not agree on a joint vigil, calling it "a waste of an opportunity."[288] In its editorial, the *Crimson* lamented the decision as unproductive toward the desirable goal of achieving peace in the Middle East.[289] Both Hillel and SAS maintained that the separate vigils did not indicate antagonism between the groups.[290]

Tensions rose further on October 24, when two simultaneous events were held in Tercentenary Theater. HSI held a "Rally in Solidarity with the State of Israel" on the steps of Memorial Church to show support for Israel's handling of the renewed violence and "overtures for peace" that they felt had been "utterly rejected."[291] HSI Vice President Myles Brody '01 said "In general, we felt disappointment that Israel had made overtures for peace, and they had been utterly rejected. So, we felt it was very important to have a really powerful and thoughtful rally to show our support for Israel in a public manner."[292] At the same time, members of the SAS, dressed in black, silently stood on the steps of Widener Library holding signs bearing the names of victims of the recent violence. SAS rally organizer Darryl Li '01 rejected the idea that Israel had made fair overtures for peace, arguing in an editorial that "everyone wants peace, but an unjust peace is both unfair and impractical."[293] Some SAS members took offense to the "overtly political" nature of the HSI event, which featured speeches that SAS took to place blame on the Palestinian population for

[282] Ibid.
[283] Ibid.
[284] The *Crimson* Staff, "Let Us Unite for Peace," *The Harvard Crimson*, October 13, 2000.
[285] Sarah A. Dolgonos and Mildred M. Yuan, "Harvard Reacts to Killings in Middle East," *The Harvard Crimson*, October 13, 2000.
[286] Brewster, "Yom Kippur Vigil Calls for Peace in Middle East."
[287] Imtiyaz H. Delawala, "Middle East Tensions Flare Up on Campus," *The Harvard Crimson*, June 7, 2001.
[288] Dolgonos and Yuan, "Harvard Reacts to Killings in Middle East."
[289] The *Crimson* Staff, "Let Us Unite for Peace."
[290] Dolgonos and Yuan, "Harvard Reacts to Killings in Middle East."
[291] Delawala, "Middle East Tensions Flare Up on Campus."
[292] Ibid.
[293] Ibid.

deaths, including a quote from US Representative Barney Frank '61 saying "It is wholly irresponsible to tell young people to destroy a nation — Israel — and then be surprised when their lives are taken."[294] The political and ideological divisions between the different groups were also expressed in a flurry of opinion articles published in the *Crimson*.

Harvard Hillel's Coordinating Committee also issued a statement on October 18, 2000, calling for an end to the violence, expressing solidarity with Israel, and supporting Israel's right to defend itself. Zayed M. Yasin '01, president of the Harvard Islamic Society, responded while they "agree on several core things" and specifically "that peace is essential", they also maintained that "peace will not be possible without a just peace and without an understanding of the inequities and injustices that have dominated recent Middle East history."[295]

Members of Harvard's Hillel Interethnic Committee continued working to bring the separate Jewish and Arab student groups together for discussion. While HSI members argued that they were always willing to co-sponsor discussion events, SAS refused to hold events directly with HSI due to their ideological differences on the conflict.[296] In an attempt to foster dialogue, the committee organized a private roundtable discussion between about 30 members of Hillel, the Harvard Islamic Society (HIS), HSI and SAS at Adams House to discuss the events of the previous month and how they had played out on campus. However, Rita Hamad '03, then-president of SAS, acknowledged that "It's hard to say your opinion honestly because there are so many people who are going to interpret it as a political agenda. Anything anyone does in this situation can be interpreted as political." "Many people had basically gone into the room knowing what they know and believing what they believe, and nothing really changed," said Zayed M. Yasin '02, president of HIS. Echoing the disappointed tones, Perl-Rosenthal said: "There wasn't some blindingly clear light where we said, 'Oh, God, we've all been so wrong.'" But Myles Brody '01 of HSI said the discussion helped make the "competing claims more than just a distant, ideological battle" by putting "a face and heart behind the opinions with which you disagree." However, Perl-Rosenthal acknowledged that "a lot of it is mistrust" between the groups, and that trust must first be formed for any positive relationship to begin.[297]

Student groups at Harvard attempted to foster constructive exchanges between Jewish and Arab students, but they encountered major obstacles. At dialogue sessions held in Lowell House and Mather House in late 2003, strong disagreements and heated rhetoric often flared up between participants. Rami Sarafa '07 of the Palestine Solidarity Committee felt figures like pro-Palestinian Joachim Martillo, a former Harvard student, and Eric Trager '05, then president of Harvard Students for Israel, expressed directly opposed views that made constructive dialogue challenging. Conversely, others — in particular, graduate students — felt unable to speak freely, believing that sharing pro-Israel views could hurt their careers.[298] The cancellation of a planned visit by former Israeli Air Force commander Dan Halutz to campus further risked escalating tensions. Sarafa noted that "Imagine if PSC and SAS and HIPJ [the Harvard Initiative on Peace and Justice] wanted to bring a Hezbollah military commander … Do you think Harvard would allow that?"[299] As Nayla

[294] Ibid.
[295] Benjamin D. Grizzle, "Hillel Issues Its Stance on Mideast," *The Harvard Crimson*, October 18, 2000.
[296] Delawala, "Middle East Tensions Flare Up on Campus."
[297] Ibid.
[298] Daniel J. Hemel, "You Say You Want a Resolution?," *The Harvard Crimson*, December 4, 2003. https://www.thecrimson.com/article/2003/12/4/you-say-you-want-a-resolution/
[299] Another controversial incident centered around Major General Doron Almog, a senior fellow at Harvard's Belfer Center. A private British lawyer, Daniel Machover, initiated legal proceedings in the UK on behalf of a Palestinian human rights group seeking the arrest of Almog for alleged war crimes committed during his command in Gaza. Machover applied to a British judge, who approved an arrest warrant for Almog. Although the warrant was not executed before Almog left the UK, Machover later gave a talk at HKS criticizing the University for providing a haven for suspected war criminals like Almog. Machover

Hamdi '05 of the student dialogue efforts observed, "there was definitely a lot of tension" at events, though most participants remained willing to continue civil discussions even outside of sessions.

Others had a more optimistic view of the potential presented by these dialogues. Jessica Marglin '06 maintained that "the more dialogue, the merrier."[300] HSI President Joshua Suskewicz '05 said that the student-led dialogues provided "a means of communication to ensure that we [pro-Israel and pro-Palestinian activists] are not being offensive to one another." As examples of mutually offensive actions, pro-Palestinian students mentioned a beer mug distributed by HSI that said "Party like it's 1948" which they saw as celebrating the suffering of Palestinians in that year. Pro-Israeli students, in turn, referred to a link shared on a HIPJ blog comparing the Israeli Defense Forces to the Nazi military, or Suvrat Raju, a HIPJ member, enthusiastically chanting slogans like "long live the intifada" at a protest. While citing these instances, numerous students emphasized that they sought to understand what was offensive to the other group and to maintain respectful dialogue. David Weinfeld '05 and Nayla Hamdi '05, the student moderators of the dialogue sessions, said their goal was the "humanization" of the conflict through relationship-building between participants.

Nevertheless, attempts to commemorate casualties jointly continued to falter. In December 2006, during the Second Israel-Lebanon War, HSI held a "solidarity gathering" of about 50 people in the Yard to show support for civilian victims of violence in Israel and voice opinions about the conflict. This came in response to weekly vigils organized by the Palestinian Solidarity Committee (PSC) mourning Palestinian deaths in recent violence in the Middle East. Jewish and pro-Israel groups said they had approached the PSC to organize joint vigils mourning both Palestinian and Israeli civilian casualties, but according to HSI President Rebecca M. Rohr '08, the PSC refused and insisted on proceeding with another "politically charged" vigil. In turn, HSI organized the gathering, where demonstrators waved Israeli flags and held signs demanding peace and the release of imprisoned Israeli soldier Gilad Shalit. The Progressive Jewish Alliance had proposed a joint statement of commitment to a "just peace" between HSI and PSC, but the PSC said this was "inappropriate" as the term was not clearly defined and their vigils were not meant to be confrontational. Several PSC members said the politics could not be avoided in mourning Palestinian deaths.[301]

Conversations between Jewish, Arab, and Muslim students continued, but in an informal way. As an active student member of Hillel in this period, recalled:

> Most of the exchange between Jews and non-Jews happened in relatively informal groups. So, the main group was this dialogue group that existed, a Jewish Muslim dialogue group. It felt [there] like you could just do your thing. And if you were interested in kind of building bridges, you would join this group and then you would have these kinds of dialogues, which, you know, were in the form of inter-religious dialogue, Jewish-Muslim dialogue, a little bit tense sometimes … but mostly, I think they were pretty calm. But that was partly because the people who joined these groups were the ones who were the furthest to the left on Israel [at] Hillel.[302]

Despite the increasingly challenging atmosphere, other events promoting dialogue took place over this decade. Examples include:

- Students debated potential solutions for dividing control of Jerusalem's Old City as part of a national "Day of Action" organized by the Union of Progressive Zionists to support the 2007 Annapolis Conference between Middle Eastern leaders. As Harvard College Progressive Jewish Alliance Chair

indicated his intent to make the warrant international. Alexander B. Cohn, "Lawyer Defends Israeli Major's Arrest at KSG," *The Harvard Crimson*, October 20, 2006. https://www.thecrimson.com/article/2006/10/20/lawyer-defends-israeli-majors-arrest-at/

[300] Hemel, "You Say You Want a Resolution?."

[301] Alexander B. Cohn and Siodhbhra M. Parkin, "Mideast Groups Clash Over Vigils," *The Harvard Crimson*, December 7, 2006.

[302] Interview with Shai Dromi, 7/16/2024.

Jaclyn B. Granick '08 noted, the discussion "gave us a taste of what diplomats are going through" in trying to resolve the difficult issues surrounding Jerusalem. Earlier in the day, a game of "Final Status Taboo" held outside the Science Center also aimed to challenge Jewish groups on campus to discuss the hard issues involved in achieving a final peace agreement.[303]

- In January 2009, during operation Cast Lead (2008-2009), around 70 members of the Harvard community gathered for a candlelight vigil mourning the loss of life in Gaza and Israel. The vigil aimed to promote peace and understanding between groups with differing opinions on the conflict. Speakers like Shifra B. Mincer '09 and Sadia Ahsanuddin '09 called for listening to different perspectives and recognizing the humanity on both sides. Mincer stated "The more we ignore others' stories, the more the violence. We have to listen." Ahsanuddin said "It means a lot to see so many groups with so many different opinions and ideas come together. Human life is sacred, and we must remind ourselves that the other side is just as human and as vulnerable as we are." Attendees like Yonit D. Lavin '09 and Alexandra A. Rahman '12 felt the vigil demonstrated support for peace, with Lavin saying "It doesn't mean people don't have very different opinions, but our ultimate goals for peace are the same" and Rahman stating "There is very little a Harvard student can do to help the situation over there politically, but attending the vigil is one of the things we can do."[304]

Few incidents over this decade involved comparisons to Nazism or vandalism of Jewish or pro-Israel signage. In July 2002, Len Meyers of the Boston Spartacist League, a communist organization, gave a speech to fewer than 20 people in a Science Center classroom comparing Israeli leaders to "Nazis" and "terrorists" and calling for socialist revolutions in the Middle East to resolve regional conflicts.[305] In December of the same year, posters in the Science Center put up by HSI promoting pro-Israel views were defaced with slogans like "Palastine [sic] 300 Years."[306] HIPJ and PSC repeatedly distanced themselves from such rhetoric and action.

The Divestment Campaign at Harvard and Larry Summers' Speech

The debate around divestment from Israel at Harvard in the early 2000s exacerbated divisions over the Israeli-Palestinian conflict and raised questions about what constitutes legitimate criticism of Israel and when it crosses the line into antisemitism.

In Spring 2002, a petition was circulated at Harvard calling on the University to divest from companies with holdings in Israel. The petition demanded that Israel evacuate military forces from the occupied territories, end torture, cease building and begin dismantling settlements in the West Bank and Gaza, and allow return or compensation for Palestinian refugees. It called for pressure on Israel through making US military aid conditional on these demands and divesting from US companies that sell arms to Israel and from Israel directly.[307] Eventually, 65 Harvard faculty members signed the petition.[308]

The petition drew strong criticism from some in the Harvard community. Avram Heilman '03, then president of Harvard Students for Israel, described the petition as making "people who support Israel deeply uncomfortable." Heilman called the divestment campaign "unbalanced in such an extreme way that it sickens anyone who is intellectually honest."[309] Hillel student president Benjamin Solomon-Schwartz '03, also of HSI, said that by signing the petition, the house masters had created an uncomfortable

[303] Lucas A. Paul, "Students Debate Israel-Palestine Plan," *The Harvard Crimson*, November 29, 2007.
[304] Shan Wang, "Candlelight Vigil Held For Victims of Gaza Violence," *The Harvard Crimson*, January 9, 2009.
[305] Stephanie M. Skier, "News Brief: Marxists Decry Israeli Policy," *The Harvard Crimson*, July 26, 2002.
[306] Lauren A. E. Schuker, "Israel Posters Vandalized in Science Centers," *The Harvard Crimson*, December 9, 2002.
[307] George Bradt, "Hundreds Support Call For Divestment," May 8, 2002.
[308] David H. Gellis, "Anti-Divestment Drive Gains Steam," *The Harvard Crimson*, May 15, 2002.
[309] Bradt, "Hundreds Support Call For Divestment."

atmosphere for residents in their houses who supported Israel.[310] Students criticized Master Hanson's handling of the situation within Winthrop House, due to the power imbalance inherent in any conversation between him and students.[311]

On September 19, 2002, President Lawrence Summers gave a speech at the first Morning Prayers of the term. Summers warned that antisemitism appeared to be on the rise globally in recent years. He expressed concern that Harvard's campus had not been immune to this trend. Summers cited two specific examples from the previous year. First, he noted the Spring 2002 divestment call. While acknowledging criticism of some of Israel's foreign policies, Summers argued the divestment campaign unfairly singled out Israel. He argued that efforts associated with the petition were "anti-Semitic in their effect if not in their intent."[312] Second, Summers referred to a November 2000 fundraising event held by the Harvard Islamic Society (HIS) to support charities in Palestine. The event had initially planned to donate proceeds to the Holy Land Foundation, but ultimately gave to the International Red Crescent instead due to the US government's claims about Holy Land Foundation's ties to Hamas.[313]

Summers' remarks divided the campus. David B. Adelman '04, president of HSI, praised the speech, saying "Larry Summers has a lot of credibility — a lot of people will listen to him." Robert Leikind of the Anti-Defamation League also welcomed Summers addressing campus antisemitism.

However, Professor Richard G. Heck, a supporter of divestment, criticized Summers, saying that "to lump people who are working for peace in Israel [in] with racists is really unfair." Winthrop House Master Paul D. Hanson, another divestment backer, agreed with Summers on antisemitism but argued the divestment campaign targeted Israeli government policies, not Israel itself. "This is in no way a protest against the State of Israel, but against the Sharon government, the Bush government and their policies," Hanson said.[314,315] Two psychology professors wrote that the petition's goal was to pressure Israel into complying with international conventions on human rights and ending the occupation of Palestinian territories, which they believed would lead to peace.

Supporters argued the petition addressed policy issues rather than making a broader condemnation of Israel, with the petition aiming "to create a secure Israel beside a secure Palestine."[316] "I think we feel that it's self-evident that peace will come with the end of occupation," said Najeeb N. Khoury, a law student who helped organize the petition.[317] Rejecting the accusation of antisemitism, graduate student Taha Abdul-Basser said she "was saddened to see that evidently support of the divestment campaign was being

[310] Gellis, "Anti-Divestment Drive Gains Steam."
[311] Tova A. Serkin, May 22, 2002.
[312] While Summers saw singling out or delegitimizing Israel in a way that increases isolation as a form of antisemitism, his concerns were more broadly physical attacks on Jews, Holocaust denial, and propaganda that promotes prejudice, which anti-Israel activism enhances and legitimates (even if unintentionally). Lawrence H. Summers, "Address at morning prayers," *Harvard Memorial Church*, September 17, 2002. https://www.harvard.edu/president/news-speeches-summers/2002/address-at-morning-prayers/
[313] David H. Gellis, "Summers Says Anti-Semitism Lurks Locally," *The Harvard Crimson*, September 19, 2002; see also Judith Miller, "U.S. Contends Muslim Charity Is Tied to Hamas," *The New York Times*, August 25, 2000.
[314] Ibid.
[315] Ibid. Additionally, some argued that the petition was relatively obscure, and that Summers inadvertently propelled it to the pages of *The New York Times* by mentioning it in his address. Emma S. MacKinnon, "Playing the Divestment Card," *The Harvard Crimson*, February 17, 2006. Heck, who signed the petition, and said he was "very disappointed" that the University president would make such accusations.
[316] Ken Nakayama and Elizabeth S. Spelke, "For Human Rights," *The Harvard Crimson*, September 23, 2022.
[317] Gellis, "Anti-Divestment Drive Gains Steam."

equated with something as ugly as anti-Semitism. Some of the professors who supported the campaign said they saw a difference between the two," and Abdul-Basser said she certainly did, too.[318]

Summers formally dismissed demands for divestment from Israel. In May 2003 he stated, "Members of our community are free as individuals to express their diverse views on the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. The University protects that freedom, and affirms its proper role, by resisting calls to issue institutional judgments on that conflict through the act of divestment."[319] Nonetheless, advocates of the 2002 divestment petition claimed victory in raising awareness of Israel's occupation of the West Bank and Gaza.[320]

The Israel-divestment debates persisted into 2005-2006. At Harvard, the issue was discussed in a heated 2006 faculty meeting at which Professor Professor Ruth R. Wisse asserted that antisemitism and anti-Zionism were inseparable phenomena.[321] Professors like J. Lorand Matory criticized this stance, arguing that criticism of Israel should be permitted and that "all racism and anti-Semitism — whether against Semitic Jews, Semitic Christians, Semitic Druzes or Semitic Muslims — is equally impermissible."[322]

Summers' successor, Drew Faust, maintained a strong stance against sanctioning Israel. In response to the British University and College Union's call to boycott Israeli universities, President Faust strongly condemned the proposed boycott in September 2007. Though 286 other university presidents publicly signed a statement in *The New York Times* denouncing the boycott, Faust wrote her own private letter to the UCU expressing her "strong opposition" on her second day as president. She argued that a boycott would undermine important academic values of open exchange and collaboration. Faust did not sign the public statement due to Harvard's tradition of presidents not signing petitions. However, she made clear that she agreed with the opposition to the boycott and said she joined others in the international academic community in "unequivocally" denouncing an action that would serve no useful purpose.[323]

Over the course of debates around divestment, supporters took care to distance themselves from initiatives that challenged Israel's right to exist or called for its destruction. While the issue remained divisive, with accusations of antisemitism on one side and censorship of debate on the other, most participants focused their arguments on Israel's policies rather than making broader condemnations of it as a state.

Free Speech, Antisemitism and Criticism of Israel on Campus

The Harvard community experienced and engaged with antisemitic incidents throughout the decade. For example:

- In January 2000, antisemitic graffiti reading "Jews own the media" and a swastika were found on street signs near the Freshman Dean's Office and Lamont Library at Harvard.[324]
- In April 2002, a Harvard Law School student sent an anonymous email defending the use of the n-word in response to a complaint about a racial slur used online.[325] This email was then reprinted in an antisemitic flier distributed to law students.[326]

[318] Karen W. Arenson, "Harvard President Sees Rise In Anti-Semitism on Campus," *The New York Times*, September 21 2002. https://www.nytimes.com/2002/09/21/us/harvard-president-sees-rise-in-anti-semitism-on-campus.html
[319] David H. Gellis, "Summers Rules Out Divestment," *The Harvard Crimson*, May 17, 2002.
[320] Ibid.
[321] J. Lorand Matory, "Israel and Censorship at Harvard," *The Harvard Crimson*, September 14, 2007.
[322] Ibid.
[323] Paras D. Bhayani and Claire M. Guehenno, "Faust Condemns Boycott of Israeli Universities," *The Harvard Crimson*, August 14, 2007.
[324] Imtiyaz H. Delawala, "Anti-Semitic Graffiti Surfaces Near FDO," *The Harvard Crimson*, January 12, 2000.
[325] Jenifer L. Steinhardt, "Incidents Draw Law School Response," *The Harvard Crimson*, April 10, 2002.
[326] Stephanie M. Skier, "Letter Bearing Swastika Shocks HLS First-Years," *The Harvard Crimson*, April 3, 2002.

- Leaflets appeared outside some Harvard dorms in 2006, reproducing an essay by Mark Weber arguing that "the crucial factor in President Bush's decision to attack [Iraq] was to help Israel." Weber, a Holocaust denier, confirmed he wrote the essay but said he had no role in distributing the leaflets. However, he was "glad to see them distributed" alongside another leaflet promoting a White nationalist group.[327]
- In May 2005, several hundred Harvard students and other protesters confronted members of the White supremacist group White Revolution outside Faneuil Hall in Boston.[328]
- The *Crimson* faced backlash after running a controversial Holocaust-denying advertisement in their September 8, 2009, issue. The ad, submitted by Bradley Smith of the Committee for Open Debate on the Holocaust,[329] questioned the veracity of the Holocaust by asking readers to provide proof of one person killed in a gas chamber at Auschwitz.[330] The ad sparked outrage across campus, with over 20 emails and a joint letter signed by more than 30 undergraduate students expressing their shock and anger over the implication that Holocaust victims' stories were lies. *Crimson* President Maxwell L. Child '10 acknowledged the mistake, but some students wanted him to offer a more robust apology.[331]

These were isolated incidents without lasting effect. Pro-Israel students at Harvard tended to characterize the campus environment as generally supportive of Zionist viewpoints. As Daniel Shoag '06, senior editor of the *Harvard Israel Review*, stated, "We have strong faculty support." He pointed to professors like Alan Dershowitz and Ruth Wisse as examples. Joshua Suskewiczv '05, president of Harvard Students for Israel, credited Summers' 2002 speech with helping make debate more moderate on campus. As Suskewicz said, "I think that activists on both sides at Harvard have worked to keep [debate] civil and fair-minded."[332] On the other hand, students said they faced intimidation for voicing pro-Palestinian political views. Students pointed out that, while over 300 college presidents signed a letter calling for "intimidation-free campuses," more than 1,700 others opted not to sign due to concerns the letter only mentioned Jewish students and Israel's supporters as facing threats. Conversely, they argued, students of Arab descent also faced hate crimes and censorship — in particular in the aftermath of 9/11[333] (including near Harvard's campus[334]).

Debate over the distinction between free speech and hate speech flared up in response to a planned visit by Tom Paulin, an acclaimed Irish poet and lecturer at Oxford. In early November 2002, the Harvard English department announced that Paulin had been invited to deliver the annual Morris Gray Lecture at Harvard that month. The invitation was extended because of Paulin's accomplishments and standing as a poet and, at the time, the department said they were unaware of Paulin's political views.[335] However, Paulin had made controversial statements in the past regarding the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. In an interview with the Egyptian newspaper *Al-Ahram Weekly* in April, he had called Israel "a historical obscenity." He also said that

[327] John R. Macartney, "Author of Leaflet Comes Forward," *The Harvard Crimson*, April 11 2006.
[328] Kristin E. Blagg, "Students Join Protest of Neo-Nazi Rally," *The Harvard Crimson*, May 9, 2005.
[329] As the Southern Poverty Law Center described it, "Founded in 1987 by Bradley Smith, the Committee for Open Debate on the Holocaust (CODOH) has promoted and published antisemitic and revisionist conspiracy theories under the guise of intellectual authenticity and free speech." Southern Poverty Law Center, "Committee for Open Debate on the Holocaust," *Southern Poverty Law Center*. https://www.splcenter.org/fighting-hate/extremist-files/group/committee-open-debate-holocaust
[330] June Q. Wu, "Holocaust Ad Printed in The *Crimson* Elicits Outrage," *The Harvard Crimson*, September 9, 2009.
[331] Ibid.
[332] Daniel J. Hemel, "Campus Zionists Face Threats, Israeli Warns," *The Harvard Crimson*, November 12, 2003.
[333] Rita Hamad, Shadi Hamid, and Yousef Munayyer, "Free Speech or Intimidation?," *The Harvard Crimson*, November 4, 2002.
[334] e.g., Juliet J. Chung, "Grad Student Assaulted in Alleged Hate Crime," *The Harvard Crimson*, October 1 2001.
[335] Alexandra N. Atiya, "Controversial Poet Will Not Give Lecture," *The Harvard Crimson*, November 13, 2002.

Brooklyn-born Jews who move to Israeli settlements in disputed territories "should be shot."[336] Paulin's poem "Killed in the Crossfire" describes "Zionist SS" shooting "another little Palestinian boy."[337]

When news of Paulin's invitation and these statements spread around campus in early November, over 100 students, alumni and faculty protested. Rita Goldberg, a literature lecturer, began gathering protesters and by email encouraged students not to attend, saying "An audience is oxygen to a poet, and the most effective way of showing your feelings is to deprive him of air."[338] The controversy garnered considerable attention beyond Harvard as well and articles appeared in *The New York Times* and *The Boston Globe*.[339]

Under pressure, the English department initially decided on November 12 that Paulin's lecture would go ahead but there would be a post-lecture forum to challenge him. However, Professor Helen Vendler claims that she and Paulin mutually agreed that his reading would not take place due to concerns that his poetry would not get a fair hearing.[340] This mutual withdrawal was then interpreted as a unilateral departmental cancellation.[341] (The department then announced on November 13 that they had asked him not to come at all, citing concerns about "undue consternation and divisiveness."[342]) President Summers was reported to have privately expressed disapproval of the invitation, while endorsing the Department's freedom to decide who to invite.[343]

Numerous letters to the *Crimson* protested the decision to cancel the forum as a violation of free speech. Particular vitriol was aimed at Summers, who was perceived as pressuring the English department to cancel the event (including a letter by psychology professor Patrick Cavanagh calling him 'Ayatollah' Summers).[344] Then, on November 20, the full English department faculty met and voted unanimously, with two abstentions, to re-invite Paulin, citing concerns that canceling him could undermine free speech.[345] Summers then released a written statement supporting the exchange of ideas at Harvard.[346] Paulin reportedly told the department he was receptive to the renewed invitation, but his visit ultimately did not materialize.

Other controversial events garnered negative attention. In March 2008, Harvard Hillel hosted a "Breaking the Silence" exhibit, which showed photos and testimonies from IDF soldiers about their experiences in the occupied Palestinian territories.[347] Hillel also hosted a panel discussion with four Harvard students who had served in the IDF, along with Oded Na'aman, a former IDF soldier representing "Breaking the Silence." Some of the students were critical of the exhibit. Shira Kaplan '08, who had served in Israeli intelligence, said the exhibit added to anti-Israeli rhetoric and "it just misses the point and creates a

[336] Alexander J. Blenkinsopp, "Poet Flap Drew Summers' Input," *The Harvard Crimson*, November 14, 2002.
[337] Alexander J. Blenkinsopp, "Paulin Likely To Speak in Spring," *The Harvard Crimson*, November 21 2002; Atiya, "Controversial Poet Will Not Give Lecture."
[338] Atiya, "Controversial Poet Will Not Give Lecture."
[339] Edward Rothstein, "CONNECTIONS; Hateful Name-Calling Vs. Calling for Hateful Action," *The New York Times*, November 23, 2002, B; Patrick Healy, "Unwelcome at Harvard," *The Boston Globe*, November 17, 2002.
[340] Helen Vendler, "To the Editor," *The New York Times*, November 28, 2002.
[341] e.g., Atiya, "Controversial Poet Will Not Give Lecture."
[342] Blenkinsopp, "Poet Flap Drew Summers' Input."
[343] The *Crimson* reported that Summers was privately "horrified" by the invitation. Alexander J. Blenkinsopp, "In About-Face, English Dept. Re-Invites Anti-Israeli Poet," *The Harvard Crimson*, November 20, 1002. Conversely, *The New Yorker* wrote that when Buell sought Summers' guidance on the issue, Summers responded that the English Department should do what it sees fit to do, while personally he also thought that "it would look bad to withdraw the invitation," and that if the lecture proceeded, "the department should find a way to dissociate itself from Paulin's views about Israel." Jeffrey Toobin, "Speechless," *The New Yorker* 78, no. 44 (January 27, 2003).
[344] Patrick Cavanagh, "'Ayatollah' Summers' Remarks Show Bigotry," *The Harvard Crimson*, November 14, 2002.
[345] Blenkinsopp, "In About-Face, English Dept. Re-Invites Anti-Israeli Poet."
[346] Blenkinsopp, "Paulin Likely To Speak in Spring."
[347] Bita M. Assad, "Hillel Exhibit Draws National Criticism," *The Harvard Crimson*, March 10, 2008.

negative image."[348] Asher A. Fredman '08 said the exhibit's website focused on "killing" and "murder" without proper context. [349] However, Mishy Harman '08 defended the exhibit, saying "To me, there's no greater expression of Zionism today than saying that Israel should be held to the highest moral standards possible." He said that the exhibit did not criticize Israel's existence, but rather its policies and conduct. [350]

Debates about the limits of acceptable criticism of Israel fueled a broader conversation about the relationship between antisemitism and anti-Zionism (a term that, according to a search in Google Ngram Viewer, became popular after 2000 and especially so after 2010). In 2007, Matory argued that accusations of antisemitism were intended to stifle anti-Zionist speech.[351] Several students strongly opposed Matory's arguments and characterizations. For example, Douglas Lieb '07 wrote:

> The truly dangerous false equation is Matory's conflation of "criticism of Israeli policy" with anti-Zionism. By encouraging a state to improve its behavior rather than go away, real policy criticism assumes a state's legitimate existence. But anti-Zionism, by definition, negates the Jewish — and only the Jewish — national right to self-determination. The former is part of a healthy debate in a free society. The latter is usually a coded expression of anti-Semitism, since it denies Jews what it rightly grants to all other nations. [352]

Other prominent Harvard faculty took clear-cut positions on Israel/Palestine and engaged in high-profile events, with Alan Dershowitz passionately defending Israel and Stephen Walt and John Mearsheimer criticizing it, or, more accurately, what they saw as an unhealthy level of American diplomatic and military support for the country.[353] Guest speakers on campus also attracted considerable attention for their views about the conflict. For example, a minister in the Palestinian Authority, speaking at an Institute of Politics Forum event in November 2001, dismissed accusations of antisemitism by arguing Palestinians cannot be antisemitic as they themselves are also Semites. Jonathan M. Gribetz '02 objected, noting that antisemitism refers specifically to prejudice against Jews. Moreover, Gribetz critiqued antisemitic text and imagery in Palestinian textbooks and urged the Palestinian leadership to acknowledge and address antisemitism in Palestinian society rather than deny it, as this propaganda was an obstacle impeding peace with Israel.[354]

To summarize, while student groups and faculty sought to promote open debate, the highly polarized climate both on campus and in the broader conflict often made constructive dialogue difficult. However, through student-led efforts at discussion and understanding different perspectives, as well as events that brought groups together in support of finding common ground, it was still possible to have respectful exchanges that moved discussions forward in a positive direction. The 2000s saw only a few instances of public outrage over a speaker or disinvitation. While initial reactions to controversial works were sometimes harsh, later discussions tended to focus more constructively on their substantive arguments.

Conclusion

The 2000s witnessed increased tensions between pro-Israeli and pro-Palestinian activists on campus. These came alongside considerable efforts by student groups to find common grounds and to come to a respectful dialogue. While the topic of antisemitism did arise, it was not employed as a lens through which

[348] Vidya B. Viswanathan, "Israeli Soldiers Discuss Exhibit," *The Harvard Crimson*, March 18, 2008.
[349] Ibid.
[350] Ibid.
[351] Matory, "Israel and Censorship at Harvard."
[352] Douglas E. Lieb, "Anti-Zionism and Anti-Semitism," *The Harvard Crimson*, September 21 2007.
[353] Cormac A. Early, "Dershowitz Discusses Middle East," *The Harvard Crimson*, November 1 2005.; Evan H, Jacobs, "Prominent Profs Spar Over Israel," *The Harvard Crimson*, November 30, 2005; Paras D. Byayani and Rebecca R. Friedman, "Dean Attacks 'Israel Lobby,' *The Harvard Crimson,* March 21, 2006.
[354] Jonathan M. Gribetz, "Anti-Semitism Among Semites," *The Harvard Crimson*, November 19, 2001.

students described pro-Palestinian activism. An active student member of Hillel in the early 2000s commented on the atmosphere at the time:

> I don't remember people complaining of antisemitism … If people had, we would have treated it as completely beyond the pale. The debate that I saw happening was about politics, really about the politics of the state, which was always debatable … there were very heated feelings about it, but antisemitism is just no ... there's nothing to discuss. You can't do that. So, I don't recall there being [incidents of antisemitism] … I think it would have been weird for someone to post … 'I had an antisemitic incident on this [Hillel] listserv.' I think they would have gone straight to Bernie [Steinberg, Former Harvard Hillel Director]. Bernie was very good at … containing trouble … and then trying to project a sense of calm around [it].[355]

Additionally, contention between students over Israel/Palestine appeared to be compartmentalized to specific contexts and did not spill over into personal relationships. Shai D. Bronshtein '09, a former member of the *Crimson*'s editorial board, recalled:

> One of the women on the editorial board … was Egyptian, and … she and I had several disagreements, but it was never … personal, and it was never, you know, it never went beyond those meetings … I [completed] a concurrent AM in Middle Eastern studies while I was there, and … almost the entire [class] was … Arab Americans or Arab international students. So that was, you know, a place where certainly those sorts of [issues] came up … We had one professor who was very anti-Israel come in … and we had an Iranian in the class. It was a mix, but … it was not hostile. It was not angry. It was not personal. Even [my classmate of Iranian descent] with whom … I'm diametrically opposed in terms of my views on the Israel issues … we still were able, even on Facebook, to have reasonable conversations, even though we very much disagreed. [Differences of opinion] didn't feel personal, and I didn't feel attacked, even when there was heated disagreement.[356]

Three themes emerged over this decade that bore relevance for discussions that continued into subsequent years: the challenge of achieving peace between Israelis and Palestinians, the relevance of examining the conflict through a racial lens, and questions surrounding the positioning of liberal Jewish voices in relation to the political left. Regarding the first theme, Harvard students continued to make good-faith efforts to cross political lines and engage each other in discussion about how to attain a just peace between Israel and the Palestinians. The other two themes, however, were more ominous and boded ill for student relations during the following decade.

Race began to enter conversation as a lens through which to view the Israel-Palestine conflict. At first, the conflation of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict with racial thinking and racism in America was raised only to be rejected, as when Charles Cheever '03 wrote that viewing the conflict as one between races misses the fact that Israelis and Palestinians are racially diverse, and that countries in the Middle East each have distinct cultures and histories.[357] Shira Fischer '01 also noted that describing the conflict as one of racial oppression was wrong.[358] Towards the end of the decade, however, Nimer Sultany argued that prominent Israeli politicians, including foreign minister Avigdor Lieberman, expressed views that were discriminatory against Palestinians in a way reminiscent of American Jim Crow laws. Their views, Sultany wrote, indicated the presence of a bigoted undercurrent in Israeli society that chose Jewish supremacy over equal rights for all citizens.[359]

[355] Interview with Shai Dromi, 7/16/2024.
[356] Ibid.
[357] Charles D. Cheever, "Native Americans and Native Palestinians," *The Harvard Crimson*, October 15, 2001.
[358] Shira H. Fischer, "Middle East Crisis Does Not Constitute Race War," *The Harvard Crimson*, April 15, 2002.
[359] Nimer Sultany, "U.S. Lessons for Israel's Jim Crow," *The Harvard Crimson*, May 3, 2009.

Moreover, in the early 2000s Jewish students with liberal social and political values began to feel isolated from left-oriented communities on campus. For example, Tova Serkin '02 expressed disillusionment with some elements of the liberal left at Harvard, saying they have "ceased to mean standing for equality, upholding human rights for all, or fighting against all forms of racism." As a proud Democrat who previously considered some Republicans "crazy right-wingers," Serkin said she had been "dismayed by some of the 'liberal' rhetoric on campus." In particular, she criticized the hypocrisy they see regarding views on the Israeli-Palestinian conflict, saying "I have always been quick to criticize Israel for its treatment of Israeli Arabs and the Palestinian people, but over the last few years, I have realized that those critiques could not be made in isolation." Serkin took issue with calls on campus for Israel to withdraw from territories "in exchange for nothing, not even the security necessary for its people to live normal lives," arguing only by "ignoring the facts and the history of the region could one blame the entire conflict on Israel, and yet that is precisely what many students and professors on the left have done." Most strongly, she expressed feeling "isolated and alienated from supposedly 'liberal' parts of the University" due to the latest campaign calling on Harvard and MIT to divest from Israel, saying "Israel is not perfect and has certainly made mistakes, but if anything, now it needs our support as it fights for security."[360]

Both of these issues — the rise of an intersectional taxonomy that linked the plight of the Palestinians with racial injustice in America, and the growing intolerance of the campus' progressive left towards Jews who do not abjure Israel, became increasingly prominent over the 2010s and set the stage for the campus reaction to October 7th and its aftermath.

Widening Fissures and Diminished Dialogue, 2010-2023

Between 2010 and 2023, discussions about Israel and Palestine at Harvard focused more and more on confrontation rather than compromise. While efforts to promote dialogue and understanding between opposing viewpoints did not disappear, student activists were less willing to search for middle ground. As chances for peace between Israel and the Palestinians faded, so did the cooperative and constructive aspects of exchange between students with differing viewpoints. As the campus climate became more divided, students on both sides of the issue felt ignored or silenced.[361] Jewish students became more concerned about antisemitism on campus, and they began to claim that whether speech is antisemitic should be determined more by impact than intent.

Early in this period, there were voices within the Harvard community that cautioned against moving away from dialogue and toward more confrontational tactics in discussions of Israel and Palestine. Over time, more assertive approaches gained acceptance, and by the end of the period positions once seen as outside the campus mainstream became more common. At Harvard, as at other universities, the BDS movement promoted anti-normalization guidelines that advised against joint projects or activities between Palestinians and Israelis unless they entailed *a priori* public recognition of Palestinian rights and a commitment to Palestinian liberation.[362] Anti-normalization posed strict conditions for engagement between opposing viewpoints and rejected interactions that did not frame the conflict in terms of

[360] Tova A. Serkin, "Leaving the Left Behind," *The Harvard Crimson*, June 3, 2002.
[361] *The Boston Globe* claimed, based on interviews with students, that "people on either side feel their voices are being quieted: Palestinians and those who sympathize with their plight speak of an institutional force arrayed against them; supporters of Israel contend critical peers dismiss their perspectives before they can voice them". Hilary Burns, "On campuses, a tension over the Mideast," *The Boston Globe*, January 31 2023.
[362] BDS Movement Anti-Normalization.

resistance to these inequalities. Anti-normalization made open dialogue and exchange of differing perspectives between Palestinians and Israelis ever more difficult.[363]

Pro-Palestinian activism was galvanized by the Arab Spring and the Occupy Movement, beginning in 2010 and 2011, respectively. These movements led students to draw parallels between oppressive conditions faced by Palestinians and popular movements resisting inequality and lack of political freedom.[364] Just a few years later, a sharp rise in antisemitic incidents nationwide — the Anti-Defamation League reported a 57% increase in antisemitic incidents between 2016 and 2017, and an 89% surge on college campuses — caused off-campus actors like the Anti-Defamation League, StandWithUs, Israel on Campus Coalition, and Students Supporting Israel to become more vocal about and involved in campus life.[365] Such organizations supported pro-Israel groups on campuses and provided resources, training, funding, and strategic counsel to student leaders.

In addition to these nationwide trends, Harvard itself underwent major demographic, political, and social changes in the early twenty first century. These changes directly affected the experience of Jewish students at Harvard in numerous ways:

Growing Demographic Diversity Within the Student Body In 1980, the student body at Harvard and other top Ivy League universities was about 80% White. In 2019, 47% of Harvard's entering first-year class identified as White, and by 2024, the figure had declined to 33%.[366] During the final four decades of the 20th century, Jews made up 20-25% of the University's enrollment, but in the 21st century the numbers went down, and as of 2023, the figure was just below 10%.[367] It is difficult to account precisely for the declining number of Jewish students, as there is anecdotal evidence that Jews were choosing to attend a wider range of universities than in the past. But the correlation between the increased number of non-White students and the shrinking number of Jews in the student body was striking. Although Jews belong to all racial groups, most are demographically classified as White, be they of eastern European (Ashkenazi), Iberian/Balkan (Sephardi), or Middle Eastern (Mizrachi) origin. If students who identify or who are designated as White compete for fewer admissions slots, it follows that Jewish students would be affected.

Widening Political Diversity Among Jewish students In 2010, the journalist Peter Beinart published a widely read article (expanded two years later into a book) on a generational change in American Jewish attitudes towards Israel, with younger Jews, particularly those enrolled in elite universities, becoming more critical of or indifferent to the country. Survey research confirmed the generational shift, and although on a national level the changes were not as stark as Beinart depicted, it was indeed prominent at Harvard and its peer institutions.[368] Well before October 7, 2023, Harvard's Jewish students were manifesting a wide

[363] E.g., "A Strategy of Rejection: The Anti-Normalization Campaign," *Anti-Defamation League*, May 25, 2012. https://www.adl.org/resources/news/strategy-rejection-anti-normalization-campaign#:~:text=Anti%2Dnormalization%20policies%20are%20also,legitimacy%20and%20should%20be%20suppressed
[364] E.g., Indiana T. Seresin, "Palestinian Activists Evoke Occupy," *The Harvard Crimson*, November 15, 2011.
[365] "Think. Plan. Act. Tools for Dealing with Antisemitic and Anti-Israel Incidents on Campus," accessed July 22, 2024. https://www.adl.org/think-plan-act. "About," accessed July 22, 2024. https://israelcc.org/about-us/. "Mission and History," accessed July 22, 2024. https://www.ssimovement.org/mission-and-history.html. "About Us," accessed July 22, 2024. https://www.standwithus.com/about
[366] Derek Thompson, "How America's Top Colleges Reflect (and Massively Distort) the Country's Racial Evolution." https://www.theatlantic.com/national/archive/2013/01/how-americas-top-colleges-reflect-and-massively-distort-the-countrys-racial-evolution/267415/. "Meet the Class of 2023," *The Harvard Crimson,* n.d. https://features.thecrimson.com/2019/freshman-survey/makeup-narrative/ - :~:text=Among participants who answered a,0.8 percent as Pacific Islander. "A Brief Profile of the Class of 2028," https://college.harvard.edu/admissions/admissions-statistics
[367] Sarah Weismann, "Jewish Student Enrollment Is Down at Many Ivies," https://www.insidehighered.com/news/admissions/2023/05/08/jewish-student-enrollment-down-many-ivies
[368] Peter Beinart, *The Crisis of Zionism* (2012); https://www.pewresearch.org/religion/2021/05/11/u-s-jews-connections-with-and-attitudes-toward-israel/

spectrum of feelings about Israel, from passionate identification to a no less ardent rejection of Zionism and embrace of a reconfigured Jewish identity in which support for Palestine became a supreme Jewish value.

Changing Roles and Views of Arab and Muslim Students Prior to the 2010s, Black students featured among the most critical voices regarding Israel, while Arab and Muslim students were more likely to champion Palestinian freedom, liberty, and dignity without denying Israel's right to exist. Over the course of the 2010s a growing number of students identifying as BIPOC regarded the partition of Mandatory Palestine in 1947 as a gross injustice, demanded the dismantling of Israel as a precondition for Palestinian liberation, and distanced themselves from Jewish interlocutors on campus unless the latter shared their political views.

A "Palestine exception" and an "Israel exception" In 2015, the NGO Palestine Legal issued a report titled "The Palestine Exception to Free Speech." The report depicted wide-ranging efforts throughout American society to "stifle criticism" of Israel and "censor or punish advocacy in support of Palestinian rights." These efforts were particularly noticeable in universities because of "their increasingly central role … in the movement for Palestinian rights":

> Activists and their protected speech are routinely maligned as uncivil, divisive, antisemitic, or supportive of terrorism. Institutional actors — primarily in response to pressure from Israel advocacy groups — erect bureaucratic barriers that thwart efforts to discuss abuses of Palestinian rights and occasionally even cancel events or programs altogether. Sometimes the consequences are more severe: universities suspend student groups, deny tenure to faculty, or fire them outright in response to their criticism of Israel.[369]

In the early 2020s, discussion of the "Palestine exception" became ubiquitous at Harvard. It was invoked to condemn restrictions on protests, disciplinary measures against students, and decisions to cancel or withdraw sponsorship from events focused on Palestine.

No less exceptional, however, was the frequency and intensity of treatment of Israel as an oppressor state and the Palestinians as an oppressed people in courses and public events throughout the campus. From 2019 and 2022 respectively, the François-Xavier Bagnoud Center for Health and Human Rights at the Harvard T.H. Chan School of Public Health and the Program on Religion and Public Life at Harvard Divinity School focused heavily on Palestinians in their course offerings and guest lectures, which also rarely presented Israeli points of view except those of the state's harshest critics. Seminars organized by the Center for Middle Eastern Studies frequently addressed Palestinian history and politics from a strongly sympathetic perspective and rarely reflecting other points of view.

In contrast, there was no program devoted to the study of Israel. The Center for Jewish Studies hosted events about Israeli politics and society within its broader mission to promote knowledge about the entirety of Jewish civilization from antiquity to the present. Similarly, in 2016 the Julis-Rabinowitz Program on Jewish and Israeli Law at Harvard Law School was founded to promote the scholarly study of Jewish law, including that of the State of Israel. From 2017, courses on Israel/Palestine with a non-partisan approach were taught by Derek Penslar in the Department of History, and in 2022 a visiting professor taught courses on Israel in the Department of Government. But these offerings paled in comparison with the number of courses, programs, and events that concentrated on Palestine, sympathized wholeheartedly with the Palestinian cause, and, as demonstrated later in this report, created classroom atmospheres that were distressing to Jewish students who had attachments to Israel.

The prominence of Palestine in student political life, co-curricular activities, and social interactions was striking. Never before in Harvard's history did a conflict in a distant land, in which no American troops

[369] "The Palestine Exception to Free Speech: A Movement Under Attack in the US." https://static1.squarespace.com/static/548748b1e4b083fc03ebf70e/t/560c2e0ae4b083d9c363801d/1443638794172/Palestine+Exception+Report+Final.pdf

were serving, attract such attention. Within the Harvard community, the concentration on Israel as a distinctly egregious malefactor and on the Palestinians as a distinctly victimized people preceded the October 7, 2023, Hamas massacre, Israel's massive response, and the spread of hostilities to a regional level. This "Israel exception" led to condemnation of Israel among a growing swath of the student body, an intersectional conflation of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict with racial injustice in the United States, and social exclusion of Israeli and Jewish students who did not identify as anti-Zionist. In contrast, there were few complaints of such shunning behavior from students of Russian or Chinese origin whose homelands' governments practiced widespread violations of human rights.

A Decline of Community and Retreat into Ideological Enclaves Political polarization, as well as heightened awareness of racial identities and the ongoing legacies of racism, degraded the sense of community identity that is a hallmark of a residential college experience. A further dilution of local, face-to-face community in favor of virtual and global occurred at the hands of social media, which became hegemonic following the founding of Facebook in 2004 and Instagram in 2010. Social media made it easier for students to not only dwell in virtual communities of the like-minded but also to shame and exclude peers without having to confront them in person. Social media had a poisonous effect on many dimensions of campus life, including the well-being of Jewish and especially Israeli students, who were exposed to abusive and threatening messages on platforms like Sidechat and Instagram or excluded from WhatsApp groups within classes or co-curricular groups.

Targeting Israel on Campus

Over this period, groups like the Palestine Solidarity Committee (PSC) and Harvard Out of Occupied Palestine (HOOP) organized campaigns pressing the administration to remove certain products from dining halls like SodaStream and Sabra hummus and advocating for students to decline opportunities to travel to Israel such as Birthright and Israel Trek. They also disrupted pro-Israel events hosted by Hillel and featuring former Israeli officials. In addition, PSC staged annual Israeli Apartheid Weeks that included tactics like distributing mock eviction notices and erecting an "apartheid wall" display, generating controversy each year. The 2012 One State Conference at HKS also sparked debate around its discussions of alternatives to the two-state solution and analogies to apartheid.

These actions generated intense debate within the Harvard community. Jewish students who found them offensive received little sympathy from pro-Palestinian activists, who believed in the justice of their actions and accused their critics of weaponizing antisemitism for political gain.

ACTION AGAINST ISRAELI ACTIVITIES, GUESTS, AND PRODUCTS

The PSC and HOOP — a student group calling for divestment, established in 2020[370] — organized numerous campaigns and protests targeting specific Israeli activities, guests, and products.

SodaStream In Spring 2014, Palestinian students and members of the Palestine Solidarity Committee protested that some dining halls had carbonated water machines manufactured by SodaStream, an Israeli company with a plant in a large Jewish settlement in the West Bank.[371] Rachel J. Sandalow-Ash '15, a member of Harvard College's Progressive Jewish Alliance agreed that "these machines can be seen as a microaggression to Palestinian students and their families and like the University doesn't care about

[370] Juliet E. Isselbacher and Amanda Y. Su, "Harvard Out of Occupied Palestine Holds Inaugural Event, Invites BDS Founder," *The Harvard Crimson*, February 21 2020. https://www.thecrimson.com/article/2020/2/21/hoop-inaugural-event-bds-founder/

[371] SodaStream announced a relocation to Southern Israel in October 2014. Ian Black, "SodaStream to move factory out of West Bank Israeli settlement," *The Guardian*, October 29, 2014. https://www.theguardian.com/business/2014/oct/29/sodastream-move-factory-west-bank-israel-slash-forecast

Palestinian human rights." Following discussions, in Fall 2014, HUDS agreed to remove SodaStream labels from existing machines and purchase appliances from other companies going forward. PSC member Tez M. Clark '17 said he hoped that "Harvard's effort to hear the concerns of Palestinian students and make a meaningful change in response to these concerns will inspire further support for and discussion on Palestinian rights, both on this campus and around the world."[372]

However, in December 2014, President Drew Faust requested an investigation of the decision.[373] HUDS spokesperson Crista Martin wrote that HUDS has "mistakenly factored political concerns" into its decision.[374] Provost Alan M. Garber '76 wrote that "Harvard University's procurement decisions should not and will not be driven by individuals' views of highly contested matters of political controversy."[375] Leaders of Jewish and pro-Israel groups like Harvard Hillel President Samuel M. Fisher '15 supported the investigation.[376]

Sabra Hummus In early 2022, the PSC posted stickers on containers of Sabra hummus in Harvard dining halls. According to Nadine S. Bahour '22, a representative from the PSC, the stickers urged students not to eat Sabra hummus and as its parent company, the Strauss Group, "invests money in the [Israel Defense Force's] Golani Brigade," which she claimed was responsible for "the oppression of Palestinians."[377] The hummus stickers action, she said, aimed to encourage students to make conscious choices about which companies they support with their food purchases. Conversely, Rebecca S. Araten '23, a leader of the Harvard Israel Initiative, said the stickers' claims misrepresented "what is actually happening on the ground." She maintained that the PSC action was one of many attempts "to prevent people from going" on activities like Israel Trek based on "extreme things that aren't based at all in fact."[378]

Birthright and Israel Trek Pro-Palestinian activists advocated for students to decline opportunities to travel to Israel on Birthright Israel and Israel Trek, the former being an all-expenses-paid trip to Israel for Jewish young adults and the latter being an Israeli-student-led trip to Israel offered to non-Jews.[379] Activists described Israel Trek as complicit in "apartheid and settler colonialism."[380]

Trek leader Ty L. Geri '23 defended the program, saying it aimed to expose participants to diverse viewpoints through meetings with Israeli and Palestinian leaders.[381] "Reducing people to conflict and to hate is dehumanizing, and I think that when you're thousands of miles away, it's easy to dehumanize people. But when you're there, it's much harder," Geri said. "We'll always get some criticism, but we'll

[372] Kamara A. Swaby, "HUDS Suspends Purchases from Israeli Soda Company," *The Harvard Crimson*, December 17, 2014.
[373] Theodore R. Delwiche and Mariel A. Klein, "University To Investigate Dining Services Decision To Suspend Purchases from Israeli Company," *The Harvard Crimson*, December 18, 2014. https://www.thecrimson.com/article/2014/12/18/huds-sodastream-garber-response/
[374] Meg P. Bernhard, "Dining Services 'Mistakenly' Factored Politics into SodaStream Decision, Spokesperson Says," *The Harvard Crimson*, December 18, 2014.
[375] Delwiche and Klein, "University To Investigate Dining Services Decision To Suspend Purchases from Israeli Company."
[376] Ibid.
[377] Sophia C. Scott, "For Some Palestinian Organizers, the Israel Trek is a Microcosm of a Broader 'Power Imbalance," *The Harvard Crimson*, April 21 2022.
[378] Ibid.
[379] Nadine S. Bahour, "Visit Israel, Just Not on Birthright," *The Harvard Crimson*, October 18, 2019; Sandra Y. L. Korn, "The Illuminations of Birthright," *The Harvard Crimson*, July 6, 2012; see response: Daniel Frim, "Some Other "Illuminations of Birthright"," *The Harvard Crimson*, July 18, 2012.
[380] Vivi E. Lu and Leah J. Teichholtz, "Harvard Out of Occupied Palestine Urges Undergrads to Boycott Israel Trek," *The Harvard Crimson*, February 25, 2022.
[381] Shera S. Avi-Yonah and Delano R. Franklin, "Palestine Solidarity Committee Circulates Pledge Urging Undergrads to Boycott Israel Trek," *The Harvard Crimson*, November 7, 2019.

always continue engaging in open dialogue."[382] Other Jewish and pro-Israel students strongly opposed the boycott campaign. Rebecca S. Araten '23, a leader of the Harvard Israel Initiative, felt the PSC mischaracterized what happened on Trek. As she explained, the PSC's rhetoric was "not based at all in fact" and "the reality is that if people actually go on this trip, they'll realize that those words — those terms — are not at all representative of what is actually happening in Israeli society."[383] The student president of Harvard Hillel at the time, Natalie L. Kahn '23, said the PSC disregarded "any possibility of dialogue." According to Kahn, if people examined Trek's "itinerary and agenda," they would see it "really does try to balance both sides."[384] The Trek's organizers reported receiving severe social backlash and hate mail.[385]

However, the PSC maintained their concerns about Trek were valid. Organizer Joshua D. Willcox '23-'24 maintained that Palestinians experienced "an apartheid regime" and that the Trek did not adequately represent Palestinians' perspective.[386] Nadine S. Bahour '22 felt Trek presented an experience that was not reflective of the "reality on the ground" for Palestinians.

Rabbi Jonah C. Steinberg, Hillel Executive Director and Harvard Chaplain addressed the worryingly polarized atmosphere on campus in a sermon at Harvard Memorial Church:

> We live in that world even here at Harvard — I don't know if you have been following the war of words on campus — the anti-Israel stickers appearing on Sabra hummus in the dining halls, the tearing down of Harvard Hillel posters all over campus, about which the Dean of Students Office had to issue a statement just this past week, and the black-colored posters everywhere against the Harvard College Israel Trek … But maybe you saw the posters on the way here this morning: "How about Spring Break without Breaking International Law?" "Your Trip Is Free; Palestine Isn't" and "Would you go on a trip funded by South-African Apartheid?" So far as I know, not one of those posters has been torn down — and let me take a moment here to say that reflects some admirable restraint on the part of Harvard Hillel students, when posters with a QR code offering a chance to learn why many in our community care about Israel have been torn up all over campus and the torn pieces tacked back to the walls.[387]

After the 2023 Trek, the PSC held "Office Hours" for participants to share their experiences. Around 20 students attended the event in Claverly Hall to discuss issues like whether Trek exposed students to diverse viewpoints. One Trek participant, Ibrahim Mammadov '23, felt the trip provided a valuable perspective. "These IDF soldiers are just people like us, they're not anything special. And that's an important piece of perspective that you don't get on campus." Mammadov said that the labeling of oppressor and victim prevents more nuanced and fair perspectives.[388] Nevertheless, Bahour urged trekkers to consider Harvard's "complicity in the struggles Palestinians face." When Geri extended an invitation to PSC leaders to discuss their concerns directly, Bahour declined, citing safety concerns and arguing that dialogue was not possible until Trek leaders acknowledged "ethnic cleansing" and "apartheid" in Palestine.[389]

[382] Vivi E. Lu, "Harvard College Palestine Solidarity Committee Calls for Boycott of Israel Trek, Drawing Backlash from Pro-Israel Students," *The Harvard Crimson*, October 24, 2022.
[383] Ibid.
[384] Ibid.
[385] Sabrina Paris Goldfischer, "The Death of Discourse: Antisemitism at Harvard College" (Harvard University, 2023), 57.
[386] Lu, "Harvard College Palestine Solidarity Committee Calls for Boycott of Israel Trek, Drawing Backlash from Pro-Israel Students."
[387] Jonah C. Steinberg, "The Face Behind the Veil," *Harvard Memorial Church*, March 2, 2022.
[388] Adam Pearl, "The Trek Back From Israel: Tensions on campus spark an uncomfortable silence," *The Harvard Independent*, April 27, 2023. https://harvardindependent.com/the-trek-back-from-israel/
[389] Ibid.

Disruptions and Walkouts Disruptions of Israel-related events became a common occurrence over this period. PSC Harvard staged a "die-in" outside of Harvard Hillel in October 2015 in response to an event hosted by Hillel featuring Gedalia Gillis, a former Israeli military commander. The PSC protest involved signs displaying the names of Palestinians killed during the previous summer's conflict in Gaza. According to Fatima Bishtawi '17, a co-president of the PSC at the time, the protest aimed to express that hosting Gillis was "very estranging and creates a hostile environment for these students on campus."[390] Explaining why PSC chose not to come to the event and express their criticisms directly to Gillis and Hillel leadership, Halah Ahmad '17 explained:

> Palestinians and friends on campus cannot be expected to partake in that conversation while knowing that the person they are speaking to is actively engaged in a military operation that occupies their land and oppresses and kills their people. We should not be asked to face a soldier who, regardless of engagement in dialogue and affiliation with a member of the Harvard community, would nonetheless administer violent action against us as Palestinians.[391]

Additionally, HOOP staged numerous protests. In 2022, the group disrupted a talk by Israel's ambassador at HKS.[392] HOOP also regularly protested events featuring retired Israeli military officials, describing them as perpetuating oppression.[393]

Campaigns to Boycott and Divest from Israel

Academic Boycott Campaign In April 2011, Omar Barghouti, a founder of the Palestinian Campaign for the Academic and Cultural Boycott of Israel, spoke at an event sponsored by the PSC and the Institute of Politics. Barghouti argued that Israel was functioning under a system of apartheid and challenged the idea that it should be considered a respected democracy on the international stage. He advocated for the global Boycott, Divestment, and Sanctions movement, of which boycotting Israeli universities was a core element.[394]

A November 2011 panel event was held at HKS titled "Boycott from Within: American and Israeli Voices Against Apartheid."[395] The discussion featured two speakers, Jeff Pickert, an American activist living in the West Bank, and Dalit Baum, an Israeli activist and divestment proponent.[396] Pickert framed the Palestinian protest movement in the context of related movements like the Arab Spring and global Occupy movement.[397] Audience reaction varied. Leah C. Vincent, a master's student, said Baum was "articulate and composed." However, Yoav B.G. Schaefer '15 noted the discussion did not sufficiently acknowledge the complexity of the issues. "Everything that tries to make (the conflict) black and white is a disservice to peace."[398]

In December 2013, the American Studies Association voted to endorse an academic boycott of Israeli universities, citing concerns about limitations on Palestinian education and academic freedom. President Faust condemned the boycott, saying "Academic boycotts subvert the academic freedoms and values

[390] Andrew M. Duehren, "Students Host 'Die-In' Outside of Hillel, Protesting Speaker," *The Harvard Crimson*, October 16, 2015.
[391] Halah Ahmad, "A Die-in for More Human Discourse at Harvard," *The Harvard Crimson*, October 23, 2015.
[392] Miles J. Herszenhorn, "Protesters Stage Walkout of Event with Israeli Ambassador at Harvard Kennedy School," *The Harvard Crimson*, April 12, 2022.
[393] Miles J. Herszenhorn, "Palestinian Advocacy Group Protests Former Israeli Military Official at Harvard Kennedy School," *The Harvard Crimson*, February 2, 2022.
[394] Monica M. Dodge, "Barghouti Urges Israel Boycott," *The Harvard Crimson*, April 14, 2011.
[395] Seresin, "Palestinian Activists Evoke Occupy."
[396] "Dalit Baum," accessed July 10, 2024. https://afsc.org/author/dalit-baum
[397] Seresin, "Palestinian Activists Evoke Occupy."
[398] Ibid.

necessary to the free flow of ideas."[399] Sara Greenberg HBS'15 and HKS'15 and Yoav Schaefer '15 urged Harvard to withdraw from the ASA in response.[400] However, Asmaa Rimawi '14, chair of the Harvard PSC, supported the ASA decision, as did Alexander Abbasi, a Harvard Divinity School student, who argued that the boycott aims to "redress the injustices that face Palestinians."[401]

Divestment Campaign Calls for divestment from Israel and Israel-affiliated businesses also continued over the decade. Calling the situation "apartheid" and concluding that divestment was "probably the least radical cause in the world," Matthew B. McDole '18 wrote: "I used to find that word radical, but after visiting the West Bank and seeing the reality with my own eyes, it seems like a more than fair description for a half-century of occupation under these conditions."[402] A significant turning point was the establishment of HOOP in 2020, with the stated goal of pressuring Harvard to disclose and divest investments in companies connected to Israel's presence in the Palestinian territories.[403] At one of their protests at Harvard Yard, which drew over 200 people, Malaika K. Tapper '23 and Nadine S. Bahour '22 read from a letter criticizing Harvard for being "complicit" in supporting Israel.[404]

Some countered that divestment tactics were counterproductive. Gregory A. Briker '17 argued that the BDS movement "impedes meaningful dialogue" and is "an abhorrent tactic." For Briker, BDS "simultaneously groups all supporters of Israel together and rejects the fundamental legitimacy of their convictions." It also "places the onus of solving the Israeli-Palestinian conflict entirely on Israel's shoulders," without any attribution of responsibility to Palestinians. BDS' goal, Briker stated, is to "destroy Israel as a Jewish state."[405]

The One-State Conference Many of the ideas raised in the debates about soda water, hummus, trips to Israel, and BDS received in-depth attention at the One-State Conference, held at HKS in March 2012. The conference was organized by several Harvard student groups, including Justice for Palestine, the PSC, the Palestine Caucus, the Arab Caucus, and the Progressive Caucus. Ahmed Moor, an HKS student and organizer, said the aim was to "consider alternatives … that would achieve peace based on justice and equality for all." A more militant stand was taken by undergraduate students Eliza M. Nguyen '14, Lena K. Awwad '13, and A.M. candidate Alex R. Shams, who placed the conference's purview directly in the shadow of South Africa under apartheid:

> In the 1990s, White South Africans realized that they could not continue to control the indigenous people and dispossess them of their land against their will. Instead, they dismantled the system of apartheid and agreed to live as a minority with equal rights in a land that both they and South Africa's other minorities considered their homeland. Numerous veterans of the anti-apartheid movement in South Africa, including Bishop Desmond M. Tutu, have visited Palestine and made it clear that Israel's system is in fact "worse than apartheid" as it existed in South Africa.[406]

The conference created a storm of controversy before it was even held. A petition signed by over 2,000 people stated that the conference manifested "new antisemitism" and asked Harvard to withdraw financial support. The petition called on the University to prevent the conference from using University facilities

[399] Matthew Q. Clarida and Amna H. Hasmi, "Faust Condemns Academic Group's Boycott of Israeli Institutions," *The Harvard Crimson*, December 24, 2013.
[400] Sara K. Greenberg and Yoav Schaefer, "Boycott the ASA, Not Israel," *The Harvard Crimson*, February 3, 2014.
[401] Alexander Abbasi, Giacomo Bagarella, and Asmaa Rimawi, "A Just Boycott for Palestinian Rights," *The Harvard Crimson*, January 21 2014.
[402] Matthew B. McDole, "The Least Radical Cause in the World," *The Harvard Crimson*, June 15, 2017.
[403] Isselbacher and Su, "Harvard Out of Occupied Palestine Holds Inaugural Event, Invites BDS Founder."
[404] Ibid.
[405] Gregory A. Briker, "Dialogue Over Divestment," *The Harvard Crimson*, April 10, 2014.
[406] A corrigendum clarifies that Tutu "cannot be found on record stating this" and corrects other factual errors stated in this op-ed. Lena K. Awwad, Eliza M. Nguyen, and Alex R. Shams, "Fighting Apartheid with Equality," *The Harvard Crimson*, February 27, 2012.

and remove Harvard logos from its website. Gabriel M. Scheinmann '08, one of the petition creators, said "People have a right to free expression. However, they do not have the right to do so using others' financial resources."[407] In response to the petition, the Carr Center for Human Rights Policy and Weatherhead Center for International Affairs removed their logos from the website. A disclaimer was also added stating the conference views did not represent Harvard's.[408] Joshua B. Lipson '14, co-president of Harvard Students for Israel, agreed with objections in principle but did not sign the petition. He said "Ideally this discussion would not be held at Harvard. However, Harvard supports free expression for all student groups, even those with views some find objectionable or misinformed." Lipson felt calling to revoke the University's provision of space was an extreme measure.[409]

Outside commentators also opined. US Senator Scott Brown called on Harvard to cancel the conference,[410] and Dan Diker, Secretary General of the World Jewish Congress, condemned it, arguing that any one-state scenario effectively meant the destruction of Israel as a Jewish state.[411] However, in an editorial called "Deeply Wrong, But Not Anti-Semitic", the *Crimson* argued that charges of antisemitism went too far and defended the event's right to be held at Harvard. Opting for a more restrictive definition of antisemitism, the editorial board wrote:

> To call this conference, as the petition does, a forum for "one of the most ancient forms of racial hatred," is unwarranted and counterproductive. Allegations like these simply serve to stymie serious public discourse on the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. There is no evidence that the discussion at this conference expresses antipathy towards Jews as a people, which is the definition of anti-Semitism. There is definitely a line to be drawn regarding such sentiments, and we do not believe that this conference crosses it.[412]

The *Crimson* also objected to the rhetoric in Awwad, Nguyen, and Shams's earlier op-ed, comparing Israel to Apartheid South Africa: "Aside from its dishonesty, this kind of sophistry is deeply unproductive and fosters neither normalization nor dialogue between the two sides; indeed, it promotes mistrust and retrenchment."[413]

Representatives of the Progressive Jewish Alliance, Sandra Y. L. Korn '14[414] and Emily S. Unger '13, while supportive of the conference as a platform to raise the issue of equality and justice in Israel/Palestine, expressed concern about "some of the extreme rhetoric that it has triggered":

> While we would love to see a peaceful and egalitarian one-state solution to the Israeli-Palestinian conflict, we think it only practical to continue working toward a two-state solution. It is unfair to ask the Israelis and Palestinians who dream of having their own ethnic nation-states to give up these aspirations without demanding the same of every country in the world. While we theoretically

[407] Aisling H. Crane and Melanie Guzman, "Students and Alumni Protest HKS Conference on Israeli-Palestinian Conflict," *The Harvard Crimson*, February 28, 2012.
[408] Crane and Guzman, "Students and Alumni Protest HKS Conference on Israeli-Palestinian Conflict."
[409] ibid.
[410] Noah Bierman, "Scott Brown calls on Harvard to cancel 'one state' conference," *The Boston Globe*, March 2, 2012. https://www.bostonglobe.com/news/politics/2012/03/02/Fg6zeyvcyr2vnVc7sit6sM/story.html?p1=BGSearch_Advanced_Results
[411] Dan Diker, "Laundering anti-Semitism at Harvard," *The Jerusalem Post*, February 29, 2012. https://www.jpost.com/opinion/op-ed-contributors/laundering-anti-semitism-at-harvard
[412] The *Crimson* Staff, "Deeply Wrong, But Not Anti-Semitic," *The Harvard Crimson*, March 2, 2012.
[413] Ibid.
[414] Korn would ultimately become a supporter of the BDS movement, and would advocate, as member of Jewish Voice for Peace's delegation to the Presbyterian Church's General Assembly, for divestment of the church from American companies with ties to Israel. Sandra Korn, "Why I Support Presbyterian Divestment as a Jew," *Tablet*, June 19, 2014. https://www.tabletmag.com/sections/news/articles/why-i-support-presbyterian-divestment-as-a-jew

> admire the ideals of a one-state solution, in practice, a single state seems an ineffective and dangerous policy solution — and so we cannot endorse or advocate for it in today's world."[415]

As for campus discussions on the topic, they wrote:

> No solution to the conflict will be possible unless people engage each other in meaningful dialogue instead of exchanging insults of "anti-Semitism" and "racism." Any statement that seeks mainly to demonize the other side and blame the entire conflict on one group is a step away from peace.[416]

Others lamented the lack of incentive for compromise and moderation in platforms such as this conference, and the push to take sides rather than find commonalities.[417]

While some viewed the conference as a platform to explore alternative perspectives on achieving justice and equality, others argued it aimed to deny Jewish self-determination and was thus antisemitic in effect, if not intent. Significantly, non-Jews on the editorial board of the *Crimson* took a middle path, challenging the most extremely pro-Palestinian rhetoric while asking Jews to reconsider their own concepts of what constitutes offensive speech.

Israeli Apartheid Week

Israeli Apartheid Week (IAW) became a major point of contention regarding what types of speech and tactics were considered acceptable on campus. Over the years, IAW featured increasingly polarizing rhetoric and tactics that many Jewish students argued crossed a line. By the late 2010s, the week had become a difficult time for many Jewish students.

BACKGROUND

From 2013 the PSC hosted Israeli Apartheid Week, aiming to raise awareness about Palestine. IAW typically included panels, discussions, films, and art installations.[418] IAW programming expanded over the years. In 2019, the week featured a panel on Black-Palestinian solidarity with a talk by Cornel West as well as displays of art and film.[419] IAW went virtual during the COVID-19 pandemic, but in 2023, in-person events returned, highlighted by speeches by Noam Chomsky and Norman Finkelstein. As usual, an art installation called the "Wall of Resistance" was displayed, though some Jewish students said they found phrases used on it to be offensive. Hillel and other groups held counter-programming in response.[420] In 2023, the week highlighted interlinks between the Palestinian struggle and other global struggles, and featured panels on student activism, LGBTQ+ Palestinians, and solidarity with South Africa and Kurdish groups.[421]

THE EVICTION NOTICES

Some of the specific tactics used as part of IAW drew particular controversy. Using fake eviction notices was one such tactic. Advertising the first Harvard Israeli Apartheid Week, PSC members distributed over

[415] Sandra Y. L. Korn, "Working Toward a Solution," *The Harvard Crimson*, March 5, 2012.
[416] Korn, "Working Toward a Solution."
[417] Eric T. Justin, "Two Sides, One Waste of Time," *The Harvard Crimson*, March 9, 2012.
[418] Grace Lin and Paul D. Tamburro, "Palestine Solidarity Committee Holds 'Israeli Apartheid Week'," *The Harvard Crimson*, April 16, 2018, 2018. https://www.thecrimson.com/article/2018/4/16/Palestine-solidarity-committee-event/
[419] Elizabeth X. Guo and Amanda Y. Su, "Harvard Palestine Solidarity Committee Hosts Israeli Apartheid Week," *The Harvard Crimson*, April 8, 2019. https://www.thecrimson.com/article/2019/4/8/palestinian-solidarity-committee-israeli-apartheid-week/
[420] Audrey M. Apollon and Christine Mui, "Palestine Solidarity Committee Hosts Annual Israeli Apartheid Week, Drawing Backlash from Harvard Hillel," *The Harvard Crimson*, April 22, 2022. https://www.thecrimson.com/article/2022/4/22/israel-apartheid-week-2022/
[421] J. Sellers Hill and Nia L. Orakwue, "Harvard College Palestine Solidarity Committee Hosts Annual Israeli Apartheid Week," *The Harvard Crimson*, March 31 2023. https://www.thecrimson.com/article/2023/3/31/israel-apartheid-week-2023/

1,000 mock eviction notices on dormitory doors across campus in March 2013. The notices, which were posted to publicize Israeli Apartheid Week, informed residents that their rooms were "scheduled for demolition in the next three days." This referenced the demolitions of Palestinian homes that occur in the West Bank and Gaza Strip.[422]

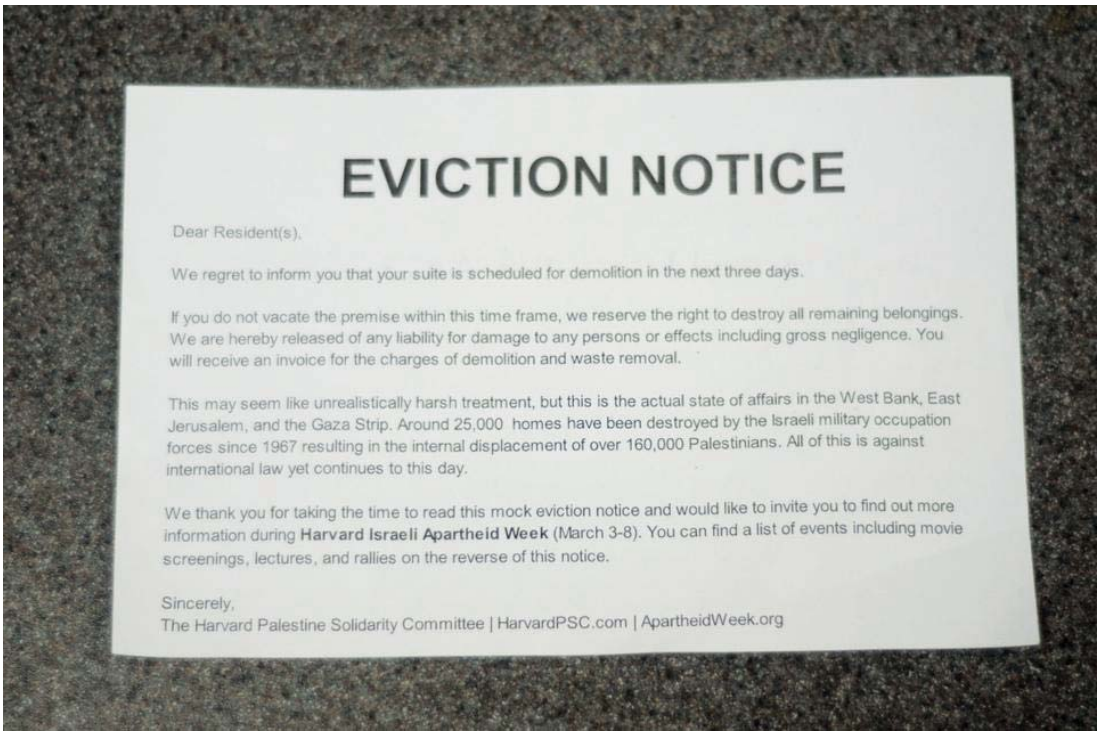


Figure 1. Mock eviction flyer posted by PSC on students' doors in March 2013.
The Harvard Crimson*, March 5, 2013.*

The mock eviction notices prompted mixed responses from students. Some felt the notices did not promote constructive debate. Steven J. Tricanowicz '13 said in an interview that he believed the PSC "did a very bad job" of promoting constructive debate and that the event went "against what Harvard stands for as a place for open academic dialogue, open thoughts, and open intellectual activity." He described Israeli Apartheid Week as an event "that promotes polarization and closed-mindedness."[423] Ariel Rubin '13 and Ariella Rotenberg '13 wrote:

> As two seniors writing theses on aspects of the Arab-Israeli conflict, we have actively sought out views that oppose our own and continue to work in an effort to understand contradicting narratives … We realize the importance of employing a framework that engages with multiple perspectives. There are limits to this framework, however, when words are based in hatred rather than facts. The Palestinian Solidarity Committee has reached this limit in its portrayals of the conflict as one-sided, revealing either a lack of understanding of history or rejection of an honest, albeit challenging, conversation about the complicated reality. The PSC's use of the word "apartheid" is ahistorical, polarizing, and preventative of informed, fact-based dialogue. The implication of the comparison to "apartheid" is that the Israelis are racist totalitarians ruling over blameless Palestinians, with no consideration for the nuances and details of the conflict.[424]

[422] Anneli L. Tostar, "Mock Eviction Flyers Incite Debate," *The Harvard Crimson*, March 5, 2013.
[423] Ibid.
[424] Ariella Rotenberg and Ariel Rubin, "The Wrong Type of Engagement," *The Harvard Crimson*, March 9, 2013. https://www.thecrimson.com/article/2013/3/9/israel-apartheid-week/

However, other students voiced support for the PSC's right to raise awareness about their events. When some notices were torn down, PSC organizer Yacoub H. Kureh '13 expressed dismay in an email to the Quincy House list.[425] PSC member Alexander R. Shams said organizers "weren't too worried [about offending people] because the kind of events we're hosting are the reality in Palestine."[426]

As in the case of the One-State Conference, actors outside of the University stepped in. The Anti-Defamation League said that the notices "crossed the line by causing supporters to feel isolated and intimidated." There was also a strong intramural response. The *Crimson* criticized Israeli Apartheid Week for using tactics that discouraged civil discourse and were unlikely to promote dialogue or peace. It noted the mock eviction notices taped to dorm doors and the separation wall display on campus may provoke thought for some, but were also likely to cause a "knee-jerk, negative reaction" from pro-Israel groups. The editorial also took issue with the analogy of comparing Israel to apartheid South Africa, saying it "ignores crucial complexities in Israel-Palestine."[427] It concluded that Israeli Apartheid Week does not further "open, respectful discourse" or constructive dialogue toward peace.[428]

THE APARTHEID WALL

Starting in 2019, during Israeli Apartheid Week, the Harvard College Palestine Solidarity Committee (PSC) erected a multi-panel art installation called the Wall of Resistance in Harvard Yard. Installations featured phrases like "Free Palestine" and references to the BDS movement, as well as a quote from Audre Lorde that read "I am not free while any woman is unfree, even when her shackles are very different from my own." Dalal Hassane '26 explained the installation as representing "the apartheid wall that currently stands in Palestine" and inviting observers to "ask themselves, 'How does this wall affect Palestinians? How does this wall affect the people that it was built to oppress?'"[429] One panel of the installation stated that "Zionism is Racism Settler Colonialism White Supremacy Apartheid." Explaining the appeal of this display, Nadine Bahour drew directly on the concept of intersectionality, linking Palestinian plight with racial injustice in the United States:

> The panels are all very powerful and they really show a lot of solidarity, because they're not all about Palestine … Each one covers a different topic and is trying to show that the Palestinian cause doesn't exist in a bubble, but it's rather very interconnected with our everyday life here in the US.[430]

Thus, the PSC connected Israel's separation barrier in the West Bank with the long history of racial segregation in the United States.

Many Jewish students found the barrier to be a source of both outrage and fear. Hillel's President at the time stated the wall was "offensive," "libelous," and "beneath the intelligence expected at Harvard."[431] Sarah Bolnick '23, co-president of Harvard Israel Initiative, described the installation as "a form of hate

[425] Tostar, "Mock Eviction Flyers Incite Debate."
[426] Ibid.
[427] The *Crimson* Staff, "Keeping Us Apart," *The Harvard Crimson*, March 8, 2013. https://www.thecrimson.com/article/2013/3/8/israel-apartheid-notices/. There were additional objections to using the term "Apartheid. "For example, Marcus B. Montague-Mfuni '23, who is from South Africa, wrote an op-ed arguing that the term had a very different meaning for non-white South Africans due to their experience under apartheid rule. While he acknowledged the oppressive conditions Palestinians face rise to international legal definitions of apartheid, he argued for preserving the unique meaning of South African "apartheid," which represented a specific form of dehumanization and trauma inflicted on generations of South Africans. At the same time, the author noted that anti-apartheid activism in South Africa inspired the BDS movement in Palestine. Marcus B. Montague-Mfuni, "Don't Call What Israel is Doing Apartheid," *The Harvard Crimson*, June 27, 2021.
[428] Ibid.
[429] Hill and Orakwue, "Harvard College Palestine Solidarity Committee Hosts Annual Israeli Apartheid Week."
[430] Apollon and Mui, "Palestine Solidarity Committee Hosts Annual Israeli Apartheid Week, Drawing Backlash from Harvard Hillel."
[431] Ibid.

speech."[432] On Hillel's website students wrote about their reactions to the wall, complaining not only about the display's contents but also about a perceived indifference to its impact on them:

> PSC's wall contained blatantly antisemitic rhetoric and imagery. It was not taken down by the administration and people walked by it for days with little outcry. Hatred towards any group of people should never tolerated, but when it's against Jews there is silence. —Jonah '24
>
> Every minority group is allowed to define what they consider to be discrimination, but when Jews deem something antisemitic, people don't take that seriously. It's saddening to see all these people who claim to be antiracist and anti-discrimination dictating to us when we are and aren't justified in feeling victimized. —Michael '23
>
> Slogans like "Zionism is White Supremacy" serve to erase the identities and experiences of the millions of Mizrahi Jews, myself included, whose ancestors never set foot in Europe, and for whom Israel provided a refuge after they were ethnically cleansed from their homes. —Michael '23[433]

The PSC rejected claims that criticism of Israel amounted to antisemitism. IAW organizer Michael A. Miccioli said, "They're trying to conflate criticism of the State of Israel with antisemitism. We have Jewish members in our organization. We had Jewish speakers come speak at our events, so I don't think that their response has been very convincing."[434] The presence of Jews in pro-Palestinian circles at Harvard would in time become an increasingly important defense against charges of antisemitism by pro-Israel activists at Harvard and beyond.

The *Crimson*'s Endorsement of BDS

After 2020, the *Crimson*'s stance on issues relating to the Israel and Palestine changed dramatically. Its previous measured criticism of Israeli policies and support for wide-ranging debate transformed into an unambiguous endorsement of BDS and Palestinian liberation.

In early 2020, the *Crimson* wrote in support of providing space for discussions of BDS on campus. The editors saw BDS as an imperfect tool but were sympathetic with the struggle for Palestinian rights. The *Crimson* editors wrote that circumstances in Israel and the Occupied Territories had changed since their predecessors came out against divestment strategies in 2002.[435] In the same editorial, the board condemned antisemitism while asserting that "blanket accusations of anti-Semitism towards BDS supporters are inappropriate and counterproductive." They acknowledged that comments at a HOOP event from BDS founder Omar Barghouti "could understandably make Jewish students uncomfortable." The board endorsed a boycott of products from West Bank settlements but said that portraying either side as wholly "evil" was unproductive.[436]

On April 29, 2022, the day after Israel's Holocaust Remembrance Day, the *Crimson* went a step further and announced unambiguous support for Palestinian liberation and endorsement of the BDS movement against Israel. It stated that "support for Palestinian liberation is not antisemitic" and that the Board opposed antisemitism "in every form." However, the editorial endorsed BDS's calls for ending the occupation of territories captured in 1967, upholding Palestinian refugees' right of return, and ending what

[432] Ibid.
[433] "What The Wall Means To Me: Reflections on the Palestine Solidarity Committee's 'Wall of Resistance'," *Harvard Hillel*. https://hillel.harvard.edu/what-wall-means-me
[434] Apollon and Mui, "Palestine Solidarity Committee Hosts Annual Israeli Apartheid Week, Drawing Backlash from Harvard Hillel."
[435] The *Crimson* Editorial Board, "A Place for Discussing BDS on Campus," *The Harvard Crimson*, February 28, 2020.
[436] Ibid.

some BDS supporters called Israel's "regime of Jewish supremacy."[437] The board maintained that calls for divestment were not attempts to politicize institutions but rather to rectify past decisions to invest in companies complicit in human rights abuses towards Palestinians. It concluded that as a board, it was "proud to

finally lend our support to both Palestinian liberation and BDS."[438]

The *Crimson* editorial prompted widespread criticism from members of the Harvard community. At a meeting of the Faculty of Arts and Sciences (FAS), government department professor Eric M. Nelson '99 directly questioned President Lawrence S. Bacow about "the eruption of antisemitism on campus." Professor Nelson cited the *Crimson* editorial alongside the Israeli Apartheid Week mural, and a swastika symbol that had appeared in Currier House.[439] President Bacow declined to comment directly on the editorial itself in response and affirmed the *Crimson*'s editorial independence. Nonetheless, he said that "any suggestion of targeting or boycotting a particular group because of disagreements over the policies pursued by their governments is antithetical to what we stand for as a university."[440] Other faculty were much more outspoken. Psychology professor Steven A. Pinker and Lawrence H. Summers were among a group of high-profile academics who signed a faculty petition denouncing the editorial.[441] Alan Dershowitz argued that the editorial applied a "double standard" by singling out Israel while ignoring "the many Israeli children, women who have been murdered by Palestinian terrorists." He argued that publishing it risked normalizing growing antisemitism on college campuses.[442]

The editorial also received significant criticism from Harvard alumni. Ira E. Stoll '94, a former *Crimson* president, wrote that the editorial's call for a boycott of Israel singled it out from all other countries in a way that was "profoundly disappointing." He wrote that the editorial contradicted "every important Harvard, journalistic and human value."[443] Another letter signed by six alumni including former *Crimson* president Michael J. Abramowitz '85 criticized the editorial for endorsing a movement that was "not a solution to the Israeli-Palestinian conflict." They argued BDS aims to eliminate Israel entirely rather than achieve a two-state solution. The letter stated the editorial betrayed "its basic journalistic responsibility to ground arguments in facts."[444]

Hillel President and *Crimson* affiliate Natalie L. Kahn '23 also authored an op-ed saying she "stood with Israel." She argued that the editorial unfairly singled out Israel by not mentioning terrorist threats it faced, or peace offers rejected by Palestinian leadership. With regards to the BDS movement's intentions, she wrote:

> "BDS founders aim to eliminate Israel entirely. If you doubt me, ask its founders: "Definitely, most definitely, we oppose a Jewish state in any part of Palestine," said co-founder Omar Barghouti, who also declared that Palestinians have a right to "resistance by any means, including armed resistance."[445]

[437] The *Crimson* Editorial Board, "In Support of Boycott, Divest, Sanctions and a Free Palestine," *The Harvard Crimson*, April 29, 2022.
[438] Ibid.
[439] Vivi E. Lu and Leah J. Teichholtz, "The *Crimson* Faces Backlash Over Editorial Endorsing BDS Movement," *The Harvard Crimson*, May 9, 2022.
[440] Ibid.
[441] Ibid.
[442] Alan M. Dershowitz, "Letter to the Editor: Editorial Normalizes Growing Campus Anti-Semitism," *The Harvard Crimson*, May 6, 2022.
[443] Ira E. Stoll, "To the Editor: In Response to 'In Support of Boycott, Divest, Sanctions and a Free Palestine'," *The Harvard Crimson*, May 4, 2022.
[444] Michael J. Abramowitz et al., "To the Editor: From Six *Crimson* Alumni In Regard to BDS," *The Harvard Crimson*, May 9, 2022.
[445] Natalie L. Kahn, "I Am a *Crimson* Editor and I Stand with Israel," *The Harvard Crimson*, May 4, 2022.

Following the publication of the editorial, some members of the newspaper's editorial board faced a significant amount of online doxxing, harassment, and threats.[446] As a result, the *Crimson*'s leadership "erase[ed] the names of Editorial editors who simply did not want to continue their affiliation at such high risk of harassment."[447] The University felt it was necessary to increase the Harvard Police's security presence to protect the newspaper's staff — "a sickening, jarring development."[448]

The editorial also received support. Daniel A. Swanson '74, a former president of the *Crimson,* applauded the editorial, saying it took "tremendous courage" and that he supported BDS.[449] Nadine S. Bahour '22 wrote that she was "proud to be at Harvard during this time" and felt that for the first time, Palestinians' voices were being heard on campus and that the *Crimson* board had offered "a defiant recognition of Israel's crimes against humanity."[450]

Over the course of the decade, discussions around Israel and Palestine at Harvard grew ever more polarized, confrontational, and divisive. Disagreements intensified around how to define antisemitism, determine what speech or tactics crossed lines, and weigh minority groups' perspectives on offense. As activism targeting Israel gained acceptance and the *Crimson* endorsed BDS, pro-Israel students felt further alienated and claims of antisemitism proliferated. By the late 2010s, campus debates had descended into personal attacks, with little consensus on basic facts or terms, demonstrating the challenges of navigating these complex issues in a way that is respectful to all communities.

The Progressive Jewish Alliance and Open Hillel

This decade also saw clashes within the Jewish community over the limits of debate at Harvard Hillel. Hillel had a history of internecine conflict. A Jewish student active at Hillel in this time period reported in an interview:

> Where the Israel stuff really felt intense, was actually inside Hillel. There was an extremely intense debate inside Hillel about Israel and about Israel politics … Hillel had an open listserv, you know, discussion listserv. And there would be these just endless … debates, the tone of which was just appalling, which were about American politics, but also about Israel politics, and … that's where I felt a tension about Israel politics was actually within the Hillel community, not between Jews and the outside … It was a bitter and unpleasant debate. I mean, people were like, angry at each other.[451]

Tensions rose in the 2010s around the Progressive Jewish Alliance (PJA) and the Open Hillel campaign, which wanted Hillel to allow for a greater range of critical voices on Israel.[452] The PJA had been active at Hillel over a range of issues including LGBTQ+ inclusion, environmental justice, and labor rights. The group joined Hillel for Israel-related activities, such as the annual Israel Fest. PJA also spoke out alongside Hillel members when antisemitic events occurred on campus, as when a swastika appeared in 2013 on a Harvard building.[453]

Despite these areas of accord, in 2012 Hillel and PJA parted ways when PJA planned an event called "Jewish Voices Against the Occupation" to be co-sponsored with the Harvard College PSC. Due to

[446] The *Crimson* Editorial Board, "The Cost of Free Speech: On Wellesley, Palestine, and Student Journalist Solidarity," *The Harvard Crimson*, November 2, 2022. https://www.thecrimson.com/article/2022/11/2/editorial-wellesley-bds/
[447] Ibid.
[448] Ibid.
[449] Dan Swanson, "To the Editor: In Support of the BDS Editorial," *The Harvard Crimson*, May 6, 2022.
[450] Nadine S. Bahour, "I Am Palestinian and I Stand With The Crimson," *The Harvard Crimson*, May 11 2022.
[451] Interview with Shai Dromi, 7/16/2024.
[452] Yoav B.G. Schaefer, "Changing the Paradigm," *The Harvard Crimson*, March 12, 2013.
[453] Hana N. Rouse, "Swastika Graffiti Prompts Condemnation from Faith Leaders," *The Harvard Crimson* 2011. https://www.thecrimson.com/article/2011/12/20/graffiti-swastika-building-hateful/

pressure from Hillel International over the PSC's support for BDS, the event was not held at Hillel.[454] Hillel International's "Guidelines for Campus Israel Activities," created in 2010, stated that Hillel may not "partner with, house, or host organizations that … support boycott of, divestment from, or sanctions … against the State of Israel." As a result, during a visit to Harvard by Avraham Burg, former speaker of the Israeli Parliament, in 2013, students met him over dinner at Hillel but then walked over to Quincy House for Mr. Burg's speech, since the event was co-sponsored by the PSC, which endorsed BDS.[455]

In response to these incidents, the PJA and students from other colleges and universities launched the Open Hillel movement in 2013,[456] petitioning Hillel International to "abolish its Standards of Partnership and embrace political pluralism and open dialogue."[457] Open Hillel supporters saw the standards as limiting meaningful engagement and debate regarding Israel-Palestine. Swarthmore Hillel became the first "Open Hillel" in 2013, officially welcoming speakers who oppose Israel, going against Hillel International's rules.[458]

Debates around these issues continued at Harvard. In 2014, Ann H. Finkel '15, Nancy Ko '17 and Justin Z. Szasz '17 wrote an op-ed announcing an Open Hillel conference at Harvard to bring together 300 students from across the country "to create the open American Jewish community that we want to see." They felt Hillel's standards precluded "any meaningful engagement between Jewish and Palestinian student groups."[459] Conversely, Aaron J. Miller '18 argued in another 2014 op-ed that "Hillel is already open" and facilitates diverse programming and viewpoints. Miller felt that groups like PSC advocating BDS "pose existential threats to the state" and that Hillel has a "responsibility to maintain its integrity as a center for Jewish life."[460]

The 2020 formation of the Harvard Jewish Coalition for Peace continued the ongoing discussions around Israel and Palestine within Harvard Hillel. According to its statement, the coalition aimed to "build on a long history of Jewish anti-Zionism which teaches us that Jewish safety or liberation will never come at the expense of other people's lives and land."[461] The coalition said it hoped to offer "a space for those who agree with its mission and have felt 'alienated' by Harvard Hillel." Hillel President Rebecca S. Araten '22 emphasized Hillel's commitment to "inclusive, multi-vocal conversation about Israel" and representing "a diversity of voices and political opinions." Some Jewish students, like Caleb J. Esrig '20, criticized the timing

[454] Sasha Johnson-Freyd, Rachel J. Sandalow-Ash, and Emily S. Unger, "An Open Hillel," *The Harvard Crimson*, November 16, 2012; Giacomo Bagarella and Alex R. Shams, "Rising Palestinian Resistance," *The Harvard Crimson*, November 26, 2012.
[455] Laurie Goodstein, "Members of Jewish Student Group Test Permissible Discussion on Israel," *The New York Times*, December 28, 2013. https://www.nytimes.com/2013/12/29/us/members-of-jewish-student-group-test-permissible-discussion-on-israel.html. This came alongside more general calls to expand discussions on Israel within the Jewish community. For example, a 2013 op-ed by Yoav B.G. Schaefer '15 called for a "new paradigm" in supporting Israel among American Jews. Schaefer wrote that some progressive Jews were becoming more critical due to Israel's rightward shift and policies like settlement growth, which they saw as undermining peace efforts. The author argued the Jewish community should engage with such viewpoints rather than push them away. Schaefer, "Changing the Paradigm."
[456] "Press Release: PJA Launches Open Hillel Campaign," *Harvard College Progressive Jewish Alliance*, January 31, 2013. http://harvardpja.blogspot.com/2013/01/press-release-pja-launches-open-hillel.html
[457] Ann H. Finkel and Justin Z. Szasz, "The Time is Now: Open Hillel," *The Harvard Crimson*, October 10, 2014.
[458] Goodstein, "Members of Jewish Student Group Test Permissible Discussion on Israel." Swarthmore Hillel changed its name in 2015 to avoid a Hillel International lawsuit over its change of policy. Elizabeth Redden, "Not In Our Name," *Inside Higher Ed*, March 17, 2015. https://www.insidehighered.com/news/2015/03/18/swarthmore-hillel-breaks-parent-organization-over-israel-issues
[459] Finkel and Szasz, "The Time is Now: Open Hillel."
[460] Aaron J. Miller, "Hillel's Already Open," *The Harvard Crimson*, October 15, 2014.
[461] Juliet E. Isselbacher and Amanda Y. Su, "Amid Criticism, Jewish Harvard Students Create Pro-Palestinian Rights Group," *The Harvard Crimson*, February 11 2020. https://www.thecrimson.com/article/2020/2/11/jewish-coalition-for-peace/

of the coalition's announcement over Hillel's open listserv on Shabbat and disagreed with their support for BDS, saying "BDS is not about human rights or social justice … It is about ending the Jewish state."[462]

Ever since the 1940s, Hillel has played an important community role for many Jewish students, but during the 2000s it struggled to accommodate the full diversity of political views around Israel among Harvard's Jewish students. A thesis based on interviews carried out in late 2022 and early 2023 found that approximately one-third of interviewees described feelings of discomfort at Hillel due to their beliefs related to Israel. Progressive Jewish students felt pressure in two directions — not to express pro-Israel views in progressive spaces on campus, but also to hold back from sharply criticizing Israel within Hillel. While Hillel claimed it represented a range of voices, some felt it had a disproportionately strong pro-Israel bent that left certain students feeling alienated from fully engaging in the community. Ongoing discussions within Hillel around events, partnerships with other groups, and responses to campus incidents revealed differences of opinion among students about the best approaches for building an inclusive space.

Heightened Challenges to Meaningful Dialogue

Discussions of Israel-Palestine at Harvard faced growing obstacles over the 2010s. Nonetheless, some initiatives and groups continued to seek opportunities for engagement, both over Israel-Palestine and, more generally, interfaith issues. Examples include:

- Sukkat Salaam: The intent of the organizers of Sukkat Salaam was to "foster interfaith understanding while celebrating the end of Ramadan … and the start of Sukkot." The event featured a kosher meal shared by students from Hillel and the Harvard Islamic Society in the sukkah structure and included "cultural performances, readings from religious texts, and discussion.[463] Over the years, the event evolved to incorporate more substantive dialogue based on passages from the Koran and Psalms and questions for discussion between students.[464]
- "here, without": Ethan Pierce '15 organized this year-long collaborative art project to explore narratives and tensions related to the region through workshops and exhibitions involving Harvard students and artists from the region. The goal was to foster discussion of contentious issues "in an 'alternative discursive space'" at Harvard. The final exhibition for the project was held at the Carpenter Center for the Visual Arts on May 4, 2015. It showcased works produced by the 35 participating "artist-residents" exploring life in the Middle East through varied creative media. English concentrator Josh Ascherman '17 contributed a mixed-media collage, and dancer Rossi Lamont Walter, Jr. '14 shared a poetic essay. Pierce saw the project as fostering "personal exploration and personal growth" for participants in addition to creating "an alternative discursive space at Harvard."[465]
- The Coalition at Harvard for Israel and Palestine (CHIP): This group was founded by Jacob Fortinsky '21 and others with the goal of promoting "a two-state solution, justice for Israelis and Palestinians, and a more nuanced discussion that acknowledges both sides' narratives on campus." CHIP is aligned with J Street U, the student organizing arm of J Street, a left-wing Israel advocacy organization.[466] Joshua B. Lipson '14 had previously advocated for J Street on campus after feeling pushed into being

[462] Isselbacher and Su, "Amid Criticism, Jewish Harvard Students Create Pro-Palestinian Rights Group."
[463] Jane Seo, "Students Celebrate Sukkat Salaam at Hillel," *The Harvard Crimson*, September 28, 2010.
[464] Katie R. Zavadski, "Muslims, Jews Eat in 'Shelter of Peace'," *The Harvard Crimson*, October 18, 2011.
[465] Elizabeth Keto, "'here, without' Explores Israel-Palestine Relations Through Art." *The Harvard Crimson*, April 28, 2015. https://www.thecrimson.com/article/2015/4/28/here-without/
[466] J Street U aims to provide "a home for students to hold nuanced views without compromising their pro-Israel values" by "educating, training, and mobilizing students" "J Street U," *J Street*. https://jstreet.org/j-street-u/. Hillel had previously held J Street events, but did not have a J Street U chapter. See Molly E. Kelly, "Hillel Event Bridges Israeli-Palestinian Gap," *The Harvard Crimson*, April 13, 2010.

labeled an "Israel advocate" or "hasbarist [propagandist]-in-training" in his previous involvement with HSI. For Lipson, such labels did not fully capture a more nuanced and pragmatic views in support of a two-state solution, which drew him to J Street as a home for students who want to support Israel but also recognize Palestinian rights and interests.[467] Caleb Esrig '20 and Fortinsky published an op-ed in the *Crimson* expressing their belief that "the cause of peace requires this mutual understanding," while criticizing PSC-organized events like Israeli Apartheid Week that they felt failed to recognize the legitimacy of the other group's narrative. They wrote, "the cause of peace requires recognizing the Jewish narrative. It demands understanding that Israel is not an abstract idea but a real refuge."[468]

These initiatives encountered stiff headwinds. Over the 2010s, multiple outbursts of violence between Israel and the Hamas ruling regime in Gaza strengthened student support for the Palestinian cause. In the wake of violence in Gaza and Israel in Spring 2021, over 900 individuals and 92 student groups co-sponsored a statement calling on Harvard to divest from companies complicit in Israeli violence and settlements.[469] In a 2021 op-ed titled "Progressive, Except for Palestine," Asmer A. Safi '24 argued that the violence faced by Palestinians, including the killing of over 250 people in Gaza that spring, was the work of an "apartheid regime" practicing "systemic violence and dispossession" against Palestinians by Israel. Safi insisted that as students at Harvard with a duty to foster justice, "it is unjust of us to turn a blind eye towards incessant violence that has targeted innocents across generations."[470] In September 2023, as in previous years, the Convocation ceremony for first-year undergraduate students was disrupted by PSC members calling for Harvard to divest from and otherwise boycott Israel.

In this climate, attempts at conversation between the opposing sides on campus became increasingly challenging, as demonstrated by PSC's campaign against Israel Trek, which was discussed above. Trek leaders argued that they were supportive of dialogue with PSC and other pro-Palestinian groups on campus, but the PSC rejected the invitation.[471] Nadine Bahour of the PSC explained: "Israel Trek leaders refuse to admit that the reality on the ground is ethnic cleansing, is apartheid, and is directly killing people … These are some very basic understandings that need to be agreed on before any sort of conversation happens."[472] Conversations, in her view, were impossible when there was an unequal power dynamic at work: "I think when you have someone who served in the [IDF] military that was the oppressor when I was back home and I was standing on the checkpoint, that means that when they come here, we are not just two students."[473]

By 2023, some Jewish students had come to the conviction that conversations about Israel on campus led to a dead end and quickly descended into slogans. As a result, some Jewish students began to avoid engaging in discussions about Israel/Palestine in an attempt to prevent heated and divisive arguments.[474]

In the early 2020s, Israel/Palestine was inserted into controversies that ostensibly had nothing to do with it. In 2021, HDS and AAAS Professor of the Practice Cornel West claimed that the University denied his request for a tenured position due to his vocal criticism of Israel's treatment of Palestinians. He stated, "I do think the support of this critique of Israeli occupation is a plausible hypothesis, given what I know

[467] Joshua B. Lipson, "Why J Street?," *The Harvard Crimson*, April 8, 2013.
[468] Caleb J. Esrig and Jacob A. Fortinsky, "Silent No Longer," *The Harvard Crimson*, April 5, 2019. https://www.thecrimson.com/article/2019/4/5/esrig-fortinsky-silent-no-longer/
[469] "Statement by Palestine Student Groups at Harvard University on Violence Against Palestinians," updated May 12, 2021. https://docs.google.com/document/d/1NtNoEeGoHUFPhUJJxhw0EXKJTpC0n9fi_bXrx3YbVYU/edit
[470] Asmer A. Safi, "Progressive, Except for Palestine," *The Harvard Crimson*, June 24, 2021.
[471] Ibid
[472] Ibid
[473] Ibid
[474] Ibid, 73-77.

about earlier candidates who have been denied."[475] (West had already been embroiled in accusations of antisemitism after calling President Summers a bully and "the Ariel Sharon of American higher education" in 2002).[476] Hillel Executive Director Jonah Steinberg criticized West as well as a student petition supporting West.[477] West defended his belief, saying that he "will not allow charges of anti-Semitism to somehow trump a serious discussion about the Israeli-Palestinian situation."[478] Jeremy Stepansky '21 — a member of the coalition that drafted the petition — defended the document and referred to what the coalition of West supporters understood to be the underlying issue at play: Harvard's treatment of Black scholars and academics who are critical of Israel's treatment of Palestinians."[479]

The Cornel West affair, like the SodaStream and Sabra hummus controversies before it, demonstrate how the Israeli-Palestinian conflict began to penetrate into the nooks and crannies of everyday life at Harvard, from the food and beverages consumed in the dining halls to the basic operational matters of hiring, tenure, and promotion. In this atmosphere, Jewish students felt growing unease, not only because of their religious or personal connections with Israel, but also because of the potential for critique of Israel to jump its banks and manifest itself as outright antisemitism.

Continuing Experiences of Antisemitism

Over the 2010s, Jewish students at Harvard experienced and reflected on antisemitism as they had not in previous decades. In 2012, three Jewish students wrote an opinion piece for the *Crimson* discussing the "history of persecution faced by Jews globally" and arguing that Israel provides "a haven for the most persecuted population in human history."[480] After the 2018 Tree of Life synagogue shooting in Pittsburgh, some at Harvard called for "more recognition of antisemitism on campus." David J. Benger argued in the *Crimson* that Harvard should formally adopt the definition of antisemitism endorsed by International Holocaust Remembrance Alliance (IHRA).[481] In response to student concerns, Hillel hosted an event where Professor Jay Harris explored how antisemitism targeted Jews "from both political extremes." Undergraduate president Corey A. Gold '19 said it aimed to help understand antisemitism's rising prevalence.[482]

Additionally, the Harvard community experienced a wide range of antisemitic incidents ostensibly unrelated to Israel-Palestine:

- In 2010, the Westboro Baptist Church, known for anti-gay protests, planned to picket outside Harvard Hillel on December 3, to protest Jews as the killers of Jesus. In response, student groups organized a "Surprise Absurdity Protest"; around 200-300 counter-protesters gathered at Hillel with "whimsical" signs saying things like "God hates figs." The Westboro protesters ultimately stayed for only a short time. Lilli R. Margolin '11, Hillel's vice-president for community relations, said that the counter-protest "really outshone them."[483]

[475] Alex Koller and Taylor C. Peterman, "Harvard Hillel Executive Director Accuses Cornel West, Supporters of Furthering 'Anti-Jewish Conspiracy Theory' in Tenure Controversy," *The Harvard Crimson*, March 11 2021.
[476] Anemona Hartocollis, "Cornel West Is in a Fight With Harvard, Again," *The New York Times*, March 2, 2021. https://www.nytimes.com/2021/03/02/us/cornel-west-harvard-tenure.html
[477] Koller and Peterman, "Harvard Hillel Executive Director Accuses Cornel West, Supporters of Furthering 'Anti-Jewish Conspiracy Theory' in Tenure Controversy."
[478] Ibid.
[479] Ibid.
[480] Anna V. Gommerstadt, Yair Rosenberg, and Rachel E. Zax, "To Save The Jews," *The Harvard Crimson*, March 2, 2012.
[481] David J. Benger, "Recognize, Define, and Condemn Anti-Semitism," *The Harvard Crimson*, October 31 2018.
[482] Isabel L. Isselbacher, "In Wake of Pittsburgh Shooting, Jay Harris Speaks on Anti-Semitism in the U.S.," *The Harvard Crimson*, November 7, 2018.
[483] Kelly K. W. Lam, "Harvard Students Counter WBC with 'Absurdity'," *The Harvard Crimson*, December 6, 2010.

- In late November 2012, flyers were distributed under doors at Harvard River Houses promoting a fake final club called "The Pigeon." The flyers contained the language "Jews need not apply" and "Coloreds OK." They also included a reference to the date-rape drug Rohypnol.[484]



Figure 2. Flyer circulated to nine River Houses. The Harvard Crimson, *November 30, 2012.*

- In November 2013, the Harvard *Ichthus*, a Christian student journal, published a blog post implying Jews were responsible for Jesus' death. The post stated, "We, the Jews, collectively rejected God and hung Him up on a cross to die, and thus we deserved the punishments that were heaped on our heads over the last 2000 years." This blog post faced backlash from the Jewish community.[485]
- In November 2018, "deeply disturbing and offensive images" were found drawn on a public whiteboard in McKinlock Hall at Leverett House. A photo sent to the *Crimson* depicted faces labeled with racist terms alongside antisemitic comments referring to George Soros and using terms like "globalists" and "[migrant] caravan."[486]
- In the following month, a man toppled over a large menorah erected by Harvard Chabad on Cambridge Common.[487] In response to the incident, dozens of Harvard affiliates and local residents

[484] Rebecca D. Robbins, "Campus Reacts To Inflammatory Flyers," *The Harvard Crimson*, November 30, 2012.
[485] Anneli L. Tostar, "Harvard Christian Publication Apologizes for Blog Post Saying Jews 'Deserved' Punishments," *The Harvard Crimson*, November 24, 2013.
[486] Shera S. Avi-Yonah and Ruth A. Hailu, "Harvard Administrators Investigating Racist Drawings Found in Leverett House," *The Harvard Crimson*, November 20, 2018.
[487] Amanda Y. Su, "Harvard Hillel and Chabad to Increase Security Following Anti-Semitic Attacks," *The Harvard Crimson*, January 7, 2020.

gathered at the site to light candles on the menorah. Cambridge Mayor Marc C. McGovern spoke about the incident as "a time in which the fundamental principles of this country have been challenged." McGovern honored Pulitzer Prize-winning journalist Ron S. Suskind and others who had worked to restore the menorah after it was initially knocked over.[488]

- In May 2019, the Harvard *Lampoon* published a digitally manipulated image depicting Holocaust victim Anne Frank, leading students and the Harvard Hillel to condemn the image. The Lampoon leaders apologized.[489]
- HUPD investigated a July 2019 email containing racist and antisemitic content that was sent to Harvard students and President Bacow.[490]
- In 2021, two incidents of vandalism at Harvard Hillel were reported and investigated by HUPD.[491]
- In November 2022, members of the neo-Nazi group Nationalist Social Club 131 intimidated and threatened passers-by at Harvard Square.[492]

Traditional antisemitism based in bigotry, religious hatred, and economic resentment was a marginal, yet persistent and visible, issue at Harvard. Although probably unrelated to anger over the Israeli-Palestinian conflict, there was considerable risk for a blending of the two.

Conclusion

An interview-based senior thesis, using 2022-2023 data, found that a significant number of Jewish students experienced significant levels of discomfort, alienation, and in some cases discrimination in expressing their Jewish and pro-Israel identities at Harvard University. Specifically:

- 69% of the author's Harvard student interviewees claimed that at some point their Judaism or connections to Israel made them censor themselves in academic or social settings.
- 63% said that they or peers they knew had experienced antisemitism at Harvard. Incidents of antisemitism ranged from microaggressions and stereotyping to outright and intentional discrimination. This atmosphere led some student reticence to discuss or display their Jewish identity.
- 83% said they experienced anti-Zionism on campus. This rubric included employing the term "Zionist" as a slur rather than a neutral descriptor. Students felt that a double standard was being applied, as other countries such as China or Russia could be critiqued without suggesting that they should not exist as independent states. Pro-Israel students also expressed frustration at organizations such as the IOP and the *Crimson*, where they felt singled out and attacked.
- One-third felt uncomfortable expressing their views about Israel. This feeling was shared by students who spoke critically of Israel at Hillel as well as pro-Israel students elsewhere, as both groups feared negative social consequences for speaking their mind. Progressive students felt especially pressured not to express pro-Israel views.

[488] Shera S. Avi-Yonah, "After Menorah Knocked Down, Cambridge Residents Gather to Light Hanukkah Candles," *The Harvard Crimson*, December 7, 2018.
[489] Shera S. Avi-Yonah and Delano R. Franklin, "Students Criticize Harvard Lampoon for Anti-Semitic Image of Anne Frank," *The Harvard Crimson*, May 15, 2019.
[490] Molly C. McCafferty, "Harvard Police Investigating Racist, Anti-Semitic Email Sent to Students, Bacow," *The Harvard Crimson*, July 19, 2019.
[491] Alex Koller and Taylor C. Peterman, "HUPD Investigating Two Vandalism Incidents at Harvard Hillel Amid Nationwide Rise in Anti-Semitism," *The Harvard Crimson*, June 8, 2021.
[492] Sarah Girma and Brandon L. Kingdollar, "Neo-Nazi Group Threatens Residents in Harvard Square," *The Harvard Crimson*, November 16, 2022.

- Israeli students perceived significant discrimination, social alienation, and personal attacks due to their nationality.[493]

These findings align with several developments that this section has highlighted:

- By October 2023, discussions of Israel and Palestine at Harvard had become increasingly divisive. While some student initiatives continued seeking understanding through dialogue, assertive activism targeting Israeli activities on campus became more normative. With the growth of stronger pro-Palestinian position rejecting compromise, pro-Israel students reported feeling further alienated and silenced.
- A key development was the diminished ability to find common ground or acknowledge opposing perspectives. As anti-normalization stances discouraged engagement without preconditions, there was less opportunity and interest in discovering what speech or actions others found offensive and why that was the case.
- Jewish students described an increased willingness by classmates to discount their own testimony about offensive speech and to attribute claims of antisemitism to pro-Israel political motivations. Debates around antisemitism intensified, with multiple parties (Jewish and non-Jewish) feeling empowered to make claims about what is, is not, or should not be offensive to Jews. Dismissal of the salience of the impact of speech as opposed to its intent weakened the legitimacy of Jewish students' reports about their own experience. As Eric I. Kalimi '26 and Isaac Mansell '26 wrote at the end of 2023: "Even though we feel largely physically safe, we have noticed a disturbing, reductionist narrative at Harvard and beyond, which unilaterally invalidates the Jewish experience. We have witnessed the denial of genuine instances of antisemitism, paired with the subsequent invalidation of Jewish reactions and even emotions. This silencing is something that no group, least of all a historically marginalized group, should have to face."[494]

Progressive Jewish students faced particular challenges in finding a home for their views on campus. While some felt Hillel did not fully represent the diversity of political opinions around Israel among its members, progressive forums increasingly adopted stances rejecting compromise that left these students unable to fully express support for Israel's existence. As a result, progressive Jews reported pressure not to express pro-Israel views in progressive spaces, yet also faced obstacles bringing their critical position towards Israeli policies into Hillel. The lack of outlets accommodating Jews with views straddling the divide served to further isolate and alienate these students.

During the 15 years prior to October 7, 2023, the political atmosphere at Harvard became gradually but visibly more polarized. Over the same period, and particularly from the end of the 2010s, Israel/Palestine became a central issue of concern on campus — at least as great as America's political dysfunction and the global climate crisis, and certainly the greatest source of contention and controversy. The "Palestine exception" that received much attention within the Harvard community was predicated upon an "Israel exception" that of all states this one's actions, and perhaps its very existence, represented a distinctly grave injustice that must be reversed. All of these factors were in play before the Hamas massacre of October 7th and Israel's massive military response.

[493] Based on a qualitative methodology of 60 semi-structured interviews with 47 Harvard students. Goldfischer, "The Death of Discourse: Antisemitism at Harvard College."
[494] Eric I. Kalimi and Isaac Mansell, "The Disturbing Denial of Jewish Grief," *The Harvard Crimson* 2023. https://www.thecrimson.com/article/2023/12/29/kalimi-mansell-jewish-grief/

Conclusion

The history detailed in this report demonstrates that the current state of Jewish life at Harvard has roots reaching back to the 1980s. These enduring issues include the challenge of balancing rights of free expression with protection against hate speech and debates whether Jewish students' complaints of antisemitism should be accepted at face value or subject to critical scrutiny. One significant transformation over time has been a shift in Jewish students' concerns about their place in the Harvard community. In the early to mid-20th century, these concerns primarily centered on forms of unvarnished antisemitism such as discrimination and stereotyping. From the 1960s and 70s, older forms of antisemitism faded, the numbers of Jewish students at Harvard increased markedly, and Jews began to feel at home within the University. In the 1980s and 1990s, however, there were signs of new sources of tension — in part having to do with Israel, and in part linked with Black-Jewish relations, in the United States in general and at Harvard in particular. These tensions were mild and transient.

After 2000, Israel/Palestine became a central and contentious issue on campus. But in the early 2000s, as in previous decades, criticism of Israel centered around specific policies, pro-Palestinian students often called for a two-state solution that recognized Israel's right to exist, and students with varying viewpoints on the conflict sought out opportunities to learn about each other via respectful dialogue. Despite some rough patches, in general the experience of Jewish students at Harvard remained positive for a decade or more after the turn of the millennium.

The position of Jewish students became more difficult in the 2010s and 20s as encounters between students with differing perspectives regarding Israel/Palestinian have given way to statements and manifestos that reject compromise, favor boycotts of Israeli universities, and oppose "normalization" — that is, interacting publicly, or even privately, with Israelis or those who actively support the Jewish state. Debates about Israel have questioned Israel's legitimacy and identity. Challenging Israel's very existence or right to self-determination as a Jewish state has made many Jewish students feel that their own identities are under attack. Even before October 7th, Jewish students who identified both with Israel and with progressive political and social causes were made to feel uncomfortable or unwelcome in progressive spaces on campus if they did not embrace anti-Zionism. Also over the last several years, Harvard's Jewish community itself has become more divided, with a small but vocal minority defining itself in terms of support for Palestinian rights.

The Hamas massacre was a massively significant geopolitical event. At Harvard, it accelerated and intensified longstanding issues on campus, with Jewish students under ever greater challenges to navigate a landscape where their concerns about discrimination, hate speech, and communal harm are viewed with decreasing sympathy by many of their peers.

CHAPTER 2

Historical Context: Harvard Since October 7, 2023

This section narrates the events of the tumultuous period at Harvard from October 7, 2023, to the end of the Fall 2024 academic term. With the advantage of hindsight, we can better understand now which events of this period seem to have been the most damaging to our community and hypothesize why that was the case. That said, this narrative only partially captures the range of student experiences and perceptions of that period. Chapter 3 tells the story from the point of view shared with us by some of Harvard's Jewish students. Chapters 2 and 3 should therefore be read in tandem.

The National Context

Harvard does not dwell in a vacuum. Since October 7, 2023, its turmoil has resembled that experienced by dozens of other American colleges and universities. Disruptions on campuses, in turn, are reflections of broader tensions in American society. These tensions are evident in the prevalence of negative views about Jews. According to the Anti-Defamation League, almost a quarter of Americans subscribe to multiple negative views about Jews, and young people are even more likely than their elders to hold such views. It is not surprising then, though deeply regrettable, that antisemitism exists at Harvard and at other colleges and universities nationwide.[495]

In September 2024, a report prepared by Eitan Hersh and Dahlia Lyss for the Jim Joseph Foundation presented data from a series of surveys of American college students conducted between 2022 and 2024.[496] The data showed that in 2024, Jewish students reported experiencing targeted antisemitic language on social media (16%), in campus settings (11%), and in the classroom (8%). When asked if they deliberately avoid Jews, 4% of White students and almost twice as many Black, Hispanic, and Asian students answered in the affirmative. When classified by religion, 15% of Muslim students and 5% of Christian students reported avoiding Jews.

The surveys primarily examined non-Jewish and Jewish students' attitudes about Israel, particularly regarding support for its existence as a Jewish state. In late 2023, Jewish students were twice as likely as in Spring 2022 to say, in the words of Hersh and Lyss, "that they hide their Jewish identity to fit in on campus, that people judge them negatively for participating in Jewish activities, and that Jewish students broadly pay a social cost for supporting the existence of Israel as a Jewish state."[497] These perceptions registered in 2022 and 2023 appear to be corroborated by the 2024 survey, which found that 20% of non-Jewish students said they would not "want to be friends with someone who supports the existence of Israel as a Jewish state." Notably, the figure climbed to 40% among students who identify as "very liberal."[498]

According to the surveys, unwillingness to befriend Jewish students who identify with Israel varies meaningfully by not only political views but also race, ethnicity, sexual orientation, and gender identity. For instance, while 12% of White students indicated they would not wish to be friends with those who support Israel, almost twice as many Black students expressed this view. Similar percentages and disparities characterize the views of straight versus LGBTQ+ students. These figures are largely in keeping with broader trends in American public opinion. Research by Eitan Hersh and Laura Royden, for example, has

[495] *Antisemitic Attitudes in America 2024* (https://www.adl.org/resources/report/antisemitic-attitudes-america-2024).
[496] Eitan Hersh and Dahlia Lyss, *A Year of Campus Conflict and Growth: An Over-Time Study of the Impact of the Israel-Hamas War on U.S. College Students. A Report to the Jim Joseph Foundation* (September 2024).
[497] Ibid, 4. For Jewish students with "low" Jewish background the percentage climbed from 30 to 55.
[498] Ibid, 55-56.

shown that Black and Hispanic Americans are more likely than White Americans to hold antisemitic views. This trend does not, however, hold true for White Americans on the far right of the political spectrum, who hold even higher levels of antisemitism.[499]

The surveys reveal that most college students are not antisemitic, and to the extent they are, they reflect American public opinion in general. These findings, however, do not give any college or university a right to be complacent. Far from it. Colleges, particularly residential ones, are uniquely positioned to combat antisemitism because of their close-knit communities and intense contact between students and faculty who have a responsibility to teach and model values embracing pluralism and mutual respect. To the extent that Harvard has not taken strong and decisive action to combat antisemitism on campus, this report provides guidance as to what needs to be done. But no treatment plan can proceed without a full understanding of the gravity and extent of the illness.

There are two other national trends worth mentioning before proceeding to recent events at Harvard. The first is that while holding views hostile to Israel and holding antisemitic views can overlap, survey data suggests this to be relatively uncommon. A survey released in August 2024 by the Maurice and Marilyn Cohen Center at Brandeis University showed that about 15% of American university students held views hostile to Israel but do not hold negative views about Jews, whereas a similar percentage of students are antisemitic but do not oppose Israel's existence. Some 2% of students are both severely antisemitic and anti-Zionist.[500] These findings suggest that while antisemitism and anti-Zionism overlap, they are not identical. At Harvard, as elsewhere, some proponents of the Palestinian cause invoke this distinction to defend their freedom to engage in protest, including engaging in disruptions of campus life. Pro-Palestinian expression and action do not, however, need to be deemed antisemitic in order to be considered in violation of Harvard's stated values, policies, and norms (e.g., regarding the appropriate time, place, and manner of protest, and prohibiting discrimination against and bullying of individuals based on their national origin, religious faith, or political beliefs).

The second trend is the diversity of opinion within the Jewish community itself regarding Israel, suggesting that the conflation of Jewishness with support for Israel should not be taken for granted. The Hersh and Lyss surveys mentioned above show that between 10 and 18% of Jewish students nationwide feel that Israel should not be a Jewish state. Understanding the past year at Harvard involves considering not only the clash of views between students who identify as pro-Palestinian or pro-Israel, but also divisions within Harvard's Jewish community itself. Intolerance and exclusion can flourish in intra-communal as well as inter-communal spaces.

From October 7th to President Gay's Resignation

Early in the morning on Saturday, October 7, 2023, the Jewish holiday of Simchat Torah, Hamas guerrillas invaded Israel. They attacked agricultural settlements, army bases, and a music festival close to the Gaza-Israel border. Hamas guerrillas and other Palestinian militants killed almost 1,200 people and took around 250 hostages. The attack was designed to exploit social media, with Hamas fighters livestreaming gruesome and heart-wrenching videos as part of their military strategy. Differing reactions on the Harvard campus in the first days after the massacre set into motion patterns of behavior — particularly regarding discourse and activism — that continued for months thereafter.

[499] Eitan Hersh and Laura Royden, "Antisemitic Attitudes among Young Black and Hispanic Americans," *The Journal of Race, Ethnicity, and Politics*. 2023;8(1):105-123.
[500] Graham Wright, Shahar Hecht, Sasha Volodarsky, and Leonard Saxe, *Antisemitism on Campus. Understanding Hostility to Jews and Israel* (August 2024).

As the horrific news hit, Harvard's campus witnessed outbursts of grief, horror, fear, anger, and frustration. More than 100 Jewish and Israeli Harvard students and faculty gathered at Harvard Hillel (and a few joined virtually through Zoom) on Saturday afternoon to mourn the victims of the attack and extend support to those directly affected. Harvard Hillel released a statement expressing the pain its members felt as they learned of the devastating attack and affirming Hillel's support for the people of Israel.[501] On Sunday, October 8, then-President Claudine Gay and then-Provost Alan Garber went to Harvard Hillel for dinner, and that same evening more than 200 Harvard affiliates, including President Gay, Provost Garber, Dean of the Faculty of Arts and Sciences Hopi Hoekstra, and Dean of Harvard College Rakesh Khurana, joined together for a candlelit vigil.[502]

At Cabot House, one of Harvard College's undergraduate residences, a group of Jewish students organized an impromptu gathering. There, a moment of connection and mutual sympathy was shared with a Palestinian student. A quite different reaction, no doubt reflecting anger and indignation, came from the Harvard Undergraduate Palestine Solidarity Committee (PSC), which on October 7, 2023 released a statement that held "the Israeli regime entirely responsible for all unfolding violence … The apartheid regime is the only one to blame … We call on the Harvard community to take action to stop the ongoing annihilation of Palestinians."[503] The PSC's statement was originally co-signed by 33 other Harvard student organizations, but the number of students represented by those organizations, and who consented to this message being released on their behalf, is unknown. Many student members of these organizations would later say they had not been consulted on the statement.

The PSC's statement — and the student organizations that endorsed it — drew intense criticism from within Harvard and beyond, including politicians. It caught the Jewish community, both at Harvard and elsewhere, at a moment of intense emotional vulnerability, as gruesome stories of violence filled their social media feeds in a way that appeared to intentionally echo the great tragedies of Jewish history, from pogroms in *fin de siècle* Russia to the Holocaust. Over 4,000 Harvard affiliates, including over 500 faculty members, signed on to a statement that condemned the attacks, denounced the PSC's statement, and demanded that the organizations that signed onto the statement revoke their signatures.[504] The Joint Statement was first circulated on Monday, October 9 and officially released on Tuesday, October 10. Amid national backlash, the PSC's original statement was updated on Tuesday afternoon to remove the names of the signatory organizations.[505] Before this, at least five of the original 34 student organizations had withdrawn their endorsements of the statement and released public apologies via Instagram.

Despite the removal of the signatories of the PSC's statement, individuals and websites continued to publish the names of affiliated students, sharing some students' personal information and social media profiles online, leading to targeting and doxxing of students.[506] Bill Ackman '88, for example, reposted Ian Bremmer's X post with a list of student organizations that signed onto the PSC's October 7, 2023

[501] Harvard Hillel (@harvardhillel), "The following statement was drafted and signed by many before University President Claudine Gay released a statement condemning Hamas's terror attacks …", October 10, 2023. https://www.instagram.com/p/CyO8daRuqRL/?utm_source=ig_web_copy_link&igsh=MzRlODBiNWFlZA percent3D
[502] Joyce E. Kim, "Harvard Affiliates Mourn Israeli Victims of Hamas Attacks at Candlelit Vigil," *The Harvard Crimson,* October 10, 2023. https://www.thecrimson.com/article/2023/10/10/hillel-vigil-israel/
[503] J. Sellers Hill and Nia L. Orakwue, "Harvard Student Groups Face Intense Backlash for Statement Calling Israel 'Entirely Responsible' for Hamas Attack," *The Harvard Crimson*, October 10, 2023. https://www.thecrimson.com/article/2023/10/10/psc-statement-backlash/
[504] Google Docs, "Joint Statement on War in Israel," Accessed March 6, 2025. https://docs.google.com/document/d/1Fg1FCm6nuIrzUSM00bUx8D6TUfjFyYTVwoGxWOXLC24/edit?pli=1 percent22+ percent5C&tab=t.0&usp=embed_facebook
[505] Ibid.
[506] "Harvard Students Doxxed, Groups Withdraw Signatures Amid Continued Backlash to Israel Statement," *The Harvard Crimson*, October 11, 2023. https://www.thecrimson.com/article/2023/10/11/student-groups-withdraw-israel-statement/

statement, expressing hope that employers would take note of these organizations and ensure that they do not hire any of the students involved with these organizations in the future.[507] By the evening of Tuesday, October 10, at least four websites had published the list of organizations that signed onto the PSC's statement as well as personal information of affiliated students.[508] A billboard truck sponsored by Accuracy in Media (AIM) drove around Harvard Square, close to campus, on Wednesday, October 11 and Thursday, October 12.[509] The truck displayed names and photos of students alleged to be connected to the PSC's statement under the title "Harvard's Leading Antisemites." Harvard University Executive Vice President Meredith Weenick '90 condemned the doxxing, and out of concern for student safety, University officials closed overnight public access to Harvard Yard between Thursday, October 12 and Monday, October 16.

The PSC, together with another organization, Harvard Graduate Students 4 Palestine (GS4P), responded to the backlash it received from its October 7, 2023 statement and the subsequent doxxing of its members via an Instagram statement on October 11 that "the PSC staunchly opposes all violence against all innocent life and laments all human suffering." Nonetheless, the PSC denounced what it called a "hierarchy of suffering," which it alleged privileged the deaths of Israelis over those of Palestinians and condemned Israeli air strikes that had already killed 1,000 Palestinians over just a few days.

The week following the attacks, University leadership tried to manage the campus turmoil by issuing a series of statements.[510] According to a published report of the Committee on Education and the Workforce in the US House of Representatives, there was considerable disarray, confusion, and disagreement regarding how the first statement should be worded.[511] The version ultimately released did not specifically condemn Hamas or the PSC's original statement, and it came a full two days after the massacre, thereby angering many Harvard affiliates and alumni, as well as some politicians. President Gay released a second, more strongly worded, statement on the morning of Tuesday, October 10, but the following day, the Harvard Club of Israel addressed a letter to President Gay, condemning the Harvard administration's lackluster response to the October 7th attacks and ensuing events on campus.[512] "Anything less than full support for Israel's right to defend itself and its citizens and unequivocal denunciation of this terrorism is unacceptable." The letter went on to compare the University's slow response to October 7th to its strong and immediate reaction to other geopolitical events, such as Russia's invasion of Ukraine, and a range of significant events in the US, such as the killing of George Floyd. In response to these and other criticisms, President Gay released yet another message — this time in video

[507] Ackman, Bill (@BillAckman), "I have been asked by a number of CEOs if @harvard would release a list of the members of each of the Harvard organizations that have issued the letter assigning sole responsibility for Hamas' heinous acts to Israel, so as to insure that none of us inadvertently hire any of their members…," X, October 10, 2023, 1:00PM. https://x.com/BillAckman/status/1711788747086233661?ref_src=twsrc percent5Etfw percent7Ctwcamp percent5Etweetembed percent7Ctwterm percent5E1711788747086233661 percent7Ctwgr percent5E2f95f12f91c598cd9bdfd0f4ca100e8e2c2cf3e7 percent7Ctwcon percent5Es1_&ref

[508] "As Students Face Retaliation for Israel Statement, a 'Doxxing Truck' Displaying Students' Faces Comes to Harvard's Campus," *The Harvard Crimson*, October 12, 2023. https://www.thecrimson.com/article/2023/10/12/doxxing-truck-students-israel-statement/

[509] Ibid.

[510] President, Harvard University. "War in the Middle East," Harvard University President, October 9, 2023. https://www.harvard.edu/president/news-gay/2023/war-in-the-middle-east/

[511] https://edworkforce.house.gov/uploadedfiles/10.30.24_committee_on_education_and_the_workforce_republican_staff_report_-_antisemitism_on_college_campuses_exposed.pdf

[512] "Israeli Harvard Alumni Slam University Over Response to Hamas Attack," *The Harvard Crimson*, October 20, 2023. https://www.thecrimson.com/article/2023/10/20/israel-harvard-alumni-backlash/

form — on Thursday, October 12.[513,514] She affirmed the University's rejection of terrorism, hate, and harassment as well as its commitment to free speech, even when many may consider the contents of such speech morally problematic.

To some extent, it could be argued, Harvard inadvertently created a trap for itself. Throughout the 2010s, the University and its senior leaders had commented on certain matters of national and global importance, fostering an expectation among some segments of the Harvard community that the University would champion their specific concerns on such matters, whatever they might be. Now, the University was thrust into the spotlight as a result of the PSC's October 7, 2023 statement, and it would be impossible to satisfy all stakeholders.

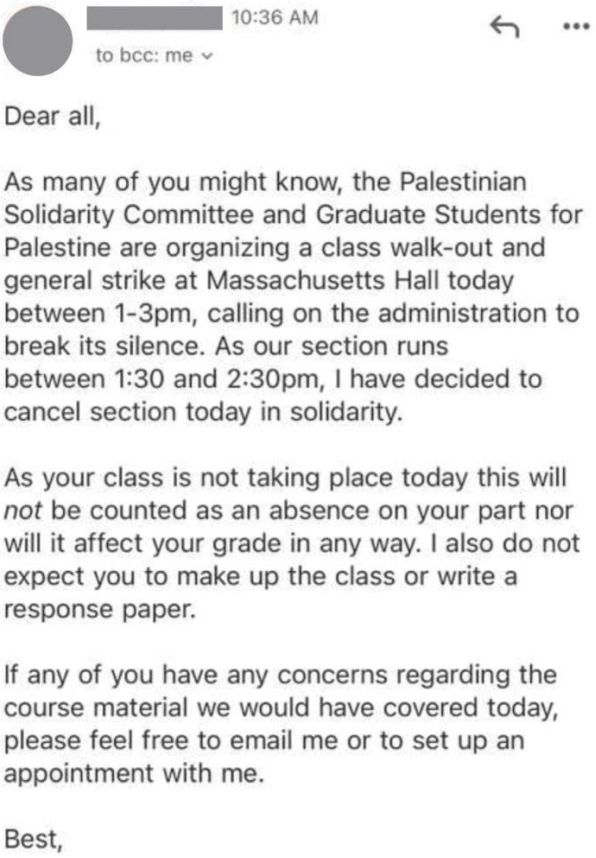
On Friday, October 13, a group of Republican lawmakers, all Harvard alumni, sent a letter to President Gay, criticizing the University's response to the PSC's statement and writing that Gay's administration "intentionally foster[s] an environment that allows rampant and dangerous antisemitism."[515] Ten days later, former Maryland Governor Larry Hogan announced in an open letter to President Gay that he would withdraw from two Harvard fellowships — one at the Harvard Kennedy School (HKS) and the other at the Harvard T.H. Chan School for Public Health — largely due to the rise of "dangerous antisemitism on campus."[516] And on the following Monday, the Wexner Foundation announced in a letter to Harvard's Board of Overseers its intention to end its 34-year relationship with Harvard and HKS due to the University's "dismal failure" in responding to and condemning the PSC's statement.[517]

Reactions from Harvard's Schools ranged from the perfunctory to the pointed. The latter characterizes a statement issued on October 11 by five administrators and one visiting professor all associated with Harvard Divinity School's (HDS) Religion and Public Life program (RPL). In RPL's newsletter, these individuals encouraged readers to "challenge single story narratives that justify vengeance and retaliation"[518] They went on to say, "Start with the rockets fired into Israel by Hamas on October 7, 2023, and not with the illegal occupation of Palestinian land by Israel and the blockade of Gaza since 2007, and you have an entirely different story." The HDS dean at the time seemed to distance himself from this statement, clarifying that the six individuals "do not speak for their program, for HDS, or for its wider community."

Meanwhile, pro-Palestinian activism picked up quickly in the days following the massacre. On October 14, the PSC and GS4P jointly organized a protest against Israel's anticipated ground invasion of Gaza.[519] More than 1,000 demonstrators were reported to have attended the protest, which was held on the steps of

[513] "Harvard President Claudine Gay Fiercely Condemns Hamas, Rejects Calls to Punish Students for Israel Statement," *The Harvard Crimson*, October 13, 2023. https://www.thecrimson.com/article/2023/10/13/gay-video-address/
[514] President, Harvard University, "Our Choices," Harvard University President, October 12, 2023. https://www.harvard.edu/president/news-gay/2023/our-choices/
[515] "GOP Harvard Alums Condemn Response to PSC Statement as 'Too Little, Too Late' in Letter to President Gay," *The Harvard Crimson*, October 18, 2023.
[516] "Larry Hogan Withdraws From Two Harvard Fellowships, Citing 'Dangerous Anti-Semitism' on Campus," *The Harvard Crimson*, October 24, 2023. https://www.thecrimson.com/article/2023/10/24/hogan-withdraws-fellowships/
[517] "Wexner Foundation Cuts Ties With Harvard After 'Dismal Failure' To Condemn Hamas," *The Harvard Crimson*, October 17, 2023. https://www.thecrimson.com/article/2023/10/17/wexner-cuts-ties-harvard/
[518] "Dean Distances Harvard Divinity School From Israel Statement Issued by Religion and Public Life Program Leaders," *The Harvard Crimson*, October 13, 2023. https://www.thecrimson.com/article/2023/10/13/hds-distances-rpl-statement-israel-palestine/
[519] "More Than 1,000 Rally on Harvard's Campus to 'Free Palestine' Ahead of Expected Ground Invasion of Gaza," *The Harvard Crimson*, October 15, 2023. https://www.thecrimson.com/article/2023/10/15/gaza-protest-harvard/

Widener Library.[520] In isolated cases, we heard, instructors excused students from class to join protests like this one that became a frequent occurrence:



10:36 AM

to bcc: me

Dear all,

As many of you might know, the Palestinian Solidarity Committee and Graduate Students for Palestine are organizing a class walk-out and general strike at Massachusetts Hall today between 1-3pm, calling on the administration to break its silence. As our section runs between 1:30 and 2:30pm, I have decided to cancel section today in solidarity.

As your class is not taking place today this will *not* be counted as an absence on your part nor will it affect your grade in any way. I also do not expect you to make up the class or write a response paper.

If any of you have any concerns regarding the course material we would have covered today, please feel free to email me or to set up an appointment with me.

Best,

Text message from an instructor to students.
(Image submitted anonymously and redacted to protect privacy.)

At the protest on October 14 a student analogized the Black Freedom Movement to the fight for Palestinian liberation, while another student representing the African and African American Resistance Organization (AFRO) claimed, according to the *Crimson*, that the group is "in full support of Palestine resistance against the settler colonial apartheid regime that is Israel."[521] (The PSC later distanced itself from that latter student's comments and clarified that "that specific member … does not speak for the PSC.")

Four days later, the PSC and GS4P jointly organized a protest and die-in, marching through Harvard Square to the Harvard Business School (HBS) campus in response to a blast at the al-Ahli Baptist Hospital in Gaza that was widely, yet incorrectly, attributed to Israel.[522] This protest became notorious when an Israeli Jewish student attempted to film the attendees. Protesters tried to remove the man, yelling "shame" as he left the scene. Videos of this incident, which appear to show the student being pushed, were widely circulated on social media and cited as evidence of antisemitism on Harvard's campus.[523]

[520] Ibid.
[521] Ibid.
[522] "Hundreds of Harvard Protesters Stage 'Die-In' to Demand End to Violence Following Gaza Hospital Blast," *The Harvard Crimson*, October 19, 2023. https://www.thecrimson.com/article/2023/10/19/harvard-die-in-palestine/
[523] NBC Boston, "VIDEO: Minor Clash at pro-Gaza Harvard Die-In," Accessed March 7, 2025. https://www.nbcboston.com/news/local/video-minor-clash-at-pro-gaza-harvard-die-in/3163853/

Two graduate student attendees were charged with assault in connection with the incident: a second-year HDS student who was also a proctor at Harvard College — a resident graduate student or administrator charged with "create[ing] an academic and social community" in first-year dorms — and a second-year student at HLS.[524] Many Harvard affiliates demanded that the University remove the former student from his position as a proctor due to his involvement in the incident, and the University relieved him from proctorial duties on November 8.[525,526] The Harvard Faculty and Staff for Justice in Palestine (HFSJP) responded with an open letter expressing its dismay that the University had strayed from its stated commitment to valuing "the dignity of each person."[527]

The Israeli military response to the October 7th attacks, which would later devastate Gaza with tens of thousands killed and more than a million people displaced, further inflamed passions on campus, and pro-Palestinian protests on campus swiftly became more frequent and vocal.

On Thursday, October 19, an estimated 500 Harvard affiliates and individuals not affiliated with Harvard participated in a walkout, march, and protest, which made its way through the Science Center, through HLS's campus, and then through Harvard Square to HKS's campus.[528] According to reports, some protesters used noisemakers, disrupting classes in session, and briefly halted traffic in Harvard Square.[529] The protest, jointly organized by the PSC and GS4P, targeted Harvard's financial ties to Israel.

A week later, on Friday, October 27, the PSC and GS4P organized another die-in, this time outside of Memorial Hall, presumably hoping to catch visiting parents on campus for Family Weekend.[530] The protest included a march from HLS through Science Center Plaza and a demonstration demanding, according to the *Crimson*, that University administration do more to support Palestinians on campus. On Thursday, November 2, the PSC and GS4P held a sit-in to mourn Palestinian lives lost in the Israel-Hamas war and to protest the bombing of the Jabalia Refugee Camp the previous week. The PSC and GS4P then organized a "week of visibility" during the week of November 13 to mourn those killed in the Israel-Hamas war. Hundreds of Harvard affiliates attended that week's events.[531]

Perhaps the most notable event of the week was the occupation of University Hall — situated in the heart of Harvard Yard and housing the offices of the Deans of the Faculty of Arts and Sciences, including the Dean of Harvard College — by nine students affiliated with Jews for Palestine, an student organization that is not recognized by Harvard College's Dean of Students Office and receives neither funding nor access to University space.[532] According to the *Crimson*, the students demanded that Harvard's

[524] "Proctors | Harvard College Dean of Students Office," Accessed March 7, 2025. https://dso.college.harvard.edu/office/proctors#:~:text=Proctors percent20are percent20graduate percent20students percent20and,with percent20your percent20adjustment percent20to percent20Harvard
[525] "Harvard Chabad President Rabbi Zarchi Calls on University to De-Recognize Palestine Solidarity Committee," *The Harvard Crimson*, November 9, 2023. https://www.thecrimson.com/article/2023/11/9/rabbi-zarchi-psc-statement/
[526] "Harvard Proctor Indefinitely Relieved of Duties Following Confrontation at Protest," *The Harvard Crimson*, November 11, 2023. https://www.thecrimson.com/article/2023/11/11/thayer-proctor-relief-of-duties/
[527] Palestine, Harvard Faculty and Staff for Justice in "Statement in Support of Harvard Student Elom Tettey-Tamaklo," *Medium* (blog), December 5, 2023. https://medium.com/@harvardfsjp/statement-in-support-of-harvard-student-elom-tettey-tamaklo-cdb164760bf3
[528] "Hundreds Disrupt Classes, March Through Harvard Law School, Kennedy School in Support of Palestine," *The Harvard Crimson*, October 20, 2023. https://www.thecrimson.com/article/2023/10/20/psc-protest-hls-hks/
[529] Ibid.
[530] "Harvard Students Stage Die-In During Family Weekend, Alleging Lack of Support for Palestinian Students," *The Harvard Crimson*, October 31, 2023. https://www.thecrimson.com/article/2023/10/31/palestine-protest-die-in/
[531] "Harvard Student Groups Hold Visibility Week for Thousands of Deaths in Gaza," *The Harvard Crimson*, November 13, 2023. https://www.thecrimson.com/article/2023/11/13/palestine-visibility-week/
[532] "University Hall Occupied By Harvard Jews For Palestine, Group Demanding Ceasefire in Israel-Hamas War," *The Harvard Crimson*, November 17, 2023. https://www.thecrimson.com/article/2023/11/17/university-hall-occupation-jfp/

administration publicly call for a ceasefire in Gaza, issue a statement that anti-Zionism and antisemitism are not the same, and create a committee to investigate Islamophobia, anti-Palestinian racism, and suppression of pro-Palestinian speech on campus. One of the students said in a speech: "What did we come here for? We came here to get fucking arrested or Ad-Boarded if our demands weren't met." The students remained in the building overnight, and the Faculty Dean of Adams House — faculty deans in Harvard College are leaders of the residential Houses — brought them burritos for dinner.[533]

Another "week of action" organized by activists in late November included rallies, a class walkout and ,we heard, disrupted classes.[534] During this week, the student co-founder of the African and African American Resistance Organization (AFRO), was reported to have led chants of "Long live Palestine; long live the intifada; intifada, intifada; globalize the intifada."[535]

Many Jewish students felt doubly traumatized — first by the massacre of Israelis on October 7th and subsequently by the rapid transformation of the Harvard campus, especially after Israel's military response to the massacre, into what appeared to be a space for the unfettered expression of pro-Palestinian solidarity and rage at Israel — a rage that many Jewish and especially Israeli students felt was directed against them as well. In response to the October 7th attacks, Harvard Hillel and Harvard Chabad jointly organized a vigil on Sunday, October 15, attended by more than 1000 people, to mourn the victims of the attacks and stand in solidarity with Israel.[536] One speaker responded to the PSC and GS4P protest held the prior day, asking "Are they [the pro-Palestinian organizations] calling for the eradication of the State of Israel? … Are they calling for the killing of my family?" Harvard Hillel and Harvard Chabad again joined efforts to assemble a Shabbat table in Harvard Yard, with 240 seats, each one a tribute to the 240 people kidnapped by Hamas on October 7th.[537]

The distance between Israel and Harvard, already truncated by the scope and barbarity of the killings on October 7th, was made even smaller by the insecurity that many Jewish students began to feel within the confines of the campus. A major source of concern was the messaging app Sidechat, an online platform primarily used by college students where users can anonymously post and engage in discussions within their specific School forum. Cruel and hateful posts regarding Israel, Jews, and the Holocaust appeared on the Harvard Sidechat forum in the days and weeks following October 7th and again after President Gay's resignation in January — discussed in more detail below — when Sidechat posts from some student supporters of President Gay blamed the Jewish community for her departure.

This sense of insecurity was further heightened by the slogans chanted by pro-Palestinian demonstrators on Harvard's campus. Some pro-Palestinian students insisted that one of the most popular chants, "From the river to the sea, Palestine will be free," referred to a land in which both peoples, Israeli and Palestinian, would be free and equal. Many Jewish and Israeli students were skeptical, however, and we heard that even more explicit variations of the slogan were employed that substituted the word "Arab" for "free." These variations, along with the popular chant "Globalize the intifada," were widely perceived as antisemitic.

Tensions between Jewish Harvard affiliates with attachments to Israel and Harvard affiliates who were supporters of the Palestinian cause quickly escalated. At the October 15 vigil mentioned above, the Harvard Chabad Rabbi Hirschy Zarchi condemned what he termed "animalistic" behavior though, as the

[533] Ibid.
[534] "Harvard Pro-Palestine Groups Organize 'Week of Action,' Drawing Criticism for 'Intifada' Chants," *The Harvard Crimson*, December 4, 2023. https://www.thecrimson.com/article/2023/12/4/pro-palestine-week-of-action/
[535] Ibid.
[536] "At Sunday Vigil, More Than 1,000 Mourn Victims of Hamas Attacks, Stand in Solidarity with Israel," *The Harvard Crimson*, October 16, 2023. https://www.thecrimson.com/article/2023/10/16/hillel-israel-vigil/
[537] "Harvard Hillel, Chabad Students Install 200-Foot Shabbat Table to Represent Hundreds Held Hostage by Hamas," *The Harvard Crimson*, November 7, 2023. https://www.thecrimson.com/article/2023/11/7/shabbat-tribute-hillel-chabad/

Crimson noted, it was unclear whether he was referring to the October 7th attacks or the individuals he viewed as justifying them. The PSC interpreted his remarks as targeting them and characterized the rabbi's speech as "anti-Palestinian racism," demanding that the University hold him accountable.[538] In response, the rabbi emailed Chabad affiliates, calling for the University to remove the PSC from the list of officially recognized student organizations.[539]

In mid-November, the labor union for Harvard graduate students voted to endorse the Boycott, Divestment, Sanctions (BDS) movement against Israel and call for a ceasefire in Gaza.[540] This decision ignited outrage among many Jewish and Israeli union members, leading 33 graduate students to resign in protest.[541] The University found itself caught in the crossfire, facing pressure from opposing student factions, outside advocacy groups, elected politicians, and prominent public figures like former Harvard president Larry Summers and alumnus Bill Ackman '88.

In apparent response to these multiple pressures, President Gay announced the formation of an advisory group on October 27.[542] This group, officially called the Antisemitism Advisory Group (not to be confused with our Task Force, which was formed later by President Gay's successor) was initially composed of eight members. Their mandate was to work closely with President Gay to develop "a robust strategy for confronting antisemitism on campus." Less than two weeks later, President Gay announced that, following the advisory group's recommendation, the University would implement antisemitism education and training for Harvard affiliates.

President Gay's statement also condemned phrases frequently employed by pro-Palestinian demonstrators, including "from the river to the sea." This condemnation drew swift and sharp backlash from a segment of the Harvard community, with critics — including some Jewish students and faculty — arguing that it was an unwarranted attack on free speech and a distraction from the humanitarian crisis in Gaza.

President Gay's already difficult position worsened dramatically on Tuesday, December 5, when she and the presidents of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology and the University of Pennsylvania testified on Capitol Hill before the House Committee on Education and the Workforce. Congresswoman Elise Stefanik '06, among others, aggressively questioned President Gay, pushing her to state definitively whether a call to commit genocide against Jews violated Harvard's code of conduct. What seemed to many like President Gay's strained efforts to avoid providing a clear yes or no answer ignited a firestorm of criticism nationwide. Within days, the US House of Representatives launched an investigation into antisemitism at Harvard, and the US House of Representatives passed a bipartisan resolution calling for Gay's resignation.[543] Although many on the Harvard faculty continued to express confidence in her leadership, the crisis continued to escalate and evolve. President Gay resigned in early January, less than a month after her congressional testimony.

[538] "Harvard Chabad President Rabbi Zarchi Calls on University to De-Recognize Palestine Solidarity Committee," *The Harvard Crimson*, November 9, 2023. https://www.thecrimson.com/article/2023/11/9/rabbi-zarchi-psc-statement/
[539] Ibid.
[540] "Harvard Grad Union Endorses BDS and Calls for Ceasefire, Drawing Member," *The Harvard Crimson*, November 13, 2023. https://www.thecrimson.com/article/2023/11/13/hgsu-bds-statement/
[541] "Dozens Resign from Harvard Grad Union Over Response to Hamas Attacks and Jewish, Israeli Student Concerns," *The Harvard Crimson*, November 21, 2023. https://www.thecrimson.com/article/2023/11/21/hgsu-members-resign-bds/
[542] "Harvard President Gay Forms Advisory Group to Combat Antisemitism on Campus," *The Harvard Crimson*, October 30, 2023. https://www.thecrimson.com/article/2023/10/30/gay-hillel-speech/
[543] "House Passes Bipartisan Resolution Calling for Harvard President Claudine Gay's Resignation," *The Harvard Crimson*, December 14, 2023. https://www.thecrimson.com/article/2023/12/14/house-gay-resolution-passes/

Winter 2024: Reduced But Still Simmering Tensions

In the chaotic months after October 7th, the Harvard administration faced an unprecedented crisis fueled by a confluence of student activism, intensive media attention, scrutiny from Washington, and complaints from alumni and major donors. For example, both Len Blavatnik and Ken Griffin '89, who had previously donated $200 million and $300 million respectively, placed future donations on hold out of concerns about antisemitism at their alma mater. President Gay's resignation did little to quell the storm.[544]

In January 2024, a Harvard graduate student and an organization called Students Against Antisemitism filed a lawsuit alleging that the University had failed to protect Jewish students from antisemitic intimidation, threats, and bullying.[545] This development coincided with a shift in pro-Palestinian activism on campus. Although large-scale outdoor demonstrations subsided somewhat during the winter months, protests regularly continued, with a change in focus. Instead of primarily calling for a ceasefire in Gaza, activists began demanding that Harvard divest from Israeli companies linked with the Occupied Territories and sever institutional connections with Israeli universities.

Some pro-Palestinian groups, as we understand it, began holding protests on the steps of Widener Library without formal permission. These demonstrations, sometimes organized in collaboration with both officially recognized and unrecognized student organizations, seemingly violated Harvard policies. We were told these protests disturbed many Jewish students. However, the University administration and police seemed reluctant to intervene once a demonstration was underway, apparently fearing escalation into physical violence.

Over the winter, the University implemented a variety of efforts to manage the crisis. In January 2024, it strengthened and clarified its policies on protest and dissent through a new statement.[546] Also in January, the Harvard administration engaged with Sidechat, which agreed to restrict platform access to Harvard undergraduate students, as it had been inadvertently opened to anyone with a harvard.edu email address.[547]

During this period, various centers and programs at Harvard hosted events related to the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. While units like the Belfer Center at the Harvard Kennedy School of Government and the Weatherhead Center for International Affairs within the Faculty of Arts and Sciences made efforts to present a range of perspectives through high-quality speakers and balanced panels, others garnered significant criticism.

Specifically, the Religion and Public Life (RPL) program at Harvard Divinity School (HDS) and the Palestine Program for Health and Human Rights at the Harvard T.H. Chan School of Public Health faced accusations of presenting one-sided narratives. For instance, critics pointed to the RPL program events at HDS featuring a pro-Palestinian activist paired with a Jewish activist who identified as anti-Zionist and pro-Palestinian. Similarly, they noted that the Palestine Program at the Harvard Chan School organized events featuring pro-Palestinian activists, with limited inclusion of perspectives from Jewish individuals, regardless of their stance on Zionism. As detailed in Chapter 4, some felt that the Palestine Program's events also often characterized Israeli actions as intentionally targeting Gaza's healthcare system, while neglecting to adequately address the broader context of the conflict.

[544] "Billionaire Megadonor Ken Griffin Says He Will Stop Donations to Harvard," *The Harvard Crimson*, January 31, 2024. https://www.thecrimson.com/article/2024/1/31/ken-griffin-pausing-harvard-donations/
[545] "Jewish Students Sue Harvard University, Allege 'Severe' Antisemitism on Campus," *The Harvard Crimson*, January 12, 2024. https://www.thecrimson.com/article/2024/1/12/harvard-lawsuit-campus-antisemitism/
[546] "Senior Harvard Officials Clarify Protest Guidelines as Students Return to Campus," *The Harvard Crimson*, January 20, 2024. https://www.thecrimson.com/article/2024/1/20/protest-guidelines-university-statement/
[547] "Harvard Asks Sidechat to Enforce Content Moderation as Jewish Students Decry 'Vicious' Antisemitism," *The Harvard Crimson*, January 22, 2024. https://www.thecrimson.com/article/2024/1/22/sidechat-antisemitism-enforce-moderation/

The events hosted by the RPL program and the Palestine Program sparked strong reactions among some members of the Harvard community. Many Jewish and non-Jewish affiliates told us they found much of the event content hateful and lodged numerous complaints with various Harvard officials. Several Jewish students at the home Schools of these programs related to us that their experience with these programs contributed to their feeling that the Schools harbored a systematic bias against them.

Many pro-Palestinian students at Harvard, including some Jewish students, maintained that their opposition to Israel was distinct from antisemitism. However, incidents on campus raised concerns about the potential for anti-Israel sentiment to spill over into hostility towards Jews. Following winter break, posters displayed in Harvard Yard depicting Israeli hostages were defaced — we do not know by whom, or what, if any, connection they had with Harvard — with offensive imagery and statements such as "Israel did 9/11."[548]

Later, on Monday, February 19, the PSC and AFRO posted a classic antisemitic cartoon on their Instagram pages. Seeking to link the causes of Black and Palestinian liberation, they used a cartoon from a 1967 flyer originally published by the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee, a major force in Black American activism at the time. The flyer included a drawing that, in the words of the *Los Angeles Times* "shows a white hand, marked with a dollar sign inside a Star of David, tightening nooses around the necks of a Black man [Muhammad Ali] and an Arab man [Gamal Abdel Nasser]."[549] Adding to the controversy, the image was subsequently reposted on Instagram by Harvard Faculty and Staff for Justice in Palestine.

Michael Fischbach, an expert on the Black Power movement's relationship with the Palestinian cause, told the *Los Angeles Times* that "by using symbols like dollar signs and Stars of David, one can well imagine that they were going to get a hostile reaction … It doesn't take a lot of thought to see that, whatever you meant, this is really going to rankle people." The image indeed sparked outrage among numerous Jewish student groups and others in the Harvard community, prompting then-Interim President Alan Garber to issue a clear statement of condemnation. The Harvard groups responsible subsequently deleted the image from their social media accounts, issuing an apology for the offense caused. However, their decision to replace it with a picture of Stokely Carmichael (later, Kwame Ture), a prominent figure in the Black Power movement known for his sharp opposition to Israel, including his statement that "the only good Zionist is a dead Zionist," fueled further controversy.

Even amidst the heightened tensions of February, Harvard students made tentative attempts to restore a sense of campus community reminiscent of earlier years. One such effort involved a student-organized "Unity Dinner" at one of the residential Houses, featuring kosher and halal food alongside speeches from both a Muslim chaplain and a Hillel rabbi. While the dinner proceeded smoothly, it nonetheless attracted a demonstration by pro-Palestinian students who distributed pamphlets and, we understand, appeared intent on disrupting the gathering.

Over the following two months, a climate of low-intensity protest and disruption persisted on campus. At the First-Year Faculty Dinner — a semesterly event in Annenberg Hall designed to foster connections between first-year students and faculty members — on February 28, 2024, protesters affiliated with the PSC unfurled banners. According to the organization's Instagram, the banners listed the names of Palestinians who had died in Gaza, and the protesters urged faculty to address what they described as "the

[548] "Anonymous Posters, Vandalism Spur Tensions on Harvard's Campus," *The Harvard Crimson*, February 14, 2024. https://www.thecrimson.com/article/2024/2/14/anonymous-posters-campus-tensions/

[549] Jarvie, J. "The Antisemitic Cartoon Roiling Harvard? It's Not the First Time It Caused a Firestorm," *Los Angeles Times,* February 23, 2024. https://www.latimes.com/world-nation/story/2024-02-23/the-antisemitic-cartoon-roiling-harvard-its-not-the-first-time-it-caused-a-firestorm-for-student-groups

ongoing genocide of the Palestinian people."[550] Two weeks later, on the same day as Match Day at Harvard Medical School — an annual event at which students learn which residency program they will be attending — pro-Palestinian affiliates from Harvard Schools and affiliated hospitals in the Longwood Medical Area protested the presence on campus of American Medical Association (AMA) President Jesse Ehrenfeld, who was there to deliver the Class of 1958 Commemorative Lecture. According to the *Crimson*, the protesters cited "the AMA's insufficient response to the war in Gaza."[551]

Calls for Harvard to divest from Israeli companies intensified in early April. The HLS student government called on the Harvard Management Company to "divest completely from weapons manufacturers, firms, academic programs, corporations, and all other institutions that aid the ongoing illegal occupation of Palestine and the genocide of Palestinians."[552] Concurrently, a committee within the Harvard Graduate Students Union called on the University to divest from "companies and institutions involved in the ongoing attacks in Gaza."[553] While undergraduate students attempted to initiate a referendum on Israel divestment, their efforts were blocked by two officers of the Harvard Undergraduate Association.

This period marked a time of heightened anxiety for many Jewish students, while many Muslim students and students of color voiced concerns about the University's response to ongoing doxxing attacks targeting members of their communities. As data from the Joint Task Force Survey conducted in Spring and Summer 2024 indicates (See Appendix 5), the events of the 2023-24 academic year significantly impacted the campus climate. Students who identified as being of Jewish, Israeli, Muslim, or Arab origin reported feeling uncomfortable, unsafe, and unwelcome on campus at markedly higher rates than other Harvard students.

The Encampment

Pro-Palestinian protests escalated significantly at Harvard in late April 2024, following a wave of demonstrations across university campuses sparked by the arrest of student activists who had established an encampment at Columbia University. On Monday, April 22, Harvard College suspended the PSC. Two days later, in the largest demonstration at Harvard in months, the *Crimson* estimated 500 people protested the suspension, with some students erecting an encampment in front of University Hall in the heart of Harvard Yard. Access to the Yard was restricted to Harvard students, faculty, and staff to prevent participation of protesters from outside the University. Despite the tense atmosphere, the Harvard University Police Chief defended the students' right to protest, stating, "You can see in the Yard right now — we are keeping our students safe and they are protesting peacefully and it's their right and we are going to support that."

While generally maintained in a clean and orderly fashion, the encampment generated complaints from some students regarding disruptive behaviors. These included chanting slogans, playing loud music, and, on one occasion, raising Palestinian flags over the John Harvard statue while placing a keffiyeh around its neck. Some Jewish students reported feeling uncomfortable walking near the encampment, describing incidents of being followed and verbally harassed. Several Jewish first-year students residing near the encampment expressed distress over its proximity, noise level, and the nature of the chants. Additionally, a

[550] Harvard Undergrad PSC (@harvardundergradpsc), "We are proud to see first years raise awareness at this year's faculty dinner. They dropped banners that listed 4,000 of the 10,000+ lives lost in Gaza and implored…," November 9, 2023. https://www.instagram.com/harvardundergradpsc/reel/CzcjU3iJjLx/

[551] "Harvard Medical School Affiliates Protest American Medical Association President on Match Day," *The Harvard Crimson*, March 18, 2024.

[552] "2 Members of HLS Student Government Resign After Resolution to Divest From 'Illegal Israeli Settlements'," *The Harvard Crimson*, March 30, 2024.

[553] "Harvard Graduate Union's BDS Caucus Circulates Letter Calling for Divestment From Israel," *The Harvard Crimson*, April 11, 2024. https://www.thecrimson.com/article/2024/4/11/harvard-union-divest-israel-letter/

Jewish faculty member recounted walking through the encampment and receiving alarming calls from alumni warning them about being discussed in student demonstrator WhatsApp groups, causing this faculty member to fear for their physical safety.

The appearance of a map within the encampment of Israel and the Palestinian territories without marking any Jewish communities implied that the pro-Palestinian students' goal was the physical elimination of Israel. On Sunday, May 12, a crudely drawn image of President Garber depicted as a devil with horns and a tail appeared within the encampment, shocking many Jewish students, faculty, and staff for whom the image recalled medieval antisemitic tropes of Jews as Satan's minions. This incident prompted a member of the Task Force on Combating Antisemitism and Anti-Israeli Bias to write in the *Crimson*: "Make no mistake, while I stand by my characterization of many protesting students as good-intentioned, there is certainly antisemitism and hate among that movement."

As the encampment continued into May, concerns arose about the potential for police intervention and student backlash as had happened on many other campuses in the country. Encampment leaders demanded that Harvard's leaders engage in negotiations regarding divestment from Israel, a call echoed by more than 300 Harvard faculty members who signed a statement urging the administration to negotiate. On Friday, May 10, following a series of unheeded warnings regarding the continuation of the encampment, the administration began placing students allegedly involved on involuntary leaves of absence. The following day, protesters from outside Harvard attempted to breach the closed-off Harvard Yard after they cut the locks at Johnston Gate but were prevented from entering by Harvard police officers and security personnel.

Despite these escalations, the encampment concluded without violence or arrests, marking it as one of the shortest-lived such protests in the country. Students began leaving the encampment as the examination period ended and summer approached, with a formal announcement of its voluntary closure by Harvard Out of Occupied Palestine (HOOP) — the coalition that led the encampment — on Tuesday, May 14.[554] This decision followed a commitment from President Garber to arrange meetings for its representatives.

A late May 2024 study from Harvard Kennedy School compared Harvard University's experience with pro-Palestinian protests to those of dozens of other colleges and universities since the previous fall.[555] The study found that Harvard's encampment, lasting just a few weeks, ranked 22 out of 30 in terms of duration. Despite its relatively short lifespan and no police interventions required or administered, the encampment garnered significant national attention. This amplified perception was arguably fueled by HOOP's consistent use of aggressive rhetoric on social media, which effectively magnified the protest's popularity and influence beyond the reality on the ground.

Commencement

While the conclusion of the encampment allowed for Harvard University's 2024 Commencement exercises, scheduled for Thursday, May 23, to proceed as planned in Tercentenary Theater — the large open portion of Harvard Yard traditionally used for graduation ceremonies — the year's contentious events cast a shadow over the ceremony in two significant ways: a walkout during the official proceedings by hundreds of students, and two controversial Commencement Week addresses.

[554] "Harvard Out of Occupied Palestine Ends Harvard Yard Encampment," *The Harvard Crimson*, May 14, 2024. https://www.thecrimson.com/article/2024/5/14/harvard-encampment-ends/

[555] J. Ulfelder, "Crowd Counting Consortium: An Empirical Overview of Recent Pro-Palestine Protests at U.S. Schools," Ash Center, May 30, 2024. https://ash.harvard.edu/articles/crowd-counting-blog-an-empirical-overview-of-recent-pro-palestine-protests-at-u-s-schools/

On Thursday, May 18, the Harvard College Administrative Board — the committee that oversees academic regulations and social conduct standards for Harvard's undergraduate students — announced disciplinary actions against roughly two dozen students for their involvement in the pro-Palestinian encampment in Harvard Yard.[556,557] Five students received suspensions, while the rest were placed on probation. Notably, 13 seniors among those disciplined were effectively barred from graduating with their class the following week, as the actions rendered them not in "good standing" with the College. In an unprecedented series of events, the Faculty of Arts and Sciences voted to amend the list of degrees recommended for conferral in May, seeking to reinstate the 13 seniors. However, the Harvard Corporation, which is the University's highest governing body and holds final authority over degree conferral, ultimately overruled the faculty's decision.[558] During the May 23 Commencement exercises, hundreds of students staged a walkout, chanting "Let them walk!" — a reference to the 13 seniors — and waving Palestinian flags. The students then proceeded out of Harvard Yard to the nearby Harvard-Epworth Church (not affiliated with the University) where they held an alternative "People's Commencement" ceremony.

The principal speaker at the 2024 Commencement exercises on Thursday, May 23, was Maria Ressa, a Filipino-American journalist and recipient of the Nobel Peace Prize in 2021. When her selection was announced earlier in that spring, Ressa, and the choice itself, drew backlash from some American media outlets and Congresswoman Elise Stefanik '06 for comments critical of the Israeli occupation and the bombardment of Gaza.

During her address, Ressa deviated from her prepared remarks, stating:

> Because I accepted your invitation to be here today, I was attacked online and called antisemitic by power and money, because they want power and money. While the other side was already attacking me because I had been on stage with Hillary Clinton [who had refused to condemn the war in Gaza]. Hard to win, right? But I'd already survived Information Operations from my own government: free speech, used to pound you to silence.

These comments were absent from her original text, which read:

> According to social media, exploited and used by power and money for power and money, I was: A criminal. A communist. A CIA agent. Antisemitic. Anti Palestine. A Princeton grad. I am a Tiger. The rest are lies. And the truth is simple. I'm a journalist.[559]

Ressa's ad-libbed remarks extended to praising student speakers who had addressed the topic of Palestine. She omitted a section from her prepared speech that gently challenged the pro-Palestinian protesters among the assembled students:

> For the protestors: when you hid your face in a keffiyeh, did you place yourself in the shoes of another student wearing a yarmulke just wanting to walk to class? Or the faculty administrator, who's never faced this before and whose task is to protect every student or donor? ... Were there more nuanced and creative ways to handle these protests on all sides?[560]

[556] "Administrative Board — Office of Academic Integrity and Student Conduct," Accessed March 11, 2025. https://oaisc.fas.harvard.edu/administrative-board/
[557] "5 Harvard Students Suspended, More Than 20 Face Probation for Encampment Participation," *The Harvard Crimson*, May 18, 2024. https://www.thecrimson.com/article/2024/5/18/harvard-encampment-protesters-suspended/
[558] The Harvard Corporation eventually conferred diplomas to 11 of the 13 seniors: https://www.thecrimson.com/article/2024/7/23/harvard-corporation-diplomas-encampment/
[559] https://web.archive.org/web/20240523202351/https://www.harvardmagazine.com/2024/05/harvard-commencement-2024-maria-ressa-address
[560] Ibid.

Ressa deleted other conciliatory language from her speech as well ultimately delivering a message about confronting political opposition that was far more assertive and defiant than her prepared remarks suggested.

Shortly after Ressa finished speaking, toward the end of the Commencement ceremonies, Rabbi Hirschy Zarchi of Harvard Chabad approached Ressa on stage and quietly requested clarification on the portion of her speech he found antisemitic.[561] According to one media account, "Zarchi said he could not properly hear Ressa's response due to the ongoing address but said that when he felt it was clear she would not oblige, he left early." Zarchi went on to criticize Ressa in a statement for supporting pro-Palestinian students, "arguing that she had ignored how the students had 'hijacked' the Commencement ceremony to support protesters who had violated Harvard policies."[562] Two days later, Ressa issued an apology on X, stating her words were "misinterpreted or taken out of context," and clarifying that the "they" of her controversial remarks referred to Big Tech. She added, "if my words caused offense, I apologize" and reiterated her message about "defending democratic norms and principles." Despite this, Ressa's remarks attracted significant negative media attention and became intertwined with the year's pro-Palestinian activism at Harvard.

On Tuesday, May 21, preceding the main Commencement events, Sunn M'Cheaux, a Gullah instructor in Harvard's African Language Program, delivered the "faculty keynote" at the Affinity Celebration Honoring Black Graduates.[563] Affinity celebrations, held on campus in recent years for various affinity groups at Harvard throughout Commencement week, are "student-led, staff-supported events that recognize and celebrate the accomplishments of graduates from historically marginalized communities."[564] They are described as "in addition to" the University's main Commencement and School-based graduation ceremonies.[565]

In his address, M'Cheaux expressed explicit support of the Palestinian cause, criticizing Israel as an "apartheid state" backed by US dollars and weapons.[566] Prefiguring sentiments Maria Ressa would make later in the week, M'Cheaux criticized tech and social media companies for stifling online activism and free speech. M'Cheaux further accused Israel and the United States of backing "atrocities and genocide" against the Congolese people and condemned the Harvard Corporation's decision to withhold degrees from sanctioned student protestors. Reflecting on the personal costs of activism, he questioned, "Do we get to struggle with despondency, depression, childhood trauma, self-doubt, self-harm, bereavement, social anxieties, eating disorders and so forth when Zionist overlords starve Falastini infants to death?" He then affirmed, "Yes. Yes, we do."[567] Despite employing the phrase "Zionist overlords," M'Cheaux's speech attracted virtually no media attention or apparent concern from the audiences.

Refusal to Discipline and Reversal of Sanctions

Harvard's response to the spring encampment protests fueled perceptions of inconsistency and a lack of transparency in its disciplinary processes, with some Schools declining to impose sanctions while others faced internal disagreements and reversals. Some students who received sanctions for their participation in the encampment appealed their punishment to the Faculty of Arts and Sciences' (FAS) Faculty Council, an elected body of professors that effectively serves as an executive committee for the FAS, which includes

[561] Shah, Neil. "Rabbi Zarchi Confronted Maria Ressa, Walked Off Stage Over Her Harvard Commencement Speech," *The Harvard Crimson*, May 24, 2024.
[562] Ibid.
[563] "Affinity Events Celebrating Graduate." Accessed March 11, 2025. https://edib.harvard.edu/affinity-grads-programs
[564] "Affinity Celebrations for Graduates," Harvard College Calendar." February 5, 2025.
https://web.archive.org/web/20250205155645/https:/calendar.college.harvard.edu/event/affinity_celebrations_for_graduates
[565] Ibid.
[566] Sun M'Cheaux, "Educators should embody the values they convey to students," *The Emancipator*, May 29, 2024.
[567] Ibid.

Harvard College, and advises the Dean of the FAS. On July 9, the Faculty Council, according to media reports, concluded that the disciplinary sanctions were too severe, and remanded the cases to the Harvard College Administrative Board, which downgraded the sanctions on five undergraduate students. These sanctions, reports noted, were replaced with short probation periods (one term or less), and existing probationary terms were also reduced. This contrasted with the Harvard Kenneth C. Griffin Graduate School of Arts and Sciences' earlier decision on Tuesday, June 25, to place 10 students on probation — seven for six months, and three for an entire academic year — for their roles in the same protest.[568]

Reflecting the significant autonomy of each Harvard School in managing disciplinary matters, the varying outcomes of these cases contributed to a sense of unevenness when viewed across the University. This unevenness, coupled with the failure of some Schools to impose discipline and the overall opacity of the process, reportedly frustrated Harvard's Central Administration, which includes the Office of the President and Provost. The *Crimson* described the Central Administration's view of the Schools' administrative boards, responsible for handling disciplinary matters, as "ineffective, too autonomous, and overly deferential to student protesters."[569]

On Thursday, July 18, University leaders, among them the president, provost, and School deans, announced that the University Committee on Rights and Responsibilities would engage in standardized fact-finding procedures for disciplinary cases involving more than one Harvard School.[570] This modest measure may have indicated both the Central Administration's awareness of the need to institute major reforms in Harvard's disciplinary procedures and the difficulties it faces doing so. The University summarized some of the actions.[571]

Conclusion: Looking Back and Ahead

The 2023-24 academic year at Harvard was tumultuous and tense. The same Harvard Kennedy School study cited earlier regarding the duration of the encampment showed that, out of all major universities in the United States, Harvard had the second-highest number of days with protest activity during that academic year (approximately 70, compared with roughly 40 for most of Harvard's peer institutions, though less than one-third that of Stanford). Fall 2024, when much of this report was written, did not witness the large-scale protests that the University experienced the prior year, which may be partly due to the University issuing revised policies over the summer regarding the use of campus grounds and buildings in an effort to minimize future disruption.[572]

In Fall 2024, protest activity of a pro-Palestinian character, in and around the University and not all definitively involving Harvard affiliates, primarily took two forms. On the one hand, there were silent protests in libraries (including Widener, Harvard's flagship library, and the libraries at several Schools,

[568] "Harvard Places 10 Graduate Students on Probation for Encampment Participation," *The Harvard Crimson*, June 26, 2024. https://www.thecrimson.com/article/2024/6/26/gsas-places-10-students-on-probation/; "Harvard Reverses Decision to Suspend 5 Pro-Palestine Protesters Following Faculty Council Appeal," *The Harvard Crimson*, July 10, 2024. https://www.thecrimson.com/article/2024/7/10/harvard-reverses-encampment-suspensions/

[569] Quoted in *The Harvard Crimson*, 11 November 2024, summarizing material submitted to the House Committee on Education and the Workforce and published in its November 2024 report. https://www.thecrimson.com/article/2024/11/11/encampment-discipline-administration-criticisms/

[570] John S. Rosenberg, "Harvard Overhauls Disciplinary Procedures." *Harvard Magazine*, July 18, 2024. https://www.harvardmagazine.com/2024/07/usrr-statement-harvard

[571] https://www.harvard.edu/task-force-on-antisemitism/#implementationupdates

[572] "Campus Use Rules," Office of the Executive Vice President. Accessed March 11, 2025. https://evp.harvard.edu/campus-use-rules

including HLS, HDS, and GSD), where groups of students or faculty had been gathering in a study space and display their support for the Palestinian cause through signage affixed to their computers.[573]

On the other hand, there were scattered but distressing acts of vandalism and apparent hate crimes on and around Harvard's campus. For example, on the night of Tuesday, October 8, an unknown perpetrator or perpetrators — it is not known whether they had any connection to Harvard — broke windows in University Hall and poured red paint (presumably symbolizing blood) on the nearby statue of John Harvard. A video seemingly made by the perpetrator(s) during the vandalism and posted on social media called it "an act of solidarity with the Palestinian resistance."[574] A week later, stickers bearing a swastika against the blue and white background of the Israeli flag and emblazoned with the words "Stop Funding Israeli Terrorism," were found posted — again, the perpetrator(s) are unknown, as is whether they have any connection to Harvard — just outside Harvard's campus in Harvard Square, close to Harvard Hillel's Rosovsky Hall. Similar incidents, including swastika stickers, were reported near the University of Michigan and Georgetown University, as well as along a major street in Brookline, Massachusetts, a heavily Jewish Boston suburb.[575]

At the start of the 2024-25 academic year, the First-Year Convocation, a ceremony to welcome new undergraduate students to the Harvard College community, proceeded without incident. This marked a departure from previous years when the event had been interrupted by pro-Palestinian demonstrators. However, the relative quiet on campus did not heal the ongoing fracture within the Harvard community At the time we are writing these lines — the first weeks of the Spring term of 2025 — occasional disturbing and offensive incidents continue to occur. Harvard encompasses numerous communities, defined by race, ethnicity, religion, political orientation, and other factors. Some of these communities view a connection with the Palestinian cause as paramount, while others view certain kinds of pro-Palestinian activism as a threat to psychological well-being and even personal safety. The challenge, which we address in the remainder of this report, is how expression, including protest, can be carried out in a manner commensurate with the values of a university — to educate rather than indoctrinate, to challenge rather than threaten, and to disagree without turning away from, or, even worse, against each other.

[573] "More Than 70 Harvard Students Stage Study-In at Widener Library," *The Harvard Crimson*, October 30, 2024. https://www.thecrimson.com/article/2024/10/30/third-widener-palestine-study-in/
[574] "Windows Smashed, John Harvard Statue Vandalized in Act of 'Palestinian Resistance'," *The Harvard Crimson*, October 8, 2024. https://www.thecrimson.com/article/2024/10/9/john-harvard-statue-vandalism/
[575] "Police Investigating Antisemitic Stickers Discovered Near Harvard Hillel," *The Harvard Crimson*, October 15, 2024. https://www.thecrimson.com/article/2024/10/15/antisemitic-stickers-outside-hillel/

Chapter 3

Findings

The Task Forces on Combating Antisemitism and Anti-Israeli Bias and Combating Anti-Muslim, Anti-Arab, and Anti-Palestinian Bias engaged in separate but similarly comprehensive approaches to understand the experiences of Harvard students, faculty, and staff. These approaches included each Task Force holding a series of listening sessions, primarily in March and April 2024, followed by a joint online survey conducted by both Task Forces from May to August 2024 across Harvard's Schools.

During the listening sessions, members of our Task Force met with groups of students, faculty, and staff, gaining valuable qualitative insights. These sessions, along with private conversations and other communications involving the Task Force co-chairs, provided a foundation for understanding the community's experiences.

The subsequent survey of students, faculty, and staff across Harvard's Schools, corroborated and contextualized much of what we heard in the listening sessions, suggesting widespread feelings of discomfort, alienation, and fear among students identifying as Jewish, Israeli, Muslim, or Arab.

This chapter examines the striking congruence between the quantitative results from the survey and the qualitative data gathered from the listening sessions. It focuses primarily on the negative experiences of Jewish and Israeli Harvard affiliates — "affiliates" being a Harvard term encompassing students, faculty, and staff — with an emphasis on students, especially in the wake of the events of October 7, 2023. Below, we begin by reviewing the findings of the online survey to establish a quantitative foundation before turning to a thematic summary of what the Task Force heard in the listening sessions, supplemented by insights the co-chairs gained through private conversations and other communications with community members.

Harvard-Wide Joint Survey

The survey attracted some 2,300 responses from students, faculty, and staff, with high levels of participation among Jewish, Israeli, Muslim, and Arab affiliates relative to their likely numbers within the Harvard community.[576] Of the participants in the survey, 477 identified as Jewish. Among this group, substantial numbers of Jewish students indicated experiencing discomfort and alienation at Harvard: 39% did not feel at home at the University, at least to some extent, while 26% felt physically unsafe and 44% felt mentally unsafe. Nearly half (49%) felt their well-being was not supported at Harvard, and 46% felt uncomfortable expressing their beliefs or opinions to people "whose political views may be in conflict with mine and/or go against my sense of identity/nationality."

Responding to a somewhat differently worded question, 67% of Jewish students reported feeling discomfort expressing their opinions generally, with a significant 73% uncomfortable expressing their

[576] As mentioned in the Executive Summary, the survey was distributed to faculty, staff, and students using various channels that ranged from emails with an embedded survey link to sharing with relevant affinity groups and mentions in the *The Harvard Gazette* and *The Harvard Crimson*. The intent was to complement the listening sessions and provide a convenient and anonymous survey that could be taken by Harvard campus community members who were impacted by and/or had views on the issues related to the Task Forces' mandate. Since this population is not readily identifiable *a priori* and also because the survey was not administered or marketed as a University-wide survey (such as the 2019 Pulse survey), it is not as feasible to provide accurate response rates. While we do provide relative demographic coverage comparisons to the 2019 Pulse survey, the Task Force joint survey is best viewed as a way to incorporate more opinions from those community members who wanted to weigh in on their experiences on campus and observations during the Fall 2023 to Summer 2024 period.

political opinions specifically. Almost 60% of Jewish students indicated they had experienced some form of "discrimination, stereotyping, or negative bias on campus due to [their] views on current events," and only a quarter believed there was no "academic or professional penalty" at Harvard for expressing their views.

Expanding to include Jewish faculty and staff within the surveyed group, the data showed somewhat lower levels of alienation and discomfort. This difference may be attributable to faculty and staff — given their different life circumstances — being less likely than students to experience backlash, retaliation, bullying, and social isolation.

Across nearly every category, Jewish students reported greater levels of discomfort and alienation than their Christian or atheist/agnostic peers, but lower levels than Muslim students. The experiences of Muslim students are examined in depth in the companion report of the Task Force on Combating Anti-Muslim, Anti-Arab, and Anti-Palestinian Bias.

It is important to emphasize here that neither Task Force aims to minimize or dismiss the experiences of any group by engaging in comparisons of suffering. Rather, our shared aim is to understand the perceptions and experiences of students within our respective purviews over the 2023-24 academic year, identify the sources of their pain and distress, and develop strategies to foster a greater sense of community and mutual respect at Harvard.

Listening Sessions

Between March and May 2024, members of our Task Force conducted approximately 50 listening sessions, engaging with more than 500 participants across the University's Schools and key administrative units. While most of these sessions were intended for students — both undergraduates (in first-year dorms and upper-level residential Houses) and those enrolled in the graduate and professional Schools — sessions following the same format were also held for staff and faculty, including one specifically for the faculty deans who oversee Harvard College's residential Houses. Additionally, sessions were organized for students involved with various Jewish student groups, among them Harvard Hillel and Harvard Chabad. Attendees reflected a diverse range of religious observance levels, Jewish backgrounds and identifications, and attitudes towards Israel.

Each session was facilitated by at least two Task Force members, with an administrative staff member present to take notes. All sessions followed a similar format. After establishing ground rules and emphasizing the Chatham House Rule to ensure confidentiality, facilitators posed open-ended questions and primarily listened, encouraging participants to share their experiences and perspectives. (More information about the format of listening sessions can be found in Appendix 4.)

In these sessions the participants' views were documented via typed notes in which all identifying features of the speaker were anonymized except for the nature of their affiliation (e.g., undergraduate, graduate student, faculty, staff, school). Participation in the sessions was lively, with many, most, or all participants sharing their views. Our documentation of the sessions therefore reflects the contributions of hundreds of individuals.

Several major themes emerged from the listening sessions:

1. October 7th and the Deterioration of Campus Climate

- A substantial number of Jewish students reported experiencing a more hostile campus atmosphere in the aftermath of October 7th. This shift in climate was felt particularly in residences, classrooms, student organizations, and communal spaces like Harvard Yard and the Science Center Plaza.
- Israeli students reported feeling particularly targeted and ostracized, frequently experiencing social shunning.

- Fear of encountering hostility led some Jewish students, according to their own accounts, to conceal their Jewish identity from classmates.

2. Perceptions of Bias in Specific Schools, Units, and Instructors

- Some participants identified certain Harvard Schools, departments, centers, and instructors as promoting or tolerating anti-Israeli critique that they felt was problematic and, in some cases, blurred into animosity towards Jews.

3. Concerns with Student Discipline and Complaint Processes

- Participants widely perceived the administrative response to student complaints as opaque and unacceptably slow.
- Many participants considered disciplinary actions against students who allegedly engaged in bullying, harassment, or intimidation related to these issues to be lax and inadequate.

4. Perceptions of Disparate Treatment and Indifference

- A widespread sentiment emerged that anti-Israeli and anti-Jewish expression was tolerated to a greater degree than similar hostility toward other minority groups, such as Black or LGBTQ+ students. Numerous participants did not perceive Harvard's offices for Equity, Diversity, Inclusion, and Belonging (EDIB) as adequately addressing antisemitism or considering it a serious form of bias within their purview.

5. Distinctive Experiences of Israeli Students

- Many Israeli students reported experiencing heightened social isolation, ostracism, and hostility following the events of October 7th, with several feeling unfairly labeled as "soldiers" due to Israel's mandatory conscription policy. These students described a pervasive sense of being held personally accountable for Israeli government actions, facing social exclusion and uncomfortable encounters, and some even feeling compelled to conceal their Israeli identity for fear of negative reactions from peers.

6. Effects of Social Media

- Participants identified social media as exacerbating challenges by enabling the rapid and sometimes anonymous creation and dissemination of cruel and hateful messages online, negatively impacting the reported well-being of many Jewish students.

7. Experiences of Anti-Zionist Jewish Students

- Some Jewish students who identify as anti-Zionist reported experiencing bullying and shunning, similar to that reported by numerous Jewish students who identify as Zionist, from some pro-Palestinian students.

8. Need for Enhanced Course Offerings and Academic Programming

- Participants expressed a need for more robust academic programming and course offerings to help address the campus climate and facilitate constructive, informed, and respectful dialogue on events in Israel and the Palestinian territories.

The following sections, organized thematically, offer a glimpse into the range and intensity of negative experiences described by many Jewish and Israeli students after October 7th. Our emphasis in these sections is on presenting illustrative examples of these experiences as students themselves described them, often using students' own words. These accounts were shared with us in listening sessions, private meetings, and written correspondence. We did not independently verify each account. When selecting examples for these sections, we focused on patterns of experiences reported by multiple students and excluded any account we had reason to doubt.

Theme 1 — October 7th and the Deterioration of Campus Climate

Many Jewish students spoke of October 7th as profoundly affecting their life at Harvard:

> *I'm American. I always felt comfortable here. As an undergrad, I felt like I fit in. The change in the social dynamics [after October 7th] was instantaneous and alarming. [Graduate student]*

> *My experience has been different before and after October 7th. Before October 7th, being Jewish was largely irrelevant. It was not a barrier. I was proud to be Jewish. When it came up, it was positive. After October 7th, I experienced the following in this order: first there was pressure, then there was chaos, then hostility, and in certain spaces, the normalization of subtle discrimination like, "We'll welcome you in this space if you align in a certain way. If not, you can't come here." This has to do with the enforcement of rules. [Graduate student]*

Some students noted that the Israeli-Palestinian conflict felt as if it seeped into all areas of campus life, much to their consternation:

> *I'm an older student. Many of my interactions on campus are more professional. I'm less impacted than other students. I was a union member, and a little uncomfortable with antisemitic overtones as I perceived them. However, I held that grad students needed help bargaining and thought it was essential to have a union to engage in collective bargaining due to the harsh realities for grad students. But then things exploded. The union started releasing public statements that made me acutely uncomfortable. I didn't resign initially. I tried to talk to people about it and asked to let us say that not all members subscribe to these views. My objection was that they were releasing statements saying they spoke for everyone. So then, I resigned. The whole thing made me acutely uncomfortable. [Graduate student]*

Many Jewish students perceived the word "Zionist" as being widely employed as a pejorative and a means of pillorying Jews:

> *There's a tendency to replace the word Jewish with Zionist. "All Zionists should burn in hell" — it's very frightening, there's an incongruency between how different sides would define the term Zionist. People are proudly referring to themselves as anti-Zionist but there's a strong overlap and it feels like this is an excuse to use a different term to make the point that they are anti-Jewish. [Undergraduate student]*

> *An undergrad tells a story about choosing an event to attend: one option was in the Quad, one at Hillel. A blockmate said, "I don't want to go to Hillel, I fucking hate Zionists." The undergrad sees this as an example of something that falls squarely into the antisemitic category, but doesn't think the blockmate realized it, and thinks there are other examples of antisemitism that are even harder to categorize. [Undergraduate student]*

The Harvard administration's responses during this period were described as tardy and clumsy:

> *I've had positive interactions with the administration. They just don't know what to do. They didn't expect this level of anti-Zionism. The [name of student's Harvard School] didn't expect having to draw a line between free speech and harassment. Anti-Zionism is considered an intellectual exercise and not as discrimination by some in the administration. [Graduate student]*

Many students described a social atmosphere that had rapidly deteriorated and become dominated by pervasive feelings of rejection and fear:

> *If I was killed by a terrorist in America, as an American, my classmates would at least superficially mourn. If I was killed by a terrorist in Israel, as a Jew, my classmates would say I had it coming. And when other people are killed in ethnic, religious, or political conflicts, my classmates frankly don't care for longer than a few days at a time. [Graduate student]*

The social exclusion and shunning of Israeli students lies at the core of the Harvard experience for many. From my first days on campus, I noticed students in pre-orientation avoiding conversation with me, simply out of fear of being associated with an Israeli. My friend has been told that others would not attend social gatherings if I was present, as they couldn't risk the social consequences of being seen with an Israeli. Students have also chosen not to join an organization I led simply because I served in the IDF. Like other Israeli students currently at Harvard, I was excluded from the invitation list to comp for a final club, with members openly stating that IDF soldiers do not align with the club's values. Israeli students at Harvard are not merely subjected to implicit bias but instead face explicit, deliberate discrimination. [Undergraduate student]

People can have political views of their choice, but the social fabric has degraded. There has been an increase in antisemitism on campus, which is a fact. I have many friends who have experienced this. An incident occurred on October 7th, which happened over the weekend. A group of five guys lived in a suite. The door was usually unlocked, but they had to lock it due to feelings of tension and a lack of safety in their own home. This is a sign that something has gone wrong. People don't trust each other. Otherwise, why would we need to lock our doors? [Graduate student]

Accounts of social shunning emerged as one of the most alarming indicators of the breakdown of Harvard's on-campus community:

The strategy used by BDS groups involves encouraging students and faculty to avoid normalizing relations with Jewish students. This involves social shaming, which is a particularly harmful tactic in academia and the impact can vary depending on your field. [Undergraduate student]

The notion that acceptance in a politically liberal or progressive on-campus space is contingent upon disavowing Israel was a recurring theme:

A Jew who doesn't renounce Zionism and who is gay can't feel comfortable in a gay students' association [Undergraduate student]

I did feel shunning, especially in progressive spaces which I have long been part of. On the [name of a progressive student organization], there's a good-Jew bad-Jew dynamic. I'm a Zionist. The experience of being a Jewish student at Harvard in progressive spaces requires incredible emotional labor. People like to pretend they're unaware of antisemitism. I try to go to every event where Israel is discussed [to explain things] so people can't claim ignorance. I've had to bare my soul in progressive spaces to show I can be accepted as Jewish and progressive. I've sat shiva three times recently. Israel and the Jewish religion are connected. I need to tell people this. I'm used to being the first exposure people have to Judaism. It's exhausting and embarrassing for Harvard. [Graduate student]

Numerous Jewish students, many of whom expressed a deep connection to Israel, spoke of feeling lumped together and collectively blamed for the situation of the Palestinians. They noted that students with analogous ties to other countries engaged in wars and conflicts are not typically prejudged in this way:

Jewish students had to bear the burden of defending themselves in the face of global politics. The same feeling was not mirrored for a Russian friend when the war broke out. The Jewish community is not a monolith. How we teach the greater community not to fall into those stereotypes is important. [Undergraduate student]

As a result of their negative experiences on campus after October 7th, some Jewish students said that they were concealing their Jewish identity:

At intramural practice, there is extra conscious[ness] about not self-identifying. You have to think about it all the time. [Undergraduate student]

Not outright antisemitism towards me, but the antisemitic culture on campus has increased since Oct 7th. Friends who are more outwardly Jewish and Israelis, the things they are experiencing are horrible. I feel lucky I don't look Jewish. I know if I do the "wrong thing" I might get the antisemitism. So, put your headphones in, make sure you're not outwardly Jewish, and just walk to class. [Undergraduate student]

Some Jewish students with critical views about Israel, including members of anti-Zionist student groups, reported that they were concerned with both insensitivity from some pro-Palestinian peers to the horror of October 7th and what they saw as Harvard's one-sided institutional response:

There are some people who have glorified what happened on Oct 7th. That was triggering and harmful for me. [Undergraduate involved in anti-Zionist campus organizing]

Harvard seems more afraid of Elise Stefanik than about helping students … Harvard's responses have been encouraging antisemitic behavior. The way Harvard has cracked down on organizers, I would probably want to say horrible things too about Zionists. Given that Harvard is acting effectively as a Zionist organization, it's understandable that people don't want to have anything to do with Zionists. [Student involved in anti-Zionist campus organizing]

Some faculty and staff also reported that they noticed a fraught and uncomfortable atmosphere on campus that was not apparent to them until the aftermath of October 7th:

I am at [Harvard unit] but I don't have much interaction with students. For several months since Oct 7th, I drove in, went straight to my office … and left. I didn't feel unsafe physically, but I felt unsafe emotionally. I did not want to see anything happening in [my office building] that I couldn't unsee. There have been several incidents there. My office and colleagues were a safe space, but I couldn't emotionally handle what was going on elsewhere in my workplace. [Staff]

Only since Oct 7th have I become aware that antisemitism is a problem at Harvard. I've been here 24 years, so I'm embarrassed. I was in a conversation with a Jewish colleague about incidents happening with our students, and she said, "Well I know how that is, from being here. It's been going on for years." I was so shocked; I had tears in my eyes and felt sad that I was so completely unaware of something that someone I am close with was going through. It told me I had a lot to learn, which is why I am here. [Faculty]

Theme 2 — Perceptions of Bias in Specific Schools, Units, and Instructors

Many of the concerns expressed above came from undergraduate students in the College and from graduate students throughout the University, with most coming from four of Harvard's graduate Schools.

Harvard T.H. Chan School of Public Health

To give some context, [the School is] a microculture. Students lean left more than Harvard in general, with a big focus on social justice and equity as stated missions of the School. This has affected my experience. Social justice and advocacy are part of the mission and ethos of the School. In the aftermath of October 7th, among students and in part the faculty, the zeitgeist is very pro-human rights and manifested as pro-Palestine in many ways. This is not the same as antisemitism, but the relationship is complex. Antisemitism is built into how some people are advocating for Palestine. [Graduate student]

I was told by [a School administrator] that I violated the student code of conduct by deleting social media posts from a student group account. There was pretty vile stuff posted in October. I asked someone in the group to remove a post that was disturbing and people requested it be taken down. It was like "Elders of Zion" kind of stuff. I asked the person to remove it. The person said no. So I, as an administrator of the group, removed the post. The poster and the president of the student government reported the incident to the Office of Student Affairs. That office claimed it was a Harvard program social media group. So the office

stepped in. The poster asked their friends to report me to the Office of Student Affairs. Students started saying I was infringing on free speech. That office told me I was in a whole world of trouble, but they couldn't explain why. They said I was infringing on student speech. [Graduate student]

Harvard Law School

We brought the families of hostages to campus and the administration moved us for our safety. This is disgusting and these students need to be punished. They walk around like they own the place. It's ridiculous. [Graduate student]

What can HLS do about the dirty looks and unwelcome feeling? If you have an event in Belinda Hall, everyone must be welcome. But there are about 10–20 people who consistently break the rules. They are at the tops of their [student] organizations. They dictate norms. Everyone goes along. The administration needs to make sure organizations follow the rules. [Graduate student]

Students have reported antisemitic activity, they've done a great job with programmatic efforts, holding space for each other. The difficulties arise with the protests and where they're taking place. Because of their Jewish identity they've been singled out when activities are taking place and people assume things don't align with their beliefs. This is where the reported accounts from Jewish students being singled out [come from]. Everyone wants to feel seen, heard, and respected. Where the protests are taking place, it feels like certain individuals are being centered. [Staff]

Harvard Divinity School

HDS should be a leader in situations like this. It's a flop. There's a diversity of views. We're supposed to find the divine in ourselves and others. Opposing views should be discussed together … There was an interruption at a community dinner. I have a photo. "Harvard out of occupied Palestine." Part of the dinner's purpose was for prospective students, what's the message for them? They commandeered the lifeblood of HDS for their own purposes. I lodged a complaint. The response was vapid. There were no consequences. They're entitled to their views, but they're also entitled to follow the rules. At a Hanukkah event, the host expressed dismay that it was canceled. A pro-Israel student was booted off a WhatsApp page because they made a snarky comment. But that wouldn't have happened to the other side. My reaction reflects an earlier view of anti-Israel rhetoric. "Zionism is racism" is a canard. They're entitled to that view, but not to intimidate. [Graduate student]

Harvard Medical School

A more recent thing was during Admitted Students Week, there was a Med School music video. It was a big deal. Students from a pro-Palestine organization asked other students if they wanted to make the Admitted Student video a protest against the Israeli occupation. Because Admitted Students Week is a big thing, the administration said this is not okay, we fund this. But it took the administration a long time. It took students complaining to get action. The overall message is — if you are a Jewish student with Israeli connections, you don't have a place here. During Admitted Students Week, a lot of the current students made it clear they wanted to send a message to visiting students to discourage Zionist students from coming here. There are very few Jewish students in my class and few Jewish students feel comfortable at the Med School. I wish the administration thought more about the admitted student experience and how they feel with this kind of thing happening. [Graduate student]

Specific Instructors

Students also raised concerns about specific faculty and teaching fellows, citing examples such as faculty who "gave time at the end of class for students to promote various solidarity groups, including the

Palestine Solidarity Committee (PSC)" or "ended class early on the day of a protest, which seemed like an encouragement to join the protest." Some students complained of "one-sided syllabi" concerning the Israeli-Palestinian conflict and expressed apprehension about taking courses from instructors who had signed pro-Palestinian statements.

The antisemitic cartoon described in Chapter 2 was a particular source of anxiety for some students due to its reposting by the organization Harvard Faculty and Staff for Justice in Palestine. One student recalled, "When the antisemitic cartoon was posted, I was baffled. How could this be posted by Harvard faculty [along with] student groups? Then it became clear to me that there are no consequences." Another student told us some Israeli students felt apprehensive in Arabic language classes, and "stopped going … because they didn't feel safe."

While there were relatively few comments about Teaching Fellows (TFs), some experiences were shared. One student described an instance where "a student said in class [they] didn't believe IDF soldiers should attend Harvard. The teaching fellow supported [the student who said this]."

Another student recounted a situation with a TF who "openly expressed solidarity with the Palestine Solidarity Committee and allied movements." This student expressed frustration with the administrative response, noting that after they brought this to administrators' attention eight times, "their response was that slogans and chants can mean different things to different people. I wonder if they would ever say the same to a member of another minority group."

Theme 3 — Concerns with Student Discipline and Complaint Processes

Concerns about opaque processes for reporting complaints and seemingly inconsistent disciplinary responses were among the most common issues raised during the listening sessions:

> *The officials I spoke with were confused about the policies and they were not sure who's in charge. That's a common theme — policies are unclear, people don't know if a policy is a University or School policy. All this to say, there's a lack of accountability about what rules should be and how they should be followed. This is a pattern throughout the University, there are policies but people are refusing to enforce them. [Graduate student]*

> *I understand the importance of freedom of speech, but this institution needs to establish some boundaries. [Student]*

Many students criticized what they perceived as a lack of discipline for disruptive actions, such as interrupting classes or holding unauthorized protests. Although we were told that students who disrupted classes did face consequences, many Jewish students still felt that on the whole Harvard's Schools were not consistently applying their own policies or holding students accountable for violations:

> *On the policy side, rules are violated and there are no consequences — for example, the rules around protests. Earlier this year, there were class disruptions. The School knows who the people were. The handbook describes what the punishment should be but still nothing happened to them. [Graduate student]*

> *There seems to be a total lack of fear of consequences among the [members of certain student groups]. There are no repercussions for those who interrupt classes.[577] There appears to be a lack of consequences, but there should be some form of accountability for [student group] organizers. [Undergraduate student]*

[577] As noted, this quote is the account of one undergraduate student and therefore their impression. We note that students at Harvard College who interrupt classes can face serious repercussions.

Harvard's decentralized structure, in which each of the Schools is responsible for its own disciplinary matters, was a source of much frustration:

If there's a disaster, you don't care how FEMA is structured or organized. Harvard needs to solve this. I don't care how. There's impunity here, people who make antisemitic comments on this campus enjoy it. Nobody else on campus enjoys that impunity … We have a student handbook with rules, they need to be enforced promptly and publicly so people can see justice done. I understand there are limits, but absent that we all understand it's open season. There's impunity for antisemitism. We don't just need to talk about education, we need to enforce existing rules quickly and rigorously. [Graduate student]

Many students were unsure how the complaint system worked and spoke of tardy, curt, or nonexistent responses:

Sometimes you send off this very painful report and then it just gets lost in the shuffle. The fact that there isn't a response to students also makes them feel like their very pressing worry has not been dealt with. [Undergraduate student]

I am tired of fighting. It's the same group of students, whose sole objective seems to be to harass and intimidate Jewish students. Despite reaching out to every office, everyone says it's not their problem. [Graduate student]

There are some things Harvard could do much more humanely. Following up with people to ask how they are. Right now people feel like nobody cares. There are limits to what can be done. But it's possible to tell students, "Hey, we got your thing, we don't have any update, but we just want to check in on you." [Undergraduate student]

Theme 4 — Perceptions of Disparate Treatment and Indifference

Our listening sessions revealed significant concerns about perceived indifference towards Jewish students by Harvard's offices for Equity, Diversity, Inclusion, and Belonging, which exist at both the University and the School level. These concerns were often accompanied by claims that animosity against other groups at Harvard have been, and would be, taken with more seriousness than those against Jewish students:

The issues related to free speech are being misdiagnosed. This was pointed out in an article by [Professor] Danielle Allen. She makes a good point — people can argue about what "Intifada" means, but she said as a person of color, she wouldn't feel comfortable in a place displaying "White Power" signs, even if it's free speech. The question of whether it's legal to yell "Globalize the Intifada" is not the most relevant issue here. Yes, you can say that, but community standards and norms need to be part of the conversation, too, not just the laws surrounding free speech. [Undergraduate student]

Hearing the "river-to-the-sea" chants on campus is troubling. I approached an administrator about this, and their response was that these words could have multiple meanings. If I were part of the LGBTQ community and complained about offensive language, no one would tell me I was wrong to be upset because the language could be interpreted in multiple ways. The same would be true if I were Black and someone used offensive language around me. Why am I being told what is and isn't antisemitism by an administrator? Why am I being told that my fear is unjustified when offensive language is used around me? It's inappropriate and insensitive for administrators to respond in this manner. [Undergraduate student]

Jews are the only minority [against whom] people speak [but] enjoy maximalist First Amendment protections. Every other minority group is defended by the administration against hate speech. There's absolute freedom for antisemitic speech. I agree with the Supreme Court case about the neo-Nazi march in Skokie. It's right for the country but not for Harvard. [Graduate student]

Harvard's process for receiving and handling complaints of discrimination — governed by the University's Non-Discrimination and Anti-Bullying (NDAB) Policies, which went into effect on September 1, 2023 — often described by students as cumbersome and slow, was a recurring theme, often fueling their perception of disparate treatment:

> *Don't explain the lack of response by saying the University is a big, decentralized place. If there's a racist remark, communications go out quickly. So, the University knows when it wants to act quickly. If the issue involved someone who's Asian, Black, or gay, it would be different. You can't blame it on the University being slow because it clearly isn't slow all the time. [Undergraduate student]*

Some students distinguished between discrimination against Jews and discrimination against those who identify as or are considered Zionists. They argued that because Zionism is a political belief, it should be protected under Harvard's existing non-discrimination policies:

> *Harvard's non-discrimination policy prohibits discrimination on the basis of political belief. If you describe Zionism as such, it does fall under policy. [Undergraduate student]*

Some Harvard affiliates we met with noted a persistent lack of awareness and sensitivity regarding the Jewish calendar among some faculty and administrators, particularly concerning the autumn High Holidays, which often coincide with start of term activities:

> *There was a welcome picnic on Yom Kippur, a mandatory doctoral meeting on Rosh Hashanah. A tenured professor asked one of my Jewish friends if it was true that Yom Kippur was really a reason why students couldn't come to class. I explained … that it was countercultural as a Jewish American of my generation to speak up about inclusion because I was taught these institutions were not built for us. Maybe it's not the same extent as for Black people, but we were not welcome here so we can't have expectations that the institution is built for us. We as a community have worked very hard to make sure that as the doors have opened for us, we have not slammed them shut behind us. That ideal has not been honored here. [Faculty]*

Theme 5 — Distinctive Experiences of Israeli Students

Many Israeli students at Harvard had a particularly hard time in the wake of October 7, 2023, and even in the period preceding it. We heard numerous accounts of them being subjected to social shunning and other negative behaviors based on their national identity. Additionally, because the State of Israel has mandatory conscription, and most Israeli young people serve in the Israel Defense Forces, many reported finding themselves labeled as "Israeli soldiers" even though they are no longer in the military and are no more "soldiers" than their peers from any other country in the world with conscription. These concerns all came up in the listening sessions:

> *Some people, upon learning that I'm Israeli, tell me they won't talk with someone from a "genocidal country." [Undergraduate student]*

> *Before October 7th, we were in class discussing the random rooming policy. A student said she didn't think the policy was appropriate because she could get roomed with an IDF soldier. [Undergraduate student]*

> *It has become accepted to not be nice to someone because they are Israeli. But you can not like what someone's country is doing without ostracizing them. [Undergraduate student]*

> *From his first day at Harvard, he has had encounters with people who refused to speak to him because he is Israeli. At an orientation program, he was speaking and getting to know people, met a guy from [a country in the Middle East], speaking in Arabic. When the guy from [the Middle Eastern country] found out he was from Israel, in mid-sentence, he turned around and walked away. [Israeli Arab undergraduate student]*

In my research group, we had an Iranian national. I had a nice interaction with her. The idea that I'd hold her personally responsible for the policies of the Iranian government is absurd. And I never brought up contentious political issues with her at work. Once she brought up Iranian history and politics at a staff retreat and we spoke. I engaged with her on her terms. That's the way to treat people with respect from different countries even when the countries are at odds. That's not the way Israelis are treated. We're treated unlike people from any other country. If people are consistent about their opposition to ethnostates, I'm okay with that. But they don't treat others like they do Israelis. There's selective outrage against Israel and Israeli students are treated with ostracism and disrespect. [Graduate student]

Three people in my cohort think they understand better than me what's going on in Israel ... I know. They didn't bother asking me or talking to me. They just tell me they don't support Israel killing children. Are they implying I do? It's so wild. They tell me Israel is an apartheid and colonial state. Why do they think they're right and I'm wrong? They've never been there? I have two Russian girls in my department. Nobody treats them differently because of what Russians are doing. And Chinese students never get blamed for the Chinese government's actions. Jewish people are blamed for Israeli policies. This is antisemitic. [Graduate student]

The anti-normalization idea is that Jews on campus with ties to Israel must be anti-Zionist to be welcomed. I've lost friends who abandoned me. They knew I was Jewish, and my mom was Israeli, and I was not ashamed of those connections. I was involved with international law. I'm part of some progressive groups, and the moment October 7th happened, I was traumatized because I didn't align with the binary view. The anti-normalization idea is to normalize ostracization. That is a foundational source of tension. The constant dirty looks are disgusting to me. This has become the dominant thinking — [graduate] school should be about disagreeing and having difficult conversations. It's hard because ... we want to convince ourselves it's antisemitism. But the way it's manifested is tied to social dynamics. We can't fix social dynamics by banning protests. It's a systemic cultural problem. I'm censoring myself in class and with friends. I can't visit friends because their roommates are anti-Zionist. This shouldn't be happening … [Graduate student]

[There was] one experience of an Israeli grad student in the department who has effectively been bullied out of the graduate lounge where all graduate students assemble on the basis of a series of difficult conversations/confrontations including one which was an atrocity-denial about October 7th, doubts being thrown on the incident, and the effects on this student have been noticeable. [Faculty]

Theme 6 — Effects of Social Media

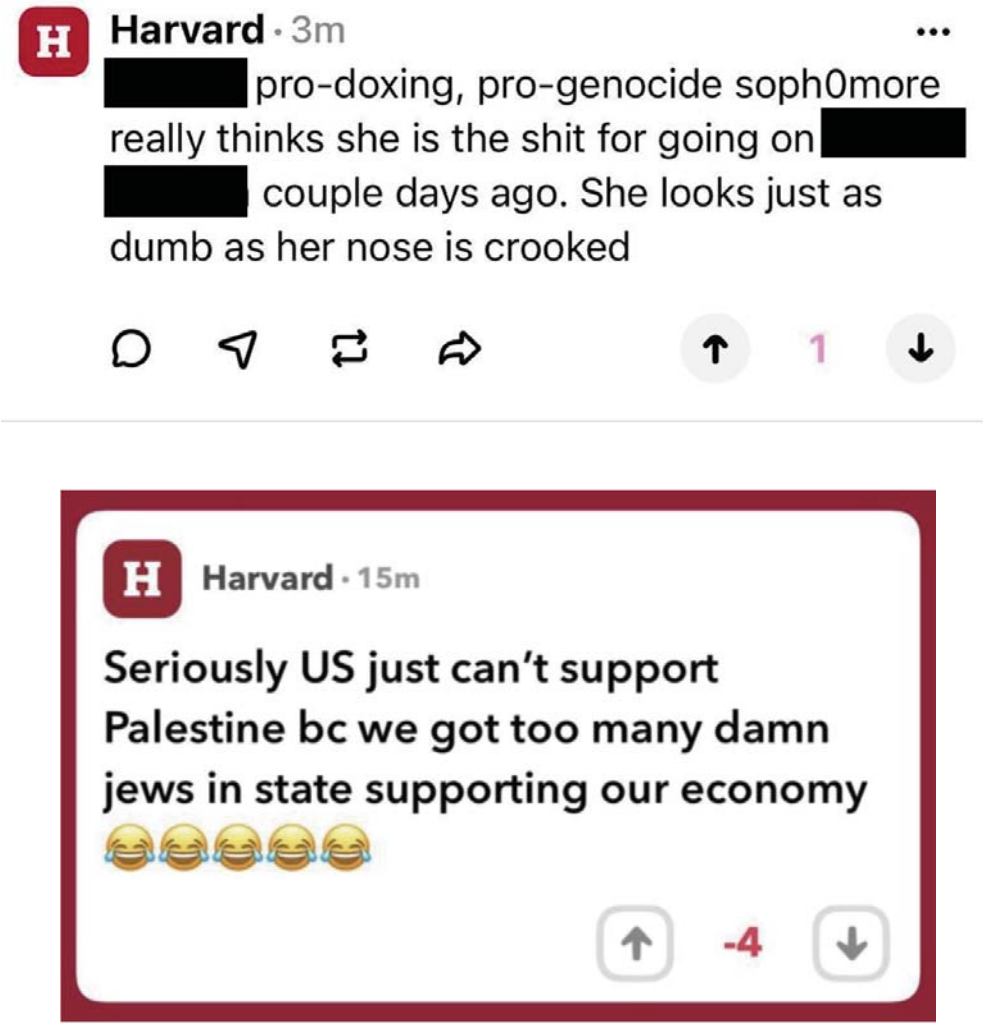
As documented in Chapter 2, the aftermath of the October 7th attacks saw Sidechat and other social media platforms flooded with cruel, offensive, and hateful comments regarding Jews and Israel. One graduate student described a veritable avalanche of hostile social media posts that began on Saturday, October 7 and continued unabated through Sunday, with some students apparently feeling increasingly emboldened to express hateful statements. By the time classes resumed on Monday, October 9, the combined impact of the PSC's October 7, 2023 statement blaming Israel for the attack and the persistent frenzy of violent social media posts had a profound effect on many Jewish students.

In a letter to the editor in the October 24, 2024 issue of the *Crimson*, the student president of Harvard Hillel's undergraduate student Jewish community wrote: "Being Jewish at Harvard today is vastly more difficult than it was [for college students] in the '90s."[578]

[578] https://api.thecrimson.com/article/2024/10/24/gershengorn-harvard-hillel-attacks-jewish-life/

We were surprised to learn just how correct this seems to be. Many Jewish students at Harvard today say they contend with antisemitism from their fellow students and in some University programs. Some Jewish students told us that they avoid certain degree programs, classes, and panel discussions sponsored by various departments and centers at Harvard because of antisemitism. Unfortunately, we fear that they may have good reason to do so.

We illustrate this point first with evidence from social media postings and group chats that were shared with us, which demonstrate the extent to which Jewish and Israeli students have encountered bigotry from their peers. We received many dozens of examples of social media posts that caused concern. Here, we provide here just a small sample to convey a sense of the climate of discourse to which Harvard students were being subjected.



Posts from the Harvard community page of Sidechat, an independent platform not affiliated with Harvard. (Image redacted to protect privacy.)

The Task Force also received complaints from students about other students who peppered their speech with derogatory references to Israelis and Jews:

> *[I] count … among my peers many students who regularly posted social media images like "Decolonisation is not a metaphor" (with Jewish blood dripping from the text) and who seemed generally unable to convene*

for any sort of social function (drinks, dinners, etc) without bringing up Palestine and "Israeli scum," "Zionist dirtbags" etc. [Graduate student]

We reviewed many other similar complaints and messages; some of them are provided in Chapter 4. This exercise illustrates the far greater levels of casual bias many Jewish and Israeli students experience today compared to a few decades ago:

I was on Sidechat for a while, enjoyed it, but had to delete it after October 7th. The comments were so awful, along lines of "Israel deserved what they were getting," many people in support of Hamas. There was no room for conversation because of the anonymity. It could be the person you just sat with at section and you just didn't know. It made campus feel different in a way it never felt before. I never wore a Star of David, but if I did, I would have taken it off, knowing that people hide behind the guise of anonymity. People in support of Jewish identities got downvoted. Anything in support of Hamas would be upvoted. It was a binary thinking. [Undergraduate student]

It's surprising to see people who are educated posting horrible things and seeing people in the street the next day knowing what they just posted. [Undergraduate student]

In another incident in early November, after October 7th, I faced backlash on social media for posting pro-Israel content. As part of a social organization, I noticed a bunch of highly antisemitic posts [online] .... One post, directed at me, accused me of humiliating an Arab student, which is something I would never do. My best friend here is Arab. [Undergraduate student]

I understand not everyone's your friend and belongs to your club. A major theme at Harvard is wanting to have your cake and eat it too. People want to make anonymous statements with no accountability, and yet want the prestige to speak on behalf of Harvard students. In the absence of the University speaking, we need a much more careful discussion about public vs private speech. You shouldn't expect to make bold public announcements anonymously without putting your name under it. Doxxing is a distraction from the need for accountability around speech. [Graduate student]

The most blatant things are happening online. Sidechat, no one can see it other than what undergrads share. There is anonymity so can't be regulated by Harvard. Exists on other campuses. Students are very active on it. Some antisemitic posts and students are perceiving things that outside cannot know of. [Faculty]

Theme 7 — Experiences of Anti-Zionist Jewish Students

While most of the Jewish students at our listening sessions focused on experiences of hostility against them from non-Jews, a smaller but active and organized segment of Jewish students who identify as anti-Zionist felt that one of the primary sources of their discomfort was the main Jewish chaplaincy organizations that serve members of the Harvard community (Harvard Hillel and Harvard Chabad) as well as various Jewish student organizations in the Schools. For these students, Israel was the key point of division: they felt unwelcome in Jewish campus organizations where support for Israel seemed assumed or even demanded:

I've never felt comfortable at Hillel or Chabad because of how staunchly pro-Israel they are. I have problems with Israel and how those speaking out against Israel have been targeted by those groups and our University. Much harder to be open about being Jewish and Israeli because of how these groups and the University have created a playing field in which Jews are addressed in a whole different realm. In reality, Islamophobia, racism, antisemitism, problems in Israel/Palestine are not separate from each other. [Undergraduate student]

Some Jewish students, including members of various anti-Zionist organizations active in the College and some of the graduate and professional Schools, expressed sadness and frustration at feeling shunned by fellow Jews and Jewish organizations on campus who do not share their views on Israel and the Israeli-Palestinian conflict:

All of the advocacy I do — protests, risks I take — it is because I am Jewish. Deeply rooted in these values. They've influenced every aspect of my life. It's never been as disrespected as it is here by other Jewish students in the [Harvard School name]. [Graduate student]

We've done our best to put out statements condemning doxxing [of pro-Palestinian students]. Through that, we have been accused of antisemitism throughout year … I have spent my entire life in predominantly Jewish spaces. Super important part of my identity. I quickly left [a Jewish student organization], made to feel wasn't Jewish enough because I grew up Reform. Programming was conservative-focused … Dropped out of doing Jewish related things at [my School]. My roommate was doxxed, our apartment was doxxed … the most frustrating thing is that students have been weaponizing antisemitism to accuse people of acting out Judaism in a way they don't like. I'm not antisemitic because I'm doing Judaism differently, and that's how it's been seen. [Graduate student]

The largest form of antisemitism I have experienced has been from other Jewish students who are interested in policing the bounds of Jewish identity one way or the other. They've called me a kapo or a useful idiot to Hamas or a non-Jew. [Student]

Some students expressed concern that the University's leaders, in the way they engaged on issues related to Jewish matters, conflated Harvard's Jewish community with prominent organizations like Harvard Hillel, Harvard Chabad, and others they perceive as pro-Zionist:

The first thing that comes to mind is the President's Office, administration, Hillel, and Chabad excluding anti-Zionist and Zionist-questioning people, making them feel excluded from Jewish spaces. It feels like they're defining antisemitism without considering what many Jewish people feel is actually antisemitic. Using the label antisemitism to take down movements or student organizers is a real misuse of antisemitism. As a result, it's challenging to combat real forms of antisemitism that exist all over the world. [Student]

The non- or anti-Zionist Jewish students we met with called for more openness to their perspectives within the broader Harvard Jewish community, as well as greater institutional support for their spiritual needs and the social events they wish to organize:

In my experience, the hardest part has been feeling constant need to invoke my Judaism because people around me are being called antisemitic. My grandfather is from Israel. I have family whose houses were burned down on Oct. 7th. That's not something I wanted to share, but everyone around me was being called antisemitic for an article and I felt like I had to share this deeply personal family information because people around me were being called antisemitic for voicing their opinions. This institution is the reason that talking about Israel is hard. I have family members I profoundly disagree with, but we can still talk. [Graduate student]

I would like to envision a more diasporic Jewish life on campus. Practical limitations to what Hillel International could do. But to have a group to coexist alongside Hillel, I think that would be amazing. Share members. I also go to Hillel. But there are practical limitations to what it can do. My roommate and I have been hosting Passover and it's been getting bigger and bigger. We're struggling to fund it. Having grants would help. Supporting different approaches to Jewish life on campus. [Undergraduate student]

Theme 8 — Need for Enhanced Course Offerings and Academic Programming

As described in Chapter 2, the October 7th Hamas massacre immediately and sharply deepened pre-existing divides between students with clashing perspectives on Israel/Palestine. In our listening sessions, many students spoke of a lack of opportunities for what they considered informed, wide-ranging, and unbiased education about Israel/Palestine at Harvard. Some attendees, however, expressed doubt that students would avail themselves of such opportunities if they existed and willingly challenge their preconceptions and engage in open dialogue, as opposed to seeking confirmation of their existing views:

> *If Harvard sponsored conversation about Israel and Palestine, some of my peers would laugh at that, and say how could Harvard, supporter of a colonizer state, possibly host this conversation? There is animosity towards even the idea of Israel right now, and that's where a lot of the antisemitism lies. [Undergraduate student]*

Despite this skepticism, the Task Force felt this subject was far too important to be left solely to students alone to navigate, especially given some of the accounts we heard:

> *One of my suitemates knew nothing about the Israel/Palestine conflict and the student tried to talk about it without going too deep, because they didn't feel comfortable talking about it with non-Jews. There's a fear of having conversations about anything related to Israel/Palestine because people don't know enough to participate and don't want to say the wrong thing. But they can listen. [Undergraduate student]*

> *People want to talk about Jews, but not know anything about Jews. This creates the atmosphere … in which I have a continuous sense that my classmates do not respect my ethnicity at all. They don't want to learn about Jews, they only want to tell some of us that we deserve to die. [Graduate student]*

While there was little if any University-wide academic programming on Israeli-Palestinian issues, various Harvard Schools, centers, and affiliated organizations (such as Harvard Hillel) attempted to address the need for such programming with events ranging from impromptu teach-ins to panel discussions held at venues like HKS's Belfer Center and FAS's Weatherhead Center. Many students expressed a strong desire for substantive engagement on these issues:

> *I attended a conversation at Hillel moderated by Michael Sandel, and I've never felt prouder to be Jewish. In a moment of so much loss, people were able to take a step back and have an intellectual discussion, which is similar to how they were raised. I wish more people saw that side of Zionist students, and Jewish students, and they don't see that. [Undergraduate student]*

These events, however, seemed aimed at particular campus communities, which could be seen as problematic:

> *Something I've noticed and want to flag and create a conversation thread around is separation. I have a desire for there to be more bridging conversations instead of separation conversations. On [one particular] quad, there was an event for Israeli and Jewish students, and one for Arab and Muslim students, as if to say there's no overlap or nothing to be gained by mixing. I'm frustrated by this narrative of separation. I think it was a departmental decision. I asked if we could have a shared, joint event. There were discussions that followed. I would love Harvard to focus on bringing people together across boundaries. [Graduate student]*

Some students emphasized the need for courses that contribute to greater religious literacy, both for its intrinsic value and to promote pluralism in general:

> *I have managed to get through HDS without taking courses on Hinduism or Buddhism, both of which are hugely important and demographically much larger than Judaism. I think that is a failing on my part, but also on the part of HDS. How can we be pluralists if we are ignorant? [Graduate student]*

Numerous students we spoke with expressed concern that courses addressing the Israeli-Palestinian conflict presented a biased perspective, unfairly critical of Israel:

> *It's unfair to have a very biased curriculum on a subject this tense [the Israeli-Palestinian conflict] without addressing the counterargument. We should hold our professors to that standard. If you have a class that has one leaning, you had better include the other argument. If you personally cannot, invite a guest lecturer. [Undergraduate student]*

Another student suggested that sensitivity and professionalism on the instructor's part could mitigate this concern, allowing discussion of events like the Gaza crisis without imposing personal political viewpoints. The same student emphasized the need for courses on Israel to showcase the country's multifaceted nature beyond conflict:

> *Israel is more than war — it's a vibrant and diverse country … A lot of students don't know what Israel is really like. [Undergraduate student]*

During listening sessions, faculty members grappled with a range of challenging questions arising from the campus climate, particularly regarding how to foster constructive dialogue in the classroom on difficult topics like the Israeli-Palestinian conflict, and how to engage diverse and sometimes conflicting viewpoints with both directness and mutual respect. In this connection, one faculty member spoke positively of the work being done at the Edmond and Lily Safra Center for Ethics, a University-wide initiative, and at HKS in sponsoring conversations on a wide range of contentious subjects. This faculty member emphasized that such conversations "need to step away from patronizing and protecting" participants, and instead demonstrate a firm commitment to presenting diverse, and at times discomforting, views.

However, some expressed concerns that such engagement could potentially expose instructors to personal risk. One faculty member, for example, shared that while considering developing a course on antisemitism, a concern on their mind was the possibility of doxxing and harassment targeting the course's would-be teaching fellows:

> *Part of the difficulty here is how the discussion about antisemitism in particular has been dominated by certain very loud voices. Some students come to me and whisper, which is so sad. They feel that someone else doesn't think they have the right to talk about threats as a Jew because they have the wrong view on Israel. We have multiple layers of untangling to do. As a Jewish faculty member, I feel a lack of support for professors because of social media attacks, which makes me not want to speak out. [Faculty]*

Ultimately, fostering productive discourse among Harvard students on complex issues like Israel/Palestine requires Harvard faculty to effectively explain and exemplify how to engage constructively with diverse perspectives, even when personal political commitments differ. This demands modeling how to momentarily transcend entrenched positions and find common ground:

> *[Universities like Harvard should hold] public events about how/why we [the faculty] are able to work together so well even though all have different political viewpoints. We have avoided this … It's difficult to do. Let's turn it into intellectual discourse. We're not talking about how to disagree agreeably, we're talking about how to do it in an intellectual way, which is what universities should do to produce not just knowledge but understanding. [Faculty]*

Communications with the Task Force Co-Chairs

The summaries and quotations provided above represent only some of the voices the Task Force heard during listening sessions. Yet, they illustrate the profound sense of crisis experienced by many Jewish and Israeli students at Harvard during the 2023-24 academic year. They reveal not only the depth of pain endured, but also the students' fervent desire for the University administration to implement swift and comprehensive measures addressing their concerns.

The gravity of the situation was further underscored through private conversations and direct communication with the Task Force co-chairs. Below, we present a selection of these accounts, focusing on three themes of special concern: perceived threats and safety concerns, challenging academic experiences, and social derision and shunning. These accounts provide additional context to the challenges reported to us by many Jewish and Israeli students.

Perceived Threats and Safety Concerns

In a complaint submitted to Harvard officials shortly after October 7, 2023, and later shared with the Task Force co-chairs, an Israeli American graduate student expressed that given the ensuing turmoil they had "not felt comfortable or safe walking on campus without a Harvard police escort." The student also described an incident in early December 2023 where, while posting flyers in in support of Israel in Harvard Yard, they were observed, photographed, and approached by a man who questioned their actions. While the man did not attempt to harm the student, we were told they nonetheless felt badly shaken by the encounter.

A faculty member provided another first-hand account that touched on the theme of physical safety:

> *I want to document my experience around the encampment in case it is useful to shed light on how these "peaceful" protests may have impact in ways they don't realize or intend. I don't feel safe going into the yard at this time, not because I fear physical violence, but because I'm not comfortable being surveilled and targeted as a "Zionist" by protestors using the label to be denigrating and derogatory, which is what happened when I walked over last Friday night in a spirit of learning.*
>
> *While I quietly stood watching the open mic in the encampment (I attended alone and not in "counter protest"), a Harvard alum and former student called me on the phone, and then texted several times, which is not normal. When we were able to speak after I left the yard that night, he informed me that he had seen my name come up on an internal chat (apparently a large group communication for "marshals of the encampment") and that there was concern with my presence there. I was described so that others could recognize me and identified as a "Zionist." It was unclear if he was alerting me to warn me to be careful or to ask me to leave, but during our brief conversation he wrongly associated me with counter protest and communicated that he was hoping I'd act in an especially nonthreatening way because my presence was a concern. It was chilling.*
>
> *What I'm taking from this, and perhaps I've internalized it in the wrong way, is that I was surveilled, identified by name, and profiled as a "Zionist" threat in a chat that reached far enough that an alum not at the protest, who I had no idea was even involved, knew exactly where I was and reached out with concern. I have not shared any of my views (complex and ever-changing) with students or in any public setting save for asking a question at a "teach in." I have no idea what I did to end up on a blacklist, but whatever the reason I was profiled, beliefs about me that are inextricable from my Jewishness seem to have made me a potential target.*
>
> *This experience is personally significant in diminishing my sense of freedom from religious discrimination on campus. [Faculty]*

A graduate student informed the co-chairs that, in May 2024, the student submitted complaints regarding the pro-Palestinian encampment in Harvard Yard and the behavior of some individuals within it, which the student characterized as harassment. The student, the co-chairs were told, contacted multiple administrators, and submitted several Title VI complaints, which the student said were deemed not to rise to the level of discrimination:

> *Throughout the past weeks, the encampment engaged in disruptive activities that significantly interfered with my ability to carry out my academic and professional responsibilities. Loud demonstrations, amplified chants, and the occupation of a large section of the Yard occurred daily, often late into the evenings. The noise and disruption made it very difficult for me to focus on my work, research, and duties … [Graduate student]*

The student felt threatened by many of the slogans and much of the signage in the encampment:

> *Hearing such rhetoric being promoted in my place of residence and work … created feelings of fear and distress … The pervasive use of this violent language throughout the encampment created a hostile and intimidating environment for … many … Jewish first-years who live in the Yard. [Graduate student]*

Challenging Academic Experiences

An undergraduate student reported to the co-chairs enrolling in a class on the Israeli-Palestinian conflict in academic year 2023-24 but ultimately dropping it. According to the student the course had what they perceived as a one-sidedly pro-Palestinian tone, which they said led them to feel defensive and uncomfortable in the classroom setting.

An Israeli graduate student shared an account of their experience three years prior, when they said they had taken a course on Israel and the Palestinians. The student described the course as explicitly one-sided from their perspective. They reported that throughout the term, they felt consistently singled out and asked to justify their decision not to emigrate from Israel, as well as to account for their actions during their military service. The student told the co-chairs they had been engaged in peacebuilding activities since high school, but felt this background was disregarded in the class. The student felt they were, as they put it, not allowed to be a human being in the eyes of fellow students.

Social Derision and Shunning

An Arab-Israeli undergraduate student shared that from their first days at Harvard, they encountered what felt like social discrimination by some people of Arab descent. The student reported that some people refused to speak with them altogether or broke off conversations upon learning they were Israeli. They said they lost many friendships with fellow Arab students, and described feeling attacked by strangers for their involvement in the annual Israel Trek — a peer-led trip to Israel for Harvard students during spring break. According to the student, the PSC urged students to boycott the trip and refused to meet with them or other Israel Trek leaders. The student also mentioned knowing of a Palestinian student who, they said, initially talked openly with Israelis upon arriving at Harvard, but over time cut off ties with Israelis after associating with what the Arab-Israeli student described as more radical students.

An Israeli undergraduate student reported to the co-chairs that they were called a murderer to their face, felt compelled to drop their course in Arabic due to what they described as a hostile atmosphere, and believed that they were the target of malicious comments by classmates. They also told us that a Muslim woman who had befriended them was called a "Zionist" by others.

The co-chairs received an account from an eyewitness to encounters between an Israeli graduate student and a classmate. According to this account, the classmate allegedly said "you worked in the government, so you are a Zionist. I don't respect Zionists." (We understand that the Israeli student worked for a civilian ministry.) The eyewitness, who identified as neither Israeli nor Jewish, claimed the classmate pressured

other students to shun the Israeli, suggesting they might be seen as supporters of genocide and the killing of children if they did not. The eyewitness provided the following statement:

> *Judging someone based on their country, religion, or the actions of others is UNACCEPTABLE … It's troubling that someone I share the identity of being a Harvard student who holds such narrow views and acts in such a way toward a fellow student. It's even more concerning that [the classmate] used a global conflict to create a hostile environment and stain the name of a fellow student in a space meant for learning. I don't mind if [the classmate] dislikes me or chooses not to be friends. This is something which doesn't even matter to me but I strongly object to [the classmate's] connecting me with "killing children" or "genocide" when it has nothing to do with my interactions or opinions except for knowing [the Israeli student in question].*

Conclusion

The Task Force found that Jewish and Israeli student reactions to the events of the 2023-24 academic year, especially in the aftermath of the October 7th attacks, were diverse and intense. Many of the students we spoke with described experiences of being bullied or shunned by fellow students, singled out for negative attention by instructors, and feeling ignored by administrators. Other students reported few or no hostile encounters, but a segment still admitted to a degree of self-censorship and self-concealment about their Jewish identity and views on Israel to avoid what they perceived as potentially unpleasant situations with their classmates.

Notably, many Jewish students who identified as anti-Zionist reported to us that they felt the main source of hostile behavior against them was other Jewish students.

Overall, a substantial majority of the students we met expressed some level of discomfort with their position within the Harvard community, with reported experiences ranging from mild to severe. This qualitative assessment appears to be corroborated by the quantitative survey data presented at the beginning of this chapter.

It is important to note that while these accounts provide valuable insights into student experiences, they represent individual perspectives and perceptions. The Task Force's role has been to listen to and report these experiences as they were shared with us. These narratives, combined with the quantitative data, form a crucial piece in understanding the full picture of Jewish and Israeli students' experiences at Harvard. They can help us better comprehend the concerns of these students and work towards envisioning and creating a more inclusive and supportive campus environment for all members of the Harvard community.

CHAPTER 4

Case Studies from Harvard's Schools

The Task Force received a significant volume of complaints about specific programs, classes, and protests at Harvard that some students, faculty, staff, and alumni experienced as antisemitic or involving bias against Israelis. Some of these concerns came to the Task Force through listening sessions, while others came through emails and personal meetings with members of the Task Force. Chapter 3 presented a sampling of these concerns. The accounts received made it clear that, particularly during academic year 2023-24, many Harvard affiliates had negative experiences and found that the University's channels for addressing complaints about experiences of bias, discrimination, and bullying were not functioning effectively. In Chapter 5, we offer policy recommendations aimed at improving the University's ability to receive and address such complaints.

This chapter examines the perceived failure by some administrators and faculty to manage courses, academic programming, and School-related events while upholding the principles of open-minded inquiry, civility, and respectful disagreement. While troubled by the incidents described, the Task Force acknowledges that it could not and should not serve as a substitute for a functional system for handling complaints and discipline actions at Harvard.

Moreover, we want to underscore an important point we made in the Introduction. The Task Force did not view its charge as serving as an investigative body. We have listened to and are reporting on what we were told. We did not seek counterarguments or counterevidence. It is also important to note that the University and individual Schools may have taken or may be in the process of taking actions to address the concerns outlined here. The University summarized some of the actions it has taken since our Task Force released our Preliminary Recommendations in June 2024.[579]

Therefore, the information presented in this chapter should be considered the starting point of a broader evaluation of these potentially problematic programs, not the end point. A complete assessment requires that the Schools housing these programs conduct a full and fair investigation of these concerns (an activity beyond the scope of the Task Force), seeking out possible counterevidence and counterarguments and gathering more in-depth information from the individuals involved.

In this report, we define antisemitism as an identity-based bias that has kept Jewish Harvard affiliates from fully participating in Harvard's educational, co-curricular, and social life. Similarly, we define anti-Israeli bias as an identity-based bias that has kept Harvard affiliates with Israeli nationality or background from fully participating in Harvard's educational, co-curricular, or social life. Based on what the Task Force heard, we believe both antisemitism and anti-Israeli bias under these definitions exists at various places at the University but seems to be particularly pronounced in certain programs at a few Schools, as is discussed below.

Some on Harvard's campus described experiencing direct expressions of antisemitism and anti-Israeli bias, which manifested in the following ways, listed in descending order of reported frequency:

1. ostracism of Zionist and Israeli students that adversely affects their participation in both classroom and co-curricular settings;
2. politicization of instruction or academic settings that effectively makes a specific view on the Israel-Hamas conflict a litmus test for full classroom participation and ends up disparately impacting many Jewish and Israeli students; and

[579] https://www.harvard.edu/task-force-on-antisemitism/#implementationupdates

3. politicized instruction that mainstreams and normalizes what many Jewish and Israeli students experience as antisemitism and anti-Israeli bias.

While reported less frequently, the third category — politicized instruction that mainstreams and normalizes antisemitism and anti-Israeli bias — was especially concerning as it often occurs in the context of instruction about Israel/Palestine, a subject of considerable student interest, but one with a shortage, in our view, of high-quality offerings meeting Harvard's standard for intellectual excellence. Also, such instruction can negatively influence the broader campus climate, creating a knowledge vacuum that allows problematic offerings to unduly shape campus discourse and culture.

The following sections examine each category in turn, providing examples of the kind of behavior we heard occurred on campus in academic year 2023-24, and offering one in-depth, illustrative case study. The chapter concludes with an analysis of potential causes and possible remedies.

Ostracism of Zionist and Israeli Students and Their Exclusion from Full Participation in Both Classroom and Co-Curricular Settings

Many Jewish students shared accounts with us of experiencing shunning from their peers for their support or presumed support of Israel. In this student politics, Jews are objects of suspicion, who some students and instructors view as presumptively holding "bad views," and the response of some students is to choose not to engage with them as fellow humans or Harvard community members. These experiences appear to be widespread, with reports emerging from students in Harvard College, Harvard Law School, Harvard Graduate School of Education, Harvard Divinity School, Harvard T.H. Chan School of Public Health, Harvard Kenneth C. Griffin Graduate School of Arts and Sciences, and Harvard Medical School. Israeli students, both Jewish and non-Jewish, encountered a more severe version of the same problem since their Israeli identity is often very obvious to their fellow Harvard community members:

> *On paper, I went to the best … school in the world, but Jewish students weren't really part of the vision they had for their diverse community. I largely felt that there was a problem but nobody wanted to do anything about it. It just seemed to be the case that antisemitism was just okay. And as an Israeli it was just okay to alienate me and not include me. Friends of mine were bullied for being friends with me — one was told that it would "hurt his career to associate with a Zionist and to be publicly associated with a Zionist." He posted a picture of us studying together on Instagram and people attacked him for being with me. I never even did pro-Israel things — I just existed [as an Israeli and a Jew]. This ruined my experience. I was cheated out of what I should get to experience as a student at Harvard. Going to Harvard meant everything to me — to spend [my time at Harvard] being bullied and ostracized was horrible. I was not invited to participate in the social life of my [cohort] because of this and I missed out on opportunities. [Graduate student]*

The experiences students related, such as overhearing friends urging classmates to drop a student solely because of that student's Jewish and Israeli identity, are deeply concerning. One faculty member told the Task Force that students had expressed interest in their course but ultimately decided not to enroll because the faculty member was "a Zionist." Similarly, a student reported to us overhearing a non-Jewish classmate ask another student about a Jewish peer: "Is she a fanatical racist Zionist or just a Jew?":

> *I had friends over … to my apartment. Of the people who attended, 13 of them were my closest friends that I had made at [Harvard] up to that point. At one point, a small group of them brought up that they did not feel safe around an Israeli student on campus because of his nationality. I passionately defended him as a person and his right to be a student here. The topic of the Israeli/Palestinian conflict itself did not arise during the conversation. After the discussion ended, we went back to doing other things (talking, playing games, etc.). Only three of my friends were part of the argument, the others were in another room or doing something else.*

Soon after the party, I noticed an uncomfortable distance between myself and all 13 of my friends. Invitations to hang out stopped, texts were not replied to, and one person had blocked me on Instagram. I reached out to a few of the people, asking to chat or meet to discuss what had happened, but the texts were either ignored or I was told they were busy.

[Later], I reached out to a few of the friends who I thought would be most receptive to meeting with me. They agreed, and I met with four of them. All of them expressed that they had no issue with me personally, and that they were sorry for the exclusion I had experienced. However, they viewed the incident as a disagreement amongst friends that they were not willing to mediate or intervene in. As such, when that group spends time together, I will not be invited anymore because some of the people do not want to associate with me.

It was in these discussions that I learned that one of the people in the friend group had labeled me a Zionist. They had called me a Zionist to others and made clear that they were not willing to meet with me or speak with me at all for that reason. As such, I have not been able to sit down with them to have a conversation, clear the air, and reach a mutual understanding. I can only assume that my subsequent social isolation (and Zionist labeling) was for expressing my view that the Israeli student had a place on campus, and that students should not feel unsafe on campus because he is Israeli. [Graduate student]

Examples like this illustrate how anti-Israeli bias can easily spill over and affect American Jews.

Even before October 7th, prejudice and shunning based on perceived connections to Israel were already experienced on Harvard's campus. For instance, as noted in the introduction, the Task Force heard an account from a few years ago of an Israeli student in a Harvard degree program was assigned to a group project with another student. That student informed the faculty member who made the assignment that their pro-Palestinian politics prevented them from participating in the group project with an Israeli. While stating there was nothing academically wrong with collaborating with their assigned partner, the student requested a different group assignment, citing their political views as justification. The instructor reportedly granted the request.

Another example involves the Palestine Program for Health and Human Rights at the François-Xavier Bagnoud (FXB) Center for Health and Human Rights, based at the Harvard Chan School. Until very recently, the Palestine Program operated a study abroad program in partnership with Birzeit University.[580] Birzeit, a Palestinian institution, maintains an official policy of academic boycott, refusing academic contact with Israeli universities. This collaboration for several years raised concerns that a Harvard program effectively tolerated a boycott of Israeli academia, and was, potentially, serving as a model for such practices for its students. The Task Force suggests that a more constructive approach would have been for Harvard to condition its collaboration with Birzeit on the inclusion of an Israeli university partner.

[580] In late March 2025, the Harvard T.H. Chan School of Public Health informed us that the Memorandum of Understanding (MOU) with Birzeit University's Institute of Community and Public Health, which initially established the FXB Center's initiative on Palestinian health, has expired. The formal collaboration with Birzeit has ended, though individual faculty collaborations remain possible. The FXB Center has removed Birzeit's logo from its website, which now reflects a broader range of international partnerships.

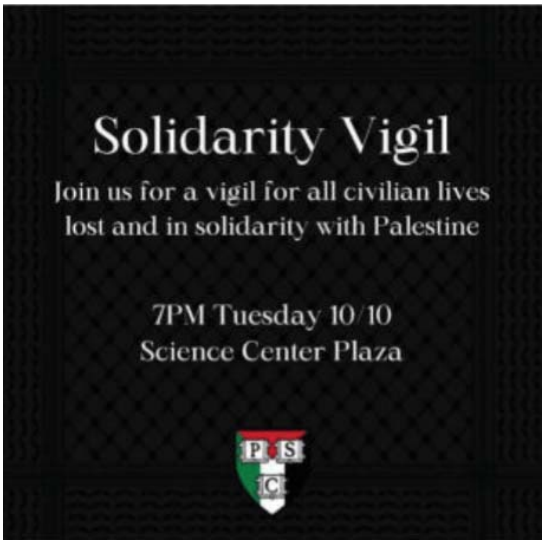
Politicization of Instruction and Other Academic Activities

The second category of concern observed in numerous Schools across campus, involved the introduction of what effectively amounts to a political litmus test regarding the conflict between Israelis and Palestinians, even in courses seemingly unrelated to the subject.

One example relates to multiple concerns expressed to the Task Force about the actions of some faculty at the Harvard Chan School in relation to protests during the 2023-24 academic year. Several students reported feeling that some faculty appeared to endorse pro-Palestinian protests on campus. For instance, one student expressed concern that a faculty member canceled and rescheduled class, seemingly to allow students to participate in the "Palestine Solidarity Global Strike" on Friday, October 20, 2023. This student reported feeling "disheartened, isolated, and scared" as a result. The Task Force believes that when faculty take actions that could be perceived as signaling to students that their grades will not be affected if they miss class to join a specific protest — especially if that protest aligns with the instructor's political commitments — such actions have the potential to undermine the Harvard Chan School's stated aim of producing an inclusive and welcoming environment. (We understand that the School's leadership has subsequently communicated to its faculty that canceling classes so students can attend protests is, going forward, unacceptable.)

Similarly, the Task Force received a report that a Teaching Fellow at Harvard Law School sent an email to students in their class on October 10, 2023, which included the following:

> I have tried to normalize the practice of bringing your whole identities and ideologies to the law school and classroom. I am sure you have been apprised of the ongoing violence in Gaza. To say the least, the news may seem overwhelming and confusing. I remain a resource for you all as a peer and TF to help process what we are seeing. I've found that spaces like the event below, a vigil at 7pm tonight at the Harvard Science Center, are very grounding. I invite you to take time to process your emotions, develop your commitments, and be in the community.



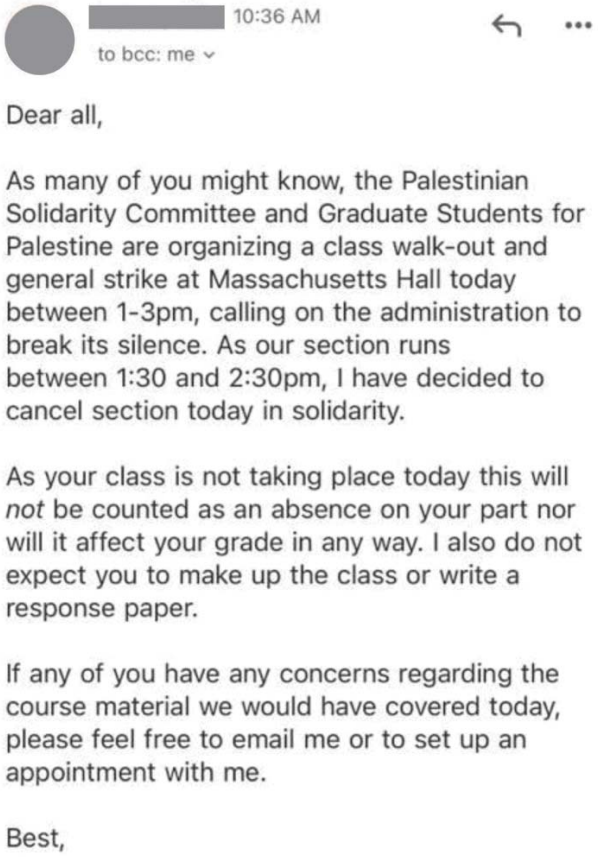
The student described in a letter to the Task Force how this made them feel:

> *[The Teaching Fellow] made no mention of the horrific terrorist attacks on civilians in Israel and made it seem that this was a one-sided issue, echoing the abhorrent statement written by the Harvard Palestinian Society Committee that was released days earlier and signed by 34 student organizations … [The Teaching Fellow] also stated in [their] email, "I remain a resource for you all as a peer and TF to help process what*

we are seeing." By explicitly calling out that [they are] a TF, [they] called on [their] authority and role as an employee of the University to further [their] agenda. Finally, [they] encouraged students to attend a Palestinian Vigil, making no inclusion for any of the Israel Vigils we were also being conducted to help students. [The Teaching Fellow] encouraged students to only mourn the lives lost in Gaza …

The professor in the course, upon learning of this email, immediately intervened to prevent its recurrence and made clear to all students in the class that the email had not been authorized by him. No further emails of this sort were circulated.

The Task Force received a similar concern about a Teaching Fellow's decision to cancel a class at Harvard College:


[redacted] 10:36 AM

to bcc: me

Dear all,

As many of you might know, the Palestinian Solidarity Committee and Graduate Students for Palestine are organizing a class walk-out and general strike at Massachusetts Hall today between 1-3pm, calling on the administration to break its silence. As our section runs between 1:30 and 2:30pm, I have decided to cancel section today in solidarity.

As your class is not taking place today this will *not* be counted as an absence on your part nor will it affect your grade in any way. I also do not expect you to make up the class or write a response paper.

If any of you have any concerns regarding the course material we would have covered today, please feel free to email me or to set up an appointment with me.

Best,

Text message from an instructor to students.
(Image submitted anonymously and redacted to protect privacy.)

In a course focused on reimagining education through diverse learning methods — including storytelling, art, drama, games, and community action — the instructor, a visiting fellow who was at Harvard for a short, one-week visit, posted a course welcome video that began, "We have inherited a world where a genocide is happening in Gaza." The application of the term "genocide" to the humanitarian crisis in Gaza is hotly contested. Beginning a course unrelated to the Middle East with this assertion effectively establishes a political viewpoint as a prerequisite for full participation in the course.

This framing significantly affected some students:

It was clear that genocide is not the professor's area of expertise, and yet [they] felt the need to frame this controversial argument as a fact, as part of [their] "welcome" to the students in the course. No context to the war was given, no mention of the suffering of people in Israel or the hostages, or of the countless devastating

> *conflicts in the world. Needless to say, there is no connection between the comment and the course. As an Israeli student, when I hear these as the first words of a course, I know that I am no longer welcome in this course … this environment puts me in a situation where I need to think twice before enrolling into a class, before saying where I am from when professors or students ask, give examples from my experience, or even if I should speak in class and draw more attention to myself. And more importantly, the atmosphere results in me as [a small number of Israelis] at HGSE being singled out. My Jewish peers and I continue to be marginalized from some classes and opportunities other students have access to. HGSE's curriculum clearly values equity and inclusion, but I am left feeling that this is a hollow promise when it comes to me and my Jewish peers. [Undergraduate student]*

While instructors have the right to express their political viewpoints in civic and political contexts, their role as educators, especially when teaching unrelated subject matter, requires them to exercise restraint in expressing personal political views. This restraint helps ensure that all students feel able to participate in the class on an even footing. In the case of the visiting fellow, who was on campus for a very short period of time, the Task Force is concerned that basic professional norms regarding the role of an instructor were not communicated. We note that as soon as the administration was notified of the problem, they acted to remove the offending video from the course website.

Similar to the issue of shunning, the Task Force heard accounts of what some described as political litmus tests being present at Harvard prior to 2023. One notable example involved the "Settler Colonial Determinants of Health" course, taught annually at the Harvard T.H. Chan School of Public Health. A 2021 email from the EDIB Standing Committee of the Department of Global Health and Population that was distributed to the full department described the course as part of a broader initiative that ultimately resulted in the creation of two courses:

> Our students, faculty, researchers, and staff come from every region of the globe, bringing together diverse backgrounds, identities, and perspectives. As scholars and as colleagues, we work towards building an inclusive and welcoming environment, where everyone can feel valued and accorded dignity and respect.
>
> Since the designation of the standing committee, we have been working through the materials gathered in our retreat, the priority plans from the school, and the previous recommendations from the EDIB committee to chart the optimal next steps. Although we are still sorting through the optimal strategy, we have already seen some progress so far. The Department has developed a course on Decolonizing Global Health … and a course offered this Winter session, *The Settler Colonial Determinants of Health* …; the Brown Bag Seminar has diversified its speakers. The doctoral and SM2 student communities have some mentorship programs that have developed organically. We will update you as we progress in our learning and actions.

The first instructor of the first class mentioned in this email, "Decolonizing Global Health," described their vision for the topic on social media in a post that students shared with us:



This social media post appeared to suggest that success in the course might be contingent upon political support for a specific side in a heated political contest. It also arguably conveyed a message that students who disagreed with this viewpoint might not be welcome. Indeed, several students with different political views who were initially interested in the course told the Task Force they chose not to enroll due to fear of discrimination. It should go without saying that academic performance should never depend on a student's political opinions or commitments. If this course adopted a specific political agenda, as the social media post suggests, such an approach would undermine Harvard's academic mission and integrity.

This situation also raises concerns about whether instructional quality met Harvard's standards of excellence. In any event, the decision-making process surrounding this course does not serve as a model for how Harvard departments should implement significant new curricular initiatives.

The Task Force heard similar concerns about actions related to the Israel-Hamas conflict in other areas of the University that some perceived as imposing a viewpoint litmus test. For example, protests at Harvard Medical School in Spring 2024 sparked concerns that the atmosphere at recruiting events for newly admitted Harvard students could discourage open and constructive discourse on the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. Some worried that these protests might create pressure to conform to a particular viewpoint, potentially discouraging prospective students who hold dissenting views from enrolling.

To provide context for the concerns, we will share some background information, relayed by HMS faculty, students, staff, and alumni, about the events that took place in the 2023-24 academic year at the Admitted Students Preview Days at HMS.

Many HMS affiliates described a deeply politicized environment, where outward expressions of social and political commitments were commonplace. For example, it was reported that HMS affiliates commonly wear pins and other visible symbols to signal their support for various causes. Numerous Jewish physicians and physicians-in-training told us that they supported such outward expressions as a way to affirm inclusivity and shared humanity. The Task Force recognizes the value of this aim.

However, many affiliates also reported an intellectual environment that provided little room for other types of diversity. Some HMS faculty, staff, and students characterized the dominant political atmosphere at HMS as a monoculture. Unfortunately, we were told, Jews do not do well in this narrative, where "Jews are the oppressors and [part of being good and supporting health means] stopping colonialism and Israel." In recent years, HMS has embraced an expansive view of the role of health professionals in promoting public health, for example by training its new students how to become advocates and activists on issues related to public health and encouraging them to leverage their roles as physicians to effect social change along multiple dimensions.[581] Importantly, while this political framework suggests a worthy concern about certain forms of discrimination, many community members expressed concern that this focus seems limited to groups "underrepresented in medicine"[582] or those experiencing "adverse health outcomes." These categories, they noted, do not include Jews or Israelis.

Indeed, several community members — a term we intentionally employ to protect the anonymity of individuals who requested that even their roles at HMS not be disclosed — told the Task Force that they felt hostility when seeking assistance from HMS's Office for Diversity Inclusion and Community Partnership (DICP). They said they were told that this office primarily addressed the concerns of groups currently underrepresented in medicine. HMS administrators disagreed with this framing of DICP, and in

[581] In sharing early drafts of this work, many readers expressed disbelief that this was true. However, it is. In the *Introduction to the Profession* mandatory course for first year medical students, there is indeed a class on "Physicians as Advocates and Activists." The course teaches students "principles of advocacy and activism" after which the class "explore[s] a pathway to meaningful activism and advocacy through the lens of a most consequential public health threat — climate change." The course teaches students that as physicians, they will be "among the most trusted voices in our society" who should use that trust to advocate for social causes.
[582] See e.g., https://www.aamc.org/career-development/affinity-groups/gfa/unique-populations#

emails with the Task Force pointed to recent programming related to antisemitism concerns.[583] That said, these community members described an environment where commitments to anti-racism and diversity, equity, and inclusion did not appear to encompass a parallel commitment to combating, or even adequately acknowledging, antisemitism. HMS affiliates who advocated for the School to address antisemitism more directly told the Task Force that they often felt their efforts were met with resistance.

It is within this context — one in which some community members see HMS as an environment where many people are committed to combating certain kinds of discrimination and encouraging activism — that October 7th arrived. The Hamas massacre and global response brought into sharp focus how HMS's commitments to social justice intersected with the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. This question was not entirely new, as tensions surrounding the issue had been increasing in salience since the 2010s. Nor was the division within the broader HMS community, with some viewing Zionism a form of social justice, while others saw pro-Palestinian activism as the paramount social justice issue of the day.

What the Task Force learned about HMS underscored for us the critical need to create and nurture a School culture that provides room for dissent and values genuine diversity, including diversity of thought. In the aftermath of October 7th, any Jewish, Israeli, and Zionist community members appeared to have expected the HMS administration to share their grief, while other students appeared to have expected the administration to share *their* grief, which they described as not only fear for what would happen in Gaza but also their mourning for all of the violence and displacement that has been a part of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict for decades. As one Jewish student poignantly described, they felt "torn between being Jewish and being a health care provider who cares about the lives of all endangered people."

This pre-existing climate of polarization intensified in the aftermath of the Hamas attacks. We heard that public political expression at HMS surged, taking the form of protests, open letters, external threats, legal actions, and demands for divestment or boycotts. Both sides of the political dispute closely scrutinized the administration's various responses, meticulously analyzing written communications for any hint of bias and dissecting the statements of various deans. Several staff and students reported paying close attention to which administrators attended specific protests or social events, and what they said while present. Some HMS affiliates felt that HMS's handling of demonstrations — specifically, what they perceived as a failure to enforce rules regarding permitted demonstrations and an implicit endorsement of pro-Palestinian protests — demonstrated an uneven application of policy. Others viewed any attempt to discipline the protestors as an attempt to delegitimize their cause.

One of the most troubling stories that we heard in the course of our overall work had to do with Admitted Students Preview Days (ASPD) at HMS. HMS, like many medical schools, hosts an event on campus for its admitted students to come and "experience HMS" with the goal of persuading them to enroll. This is an example of a "yield event" where universities welcome their admitted students to campus to see the community they have been invited to join.

According to reports received by the Task Force, some HMS students planned to use ASPD as a platform for a pro-Palestinian protest. This plan was not a secret — it was initially shared with the student body via an email survey gauging support for incorporating pro-Palestinian messaging into the HMS student "music video," a signature element of ASPD. However, the HMS administration reportedly blocked this attempt, deeming it "inappropriate" and stating that "it would likely be perceived as representing a political viewpoint and could alienate some members of the student body." The *Crimson* reported that some HMS

[583] When HMS administrators reviewed a draft of this report, they pointed to several programs that this Office had produced that were not mentioned to us by the HMS affiliates who spoke to the Task Force, such as seminars and programming on Holocaust education and sessions co-sponsored with the Harvard University Office for Equity, Diversity, Inclusion and Belonging on antisemitism and Islamophobia. We acknowledge and appreciate the work that HMS has been doing to improve the climate on their campus.

students viewed the administration's decision as censorship, particularly since pro-abortion messages had been featured in the prior year's video, which reflects back on the deeply politicized environment.[584] In a statement to the *Crimson*, HMS' spokesperson wrote that:

> There is a place and space for protest and expression of political advocacy, but it is not in a celebratory student music video, which is meant to be a non-political, festive piece and designed to create a supportive, inclusive environment for all students and to welcome newly admitted ones.

This strikes us as exactly right, and we commend the HMS administration for responding as they did.

Despite the administration's significant and admirable efforts to prevent the politicization of the student music video, several accounts described the ASPD event as intensely partisan and off-putting. While we were not in a position to conduct an exhaustive investigation, the common themes that surfaced suggest important issues and concerns meriting close attention:

> *A lot of the current students made it clear they wanted to send a message to visiting students to discourage Zionist students from coming here. [HMS student]*
>
> *[At admit day], many students were wearing keffiyahs, including officers of student groups. [There were] many signs like "Stop the Genocide" and "Free Palestine." There was a talent show where many student organizations put on Palestinian-themed presentations. Current medical students [stood] on an elevated walkway yelling "Free Palestine." Many students wore red masks to show that they had been muzzled by Harvard (apparently in connection with a student-produced video that was to have more Palestine content). I was told by one of the students that "Zionists are not welcome at HMS." [Recently admitted HMS student]*

HMS students and admitted students described the rhetoric and protests at the event as threatening. For example, during the talent show, an HMS student performed an Arabic song that was written by Lebanese artists after the Israeli victory in the Israeli-Arab War of 1967 that reflects sadness over the outcome of that war and a longing for the conquest of Jerusalem. In Arabic, the song is called "Ya Zahrat al madayn." The HMS student performed the first verse of a three-verse song, where the first verse reflects a longing for Jerusalem and a praise for its holiness, the second verse reflects a lament for the loss of Jerusalem to Israel in the war of 1967 and the third verse expresses faith that fury will come and restore Jerusalem to Arab rule. The verse performed during HMS Admitted Students Preview Days, translated into English, is as follows:[585]

> It is for you O city of the prayer that I pray
> It is for you O splendid home, O flower of the cities
> O Jerusalem O Jerusalem O Jerusalem O city of the prayer
> Our eyes are set out to you everyday
> They walk through the porticos of the temples
> Embrace of the old churches
> And take the sadness away from the mosques
> O night of Al Asra O path of those who left for the sky
> Our eyes are set out to you everyday and I pray

HMS administrators informed us that they had authorized this student to perform a different Palestinian folk song, "Ya Taali'een 'ala el-Jabal," and that the student substituted this other song about Jerusalem for that one after going up to perform with no warning. They also emphasize that the student did not perform the final verse of the song, where the longing for the conquest of Jerusalem is most explicit (e.g., the lyrics

[584] https://www.thecrimson.com/article/2024/4/22/medical-dental-students-allege-music-video-censorship/
[585] A translation of the full song into English can be found here: https://lyricstranslate.com/en/node/77817

"I will knock the gates and I will liberate them / My face will be cleaned by the holy water of the Jordan river / And the effects of the barbarism of the past will be erased O Jordan River / The glaring anger is arriving riding … This is our home and Jerusalem belongs to us / And in our hands we will celebrate the splendor of Jerusalem / by our hands the peace will return to Jerusalem" were not performed). However, students and prospective students in the audience who did not speak Arabic were aware of what song was performed and the lyrics that they looked up online, not the fact that the second two verses were omitted. HMS administrators also tell us that they admonished this student subsequent to the performance of the song for failing to follow the approved script and reminded this student of the time, place, and manner restrictions on protest. HMS administrators also inform us that they will separate the talent show from ASPD going forward.

One student described their admission to HMS as "one of the biggest honors" of their life. It was "not even a dream" because they "never imagined it would happen." There was "true elation." This applicant identified as a progressive Jew who said they were "not afraid of keffiyehs." However, the ASPD event revealed to this applicant that HMS was "not an environment that was welcoming to different viewpoint/stances" and not a place where they "could find community. [The ASPD event] burst the bubble of elation." This applicant, while deeply critical of Israel's actions in Gaza, shared the following:

> *What stuck with [me] throughout the [event] weekend: [is] Zionists not welcome here. You [the applicant] are not and will not be. Students were trying to make other students not welcome.*

The admitted student felt that HMS did not offer the sort of "respectful and inclusive" environment that they envisioned for their preparation as a health care professional and instead was a toxic place where the student did not want to spend four years. As a result, this admitted student turned down HMS and pursued their medical education elsewhere.

Another admitted student shared with the Task Force a strikingly similar experience. They reported feeling shocked by what they perceived as endorsements of the anti-Israel protests by HMS administrators at the ASPD event. They mentioned noticing the absence of any Israeli or Jewish representation (for example, in flag displays), while seeing HMS tour guides wearing clothing that signaled support of anti-Israel protestors and what they described as "pro-Hamas posters" during the dorm tour. These observations left the prospective student feeling that HMS staff and students would be actively hostile toward them if they enrolled.

This prospective student further reported visiting HMS's Office for Diversity Inclusion and Community Partnership after the ASPD event to inquire about accommodations for Jewish holidays and express feeling unsafe during the ASPD activities. According to the student, they were told that they were not unsafe but rather uncomfortable, and that they should know the difference. The student was reportedly told that their safety was assured by the presence of security personnel at the event. However, the student replied at the time, the fact that HMS had to bring security to the event for admitted students meant that there was a safety issue. They told us that they left the meeting in tears.

This admitted student also declined HMS' offer of admission.

A vocal component of the HMS community appears to view itself as engaged in an ongoing battle to establish a certain narrative of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict as an institutional orthodoxy. In line with this, one senior HMS administrator noted the strong focus of many HMS students on social justice, adding "[they] think Harvard is on the wrong side of history when it comes to Palestine":

> *[Life at HMS] left me ready to quit medicine — I had to remind myself that Harvard isn't medicine and that not everywhere is like this. [HMS graduate]*

Politicized Instruction that Mainstreams Antisemitism and Anti-Israeli Bias

The Task Force received examples of instructional materials from multiple Schools that raised concerns about the potential introduction of antisemitism and anti-Israeli bias into the classroom.

Harvard Graduate School of Education

One concern involved a course at HGSE about ethnic studies that assigned an article titled "Palestine is Ethnic Studies: The Struggle for Arab American Studies in K–12 Ethnic Studies Curriculum."[586]

The article, which focuses on the conflict over the Ethnic Studies curriculum in the State of California's K-12 education system, describes how Jewish groups raised concerns about what they perceived as one-sided depictions of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict and the erasure of California's Jewish community. However, the article characterizes these Jewish groups as one of two main opponents of ethnic studies in California, alongside White supremacists. On page 222, the article states:

> In addition to the white supremacist targeting of this movement, Islamophobic and Zionist organizations such as the Anti-Defamation League, the Jewish Community Relations Center, and the Simon Wiesenthal Center organized an aggressive campaign to remove any mention of Palestine and Palestinian Americans in the curriculum.

The article then asserts that dismantling anti-Arab racism requires "ending the war on terror including the US-backed colonization of Palestine."[587] Notably, the article itself offers limited insight into the perspectives and motivations of the California Jewish community regarding the draft curriculum beyond cursory references to "anti-Palestinian racism." It then posits that a new, liberated ethnic studies curriculum emerged in response to the perceived political influence of the California Jewish community (or "Zionists," as the article refers to them).

There is no reason why an article about Arab American studies in the broader conversation around ethnic studies could not be featured as part of a course that covered the content, which this one at HGSE did. However, the article, as written, taps into antisemitic tropes. The article does not include any counterpoint explaining *why* Jewish groups had problems with the model California ethnic studies curriculum. Jewish groups are reduced to a faceless, shapeless, and malevolent force. A class discussing the perspective of both pro-Palestinian groups and Jewish organizations with attachments to Israel could nicely illuminate contested spaces within ethnic studies curricula. Instead, the provided course materials communicated a dehumanizing frame to Jewish students in the course.

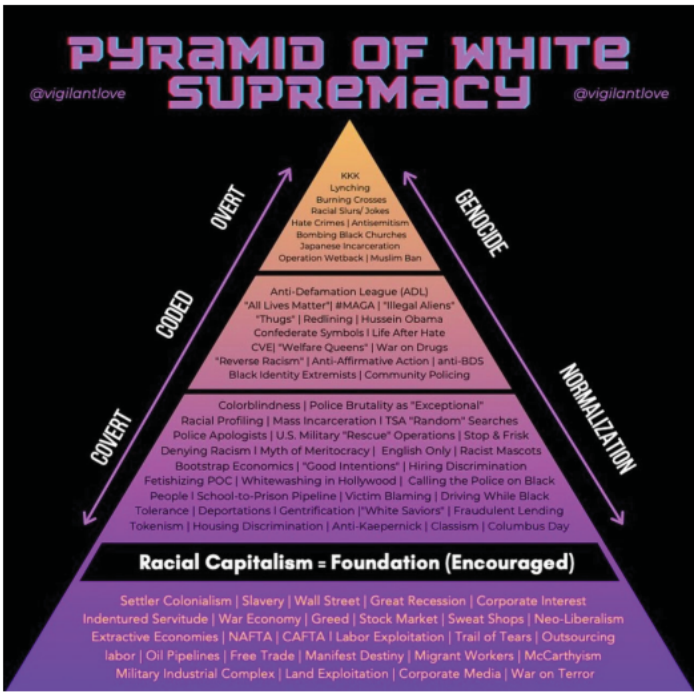
Instructors should strive to identify and avoid potentially antisemitic materials, just as they would materials containing potentially racist or otherwise biased content. In addition to the concerns raised about this article, the Task Force also learned about a session in four sections (out of 28) of a required course for all HGSE students that included the following graphic about White supremacy:

[586] Lara Kiswani et al.,"Palestine is Ethnic Studies: The Struggle for Arab American Studies in K–12 Ethnic Studies Curriculum," Journal of Asian American Studies, vol. 26 no. 2, 2023, p. 221-231. Project MUSE. https://dx.doi.org/10.1353/jaas.2023.a901070
[587] Ibid, 223.

An Example: Deconstructing White Supremacy

"This image illustrates the historical foundations of day-to-day racist norms that work together to produce "extreme" or spectacular acts of white supremacy. It shows that individualized white supremacy stems from centuries of structural racism in the US."

from: https://www.vigilantlove.org/servicesnotsurveillance



Setting aside concerns about potential antisemitism and anti-Israeli bias, this graphic is on its face conceptually incoherent. For example, it pairs slavery with free trade, neo-liberalism with McCarthyism, and outsourcing with the War on Terror. Such dubious comparisons appear throughout the chart.

A closer examination reveals additional concerns. The graphic labels opposition to the Boycott, Divestment, Sanctions (BDS) movement as considered "coded genocide," placing it alongside the Anti-Defamation League (ADL). Both are positioned merely one step removed from "overt genocide," which includes examples like lynching and the KKK. The ADL, while not without controversies, is a longstanding American Jewish organization founded in 1913 with a well-documented history of advocating for civil rights.

Some Jewish students enrolled in this course who spoke with the Task Force expressed that this graphic felt demonizing towards individuals who support Israel's right to exist. They reported that the instructor displayed the graphic on screen for an extended period without addressing its problematic characterization of Jewish organizations and perspectives. Furthermore, when a Jewish student raised concerns about the graphic's antisemitic elements to the teaching assistant, who then relayed these concerns to the instructor, the graphic was neither removed from the screen nor from the copy of the slides posted online. Instead, the student told us the instructor made a comment at the end of class that felt targeted and dismissive of their concerns. According to the student, the instructor referenced the "land acknowledgement" made earlier in the class, in which the instructor acknowledged that Harvard University sits on land rightfully belonging to Native Americans, and then stated, "I am so grateful that we could acknowledge the land we are on right now is not rightfully ours and this [rule] must apply to other places."

We understand that the instructor has since agreed not to include this graphic in their course materials in the future.

The complex dynamics of problematic social media, public commentary, and experiences of shunning and identity-based targeting that the Task Force has noted coalesced in certain significant community events. One such incident was a teach-in at HGSE.

In the aftermath of the October 7th attacks and the ensuing war and campus unrest, HGSE, like other Harvard units, sought to organize a panel discussion featuring diverse perspectives on Israel and the Palestinians. Given that HGSE lacks resident faculty with expertise in the area, they (sensibly) looked elsewhere in the University for help. Consequently, HGSE leadership asked the Center for Middle Eastern Studies, whose faculty possess considerable expertise in the region, to assemble the desired panel.

Several attendees perceived the resulting panel to be heavily skewed toward a single perspective, with some even expressing concern that the speakers appeared to justify Hamas' actions. Furthermore, the Task Force received reports alleging that an antisemitic comment was made by one of the panelists, directed toward a HGSE affiliate.

An examination of this incident underscores the danger of convening one-sided panels to address deeply contested issues. It highlights the importance of responsible and knowledgeable faculty leadership in moments of crisis and in assembling suitable speakers for such moments, and what happens when that does not happen.



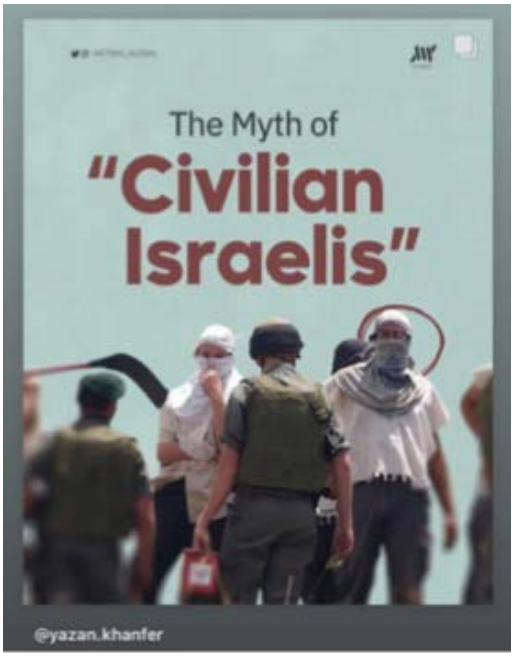
This event was co-organized by Harvard's Center for Middle Eastern Studies (CMES), which possesses considerable resources and expertise on the region. A HGSE administrator opened the event with the following remarks:

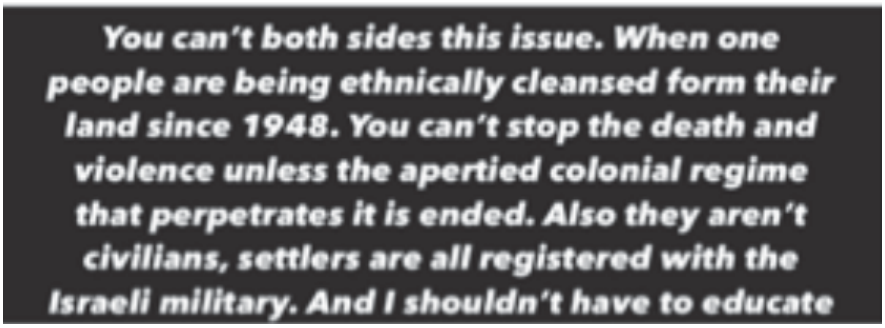
> As you know, this is the second in a series of teach-ins on the evolving war in Israel/Palestine that are being organized by our colleagues in Harvard's Center for Middle Eastern Studies. This one co-sponsored and hosted by [HGSE] …
>
> We decided to start these events with a teach-in for at least two reasons. First, we heard from many students over the past two weeks about their perceived lack of knowledge about the Israeli-Palestinian conflict and their desire to learn more about the historical, political and legal context for the current conflict. Second, as a School of Education, one with the motto "Learn to change the world," we view learning as an essential prerequisite for work on the most challenging issues we face as a society.
>
> The scholars we will learn from today vary in their identities, their experiences and their expertise. They differ on how they assess the current situation. What matters most about it? Where things are headed. And what should be done …
>
> What they and other scholars affiliated with the Center for Middle Eastern Studies share is a commitment to the principle that there is no justification for the targeting of civilians and that any loss of civilian life should be grieved.

Unfortunately, the speakers largely did not differ in how they perceived the then-current situation. The speakers included a professor of Palestinian Studies from another university and three Harvard affiliates with recognizably pro-Palestinian viewpoints. Some Jewish HGSE affiliates told us they chose not to attend this event when they saw that there was likely no one on the panel who would offer a pro-Israel or even neutral voice. Their concerns proved to be justified.

At the outset of the event, speakers described the October 7th attacks as attacks on "Israeli Jewish settlements surrounding the Gaza strip." This terminology raised concerns among some attendees, who perceived it as an arguably deliberate attempt to de-humanize the Israeli victims of the attack and to justify their murder since they were "settlers," a term typically used in English to describe Jewish residents in the West Bank, as opposed to those who live in pre-1967 Israel. (The places in southern Israel that were attacked by Hamas were the latter, e.g., collective agricultural communities founded in the 1940s and 1950s.) Some Jewish and non-Jewish HGSE community members reported feeling that the thematic thrust of the teach-in leaned more toward justifying the violence against Israeli civilians than criticizing it.

This perceived sentiment about Israeli settlers was not limited to this particular event at HGSE but appeared to be present elsewhere at the University as well. Students shared social media posts with the Task Force — allegedly made by fellow students — that exemplified this perspective.





The lack of any kind of sympathetic perspective towards Israel meant that the assembled HGSE participants were left without answers to important questions: Why was Israel alarmed by Hamas' victory in the 2006 Palestine Authority elections? Why did Hamas and the mainstream Palestinian faction, Fatah, fight a civil war after that election? Why did Israel choose after Hamas' victory in that war to impose strict separation between it and Gaza? Why are Jews living in Israel in the first place? On all of these questions, the panel offered no information.

This event was recorded, so we were able to review the full transcript in addition to hearing complaints and concerns from attendees. In the recording, panelists claimed that pro-Israel community members at Harvard were in denial, suggesting that efforts should focus on helping them "unlearn what they've already learned." This framing implied that individuals holding views divergent from those of the panelists had been misled or indoctrinated into falsehoods. The panelists were perceived by audience members to adopt a stance of "breaking a taboo" and of "speaking out against power" while actually offering partial truths and misinformation. The panelists talked about the importance of humanizing Palestinians, but at the same time they seemed to de-humanize Israelis.

The discussion seemed to lack historical and political context essential for a comprehensive understanding of the conflict. For example, the panel did not address Israel's history of releasing large numbers of Palestinian prisoners in hostage deals, a factor that reportedly played an important role in the planning of the October 7th attacks, so even the Palestinian perspective was not well-represented at the event. Instead, the panelists focused on advocating a particular pro-Palestinian framing that left the motivations of both Israelis and

Palestinians a mystery. For example, in a transcript of the event "settler colonial" appeared three times, "apartheid" appeared four times, and "genocide" appeared 13 times, while "hostage" did not appear once.

In an extraordinary moment, a Jewish American HGSE affiliate posed the following question after the panelists concluded their discussion:

> You know, to say I feel gaslit in the face of massive atrocities in Gaza and in Israel would be an understatement. This does not feel like a teach-in. This feels like indoctrination. I will end with a question, though. My heart goes out to each of you on a human level. Deeply human level. I'd love to hear how, given all the context, the justification, but not the justification, you would explain the violence on kibbutzim founded in 1946, not settlements. Thank you very much. Kibbutz is peaceful. Kibbutz is with peace workers. How would you explain the targeting and murder of children and families in their bedrooms? And I would end that by not making some political statement. Right now, what we see in Gaza is absolutely heart-wrenching, that we know thousands of people have died and will continue to die in Gaza. Israelis and Palestinians will continue to die in this conflict. And it is astounding to me that we have just sat through 90 minutes where one person made a very brief mention and then each of you went to great lengths to give us context for the murder of families in their bedrooms.

In response to the HGSE affiliate's question, one of the panelists reacted by asking the individual to repeat their name, which was a common name for a Jewish American. The panelist, who had grown up in Israel/Palestine, then proceeded to tell the HGSE affiliate that they had no right to ask the question:

> Now, honestly, what's your name? [Repeating a recognizably Jewish first name] … Excuse me. I am extending first of all, don't interrogate me. I'm not [at] an interrogation. We're not at home.

Audience members who spoke with the Task Force perceived this response as implying that the Jewish HGSE affiliate, by virtue of their Jewish identity and pointed question, posed a threat akin to interrogation or even torture by the Israeli military.

Following the event, the Jewish HGSE affiliate who had asked the question and received this answer, subsequently communicated with senior HGSE administrators, who apologized for the harm caused by the teach-in and the "extremely one-sided" panel. They also recognized the panelist's behavior as "antisemitic" and that this response to a legitimate question was "unacceptable and bigoted." Other HGSE community members expressed a similar sympathy and shock at the event. We were told that members of the HGSE community were deeply traumatized by this panel and this incident, and it contributed to what we were told was a very tough year at HGSE.

We believe this example illustrates the dangers of one-sided academic events on controversial topics. These dangers are enhanced when these events are produced by a School itself or center, as opposed to a student-initiated event, which does not carry the University's implicit endorsement. Events like the HGSE "teach-in," which consist of 90 minutes of people agreeing with one another, transforms the ostensible purpose of the event into something more like a rally for partisans who passionately share the same viewpoint. Moreover, such a structure incurs a risk of emboldening and bringing out extreme aspects of the hegemonic point of view on display.

That is what happened here. We wonder whether the panelists would have been so quick to dismiss points of view from the audience that differed from their own if those perspectives had been represented by the panelists themselves. And we also wonder whether the antisemitic attack by one of the panelists on a member of the HGSE community would have taken place in an atmosphere open to the exchange of dissenting views. The event was attended by students from other Harvard units, so its influence was felt beyond HGSE as well.

Disturbingly, the Task Force received additional accounts from Harvard affiliates at HGSE describing instances where American Jews, Israelis, and even Palestinians with moderate political views were subjected to bullying and intimidation by pro-Palestinian activists who viewed any perspective on Israel that did not align with their own as a betrayal. This bullying reportedly took various forms, including shunning, threats, and verbal harassment — all of which are antithetical to the values and norms of a pluralistic and inclusive community. The public nature of the abusive behavior at the HGSE Teach-In, coupled with the lack of immediate public condemnation, raises concerns about whether this incident may have contributed to a broader culture of intolerance. By appearing to legitimize a narrow and exclusionary perspective on the Israeli-Palestinian conflict, the event may have had a chilling effect on the free expression and sense of belonging of those — among them many Jewish and Israeli individuals — holding dissenting views within the HGSE community.

This case points to the need for centers of excellence with topic matter expertise, like CMES, to act as trusted partners to the rest of the University during times of crisis. CMES failed to rise to the occasion at this event. The moderator (a faculty member from elsewhere in the University) was also not sufficiently prepared to handle an active instance of antisemitic name-calling in the moment.

Preventing similar occurrences in the future requires support for improved academic capacity at the University to address the thorny questions in the Middle East at the highest level of academic caliber, more professional development for administrators in how to develop, structure, and implement public events on controversial topics, and more clarity from School leadership on how to establish non-discrimination and anti-bullying as norms anchoring a pluralistic School culture. Additionally, the Center for Middle Eastern Studies should in the future offer more diverse perspectives when providing experts to serve in public events throughout the University.

Harvard T.H. Chan School of Public Health

In Fall 2024, the Palestine Program for Health and Human Rights at the François-Xavier Bagnoud (FXB) Center for Health and Human Rights (the "Palestine Program") at the Harvard T.H. Chan School of Public Health offered many high-profile webinars about the humanitarian crisis in Gaza. Several students raised concerns with the Task Force about these webinars, alleging that some of the featured speakers presented a demonizing view of Israel and Israelis. One student told us that the FXB programming created the impression that "Israel exists solely to oppress Palestinians, and nothing else."

Students reported that when they voiced concerns about what they saw as bias in the Center's programming, they were asked: "Who is more marginalized, Jews or Palestinians?" These students interpreted this response as an attempt to invalidate their concerns by suggesting that the complaints of Jews were illegitimate because of an unseen hierarchy of civil rights claims and victimhood. Students noted that there were no programs on the "public health consequences of rockets being fired or suicide bombings."

One student shared, "I came to the school as a [scientist], only to encounter this big over-arching framework of social justice that is a higher priority here than science." Another student echoed the sentiment, stating, "[We] have decided that every issue is a public health issue, which means we bring our public health lens to every problem we encounter, despite a poverty of actual knowledge on whatever the details of that problem are."

We note that since at least late April 2024, FXB webinars, like other Harvard Chan School programming, have carried a disclaimer indicating that FXB webinar speakers do not speak for Harvard.

One Harvard alum offered this observation about an FXB webinar held in November 2024, citing it as a representative example:

> During the webinar another [speaker] said that all the hospitals in Gaza have been "attacked, besieged or ordered to evacuate" without ever once mentioning why that was the case … [The speaker] then went on to assert "the IDF's charter is to target healthcare workers."[588]

We received complaints about another FXB webinar from April 2024, "Gaza: A perspective on children in war zones," which was also characterized by bias and misinformation. To give a handful of examples, the speaker initially presented the casualty numbers in Gaza as if all deaths were civilian deaths. The speaker asserted that Israel had sealed all exits from Gaza dating back to the mid-2000s, which is not true: prior to (and during part of) the Gaza war that started in 2023, the southern border was controlled by Egypt. The speaker asserted that the number of casualties was comparable to the Darfur genocide, which was also untrue. The accumulation of dis- and misinformation of this kind about Israel is a form of demonization, and we were told it was experienced as such by Israeli and Jewish members of our campus community.

It is important to note that an association between a Harvard program and this type of content gives the content seeming credibility that can have an impact far beyond a particular School at Harvard. For example, in the main Harvard Graduate School of Education group chat last year, students implored each other to attend these FXB webinars:



Some Jewish students shared with the Task Force that they felt these types of one-sided events carried the implicit endorsement of Harvard's name and reputation. They expressed concern about the

[588] This paraphrase from the report to the Task Force appears to correspond to the following statement from the webinar: "This is intentional targeting of healthcare workers. So being a healthcare worker in Palestine, especially in Gaza, that's per the Israeli military, this is basically their charge — because you're being a healthcare worker, you're doing your job, you're going to be targeted."

proliferation of such events — citing numerous instances at both FXB and the Religion and Public Life (RPL) program at Harvard Divinity School (which we discuss below) — as indicative of institutional bias and hostility. This sentiment stemmed, in part, from the perceived absence of any perspectives within these programs that offered alternative explanations for Israel's actions or presented different interpretations of the data:

> *Chan has a truth; this is just how we think; Chan has never had a single event that is pro-Israel or even neutral, it is all very one sided. [Harvard Chan School student]*
>
> *Weekly [at the Chan School] there were [events hosted by the Palestine Program of FXB] — there were a ton of flyers around the school around it, a seeming constant presence to students that "the most important thing in public health is Palestine" and there is only one acceptable view. [Harvard Chan School student]*

Notably, every Jewish and non-Jewish student who raised concerns about the Palestine Program with the Task Force also expressed either personal ambivalence or even opposition to the ongoing Israeli military operations in Gaza, as well as deep concern about the health and well-being of Palestinians. But at the same time these students felt there was no place for them in such programs at the Harvard Chan School unless they adopted a pervasive yet at best incomplete framing of facts and history that had become, in their view, almost universal in the School.

The Task Force also received numerous complaints about the Harvard Chan School's course on the "Settler Colonial Determinants of Health," specifically concerning the Spring 2022 version of the syllabus and some of its assigned readings. It is worth noting that this course was taught by one of the leaders of the Palestine Program.

Before delving further into the specific concerns about the course, it is essential to understand the broader context of the settler colonial framework that the course uses, through which it considers Israel as one of several settler-colonial countries worldwide, the most prominent of them being the United States.

Like Americans in general, Harvard students have long considered Israel through the lens of their own American identities, although what was once a positive association between America and Israel has in recent years turned into a negative one. In effect, the "settler colonial" frame that this course (and the RPL program) adopts tracks a shift in how members of different generations of Harvard students — and, by extension, many Americans — view the United States and its allies.

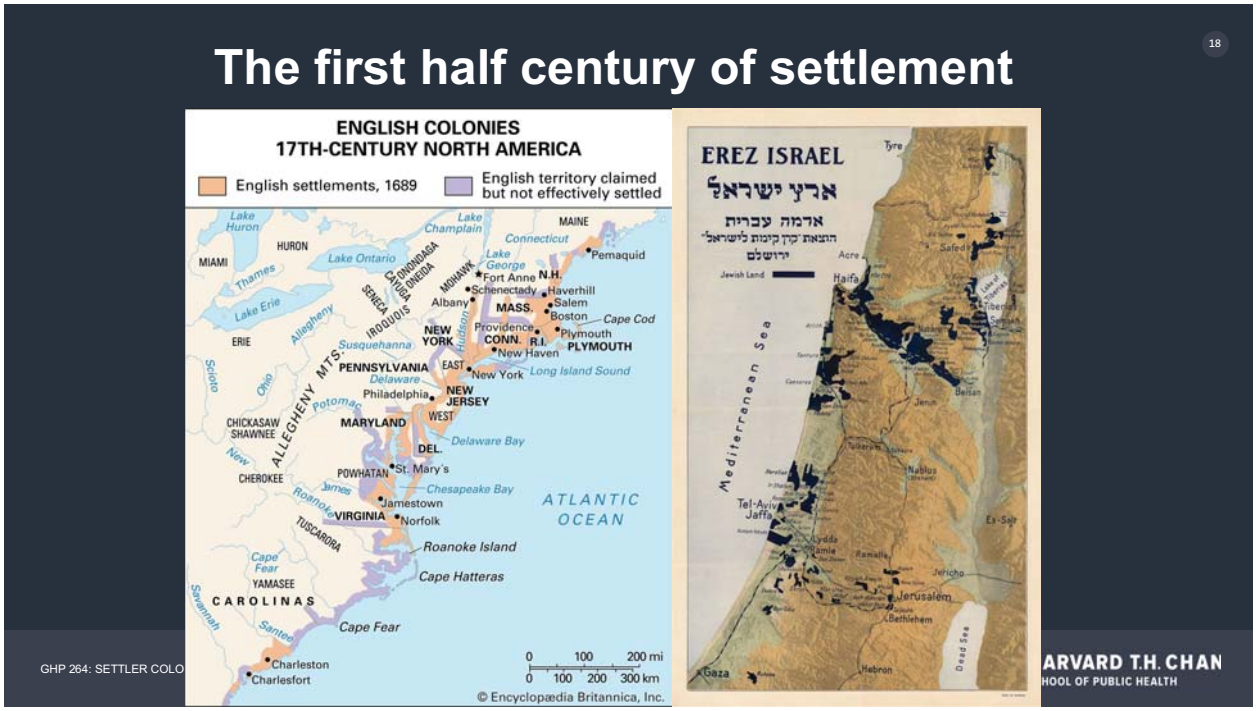
As an example of this historical shift, a Harvard student wrote in the *Crimson* in 1968:

> HEBREW University in Jerusalem is just like Harvard except that there are slightly fewer Americans, it rains less, the students work harder … ISRAEL began as, and in many ways still is a country of pioneers, and as a country of immigrants driven by the pioneering spirit it parallels America in its youth.[589]

This student's perspective reveals a clear identification with Israel as a kindred nation. When this student looked at one of Israel's premier universities, they saw Harvard, and when they looked at the country of Israel, they saw America in its youth, and they connected the pride they felt in the America that was a "pioneer[ing]" "country of immigrants" to Israel.

Today, many at Harvard also look at Israel and see the United States and its allies, but their judgment is different. For example, one of the slides in the Settler Colonial class on the first day in Spring 2024 depicted the following image:

[589] https://www.thecrimson.com/article/1968/12/17/israel-after-the-war-a-sociologist/



Relatedly, in a published article describing the trip organized by Harvard Divinity School's Religion and Public Life program to Israel and the West Bank profiled below, the Harvard staff running the trip describe:

> Increasingly, our students who are sensitized on the issue of Harvard's crimes against Indigenous peoples and who also reckon with the legacies of slavery and ongoing anti-blackness as well as other forms of bigotry cannot bracket their sensibilities concerning how one case relates to another. They become attuned to their situatedness and implication in various historical and ongoing injustices. They also see the links between the depopulation of Palestine and the legacies of settler colonialism in North America and understand that while the stories are distinct, they share common origins in European Christian modernity.[590]

Returning to the Settler Colonial Determinants on Health course at the Harvard Chan School, one of the assigned readings in Spring 2022 (which was made an optional reading in Spring 2023 and then removed from the syllabus in Spring 2024, in response to administrative intervention and an internal review process following complaints) was an article that aims to offer a comprehensive background on the Israeli-Palestinian conflict, entitled "A Century of Settler Colonialism in Palestine," by Tariq Dana, a professor at the Doha Institute for Graduate Studies and a former faculty member at Birzeit University, and Ali Jarbawi, a professor at Birzeit University.[591]

The paper begins:

> Throughout the past century, the Zionist movement constructed the most sophisticated settler-colonial project of our age: the State of Israel. The violent birth of Israel in 1948 and the subsequent colonization of the entirety of the land of Palestine after the 1967 war are indeed reflections of Zionism's successes in fulfilling its settler-colonial ambitions in Palestine. Yet, while this settler-colonial project continues unabated, it is an entangled one, unable to reach the ultimate point of

[590] "Touring Absences, Erasures, and Futures in the Unholy Land: A Religiously Literate Diasporic Reading of Palestine/Israel," Palestine/Israel Review 1, no. 2 (2024), 313-42.
[591] Tariq Dana and Ali Jarbawi, "A Century of Settler Colonialism in Palestine: Zionism's Entangled Project," *Brown Journal of World Affairs* 24, no. 1 (Fall/Winter 2017), 197-220.

> Jewish exclusivity in the land. Zionist settler colonialism, as its historical precedents suggest, is fundamentally based on the operative logic of "eliminating the native" and failing to utterly marginalize and "minoritize" him. The vibrant Palestinian presence in the land, the everyday resistance to the colonial order, and the robust Palestinian adherence to their rights all stand as structural obstacles to the ultimate realization of the "Zionist dream." Despite Israel's relentless colonial power and domination, Palestinian steadfastness means that this project will remain impeded and incomplete, a matter that may lead to its future demise.

The remainder of the article draws on highly polemical scholarship to contend that:

> Zionism manipulated Judaism as a religion to reinterpret history and redefine Jewishness in terms of ethnic belonging.

The article posits that Jews are fundamentally a "religious group," not an "ethnic group," and therefore lack inherent territorial claims. It further contends that even if Jews were an ethnic group, the popular account of Jewish history is ahistorical.[592] The article suggests that the true descendants of the ancient inhabitants of the land are not those who identify as Jews today — who, as the article emphasizes, are a religious group, not an ethnic one — but rather, the Palestinians.

These perspectives are found in courses in Middle Eastern history and politics, and in many other courses in a wide variety of fields, throughout the world. This generalization misconstrued must not, however, be seen as a justification for the current state of teaching on the Israeli-Palestinian conflict in the Harvard Chan School. Courses on such contentious subjects should offer multiple perspectives. Harvard should be a leader in this regard, yet students reported to us that the 2022 version of the syllabus for "The Settler Colonial Determinants of Health" implicitly communicated that any debate over Israel is settled and not welcome in the class. This perception stemmed from the stated learning objective to "analyze and interrogate the relationships between settler colonialism, Zionism, antisemitism, and other forms of racism."

Session 6, Day 4. Settler Colonialism in Palestine/Israel (will include lecture by guest speaker)		
Upon successful completion of this session, you should be able to: • Understand and discuss the history of settler colonialism in Palestine/Israel and its ongoing structure and manifestations • Analyze and interrogate the relationships between settler colonialism, Zionism, antisemitism, and other forms of racism	Required Readings: (46 pages + 11-minute audio clip) • Tariq Dana, & Ali Jarbawi. (2017). A Century of Settler Colonialism in Palestine: Zionism's Entangled Project. *The Brown Journal of World Affairs*, *24*(1):197–219. • Andy Clarno. (2017). Introduction: Racial Capitalism and Settler Colonialism. In: Neoliberal Apartheid : Palestine/Israel and South Africa after 1994. University of Chicago Press. Pp. 1-8. • Leila Farsakh. (2016) Palestinian Economic Development: Paradigm Shifts	TBD

We are told that this language was removed from later versions of the syllabus for subsequent iterations of the class after administrative intervention in response to student complaints after the class was taught.

The course's seemingly one-sided framing unfortunately overlooked alternative perspectives offered by Harvard's tenured faculty on these very issues. The broader literature on the question of the Jews' relationship with the ancient Near East as summarized in the appendix to a recent paper,[593] published in *Cell,* among whose authors are David Reich, Professor of Genetics at Harvard Medical School and Professor of Evolutionary Biology at Harvard University. According to Reich and his co-authors, there is considerable

[592] Dana and Jarbawi, "Century of Settler Colonialism," 199.
[593] See Shamam Waldman et al, "Genome-wide data from medieval German Jews show that the Ashkenazi founder event pre-dated the 14th century," 185 Cell (2022), 4703.

historical, archaeological, linguistic, and genetic evidence of a Middle Eastern origin of those Jews in today's Israel who have more recent European roots — let alone the Jews in Israel whose ancestors are from the Middle East and North Africa. Other research has found that Jews, Palestinian Arabs, Bedouin, and Druze are closely related.[594] Instead of engaging with the breadth of scholarly evidence on this subject, the Settler Colonial course seems to present a single, highly politicized approach to the question of Jewish origins.

Jonathan Gribetz '02, a Professor of Near Eastern Studies at Princeton University, has described this type of one-sided rhetoric as an example of a kind of "mutual hatred and delegitimization" that has come to dominate the rhetoric between Israelis and Palestinians and their supporters:

> Many versions of such discourse circulate: there is no such thing as a "Palestinian"; contemporary Jews are merely Europeans with no connection to the Holy Land; there were hardly any Arabs in Palestine before the Zionists came; Zionism is racism; Palestinian nationalism is nothing more than antisemitism; and so on.[595]

Gribetz's observation highlights the dangers of reducing complex historical narratives to simplistic and oppositional binaries.

The Settler Colonial Determinants of Health course ends with an assigned reading entitled "Decolonization is Not a Metaphor." This phrase, "decolonization is not a metaphor," resonated with numerous accounts the Task Force received from students who reported hearing it used by classmates to justify the violence of October 7th:

> *In the immediate aftermath of October 7th, close friends and classmates callously dismissed the atrocities that took place in Israel. In response to a friend who knew two people who were killed at the music festival, one close friend said, "I mean, I guess that sucks, but what did they expect?" When I expressed anguish at the loss of life, another responded, "do you believe in de-colonization in theory or in practice?" Then they asked me why I support Netanyahu. I have known some of them for almost ten years — nothing about my liberal values would indicate that I support Netanyahu. But somehow my Jewishness did … A few weeks later, one friend stopped responding to my texts and stopped acknowledging my presence in the hallways. And then another friend stopped talking to me. And then another. I have spent months wondering what I did wrong, but I am only left with the nagging suspicion that they do not want to associate with a "Zionist." They or their friends like and repost tweets that call Zionists "the most evil people to walk the planet" and call for the "slaughter" of Zionists. As I've walked to class, I've heard people mutter under their breath, "fucking Zionist." I don't even know if I'm a Zionist. But I'm a Jew and I've learned that that is enough to make me no longer worthy of their friendship or even basic kindness at school … [Student]*

The article assigned in the Settler Colonial course sheds light on this type of treatment by potentially suggesting a framework for understanding and even justifying hostile interactions like the ones described by the student:

> The absorption of decolonization by settler social justice frameworks is one way the settler, disturbed by her own settler status, tries to escape or contain the unbearable searchlight of complicity, of having harmed others just by being one's self.[596]

[594] https://www.jns.org/genetics-can-bring-jews-and-arabs-together/#:~:text=Of%20particular%20interest%20is%20that,waves%20since%20the%20Muslim%20conquest; https://pmc.ncbi.nlm.nih.gov/articles/PMC3032072/

[595] *See* Gribetz, Defining Neighbors at 2.

[596] See https://clas.osu.edu/sites/clas.osu.edu/files/Tuck%20and%20Yang%202012%20Decolonization%20is%20not%20a%20metaphor.pdf at 7.

In the view of this reading, when an Israeli or Jewish student at the Harvard Chan School complains that they are being attacked on the basis of their identity for the sins of others, they are "tr[ying] to escape or contain the unbearable searchlight of complicity, of having harmed others just by being one's self." In fact, the reading explains why any attempt by Israeli or Jewish students to disclaim this type of blood guilt are "settler moves to innocence." The article continues:

> Though the details are not fixed or agreed upon, in our view, decolonization in the settler colonial context must involve the repatriation of land simultaneous to the recognition of how land and relations to land have always already been differently understood and enacted; that is, all of the land, and not just symbolically[597]… [decolonization] means relinquishing settler futurity, abandoning the hope that settlers may one day be commensurable to Native peoples. It means removing the asterisks, periods, commas, apostrophes, the whereas's, buts, and conditional clauses that punctuate decolonization and underwrite settler innocence. The Native futures, the lives to be lived once the settler nation is gone — these are the unwritten possibilities made possible by an ethic of incommensurability.[598]

The kind of identity-based bias evident in this excerpt resonates with the classroom experiences shared with us by some Jewish and Israeli students at the Harvard Chan School. These ideas also appear to have an impact on the broader culture at the School. Materials such as these can be particularly hurtful to Jewish and Israeli students but they also undermine the educational experience of any student who takes the course by presenting politicized analytical paradigms as absolute truth.

Underlying our concern with the Palestine Program's content is its lack of administrative oversight by ladder faculty. Established in 2022, during a period of increased pro-Palestinian activism among Harvard staff, faculty, and students, the program appears to be run by a "leadership collective" of five individuals. Notably, none of the individuals hold a tenure-track faculty appointment at Harvard, and only one maintains a full-time appointment at Harvard.

This lack of ladder faculty oversight and accountability resonated with the concerns expressed by a frustrated Harvard Chan School student:

> *You can't allow a program at the Chan School like this that doesn't have a faculty director who's accountable for the content being put out.*

We agree. The use of the Harvard brand for a research or teaching project creates expectations among Harvard faculty, staff, students, and the broader public. Programs operating without the guidance and oversight of Harvard's regular faculty with expertise risk falling short of these expectations. This concern is further compounded by the fact that research disseminated by such programs is often reported in the media as "Harvard studies," even though, at least in the case of the Palestine Program, many of the published works reviewed by the Task Force appeared to be primarily authored by individuals based at other universities. We believe these accounts of experiences with the Palestine Program point to potential weaknesses in Harvard's approach to governance when it comes to academic matters that extend beyond the scope of the Task Force's mandate, but we leave that work for others to come after us.[599]

We should note there are physicians at the Longwood Campus and elsewhere at Harvard who take a very different approach to promoting Palestinian health. For example, a group of Israeli, Jewish, and Palestinian physicians working together as part of the Middle East Initiative at the Harvard Kennedy School recently wrote in the *New England Journal of Medicine* of the work they had done to treat both

[597] Ibid.

[598] Ibid at 36.

[599] We were pleased to learn from the Harvard Chan School that the Dean recently launched a faculty committee, led by the Dean for Academic Affairs, to review criteria and processes for instructor appointments and renewals, aiming to ensure the highest standards of academic and pedagogical excellence.

Israelis and Palestinians in the aftermath of the Hamas attack on Israel and the Israeli counterattack. In their article, they provided a nonpartisan and accurate description of the health crisis for both Israelis and Palestinians and spoke of their desire to promote health care and peacebuilding at the same time:

> Furthermore, as a profession founded on trust and open communication, medicine has the potential to build and strengthen trust between communities in conflict, and it should be leveraged toward that end. Indeed, health care has long been one of the few spheres in which Palestinians and Israelis work together and interact on a daily basis, treating each other with respect and dignity. Palestinian patients commonly put their fates and lives in the hands of Israeli physicians, a leap they could not take without trust. The same can be said of Jewish Israelis who are treated by Palestinian physicians, many of whom train and work in hospitals in Israel.

As this example shows, a profound and meaningful concern for Palestinian health does not require propagating a one-sided view of the conflict between Israelis and Palestinians. The Task Force did not have to look farther than Cambridge to see that another approach was possible.

Harvard Divinity School[600]

The Religion and Public Life program at Harvard Divinity School illustrates how a limited selection of high-caliber courses on Judaism and Israel/Palestine, coupled with the influential presence of a program offering politicized, one-sided treatments of controversial issues and the embrace of a pedagogy of "de-zionization," harms the learning environment for all students, and especially for many Jewish and Israeli students.

HDS has the mission of "educat[ing] students of religion for intellectual leadership, professional service, and ministry." Although founded in the early 19th century as a "non-sectarian" (though in effect Unitarian) seminary, the School has in recent decades made considerable effort to become a non-denominational, multireligious theological school with students from a wide range of religious backgrounds. In this generation, HDS offers a set of degree programs that we understand Jewish prospective students find quite appealing, as it allows them to study Judaism while also learning more about other faiths and traditions. Important mainstream American Jewish leaders have degrees from the Harvard Divinity School. The courses also seem to appeal to Jewish students who cross-register from other Harvard Schools. Some HDS faculty and offerings draw praise from a wide range of Jewish students. However, the Religion and Public Life program raised significant concerns.

The Religion and Public Life (RPL) program at Harvard Divinity School became a focal point for concerns about one-sidedness and the promotion of a specific political ideology under the guise of academic inquiry. While the program was publicly launched with what seemed like a broad mandate to explore the intersection of religion and various aspects of public life, in practice, it focused heavily on the Israeli-Palestinian conflict, presenting a perspective widely perceived as consistently anti-Israeli and aligned very narrowly with a strand of pro-Palestinian politics. This narrow focus on this exceptionally polarizing topic appears to have stemmed from the decision, made soon after RPL's founding, to center its programming around a multi-year case study on the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. This disconnect between the apparent mission and the actual implementation is a central concern addressed below.

The RPL program was founded in October 2020. The program incorporates, among other things, a speaker series, a one-year degree program, classes and a major paper or project at the end of the program.

[600] As mentioned in Chapter 1, Harvard Divinity School experienced a decanal transition during the 2023-24 academic year. The incoming dean inherited many of the challenges specific to HDS outlined in this report. We believe it is important to consider this context, particularly as the dean has since overseen a leadership change at what in our view has been the most concerning HDS program. This development gives us hope for considerable improvement, aligning with the recommendations outlined in this report.

The program has a director and several staff members. The first version of the program's website described its Master of Religion and Public Life degree (MRPL) as:

> A one-year graduate degree program designed for experienced professionals who wish to develop in-depth knowledge of the complex ways religion influences public life related to their career areas. The MRPL degree provides an opportunity for mid-career journalists, government officials, humanitarian aid workers, educators, artists, health care professionals, lawyers, and other practitioners to become leaders in their fields who can help foster a better public understanding of religion and address the religious dimensions of some of the most difficult issues of our time.

An article in the *Crimson* announcing the new program featured its leaders describing the MRPL as a degree for people seeking a deeper understanding of the interaction between religion and "civic life."[601] Notably absent from this article was any mention of Israel or Palestinians. The HDS Dean's announcement of the program put its emergence in the context of the social upheaval of Summer 2020 and said that the program would "educat[e] leaders to understand the civic consequences of religion, in service of building a just world at peace."[602]

Here as well there was no mention of Israel or Palestinians. Furthermore, in a brief interview on the RPL program's launch website,[603] the inaugural director of the program (who did not hold a tenured or tenure-track faculty position) highlighted how a better understanding of religion could illuminate a range of contemporary issues. These included: the fall of the Berlin Wall and the apparent end of the Cold War; the 9/11 and 7/7 attacks in the United States and the United Kingdom and the ensuing War on Terror; the US invasion of Iraq; the challenges faced by public health officials amid the Ebola academic in West Africa; and the role of white evangelical Christians in American politics.

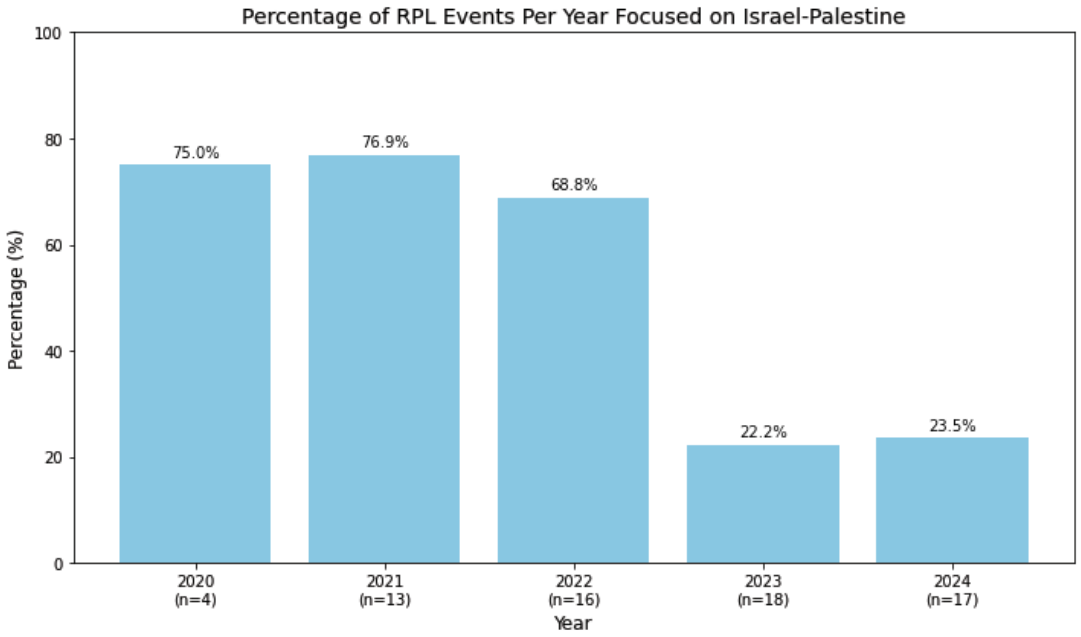
The RPL Director also provided several examples of professionals who might benefit from the program, further highlighting its intended scope:

- A political reporter who wishes to pursue a project around understanding the influences of white evangelical Christianity in the Trump era.
- A regional director in Africa for a secular humanitarian aid organization that focuses on local humanitarian leadership and wishes to understand the differing religious influences that shape women's access to reproductive health services.
- A human rights lawyer in Myanmar who wishes to study the rise of religious forms of nationalism.
- A master secondary school educator who wishes to revamp the school's "Introduction to World Religions" courses to align with current religious studies scholarship.
- An instructor at the National War College who wishes to create a course that explores peace-building strategies that include religion, but that critique and go beyond the widespread focus on countering violent extremism.
- A climate change activist who wishes to mobilize religious communities to address the climate crisis.
- A playwright who wants to explore how differing interpretations of sexuality and gender norms can exist within a single family.
- A public policy official interested in the roles that religions play in shaping immigration policy here in the US.

[601] See https://www.thecrimson.com/article/2020/10/26/religion-public-life-div-school/
[602] https://rpl.hds.harvard.edu/news/hds-launches-religion-and-public-life-new-degree-program
[603] With the new director of the program (the "RPL Director") https://rpl.hds.harvard.edu/news/understanding-religion-and-public-life

The RPL program encompasses two main initiatives: the Religious Literacy and the Professions Initiative (RLPI), which reflects the program's stated broad mandate, and the pre-existing Religion, Conflict, and Peace Initiative (RCPI), which was incorporated into RPL. An announcement said the RCPI aimed to further insight into "religious conflicts," mentioning a "January term course in the Middle East," among other initiatives.[604] Notably, even in early statements about the RCPI from HDS, there was no explicit mention of Israel or Palestine, despite their falling clearly within the framework of peacebuilding in the Middle East.

In practice, the RPL program that was implemented was deeply focused on Israel/Palestine.[605] Some HDS faculty told us that they did not understand the program would be as focused on Israel/Palestine as it turned out to be, while others told us that they thought the RCPI initiative meant a significant focus on the Middle East. It is important to note that the degree program, while housed within RPL, did not require students to have the same focus on Israel/Palestine that the program's activities might indicate.



In a listening session with RPL's then-leadership, we were informed that, as of April 1, 2024, the RPL program was four years into a six-year case study of Israel/Palestine.

In this genesis story, we see inherent problems that we received complaints about:

1. a lack of involvement or supervision from HDS's ladder faculty or from ladder faculty who are experts on the topic elsewhere at Harvard University; and
2. a governance and oversight structure that is not properly aligned with RPL's activities.

As we will explain, many students, staff, faculty, and alumni expressed concerns to the Task Force, alleging a lack of balance and a pattern of demonization towards Jews and Israelis within RPL's activities. We received significant complaints about:

1. events about Israel/Palestine hosted by RPL, which some students felt were biased and contributed to an atmosphere perceived as hostile; and
2. communications about Israel/Palestine from RPL personnel, especially a statement made by RPL's leadership after the events of October 7th.

[604] https://www.hds.harvard.edu/news/2018/01/31/hds-hks-rcp
[605] The numbers below are our summaries of the content of the RPL webinars posted on their website.

To illustrate the nature of these concerns, we present the following excerpt from a controversial statement released by RPL's leaders after October 7th, which was the subject of many complaints to the Task Force:

> When these "decades of oppression" are left out of the story about Hamas' horrendous attack on Israeli civilians, a narrative about an "innocent" state of Israel's right to "defend" itself against "unprovoked" aggression is legitimized. The reality is much more complex, and that complexity must be confronted if there is any chance to avoid endless cycles of dehumanization, destruction, and death.

Unfortunately, as a student pointed out to us, the "call for context and recognition" that RPL thought was needed in the aftermath of the October 7th attack is not something that was reflected in the program. Instead, program offerings and materials disproportionately presented Israelis and Jews as guilty of monstrous historical crimes, which require both repentance and redress.

It is certainly understandable why a program in religion and public life would include the Israeli-Palestinian conflict in its purview. Both Israeli and Palestinian societies are infused by religion, and it is difficult to understand either society without appreciating the role of faith in shaping individual and collective identities. Furthermore, given the explicitly religious character of many states in the region, an educational program focused on deepening the understanding of the religiosity of people in the region could meaningfully contribute to RPL's stated goal of fostering a "just world at peace."

However, RPL appears to have focused on non-mainstream Jewish religious perspectives that lack widespread support within the Jewish diaspora or in Israel. These perspectives arguably offer a particular political theology that attributes to Jews two great sins: first, in the Levant, the establishment of the State of Israel and the Palestinian Nakba; and second, in the United States, participation in White supremacy. According to these perspectives, it seems, Jews can and should repent by dedicating themselves to pro-Palestinian activism.

These perspectives, which RPL staff appeared to embrace openly, permeate much of the programming the Task Force reviewed. For example, in RPL's inaugural webinar held on September 17, 2020, one speaker commended Jewish pro-Palestinian activists for grappling with "a specific Jewish sinfulness against the Palestinians and an embrace of the charge to [use a Jewish framework to arrive at] social protests and actions of civil disobedience." Similarly, a second speaker offered what amounts to a personal conversion narrative, explaining how he became disillusioned with the Zionism of his childhood, citing Israeli violence against Palestinians, and now sees opposition to the existence the State of Israel as a moral imperative.

Another webinar featured a speaker whose work was described as "extricating Judaism from state violence and from the idolatry of Israel."[606] The speaker, who also participated in the inaugural webinar, expressed his interest in composing an alternative prayer to the traditional Jewish prayer of thanks recited by many religious Jews on Israel's Independence Day. His proposed prayer is centered on a meditation on the sins committed by Jews and Israelis through the actions of the Israeli state. In response, a second speaker at the same webinar expressed support: "I am deeply in sympathy with your political and ethical positions … I suppose you knew that, which may be part of the reason I was invited here." The moderator further emphasized this perspective by suggesting that the first speaker, a rabbi in Chicago, had a responsibility to atone for being "complicit in power and abuse and displacement [of Palestinians]." Notably, RPL had previously featured this speaker at an earlier webinar that also elicited complaints to the Task Force.[607]

The Task Force received considerable feedback expressing concerns about a perceived anti-Israel bias within RPL:

[606] See "Yom Ha'atzmaut and the Colonization of American Judaism," RPL Webinar, April 19, 2022.
[607] See "Reimagining and Rewriting Jewish Liturgy", RPL Webinar, April 28, 2021.

I [am a member of the community] at Harvard Divinity School. It may not meet the definition of Antisemitism, but the anti-Israel bias at the school is intense. [Jewish students do not] feel comfortable studying there. [HDS affiliate]

The Religion, Conflict, and Peace Initiative, which is part of RPL, focuses on advocacy for Palestinians. They offer a huge number of events, book talks, newsletter articles, academic appointments, and academic offerings, all focused on condemning the Israeli occupation. No other conflicts are ever discussed, and there is no discussion of the Israeli perspective (at least not in the event announcements). HDS is not the only Harvard school to offer events like this, but because HDS is so small, the dominance of this issue is really striking. HDS seems to be saying that the Israeli/Palestinian conflict is the only conflict that matters, the only one that good people should care about. And, furthermore, that only one group of people involved in that conflict is worthy of concern. [HDS affiliate]

From what I've seen, the people running the RPL program are … vehemently anti-Israel. Every week, the RPL program features one anti-Israel speaker or documentary, with no counterpoint. Some [RPL employees] are ideologically fervent and lack any sense of balance. [HDS student]

It is important to note that the perspectives on Jews and Judaism described above were present in academia well before October 7, 2023. One could easily infer from much of RPL's teaching and programming that Jews are profoundly flawed, and that the study of Jewish civilization should be an exposé of error, particularly with reference to Zionism and Israel. The Task Force was particularly struck by how this echoes the scholarly anti-Judaism identified by Harvard Divinity School Professor George Foot Moore's critique of a century ago, when Judaism was often studied in order to highlight its failings, limits, and supersession. In a glowing review[608] of one of G.F. Moore's major books, *Judaism in the First Centuries of the Christian Era: The Age of the Tannaim,* Rabbi Samuel Schulman noted in 1928 the historical depths and polemical underpinnings of this approach:

> [The scholarly study of Judaism] has lent itself very easily to the injection of theological dogmatism. It has been the favorite pastime of many Christian scholars to use it as an opportunity for contrasting the inferiority of Judaism with the superiority of the great religion, Christianity, that sprang from its loins … One would not be using too strong language in saying that Judaism was presented as a foil by means of which the glories of the daughter faith could be made all the more resplendent.

We do not believe that the RPL staff meant to construct a vision of Judaism and Jewishness that intentionally echoes the way it would have been taught at American divinity schools 100 years ago, but the parallels are undeniable. This resemblance has not been lost on some students, who have perceived these problematic echoes in RPL programming. Even if unintentional, the consequences of such an approach could be considerable, potentially hindering all students' understanding of Judaism and Israel, and for many Jewish and Israeli students in particular, undermining their access to a supportive learning environment:

In short, there is a sort of moral and intellectual laziness vis à vis many things at HDS, but especially around Jews and Judaism. This is slightly improved this year, but most classes related to Judaism at HDS are comparative, about the Bible, or about Israel. In some way, this seems to partake in the old Christian stereotype that Jews are not a vital, living and evolving people with rich culture, history, and tradition, but rather a problematic remnant of a violent and vengeful people. This is not about Middle Eastern politics; this is about Jews here and now. [HDS student]

To the extent that RPL's programming serves as an introduction to Judaism for some HDS students, one could be left with the view that Jews are a people without virtues, other than the capacity to confess and attempt to remedy their historic misdeeds. Programming that consistently taps into historical stereotypes

[608] Samuel Schulman, "Professor Moore's 'Judaism'," The Jewish Quarterly Review, vol. 18, no. 4, 1928, pp. 339–55. JSTOR. https://doi.org/10.2307/1451546. Accessed 24 Nov. 2024.

in this way is intellectually problematic and bad for the learning and development of HDS and other Harvard students who avail themselves of RPL's offerings.

The problems we have noted with RPL are particularly acute in the annual student trip it had organized to Israel and the West Bank. In an article published by RPL staff,[609] the goal of the trip is described as being to teach students the "decolonial approach" to the "Jewish settler colonial project in Palestine" — a goal which, the description says, "is not 'metaphorical.'" The RPL staff wrote that the objective of the trip is to:

> Dismantle the oppression of Palestinians, institute mechanisms for restorative justice, and draw ethical political maps. It is also hermeneutical, denoting the urgent need to dezionize Jewish consciousness.

The RPL staff then also described the Jewish students in the program as: "becom[ing] overwhelmed with their sorrow at how the Jewish tradition has become indistinct from a settler colonial nation-state project."

RPL personnel touted this program, and its effect on Jewish students, in its marketing materials, which included the following quote from a Jewish HDS student about what they learned from their HDS-sponsored trip to Israel and the Palestinian territories:

> Our [trip to Israel and Palestine] was a formative, painful, and powerful experience that shaped my on-the-ground understanding of political realities in Israel/Palestine. Our conversations with leaders at Palestinian arts and culture organizations helped me realize the way that Israeli apartheid intends to destroy everything — from after-school art programs to independent film festivals — despite claims by liberal Zionists to the contrary.[610]

The passages above arguably make clear that the decolonial pedagogic approach advocated in this article by RPL leaders is an overt political project aligned with one strand of pro-Palestinian politics. The alleged settler-colonial nature of Israel is taken to demand a blurring, if not a collapse, of the distinction between scholarship and advocacy or activism. In other words, the seemingly one-sided, ideologically partisan, and biased nature of RPL instruction and programing about which we heard many complaints is not perceived as an oversight or accident in the reports we heard, but as a deliberate programmatic objective with an explicit methodological articulation and justification from RPL staff. And students are learning these lessons, with the organizers approvingly citing students on the RPL study abroad program who promise to become pro-Palestinian activists when they return to the United States.[611]

Setting out in an instructional program to "dezionize" the "consciousness" of Jewish students is to craft instruction to target students based on their religious identity. To suggest that the Jewish tradition is properly understood as reducing to "a settler colonial nation-state project" is also to denigrate both a religion and an identity. This is not to say that to be Jewish is to be Zionist. To the contrary, some students who identify as Jewish on campus also identify as anti-Zionist. However, for many Jewish and Israeli students, Zionism is a core part of their identity. And while debates about the status of Zionism in relation to Jewish identity are important within the context of Judaism, shifting ethnic and religious identity in this way should not be the objective of a course in a secular institution. And one-sided instruction is not consistent with Harvard's expectations for a Harvard program.

In an RPL publication featuring student comments from the trip that RPL organized to Israel and the West Bank, an RPL student thanked the program for helping them understand that "Zionism" was taking the natural resources of Palestinians. But Zionism is a set of beliefs, not a human actor. Ascribing inequities in access to land and water to "Zionism" implies that the problem is not Israel's policies and

[609] PDF available at https://scholarlypublishingcollective.org/psup/pir/article/1/2/313/390095/Touring-Absences-Erasures-and-Futures-in-the
[610] https://rpl.hds.harvard.edu/news/2023/07/10/rcpi-student-highlight
[611] See Touring Absences (footnote 609) at 11.

actions (the merits of which can be debated, and which can be altered) but rather the very existence of Zionism itself, and with it, Zionism's realization in the State of Israel.



The Fight for Water Sovereignty at AIDA Refugee Camp
by [redacted] MDiv 24, CRPL & RCPI
This is an image of graffiti located outside of AIDA Refugee Camp near Bethlehem. Through my experience with RCPI, I became further attuned to the ways in which Zionism, as a form of religious nationalism, impacts Palestinians living under occupation in myriad ways, such as water sovereignty. Here, not only is the water a literal representation, but it also doubles as an allusion to the ways that religion is weaponized through Zionism, and violently denies Palestinians daily of their livelihood and humanity by taking their natural resources.

This line of analysis is consistent with RPL's goal of "dezioniz[ing]" Jewish students." While negative perspectives on Zionism and Israel exist globally and exploring them critically is entirely appropriate in an educational setting, doing so in isolation — framing them as norms rather than contestable beliefs — represents a pedagogical failure.

We conclude this chapter with an extensive and revealing reflection on HDS 3335, an RPL course whose title varied from year to year but, to the best of our knowledge, consistently focused on aspects of Israel/Palestine. Nisan Plitman, an Israeli doctoral student enrolled in the course in Fall 2021, wrote a

compelling account of her experience for the prestigious Israeli newspaper *Ha'aretz*, which is excerpted here in translation from the original Hebrew:[612]

> Two years before October 7th, I enrolled in a course at the Harvard Divinity School. Its title was "Religion and Peace in Israel/Palestine," and its introduction read: "In this course, we will explore the Israeli/Palestinian conflict, with particular focus on identifying and analyzing the varied and complex roles of religions in promoting both violence and peace. This will be examined through engagement with Israeli and Palestinian literature."
>
> "How interesting," I thought to myself, but on its first day, the course turned out to be even more intriguing than I had anticipated. The lecturer began the class with what she called a moment of candor: "The discourse is saturated with the Israeli narrative," she explained to the students, most of whom were Christians from American communities encountering academic material on the conflict for the first time. "Therefore, I decided, with a heavy heart, to remove Israeli sources from the syllabus. We will focus solely on Palestinian literature because power disparities, methodology, and conscience demand it."
>
> The measured manner in which this was delivered made me suspect it was a planned drama, but it took time to grasp its significance. The implications included, for instance, reading writings by Khaled Hroub from Northwestern University in Qatar, who asserts that "functionally, the Zionist movement has made extensive use of religious claims to forge a strong Jewish national connection to Palestine. In contrast, the Palestinian appeal to religious ideological sources is secondary. For Palestinians, millennia of uninterrupted residence and ownership of Palestine have created a natural and indisputable collective connection to the land, obviating the need for meta-religious claims."
>
> As we progressed in the lessons, my classmates' antipathy toward me, the sole Israeli in the course, intensified. And who could blame them? Based on the course material, it was hard not to conclude that Zionism is a project of fictive and mobilized religiosity, while Palestinian identity is authentic and rooted. My attempts to highlight Zionism's story as a movement of liberal pragmatism — which sought to break free from what was perceived as the oppressive shackles of Jewish law and religion in the diaspora — were of little help. Nor did recounting the story of the Jewish community in the pre-Zionist Land of Israel, the aliyah of the disciples of the Vilna Gaon, or the history of Safed.
>
> In one of the lessons, a tearful Presbyterian seminary student proclaimed, "Israel was built on cruel religious manipulation. If only we had been able to channel this understanding into American activism, we would have reaped the benefits."
>
> The day after October 7th, more than 30 student organizations published a letter declaring Israel solely and entirely responsible for Hamas violence against it. Recently, during a joint lecture hosted by the law and divinity schools, a proposal was even raised that the United States should arm Gaza against Israel. Many members of those organizations had sat with me in that theology course.

Other HDS students interested in Israel/Palestine also expressed concerns to the Task Force about unbalanced presentations in HDS 3335, finding them a hindrance to their learning. One student, who had previously visited both Israel and the West Bank and who had a deep desire to learn more about the course material, dropped the class after a handful of sessions because of its "tremendous anti-Zionist bias." Another student told *The New York Times* that in reflecting on her time at HDS, "I reread different papers that I wrote last fall, in classes taught by very far-left professors, Jewish professors, and I wrote things with language that I am not ashamed of, but I was just being so insensitive to the Israeli perspective."[613]

[612] Original Hebrew version: https://www.haaretz.co.il/opinions/2024-07-10/ty-article-opinion/.premium/00000190-9bef-d1c5-a1d6-bbefc0f70000.
[613] https://www.nytimes.com/2024/12/14/us/college-campuses-gaza-conversations.html

HDS has outstanding tenured faculty who work on ancient Judaism and whose work engages with the history of antisemitism. A visiting faculty member with expertise in modern Jewish thought has further strengthened HDS's offerings on Judaism and Jewish civilization. But RPL places the expanse of Jewish civilization into a highly politicized program. In a listening session, RPL staff told us they focused on moving "beyond binaries." We appreciate that intention and goal. But some others with whom we spoke felt the staff had constructed a polarized and one-sided approach to this issue. In the end, we did not see evidence that RPL was successfully moving beyond binaries but rather evidence that the RPL program was reinforcing them.

This treatment of Judaism and Jews in RPL course offerings and instruction deserves comprehensive review by the HDS leadership. The School should seek to strengthen its sound and comprehensive anchorage in ancient Judaism with a complement of courses in Jewish modernity taught by ladder faculty or a Professor in Residence (a non-ladder position that requires rigorous vetting prior to hire and thorough periodic reviews for reappointment). We expect that such a review by the HDS leadership would also determine that "dezioniz[ing]" students is not an appropriate or reasonable pedagogic objective and that programs like RPL should be led by HDS' tenured faculty.

Conclusion

Harvard's academic standards are, and should always be, exceptionally high. Everything we do should reflect our aspirations and our values. In considering what a high-quality Harvard course, research center, or program might look like, it is helpful to reflect on the University's stated values, which were summarized in the 2018 "Values Statement" by the Presidential Task Force on Inclusion and Belonging:

> Harvard University aspires to provide education and scholarship of the highest quality — to advance the frontiers of knowledge; to equip students, staff, and faculty and academic personnel for fulfilling experiences of life, work, and inclusive leadership in a complex world; and to provide all members of our diverse community with opportunities for growth.

The Values Statement maintains that achieving these goals requires affirming five values on campus: "respect for the rights, differences, and dignity of others"; "honesty and integrity in all dealings"; "conscientious pursuit of excellence in our work"; "accountability for actions and conduct in the community"; and "responsibility for the bonds and bridges that enable all to grow with and learn from one another."

Along with adhering to these five values, Harvard's Schools, centers, and programs are expected to refrain from activities that purport to present an official University viewpoint. As the 2024 Harvard University Institutional Voice Working Group noted:

> If the University adopts an official position on an issue beyond its core function, it will be understood to side with one perspective or another on that issue. Given the diversity of viewpoints within the University, choosing a side, or appearing to do so can undermine the inclusivity of the University community. It may make it more difficult for some members of the community to express their views when they differ from the University's official position.

These two sets of guidelines — the call to promote broadly-cast values and refrain from taking specific political positions — provide a framework for understanding the experiences of antisemitism and anti-Israeli bias we have described above, and the conditions that appear to contribute to such experiences.

Based on the Task Force's analysis of the examples shared above, six key concerns emerge:

1. a lack of accountability in program design that fell short of Harvard's usual standards of excellence;
2. partisan and one-sided pedagogy that also fell short of Harvard's usual standards of excellence by failing to represent multiple viewpoints;

3. insufficient rules and enforcement around disruptive protest that have effectively created political litmus tests for full participation in the educational program of the University in some places;
4. failing to take antisemitism and anti-Israeli bias sufficiently seriously as a bias that matters at Harvard;
5. perhaps most troublingly, apparent attempts to mainstream antisemitism and anti-Israeli bias; and
6. an alienating and hostile atmosphere experienced across different units of the University, to which the preceding problems contributed.

The problematic course content and instructional strategies we observed seemed disproportionately concentrated among courses taught by non-ladder instructors. Notably, these instructors are not subject to the rigorous vetting standards Harvard applies to tenure-track or permanent lecturers and senior lecturers, which are designed to ensure the "conscientious pursuit of excellence." Furthermore, non-ladder faculty whose course materials raised concerns often seemed linked to political advocacy roles outside Harvard. This raises questions about whether the opportunity to access a non-ladder role at Harvard represents a form of social capital that can be used to boost the credibility of their advocacy efforts.

For instance, organizers of both the Religion and Public Life program at HDS and the Palestine Program for Health and Human Rights at the Harvard Chan School have recent separate publications describing the programs they developed at Harvard. These publications suggest a desire to present their work as a "Harvard model" for others to emulate. This raises concerns that lax approval and oversight processes for instructors in some Harvard Schools may have inadvertently contributed to a decline in academic rigor, the propagation of antisemitism and anti-Israeli bias, and the politicization of Harvard's reputation.

A pre-existing culture of politicized curricula and instruction at various points across the University made it too easy for curricular and co-curricular offerings to create what amounted to political litmus tests during academic year 2023-24. Those litmus tests in courses and at student recruitment events were subtle versions of the more overt practices of social shunning that students reported. Importantly, the Task Force believes that insufficient respect for viewpoint diversity and for norms of taking responsibility for building bridges across lines of difference enabled some of the more concerning student behaviors reported to us.

Furthermore, we believe that insufficient academic resources for engaging with topics related to Israel/Palestine also meant that intellectually weak material, as well as materials that arguably promoted antisemitism and anti-Israeli bias, were allowed to be more influential than they would otherwise have been.

As we mentioned at the outset, this was not an adversarial investigation and our work is the beginning, not the end, of an inquiry. As such, we urge that the University and the various Schools begin a review of the problems we identify above. This process might include recommending:

- leadership and supervision from ladder faculty, including faculty participation in events, for courses and programming offered by centers;
- missions for all centers aligned with the goal of "advancing the frontiers of knowledge" and overseen by governance structures re-focused on academic integrity;
- cultivation of respect for viewpoint diversity and a norm that we respect, relate, and cooperate even with those with whom we vehemently disagree;
- an expectation that viewpoint diversity will be featured in programming that engages controversial subjects; and cultivation of respect for viewpoint diversity; and
- increased depth on campus of scholarly expertise of the highest caliber on subjects of the modern Middle East including Israel/Palestine.

CHAPTER 5
Conclusions and Recommendations

Introduction

This report has surveyed the experience of Jewish and Israeli students at Harvard in both the past and the present time, especially during the 2023-34 academic year. It has shown that the turmoil that erupted after October 7, 2023 had been brewing for several years. The politicization of certain academic units, a retreat by students into communities of the like-minded, and a diminished willingness to engage with differing points of view began to manifest themselves in the latter half of the 2010s. The COVID-19 pandemic of 2020-22, which largely shut down normal campus life, accentuated pre-existing processes of social seclusion and political polarization. The Hamas attacks of October 7th accelerated these processes into hyperdrive.

Harvard's current challenges extend beyond concerns about antisemitism and anti-Israeli bias. As the joint Task Force survey of student attitudes revealed, and as discussed in Chapter 3, Muslim and Arab students, as well as Jewish and Israeli students, report high levels of discomfort and alienation at Harvard. The University must combat antisemitism and anti-Israeli bias, but it can only do so effectively by improving the campus environment for everyone. Israel/Palestine is a contentious issue, and it is likely to remain that way for a long time to come. Members of our community have every right to express their views on this and other matters as well as an obligation to learn from and respect each other, maintain a curious and open mind, and be willing to learn from those with whom they disagree.

Admittance to Harvard should be an invitation to become part of a community in which differences abound and debate is intense — a place of varying experiences and outlooks, of diverging views deeply probed and challenged, of exchanges that require individuals to examine their own views, and of ideas and ideals that are frequently in intellectual, ideological, academic, and even material conflict with each another. The key, however, is the invitation to become part of a community.

What has been most at stake in the crisis on campus since October 7th — and in its roots, which go back long before that date — is a question central to student life at Harvard: can the members of our community appreciate one another across differences as partners in learning? It is vital to the intellectual life and the promise and opportunity of this place that all of us here value each other in this way, and such an attitude toward one another must be fostered and reinforced — and expected.

The "Report on Institutional Voice in the University," released in May 2024, states that in order to protect its core function of "seeking truth through open inquiry," Harvard must foster "an environment in which its members can research, teach, and learn." Such an environment is not given; it requires "nurture, support and defense in order for members of the University to do their work." This requires that members of our community resist alienating and excluding one another.

From the roughly 50 listening sessions conducted by our Task Force with approximately 500 members of the Harvard community, a clear conclusion emerged: Harvard had not sufficiently internalized the values and safeguarded the practices necessary for its core function — namely, cultivating an environment in which its members can research, teach, and learn. As a result, many at Harvard have not experienced this kind of environment and all that it entails.

For Israeli students and many Jewish students at Harvard — particularly those who believe in a right of the Jewish people to a state in their land of origin — the consequences have been dire, especially since the attacks of October 7th. Due to aspects of their identity, including their religion and national origin, these students have faced bias, suspicion, intimidation, alienation, shunning, contempt, and sometimes effective

exclusion from various curricular and co-curricular parts of the University and its community — clear examples of antisemitism and anti-Israeli bias. Students who at Harvard would wish to develop mature and multi-faceted Jewish identities, knowledge of Jewish heritage and community, and their own relationships of inquiry and engagement with Israel and its challenges have instead faced pressures to repress aspects of themselves and to veer away from entire areas of curricular and co-curricular exploration. This has diminished their educational opportunities, their own lives, and Harvard's aim to be a learning community for all students.

In light of these damaging consequences, the Presidential Task Force on Combating Antisemitism and Anti-Israeli Bias submits a number of recommendations, in two sections:

Section 1 on Campus Culture and Student Experience (pages 174-188) outlines a set of recommendations for repairing student life at Harvard — for Israeli, Jewish, and indeed all students — which will require a **comprehensive, integrated, and sustained program of efforts.**

Section 2, on Governance Changes, (pages 188-190), urges changes in University governance as it relates to faculty and academic oversight. First, we recommend a comprehensive review of the academic activities of the University to identify gaps in governance. Second, we call for implementing changes in response to that review, potentially including better incentives for good governance with respect to academic matters across Harvard's Schools through a more equitable cost-sharing system.

Finally, we conclude with a charge to the University and its Schools and key administrative units to become leaders in a renewed fight against antisemitism and anti-Israeli bias.

RECOMMENDATIONS

A. Campus Culture and Student Experience

A guiding spirit behind this first set of recommendations is the report of the Joint Task Force Subcommittee on Pluralism (Appendix 3). Its focus is the promotion of a "culture of pluralism," defined as:

> Recognizing the diversity of identities and ideologies on campus, respecting, relating, and cooperating with one another, and connecting personal and campus civic values to advance our educational and research mission. These campus civic values are anchored in the University's Values Statement advancing respect for the rights, differences, and dignity of others; honesty and integrity in all dealings; conscientious pursuit of excellence in our work; accountability for actions and conduct in the community; and responsibility for the bonds and bridges that enable all to grow with and learn from one another.

Fostering a pluralistic campus atmosphere is connected with striving to realize the ideals represented by the University's 2018 Values Statement,[614] which calls for:

> "Respect for the rights, differences, and dignity of others"; "honesty and integrity in all dealings"; "conscientious pursuit of excellence in our work"; "accountability for actions and conduct in the community"; and "responsibility for the bonds and bridges that enable all to grow with and learn from one another."

The recommendations presented here suggest means by which these values can be embodied in our campus community's interactions in the classroom, student residences, and co-curricular life.

We call for changes in the following eight categories:

- Admissions: We believe classes at Harvard should consist of students who are eager to contribute to a learning community grounded in open inquiry and mutual respect.
- Early Student Experiences: Early student experiences, especially for undergraduate students, should focus on establishing norms that reflect Harvard's aspirations for its learning community.
- Academic Life: Students deserve a classroom experience that embodies the desired learning community — one free from antisemitism, anti-Israeli bias, and all forms of discrimination — and supported by enhanced course opportunities offered by Harvard's Schools and faculty.
- Co-Curricular Activities and Residential Life: Student organizations need support and guidance to ensure their activities do not have antisemitic or anti-Israeli impacts, so they can effectively contribute to the kind of learning community Harvard aspires to beyond the classroom.
- Building a Pluralistic Community: To foster a campus culture of pluralism at Harvard, a central hub for pluralism should be established.
- Religious Life: We believe that faith can be an important source of support for Harvard's students and an integral part of the learning community, and that steps can be taken to strengthen this aspect of campus life.
- Administrative Infrastructure: A robust administrative infrastructure is needed to support, coordinate, and sustain the efforts outlined above.
- Protest, Complaints, and Discipline: Protests must be authorized and must not disrupt the normal operations of the University, including conducting classes and providing unrestricted access to libraries and other campus buildings. Complaint mechanisms should be aligned across Harvard's Schools to the

[614] https://inclusionandbelongingtaskforce.harvard.edu/files/inclusion/files/vii._appendix_d._revised_values_statement.pdf

greatest extent possible, and should be easily accessed, user-friendly, and efficient. Disciplinary policies and enforcement should be substantive and equitable across Harvard's Schools.

Below, we lay out recommended actions in each of these eight categories.

Admissions

Student life at Harvard is profoundly shaped by which individuals we choose to attract and admit to our student body. Events of the past two years have caused us to worry that Harvard tends to admit some individuals who already see themselves as leaders with a mandate to act, rather than as learners who are curious, open to others, and aware that they need further education. Efforts are already underway in some Schools to correct this tendency, and we endorse them.

To reinforce and expand these efforts, we recommend that the staff and faculty responsible for admissions across all of Harvard's Schools take — or where applicable, continue to take and build upon — the following actions:

- **Articulate to prospective students that Harvard seeks to build a learning environment where each student is in genuine community with people with whom one may disagree.** Communicate clearly, as part of the admissions criteria, that Harvard expects all students to demonstrate civility, engage thoughtfully with one another, practice tolerance and empathy, and, above all, to cherish the opportunity to learn with and from one another.
- **Where feasible, incorporate application questions that assess an applicant's aptitude in navigating situations involving diverging viewpoints and commitments (as we understand Harvard College has recently done).** Additionally, in interview settings where applicable, prompt applicants to respond to ideas and opinions that may differ from their own. Admissions personnel should look favorably on demonstrations of empathetic and reasoned engagement and unfavorably on exhibitions of hostility, derision, or dismissiveness.
- **In evaluating candidates, prioritize demonstrated qualities such as bridge-building, particularly through participation in organizations and activities that promote dialogue across difference.** Look favorably upon experience in identity-based commitments and activism that involved constructive engagement with others who may hold differing viewpoints, as well as a demonstrated commitment to curiosity and self-education. Conversely, reject candidates who have track records of antisemitism, bias against Israelis based on their national origin, or other forms of identity-based discrimination, including anti-Muslim, anti-Arab, or anti-Palestinian bias.
- **Be open to collaboration with self-organized faculty volunteers aiming to reach out to admitted students who may, in view of recent events on campus, fear identity-based bias or hostility toward their personal commitments.** We are aware, for instance, of faculty groups eager to welcome Jewish and Israeli admitted students and to foster a sense of belonging even before matriculation. We encourage admissions leaders to work with such groups.

Early Student Experiences

Early experiences on campus have a disproportionate impact on student life. In Harvard College, for instance, events such as preorientation, orientation, and Convocation shape undergraduate students' impressions of our community and its norms. In some recent Convocations, protestors have stationed themselves near first-year students and have chanted pro-Palestinian and anti-Israeli slogans. Silence at the time from University leaders has conveyed to incoming students that such chanting is a welcome form of "discourse" in our community and that it is acceptable to alienate or intimidate some community members. Graduate students experience entrance lifecycle events of their own. For them as well as for

undergraduate students, first encounters with their fellow students should be designed to shape a learning community of open inquiry and mutual respect.

To achieve this goal, and in the spirit of the recommendations of the Joint Task Force Subcommittee on Pluralism, we recommend that organizers of early student experiences at all Harvard Schools implement the following:

- **Deeply examine and revise pre-orientation and orientation programs.** Encourage new students to engage constructively with peers who may hold differing worldviews from their own, ideally within a structured pluralism framework:
  - Ensure that all facilitators of early student activities are trained to cultivate a committed learning community among new students of different backgrounds and outlooks.
  - Create diverse cohorts of students in preorientation programs and consider whether the benefits of programs that are more monolithic outweigh the cost of creating homogenous social spheres at the beginning of one's Harvard journey.
  - In early student events, showcase returning students who can model civil and reasoned disagreement and lead constructive dialogues around contentious issues, thereby encouraging similar discussions among new students.
  - Given the current climate surrounding the Israeli-Palestinian conflict, engage Israeli and Palestinian leaders who are willing and able to model frank and genuine dialogue with one another, as part of early student programming.
  - Enlist respected faculty (e.g., faculty deans in the residential Houses of Harvard College) to reinforce the message that Harvard expects constructive engagement across differences and support faculty in developing programs that help facilitate this engagement.
  - Starting in the 2025-26 academic year, enlist Jewish and Muslim faculty and students to assist in the design of anti-bias materials that can be incorporated into orientation programs at Harvard College and other Harvard Schools in future years. These materials should address campus culture, antisemitism, and other forms of hate.
  - In instances where Schools may have ceded responsibility for pre-orientation and orientation programs to student groups, reclaim oversight to ensure a high-quality, coherent presentation that aims to integrate all students into a shared community.
- **Prepare all administrators who speak in opening programs, including the President and Provost, to intervene and speak up on the spot when agitation for alienation erupts at official events and activities.** At such moments, it is essential that leaders model the defense of the University's core function and protection of its learning environment.

Academic Life

What happens in Harvard's classrooms has both a direct and an indirect impact on student life. Critically, the actions of instructors influence whether students experience a culture of open inquiry and mutual respect within those spaces. These actions also shape the expectations students have about acceptable behavior and discourse during their time at Harvard outside the classroom.

The Task Force believes that every Harvard student should have full access to Harvard's educational opportunities, regardless of their religion, national origin, or political beliefs. Yet, in the course of our work, we heard from too many Jewish and Israeli students who said they have not fully enjoyed such access in recent years. They described instances where fellow students and even instructors created classroom environments that felt inhospitable.

Toward the goal of full access to educational opportunities, we recommend that all Harvard Schools and programs do the following:

- **Develop a set of rules and expectations for instruction.** These should respect the academic freedom, rights, and responsibilities of both instructors and students. While each School or unit must determine what is appropriate within its own specific context, we suggest the following as a starting point:
  - Instructors should clearly distinguish between their professional academic roles and their personal civic roles and refrain from political comment unrelated to course subject matter when they are teaching.
  - Schools should ensure that instructors are aware they may not refuse to teach students on the grounds of student identity or political or religious beliefs, nor may they discriminate among students on such grounds when conducting class or grading.
  - Instructors should value diverse identities and outlooks in the learning community. They should be open to divergent points of view and actively promote such openness among students, colleagues, and others.
  - Schools should ensure that instructors are aware they may not encourage students to adopt particular political stances or take specific political actions outside of class. For instance, we think it should be unacceptable for instructors to cancel class to facilitate student attendance at a protest or hold office hours onsite at a political event (as we understand some instructors did at the 2024 pro-Palestinian encampment). In our view, these should be basic expectations of all Harvard instructors, and falling short of these expectations should be seen as a sign that a teacher does not take their responsibilities as a Harvard teacher seriously, which should result in significant and lasting consequences.
  - Instructors should be adept at eliciting multiple viewpoints within their classrooms and should promptly address any behavior that undermines a learning environment grounded in open inquiry and mutual respect.
  - An instructor's ability to engage diverse opinions should be a factor in course evaluations and considered by the respective School and the University when hiring, promoting, and renewing the appointments of instructors.
- **Communicate and enforce expectations.** After developing these norms and expectations, each School should clearly communicate them to both instructors and students. Additionally, they should establish clear processes for addressing breaches of the norms and expectations if such processes are not already in place.
- **Create opportunities, support, and incentives for all instructors to learn how to facilitate difficult conversations across lines of difference in the classroom.**

As articulated in the "Report on Institutional Voice in the University," Harvard should ensure that its Schools, departments, centers, and programs refrain from supporting, promoting, or lending their names or Harvard's to activities and ideological campaigns that encourage alienation of segments of Harvard's learning community. To the extent this is not clear, we recommend that the University produce guidelines along these lines. The Provost's Office should track compliance with the Report and any such guidelines and then remedy breaches of them.

We understand that the Institutional Voice is a new policy, and we urge the Provost's Office to consider whether a Task Force or other reviewing body is needed to examine existing content to ensure that we meet our goals of including people with diverse opinions and backgrounds across the University's various classes, centers, and degree programs. To the extent that changes are necessary, we encourage copious engagement with difference.

This report has noted complaints by students about certain professional and graduate Schools where teaching about Israel/Palestine is, in their view, highly politicized and partisan, and where they feel unwelcome because of their political views or simply because of their nationality or ethno-religious identity. In addition to the general recommendations we have laid out thus far, the University's Central Administration should enter into a dialogue with the administration of each School, assess the presence of antisemitism and anti-Israel bias, and formulate School-specific remedies.

In considering curriculum and instruction within Harvard College, our Task Force recognized that students are not currently offered a sufficiently robust set of courses on Israel, the Israeli-Palestinian conflict, the wider Middle East, and conflict resolution. As a result, student views and debates on these topics often do not seem grounded in established facts, rigorous scholarship, and adequately considered perspectives. To correct this gap, we recommend the following:

- **Create opportunities for students to engage in a more comprehensive course of study on Israel and the Palestinians, Jewish Studies, and Peace and Conflict Studies.** Specifically, Harvard College should ensure that undergraduate students have substantially more opportunities to learn about antisemitism, Jewish history and culture, the history and politics of Israel, Zionism, and the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. To fulfill the College's mission of preparing "citizen leaders," students should have access to a series of courses—both large lecture courses (such as General Education courses) and small seminars—taught by a range of faculty. This will enable them to build deep content knowledge in these areas and shape their own informed viewpoints on these complex topics. The team implementing this recommendation should consider the following possibilities:
  - Hiring new faculty, potentially through a cluster hire to recruit a diverse range of faculty with differing views and methodologies.
  - Developing interdisciplinary courses, with some potentially counting towards the College's newly offered Certificate for Civic Engagement[615] or fulfilling requirements towards a secondary concentration.
  - Creating relevant research opportunities for students both by working as research assistants for faculty and through developing original projects.
  - Providing funds for practice-based opportunities, such as internships and shadowing opportunities, during the winter and summer terms and in the year following graduation.
  - Developing and funding travel opportunities for diverse groups of faculty and students through which they can build community, learn about complex situations, and engage in concrete community improvement projects.
- **Create opportunities for students to build skills in peace building and conflict resolution, utilizing the resources and expertise of University centers of excellence such as the Program on Negotiation at Harvard Law School.**
- **Fill the vacant positions at Harvard's Center for Jewish Studies (CJS).** CJS plays a vital role in teaching the history, religion, and culture of Jews from antiquity to the present. Unfortunately, due to recent and imminent departures and retirements in the Faculty of Arts and Sciences' Department of Near Eastern Languages and Civilizations and in Harvard Divinity School, CJS will lose five out of its seven core, ladder-faculty instructional staff. It is vital to refill these positions, all funded via endowed chairs, as quickly as possible.
- **In addition to the College, curricular attention to Judaism is urgently needed in multiple graduate and professional Schools.** Harvard Law School's Julis-Rabinowitz Program on Jewish and Israeli Law serves

[615] https://oue.fas.harvard.edu/certificate-civic-engagement

as a successful example of how education on Judaism can advance both the mission of a professional school and foster a student body that is more informed about issues that may contribute to antisemitism and manifestations of it. Although aspects of Harvard Divinity School's academic programs require significant reform, as outlined in Chapter 4, HDS could become a key player in constructing a healthy approach to the study of Judaism and Jewish civilization. A Jewish Ministry initiative, modeled after the successful model of the Buddhist Ministry Initiative,[616] could benefit students seeking to study Judaism within the larger context of world religion and prepare for leadership in Jewish communities beyond rabbinic ordination. Such an initiative could help address long-standing curricular deficits.

- We urge Harvard Divinity School to consider whether the addition of a ladder faculty member who writes and teaches in the mainstream of the modern American Jewish community would provide a voice that is missing on their campus. Such an addition could contribute to ensuring that the richness and diversity of the modern American Jewish mainstream are fully represented within the HDS community.

THE STUDY OF ISRAEL/PALESTINE

Both Task Forces agree on the need for more classroom instruction about Israel/Palestine and the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. The challenge is how to teach these subjects in ways that bridge rather than exacerbate political and emotional divisions. We must strive to avoid a situation (that has developed at other universities, including peer schools) where "Palestine Studies" becomes an instrument of faculty and student advocacy. Similarly, we must resist pressures for teaching about modern Israel as a defense against the country's critics. We urge avoiding having dueling courses taught from a Palestinian or Israeli "perspective" in which instructors hold fast to the identities of their subjects of study, and students are called upon to do the same.

Mindful of the fact that administrators at Harvard and other universities may read this, we wish to elaborate on this point. One of us has written on it at length, pointing out that scholars of "Israel Studies" and "Palestine Studies" often rely on different sources, methods, and approaches, which are best situated in conversation with one another as opposed to apart:[617]

> Scholars who work on Israel/Palestine must decide, therefore, if it is their responsibility to engage in overt political advocacy, to cloak that advocacy under a pretense to Weberian neutrality, or to aspire to neutrality even if it is impossible to attain. They must decide whether "civility," that is, rational, respectful, and courteous conversation, is a relic from a bygone era, a screen for the concealment and maintenance of hegemony, or if it has continuing value as a means of fostering constructive communication with an often angry and fearful public. I believe that unlike the realms of political discourse and public opinion (now expressed via limitless and unchecked access to the internet), academic conversation about Israel/Palestine can and should refract, rather than reflect, the conflict. To continue with the optical metaphor, an academic field of Israel/Palestine studies can help not only scholars and students, but also a broad, global public, see the area in a new light.

We acknowledge that the demands that teaching about Israel/Palestine places upon an instructor — ideally, a mastery of Arabic and Hebrew and a thorough knowledge of the history and politics of the Middle Eastern and the Jewish world — are great, and that even the most rigorous of scholars are situated in a subject-position that may carry with it bias and selectivity (even if unconscious). We therefore recommend that whenever possible introductory courses on Israel/Palestine be co-taught, as has been done, with considerable success, at Dartmouth.[618]

[616] https://hds.harvard.edu/academics/ministry-studies/buddhist-ministry-initiative
[617] Derek Penslar, "Toward a Field of Israel/Palestine Studies," in *The Arab and Jewish Questions,* ed. Bashir Bashir and Leila Farsakh, Columbia University Press (2020), 173. https://www.degruyterbrill.com/document/doi/10.7312/bash19920-009/html?srsltid=AfmBOoo3951N4sB1bCu3OK6erI-sIyTtO0wdbppjYLssY725CcO3HCsp
[618] Bernard Avishai, "Co-Teaching a Class on Israel and Palestine," *The New Yorker,* February 2, 2024. Accessed December 9, 2024.

One of us is teaching a course on the history of Israel/Palestine at Harvard in the Spring 2025 semester and, in the absence of a co-teacher, brings together sources that might be found in a Palestinian Studies course along with sources that might be found in its Israel Studies counterpart for each week: for example, comparing the post-1967 Israeli settlement movement with its effect upon the Palestinians in the West Bank by juxtaposing texts produced during the 1970s by activists in the Bloc of the Faithful movement with Sahar Khalifa's novel *Wild Thorns*.

THE STUDY OF ANTISEMITISM

The 2023-24 academic year, especially in the aftermath of October 7th, witnessed an unprecedented surge in reports of antisemitism, both at Harvard and around the globe. Harvard is well equipped to play a crucial role in combating antisemitism in many ways, with research being one of the most obvious. We urge Harvard to become a hub for antisemitism research by establishing a dedicated research project, ideally by appointing a globally renowned expert in the social scientific study of antisemitism to the faculty at a Harvard School, such as the Harvard Kennedy School of Government. This person could lead a robust program of research, teaching, mentoring graduate students and post-doctoral fellows, and fostering and invigorating the social scientific study of antisemitism while promoting scientific excellence in the field. This individual should be encouraged to cultivate ties with recently established centers for the study of antisemitism at the University of Michigan and New York University, as well as long-standing centers for antisemitism research in Israel, the United Kingdom, Germany, and other countries.

Co-Curricular Activities and Residential Life

Much of student life takes place outside of Harvard's classrooms — in clubs, dormitories, and residential houses, in various kinds of affinity spaces, and on social media. In academic year 2023-24, such venues were the sites of some of the most painful reported instances of antisemitism and anti-Israeli bias. We heard accounts of some Jewish and Israeli students feeling pressured to renounce Israel or risk significant social penalties, including the loss of friends, rejections from clubs, exclusion from social activities, and more.

While Harvard's Schools cannot force students to be friends with each other, they can and should establish rules and norms that aim at discouraging social exclusion based on religion or national origin. Toward this end, we recommend that each School implement the following:

- **Review, revise, if necessary, implement, and enforce responsible policies regarding student organizations.** This should complement the ethos of pluralism that Schools seek to cultivate. Specifically, we recommend that relevant administrators in each School:
  - Review and reinforce compliance with non-discrimination policies that govern all student organizations that are officially recognized by their respective Schools. Organizations failing to comply should not be allowed to operate on University property or use Harvard's name or resources.
  - Take appropriate action against unrecognized student organizations that "piggyback" on recognized groups to take advantage of privileges and resources that would otherwise be unavailable to them.
  - Ensure that the activities of recognized student organizations reflect the organizations' stated purpose and scope. The Task Force believes Harvard's student civil society only works if recognized organizations provide opportunities for connecting across common interests and affinities, mindful of the fact that it is highly desirable for members of the chess club, for example, to disagree on questions outside of the value of playing chess with their fellow Harvard students.
- **Mandate special training, if it has not been already, for students tasked with promoting diversity, equity, and inclusion within their respective student organizations.** This training should ensure alignment between efforts to promote inclusion and the University's Values Statement.

- **For the co-curricular life of each of Harvard's Schools, adopt the measures recommended by the Joint Task Force Subcommittee on Pluralism.** Despite commendable recent efforts to promote dialogue between Jewish and Muslim students, these initiatives appear underattended. It is our understanding that the current campus climate can sometimes mean Arab and Muslim students who engage with Israeli students experience negative social repercussions, including shunning and alienation from their friends and social groups. For example, we are aware of disturbing accounts of bullying of Palestinians who merely showed an openness to dialogue. We believe that this kind of behavior should be combated, just as we believe work needs to be done to bridge differences among Jews with varying views on Israel. According to student organizers we spoke with who have facilitated small group discussions between Jewish and Arab students, there are Muslim and Arab students open to such engagement, but the prevailing campus culture discourages their involvement. We endorse the following measures recommended by the Joint Subcommittee:
  - Foster a series of prominent, public, civil, and reasoned debates on contentious geopolitical matters. These events should model respectful disagreement and include speakers representing a wide array of viewpoints, including prominent pro-Israeli leaders.
  - Recognize and support student leaders who make the peer-to-peer case for dialogue and inclusion, speak out against exclusionary practices like shunning, and strive to build bridges across differences. This could include awards, fellowships, and highlighting these students in appropriate events. Ensure these student leaders are committed to promoting civil discourse across differences, not solely within a particular group.
  - Establish a dedicated group of faculty members and administrators to support dialogue efforts between Muslim, Arab, and Palestinian students and their Jewish and Israeli peers. This group would actively encourage participation and promote a culture that values and supports these meaningful interactions.

  We also recommend:
- **Formally recognize and celebrate staff and faculty who make substantial contributions to fostering constructive dialogue across differences within Harvard's academic community.**
- **Develop an assortment of grants, fellowships, and programs dedicated to studying campus culture and the Israeli-Palestinian conflict.** This might include grants for study and internships in Israel and other Middle Eastern countries.
- **At Harvard College, take specific steps to enhance aspects of its residential system, comprising both dorms in the Yard for first-year students and the Houses for upper-level students, which many regard as the hearth and home of the College community.** The steps outlined in the next set of bullets are intended to renew a sense of shared community and to counter tendencies towards demonization and division.
- **Staff involved in the undergraduate student housing system, including various deans, proctors, tutors, and others, should operate as a more collaborative and unified team, supported by stronger leadership from University Hall.** In particular, we recommend:
  - Improved orientation and regular in-service training should be implemented for all residential personnel in the Yard and the Houses. The goal should be ensuring they are equipped to foster engagement across a variety of differences, including national origin, viewpoint, and identity along multiple dimensions. This is especially crucial for faculty deans, who ultimately bear responsibility for the climate and culture of their individual Houses and oversee both staff and budgets.

- Best practices for cultivating a constructive ethos of pluralism within the housing system should be identified and disseminated, with a particular emphasis on how these practices can support and reinforce a similar ethos in academic settings.

While we commend Harvard College's current efforts to promote intellectual vitality, we caution that this focus on intellectual vitality in general should not overshadow the need for College leaders to address antisemitism and anti-Israeli bias directly. Educating students about intellectual vitality in orientation programs, for example, does not eliminate the need to educate them about matters like the Israeli-Palestinian conflict or the history of antisemitism. Similarly, conducting intellectual vitality training during orientation does not negate the need for antisemitism training.

Building a Pluralistic Community

In a joint effort between the two Task Forces, the Pluralism Subcommittee examined the resources that exist at Harvard for interfaith engagements, interdisciplinary collaborations, religious literacy, and community building, including the arts, as well as examine new resources, structures, and/or practices.

The focus was on promoting a culture of pluralism, defined as recognizing the diversity of identities and ideologies on campus, respecting, relating, and cooperating with one another, and connecting personal and campus civic values to advance our educational and research mission. These campus civic values are anchored in the University's Values Statement focused on advancing respect for the rights, differences, and dignity of others; honesty and integrity in all dealings; conscientious pursuit of excellence in our work; accountability for actions and conduct in the community; and responsibility for the bonds and bridges that enable all to grow with and learn from one another.

A broad focus on pluralism will ultimately be foundational to ensuring the experience of inclusion and belonging on our campus for members of Muslim, Arab, and Palestinian communities, and their allies. At the same time, we wish to underscore that it is crucial not to overlook the specific forms of hate and bias that the two anti-bias Task Forces are committed to addressing, including anti-Muslim, anti-Arab, anti-Palestinian sentiments, as well as antisemitism and anti-Israel biases. Directly confronting these particular issues by advancing a pluralism agenda ensures that our efforts are impactful and resonate with the experiences of those most affected, fostering a truly inclusive environment.

While the full report of the Joint Subcommittee is included in Appendix 3, here we note one of the main recommendations, which our full Task Force endorses as well:

- **Establish an institutional anchor for practices of pluralism on campus.**

  There is a need for a central hub for pluralism efforts on campus — to anchor the practices of the University around a commitment to pluralism, and to engage all members of our campus community in exploring, embracing, and bringing our University values to life across a variety of contexts — from orientation and onboarding to interdisciplinary exchanges and language learning, to interfaith experiences, student life, and the arts on campus.

  Though the University will need to determine the appropriate approach to implementation, the Joint Subcommittee report details two possible options: expanding the Harvard Foundation into the Harvard Foundation for Pluralism or creating a new University-wide Center for Pluralism that incorporates the Harvard Foundation, which would continue to be College-facing, as a program. Many other entities also work in these areas and the specific value-add of a Reimagined Harvard Foundation/Center for Pluralism would be to connect the academic enterprise of the University, along with campus expertise on issues of inclusion, belonging, and pluralism, to the administrative enterprise that fulfills these functions. As the University considers the design of the Reimagined Harvard Foundation/Center for Pluralism, three key principles are essential for success: faculty leadership,

collaboration with OEDIB and other diversity offices on campus, and a strong staffing structure to support cross-functional work.

A Reimagined Harvard Foundation/Center for Pluralism should develop and implement programs that reinforce pluralism. For example, the Center/Foundation could support:

- a fellowship program for students;
- a campus awards program for students who lead in advancing a culture of pluralism on campus;
- engaging faculty with expertise in pluralism and connected subject areas to develop trainings and professional development opportunities for the campus;
- mediation resources for conflicts that involve issues of pluralism; and
- the work of OEDIB and School-specific Diversity, Inclusion, and Belonging offices to cultivate a campus-wide network of expertise on pluralism that all Schools could tap into in a shared way.

This Reimagined Center, in partnership with OEDIB, could also lead the Harvard Culture Collaborative, fostering faculty-staff partnerships to enhance research and learning in support of inclusion and belonging grounded in a commitment to pluralism. Several of the Task Force recommendations laid out above might also be advanced via this vehicle, including the development of new intellectual exchanges and innovative trainings.

The Task Force discussed the merits and potential challenges of using the Harvard Foundation as the hub for University-wide pluralism efforts. A detailed examination of these issues is warranted, as exploring these complexities was beyond the Task Force's remit. The Harvard Foundation currently focuses on undergraduate students, and there is a proposal to transform it into a Harvard Foundation/Center for Pluralism that serves the entire campus community, while preserving and indeed strengthening the current mandate of the Harvard Foundation. The Joint Subcommittee suggests structuring this Reimagined Harvard Foundation/Center for Pluralism as a School-based entity for easier integration with the University's mission. The Joint Subcommittee recommends significant investment from the Office of the President and Provost, as well as School deans, to establish faculty leadership and anchor pluralism practices across the campus.

Religious Life

In the wake of the traumatic of the October 7th attacks and the heightened tensions of the 2023-24 academic year, many Jewish students sought solace and support within Harvard's Jewish community, primarily centered around Harvard Hillel and Harvard Chabad. However, the events of academic year 2023-24 also exposed longstanding challenges and unmet needs within Jewish life, and indeed within religious life more broadly, at Harvard.

The Task Force's impression is that many faith communities at Harvard tend to be fragmented and internally divided, and that they engage in limited dialogue with one another.

While Harvard does not gather statistics on the religious affiliation of its students, several factors lead the Task Force to believe that the number of Jewish students may have decreased in recent decades. This apparent decline has made it increasingly challenging, across religious denominations of Judaism (e.g., Conservative, Orthodox, Reform), and in various areas of Jewish cultural life, to achieve the requisite quorum of peers required to hold certain religious and cultural Jewish activities, potentially affecting students' ability to experience and explore the richness of Jewish heritage and life.

In several listening sessions, non- and anti-Zionist Jewish students told us that they do not feel welcome at Hillel or Chabad.

Clearly, Harvard is missing opportunities to make religious life on campus a greater source of support and an integral part of the learning community we desire. To tap such opportunities, we recommend the following:

- Connect the Harvard Chaplains better with the residential system of Harvard College, so that students experiencing spiritual distress and isolation can more easily find support.
- Urge admissions leaders to consider applicants of all faiths who have played faith-based leadership roles in the past, including those who have shown an ability to build bridges across faiths. Admissions practices cannot favor certain applicants based on their religion, but they can consider faith-based leadership experience in the way they consider other kinds of leadership experience.
- Ensure that all personnel who teach and advise students are apprised of Harvard policies regarding reasonable accommodations when religious observances conflict with the academic calendar and the scheduled assignments and exams of individual courses. Such policies should not only fulfill statutory requirements but also meet a standard of inclusion. Students should be guided and supported in making appropriate arrangements with their instructors in such circumstances, and faculty should be receptive to requests for such accommodation. Calendars of religious observances, with brief descriptions of the practices and restrictions germane to each observance, should be made easily available, to consult when religious accommodation is requested.
- Create an Office of Religious, Ethical, and Spiritual Life, as described in the Subcommittee Report on Pluralism.

Administrative Infrastructure

The steps recommended above, while comprehensive, will only effectively take root and improve student life if the University, both centrally and within its individual Schools, ensures the administrative infrastructure is in place to support, coordinate, and sustain these efforts over the long term. To that end, the Task Force recommends that the University's leadership and the leadership of each School take the following concrete actions:

- **Include in the Office of Equity, Diversity, Inclusion, and Belonging (OEDIB), or another appropriate office in the Central Administration, a dedicated team member specifically tasked with addressing antisemitism and anti-Israel bias.** This individual should possess relevant training and experience regarding Jewish and Israeli identity and culture. Their responsibilities should include:
  - Serving as a readily accessible point of contact for receiving concerns about antisemitism and anti-Israeli bias and overseeing cases from initial complaint to resolution.
  - Providing direct support to students experiencing antisemitism or anti-Israeli bias as they navigate the complaint process, which can be emotionally challenging.
  - Collaborating proactively with other administrators across the University to ensure the inclusion and belonging of Jewish and Israeli students.
  - Engaging with Jewish, Israeli, and pro-Israeli students across Harvard's Schools, offering guidance and support to those who may be navigating a range of challenges, including experiences of shunning, alienation, and discrimination.
  - Working proactively to repair the distrust between many members of Harvard's Israeli and Jewish community and the OEDIB.
  - Staying abreast of antisemitism resources best practices from other institutions and organizations.
  - Developing and providing trainings to Schools, departments, administrative units, and campus groups on recognizing and addressing antisemitism and anti-Israeli bias.

  - Offering consultation and support to staff members across the University responding to concerns related to antisemitism and anti-Israeli bias.
  - Engage with deans, faculty, the Office of the President and Provost, the Office of the General Counsel, and OEDIB colleagues, to provide relevant insights and perspectives informed by Jewish culture, history, and community, particularly regarding emerging issues.

- **The University should explicitly acknowledge and address in an appropriate way that many Israeli and pro-Israeli students at Harvard have experienced shunning, alienation, social isolation, and discrimination from some of their peers, professors, and administrators on campus.** Harvard must unequivocally state that such behavior is unacceptable and fails to meet the expectations for the behavior of Harvard community members. Recognizing the intolerable reality faced by Israeli students is an essential first step toward fostering meaningful change and creating a truly inclusive environment.
- **Constitute in each School of the University a student-faculty-administration Working Group on Campus Culture to monitor and discuss situations that threaten the welfare and core functions of the learning community, to pursue ways of addressing and ameliorating such situations, and to act to improve campus community.** A responsibility of this group should include transforming campus culture by translating University norms into student activities and programming. These groups should represent diverse ethnic, religious, and political communities on campus, including Jewish, Israeli, Arab, and Muslim students, as well as leading administrators, and they should be funded to foster and support student initiatives toward a collegial and hospitable learning environment, including relevant high-profile events and culture-building activities. These groups should convene together periodically to report on challenges and successes and to learn best practices. They are intended to guide and catalyze the long-term development of campus culture, not to respond immediately to specific incidents.
- **Orient those in positions of advising students to the proper practices for reporting incidents.** Ensure that students know who to approach with concerns, and that those designated people know how to guide students on reporting, and how to follow up to make sure that students are apprised of responses to their reports, even when it may not be possible for legal reasons to disclose some details.
- **Launch a University Task Force of faculty, staff, and student leaders to tackle the special challenges of social media.** Social media sites, especially the anonymous Sidechat, have been the venues of particularly vicious displays of antisemitism and anti-Israel bias, as well as other biases. Conflicts among students are often full-blown and factionalized online before involved students have had a chance to interact on the matters at hand "IRL" (in real life).
- **Hold accountable any administrators, faculty, teaching staff, or advisors who encourage violations of rules that undermine the learning environment.**
- **Ensure, regarding all the efforts recommended in this document, that there be a clear locus of responsibility and accountability, metrics, ongoing measurement, and public reporting.**

In addition, the two anti-bias Task Forces jointly call for regular, in-depth demographic research and surveys on the sense of safety and well-being among Harvard community members. These efforts should prioritize, but not be limited to, groups who have historically faced challenges in expressing themselves and finding safety and belonging at Harvard, recognizing that these groups may evolve over time. In this regard, we specifically recommend:

- **Enhance regular University-wide Pulse surveys to assess the experiences of students, staff, and faculty, providing them a platform to voice concerns, suggest improvements, and propose additional areas of exploration.** Integrate a mechanism for community feedback on the survey itself, including suggestions for questions related to relevant concepts such as antisemitism and bias against Israelis, Muslims, Arabs, and Palestinians, and emerging trends.

- **To complement survey data and address potential limitations like response rates and survey fatigue, enhance the University's capacity to analyze existing administrative data, such as course enrollment, dropout rates, and other routine student touchpoints.** This analysis should be conducted with strict adherence to privacy policies (e.g., FERPA) and could be centralized within the University's Office of Institutional Research and potentially involve relevant faculty, researchers, and staff in coordination with Harvard's Central Administration and the various Schools.

Protest, Complaints, and Discipline

PROTEST

This report has stressed the need for Harvard to foster an inclusive campus environment where members of our pluralistic community engage with each other respectfully and appreciate perspectives different from our own. Those differences might be stark and, in the case of contentious issues like Israel/Palestine, fraught. At times, members of our community will choose to communicate their views on such issues through public protest. Public protest is no less legitimate a form of speech than private conversation or in-class discussion. Protest can effectively communicate to our community the gravity and urgent need for action that some of our members attribute to a current crisis, either within Harvard or beyond.

Like any other form of speech, protest must operate within certain guidelines. Freedom of speech does not justify harassment, bullying, or intimidation by one student toward another, nor does it justify unprofessional conduct by an instructor towards a student due to their political views, national origin, or religion. Protest must not disrupt the normal operations of the University, including conducting classes and providing unrestricted access to the libraries and other campus buildings.

The University has already taken steps to revise and strengthen its protest policies. In January 2024, President Garber and the deans of the University's Schools issued "Guidance on Protest and Dissent" clarifying the relevance of the University's 1970 Statement on Rights and Responsibilities to current protests. (This new document prohibited, among other things, certain indoor protests.) In August 2024, the University established additional policies prohibiting unauthorized outdoor camping and excessive noise on campus property, addressing concerns stemming from the Spring 2024 encampment and other disruptive demonstrations held during the 2023-24 academic year. These policies now in place, we feel, provide substance to the concept of time, place, and manner that has long prevailed in determining the limits of free speech in the United States.

Moving forward, however, the University faces challenges in proactively establishing limits on protest rather than making ad hoc determinations during protest events. While we do not recommend proactively prohibiting the use of certain words, phrases, or symbols, we do recommend that the University prohibit the masking of faces at protests. Such a prohibition will enable the Harvard University Police Department to maintain order at public gatherings and identify individuals who may be violating University policies. Similarly, to ensure the maintenance of the University's normal operations, we urge strict adherence to the existing prohibition against unauthorized and last-minute protests.

While unauthorized or disruptive protests are perhaps the most visible manifestation of policy violations, they should not overshadow the accounts in this report describing students' experiences of bullying, exclusion, and intimidation based on national origin or political views regarding Zionism and Israel. As noted in our June 2024 Preliminary Recommendations, students alleging such mistreatment have expressed concerns about a "lack of transparency, clarity, and clear process for the submission of complaints of antisemitic or otherwise hostile behavior."

COMPLAINTS

In addressing concerns about the complaint process, the Task Force acknowledges that Harvard's Non-Discrimination and Anti-Bullying (NDAB) policy was only implemented in September 2023. When the October 7th attack triggered a variety of events on campus, there had been no opportunity to assess how the new NDAB policy would interact with the other policies already in place within individual Schools. This unprecedented pressure test of a nascent system revealed, in our view, some fundamental flaws in its design, which we highlight here and believe require rectification. Importantly, by introducing significant confusion into the process, the implementation of NDAB may well have undermined what had been more stable processes under the previous system of administrative boards, which are responsible for handling disciplinary matters at the various Schools.

Both anti-bias Task Forces, in their preliminary recommendations, called for clear and transparent policies on protests, bias, and discrimination that would be consistent across the University and clearly communicated to all. Based on our Task Force's subsequent work, we offer the following additional recommendations.

- **The University's Office of Community Conduct (OCC) needs to clarify for the Harvard community that it is the University's Title VI office and is responsible for administering the University's Title VI compliance.** That clarification would need to include:
  - Clarifying that NDAB (the policy the OCC administers) is aligned with Title VI; or adjusting NDAB to improve alignment, if necessary, presumably by adding a venue for complaints with no clear perpetrator, and for complaints that can be made anonymously; or by adding an additional and specifically Title VI policy alongside NDAB.
  - Ensuring personnel who are employed in central offices and available across the University understand antisemitism; including ensuring improved training as well as cross-training across Schools to support development of shared understandings.
  - Better communicating the availability of those personnel and the entry points for access to them to the community.
- **As the University's Title VI office, the Office of Community Conduct should work to improve complaint processes, including the following improvements:**
  - Clear user-facing communications are needed to help people understand the different entry points into an incident reporting process, as well as the differences among different modes of reporting an incident and the differences between informal and formal processes.
  - User-facing communications should give students clear instructions as to where and how to file complaints.
  - Students should be updated as much as possible on the status of complaints.
  - Substantial consistency across Schools in both process and available sanctions, with School-specific alterations being kept to a minimum, including, at a minimum, bringing together administrators from across Schools to develop shared policy understanding, as well as exploring a transition from having separate handbooks and codes of conduct in every School to having a University-wide handbook with School-specific addenda.
- **Each School should consider appointing a specific faculty or staff member at each unit who is a navigator to assist students with making complaints.** This individual would be different from the Local Designated Resource (LDR) and would have no responsibility for judging whether a complaint should be dismissed, nor for determining whether a complaint falls under non-discrimination or bullying. The current system puts the LDR in the position of both advisor and judge, and this is a conflict of roles that needs to be corrected. The navigator would advise students where and how to file

complaints and provide updating. This would reduce confusion and allow students to feel heard, even if the substantive outcome is not to their liking. The navigator would support the LDR in the first phase of NDAB of connecting the complaining student and others involved to mediation or other informal resolution practices.

- **The University should initiate regular review of protest policies and complaint processes:**
  - Assess effectiveness, analyze enforcement trends, identify issues, and ensure alignment with evolving community needs.
  - Include feedback from frontline staff and the broader Harvard community.
  - Institute a process of regular review that is attached to a stable University-wide governance mechanism and includes faculty.
- **The University should aim to set a field standard for comparable reporting on the volume of complaints and the percentage that is resolved through mediation or other practices and the percentage that moves on to formal grievance filing or an administrative board proceeding.** This standard could parallel that for the Clery Act, which requires colleges and universities to report annually on sexual assault cases in aggregate. This reporting should include categories of sanctioned behavior as part of educating the campus about which actions are judged to be violations of NDAB.
- **The NDAB process needs to include a channel for reporting on incidents and patterns to University leadership even when no formal grievance is filed.**
- **There is a need for a channel through which complaints can be made anonymously, to protect a complainant from retaliation, and still reach University-level leaders.**

Improving the University's policies and procedures in the manner laid out above is in the best interests of the many Jewish, Israeli, Arab, Muslim, Palestinian, and pro-Palestinian community members negatively affected by these processes. It is also in the best interests of the staff and administrators of this university who are responsible for these policies. And it will certainly be necessary for the health of the Harvard community generally over the long term.

DISCIPLINE

While complaint resolution can take many forms, including voluntary mediation and other steps that fall short of punitive discipline, disciplinary action must remain a viable option. Yet, as discussed in our June 2024 Preliminary Recommendations, significant inconsistencies seem to exist in the policies and procedures of administrative boards and other disciplinary bodies across the University's various Schools. This has resulted in apparent disparities in the handling of disciplinary cases.

Therefore, the Task Force urges the University to establish clearer communication channels and strive for greater consistency in disciplinary procedures across its constituent Schools. We view the July 2024 announcement that the University Committee on Rights and Responsibilities[619] would use standardized fact-finding procedures for disciplinary cases involving multiple Schools as a positive step. However, this should be the beginning of a broader reform process encompassing the individual Schools' Administrative Boards and the interactions between them. The process should start with a University-wide committee of representatives from each School, tasked with comparing the Boards' remit, composition, operating procedures, and outcomes. The committee's objective should be recommending ways to achieve an optimal level of equalization and standardization across the Administrative Boards. Achieving this will help the University restore trust with many members of the Harvard community who want assurance that students who violate Harvard's policies will be treated fairly and equitably, with disciplinary consequences

[619] https://www.harvard.edu/president/news/2024/update-on-university-rights-and-responsibilities/

commensurate with the gravity of their infractions. To further restore trust, we recommend that the University — to the extent legally possible — provide an annual account, in an aggregated and anonymized form, of disciplinary cases University-wide, including the number and types of cases and their outcomes. Importantly, faculty should play a significant role on this committee, helping to address the information gaps that currently seem to hinder their ability to understand and engage with University policies and effectively mentor students.

When policies are on the books, they must be enforced consistently and impartially across all parts of the University to avoid even the appearance of institutional bias in their application. Uneven enforcement can feel arbitrary or selectively repressive to those who face disciplinary action, rather than a simple consequence of deciding to break a rule. This problem is further compounded by a lack of clarity and understanding surrounding these policies and their enforcement, a challenge that was particularly evident to us on the Longwood campus.

B. Governance Changes

In the course of our work, we encountered several surprising issues related to University governance, some detailed in Chapter 4. These issues included:

- Evident gaps in faculty and administrative governance, significantly degrading the academic programs in certain areas of the University and creating potential legal liability for the institution.
- Staff leading significant academic programs with insufficient oversight from the ladder faculty.
- Concerning performance of a small, but not insignificant, number of Harvard's teaching faculty.

To address these issues, we offer the following recommendations:

- **The President and Provost, either acting independently or with the counsel of a faculty advisory group, should establish a set of uniform standards for all Harvard academic programs, such as centers, institutes, and study abroad programs.** These standards should consider factors such as:
  - Requiring a faculty director, who is a responsible tenured member of the ladder faculty, to oversee all activities of such programs.
  - Establishing best practices for oversight boards of such programs.
  - Establishing best practices for visiting affiliations and appointments.

We were surprised to encounter significant academic programs that lacked any involvement from the ladder faculty, and we think as a nearly hard rule that the University should avoid creating programs like these in the future. We understand that this rule will not apply evenly across the University and that there are places and programs that can be run with the supervision of a dean's office and with the excellent staff and regular non-ladder faculty we can recruit. However, we think in general it is best to have oversight from ladder faculty with relevant expertise, and to the extent an activity is outside the scope of the expertise that exists at Harvard, it is an opportunity to think about adding skills and expertise to the faculty or, alternatively, admitting that we are not well-positioned to run a particular program, which is a healthy response, as we cannot do everything.

To the extent Harvard has expertise, and those experts are unwilling to commit the amount of time needed for meaningful and real supervision of a program, we may not be able run a proposed program with the necessary integrity. The right consequence of such a scenario would be to focus on other ventures as opposed to inviting faculty from other universities to supervise on an ad hoc basis.

We must avoid allowing staff and non-ladder faculty to create partisan projects on our letterhead, which degrades the brand and reputation of the University and is completely out of scope with our mission.

Importantly, at any given time, different Harvard Schools are capable of doing different things. Harvard is an institution that takes expertise very seriously, which is why we were surprised to find programs deeply outside the scope of a given faculty's expertise. When we found those programs, they often failed to operate at the same level of excellence as the activities within the core body of knowledge of the Harvard unit. We would do much better to partner with one another to create interdisciplinary programs than to hire non-ladder faculty to add expertise to a unit that would not merit a tenured appointment in the discipline.

The Task Force also believes the University should generally avoid partisan programs of instruction that seem aimed at training students to take sides on contested issues. While our scope did not permit extensive discussions with faculty across all units regarding the perceived instances of partisanship, those faculty members we did speak with were often shocked and unaware of the current climate — we particularly found this to be the case in discussions at Harvard Medical School. Many HMS faculty noted a significant shift towards a more politicized educational environment compared to their own training experiences.

It was especially strange to observe the following pattern. All Harvard Schools have rules regarding the time, place, and manner of permitted protest and are charged with administering those rules. But in some places in the University, we found programs of instruction that teach students to engage in disruptive protest. In effect, in some quarters — and not the majority, we should add — we found a deep tension at the heart of how we operate. It is thoroughly understandable that, when Harvard did enforce rules against some of those students, the students felt betrayed.

We also recommend increased oversight over Harvard-branded content. We find it particularly concerning that the two programs we found most problematic — the Palestine Program at the Harvard Chan School and RPL at HDS — also have recent journal publications authored by their organizers, who described their pedagogical approaches and promote their activities under the Harvard name and brand.

We believe the activities we identified in Chapter 4 present urgent brand and reputation concerns that imperil the University's pre-eminence and require immediate action.

- **Improve the incentives that Harvard's faculties have to monitor academic programs.** We observe that in some cases, when a Harvard School receives a grant or a donation to fund a program, the program quickly takes on a life of its own, growing and hiring staff. Ladder faculty insight is either non-existent or fleeting. Senior administrators appear to either lack the bandwidth to oversee the program or to take a hands-off approach to avoid antagonizing staff who have relationships with donors or students.

  To address problems like this, we urge the University to consider implementing a system of accountability where costs are assigned to Schools that fail to adequately supervise programs and other activities under their purview. This system should align with the best practices that are subject of the prior recommendations in this section on Governance Changes. Currently, incentives for diligent oversight appear weak and ineffective. By establishing clear lines of responsibility and consequences for inadequate supervision, the University can mitigate potential risks with certain programs and other activities across its Schools.

OUR CHARGE TO THE UNIVERSITY

The task of researching and writing this report has been profoundly challenging, as all involved care deeply about Harvard University. Our work has required us to examine situations where aspects of the Harvard community have broken down, resulting in deeply troubling experiences for many students, faculty, and staff. Too often, we heard these experiences reflect prejudice and intolerance based on individuals' identities, nationalities, and religious commitments. We have encountered places and instances where Harvard has fallen far short of the stated values it aspires to uphold.

Yet, throughout this process, we have also witnessed the potential for a better Harvard, the Harvard we cherish. The University's renown rests not only on its history, the many contributions of its graduates to the wider world, or the individual achievements of its faculty and students. Rather, from its vibrant undergraduate residential system to cutting-edge academic programs across the various Schools, Harvard's accomplishments stem from its enduring ability to forge and renew a purposeful community of research, teaching, and learning, strengthened by the rich tapestry of experiences woven by those who have met, learned, and grown together here.

Our work has revealed numerous examples of students, staff, and faculty dedicated to renewing and strengthening the Harvard community. For instance, three Schools highlighted in this report — the Harvard Chan School, HGSE, and HDS — have new deans committed to improving the climate and atmosphere at their Schools. In academic year 2024-25, HDS provided a book by a critical but committed Zionist, Yossi Klein Halevi, to all students, and invited all community members to a conversation with the author. This book provides a voice and a face for Zionists that seemed absent in the Religion and Public Life programming we reviewed, and it pushes back against dehumanization of Israelis. Similarly, the Dean of Harvard Medical School, in his Fall 2024 welcoming remarks to incoming students, powerfully stated, "We leave our politics at the door when we come to the bedside of a patient." In doing so, he reinforced a cornerstone of medical professionalism that we believe needs to be emphasized anew at HMS and in medical education generally.

These examples, encountered even as we have described instances where Harvard has fallen short, demonstrate Harvard's capacity to translate aspirations into action when University leadership and the broader Harvard community work together with shared resolve.

With this capacity in mind, we issue this charge to the University: it is clear to the Task Force that antisemitism and anti-Israel bias have been fomented, practiced, and tolerated not only at Harvard but also within academia more widely. We urge Harvard's leadership, including the president, provost, deans, faculties, and offices of equity, diversity, inclusion, and belonging to become champions in the fight against antisemitism and anti-Israeli bias — first at Harvard, and then as a model for institutions of higher learning everywhere. We further call on Harvard's leaders to combat, with equal resolve, all other forms of prejudice and intolerance, including anti-Muslim, anti-Arab, and anti-Palestinian bias. This charge is made with particular urgency to those Schools that operate in deeply politicized fields, such as medicine, public health, and education.

As a final recommendation, we urge the University to convene a subset of the members of this Task Force to monitor implementation and provide two post-report updates to the public.

We conclude by reflecting on the vital importance of this Task Force's efforts, alongside those of our sibling Task Force focused on anti-Muslim, anti-Arab, and anti-Palestinian bias. In moments when over 1,000 civilians are slaughtered in a single day, when tens of thousands of innocents suffer death and injury in the ensuing conflict, when millions are displaced, and when hostages remain captive — one might question the impact of actions taken within Harvard's leafy quadrangles and serene libraries, half a world away.

We believe such actions matter profoundly because of the model we set for the countless future leaders who pass through Harvard's gates. Harvard could model a world where individuals retreat into echo chambers of the like-minded, where differences are met with shunning and intimidation, and where divisions are amplified. Our students could be conditioned to seek out only those academic and extracurricular pursuits that position them as combatants in pre-existing ideological conflicts.

Yet, Harvard can — and must — model a world where the full spectrum of human talent converges, where engagement across profound differences is the norm, and where those very differences become wellsprings of creativity and imagination propelling progress on humanity's most pressing challenges.

It is our conviction that Harvard possesses both the capacity and the responsibility to provide this latter model. It is our hope that the actions recommended in this report, in concert with the recommendations of our sibling Task Force, will help illuminate the path forward.

Harvard, like the country and world it serves, is in need of profound repair. We must dedicate ourselves to this essential work, and we must do so as a unified and resolute community. Let us begin.

Appendices

Appendix 1: Recent Progress on Addressing Antisemitism and Anti-Israeli Bias Across Harvard

This Appendix provides an overview of some recent initiatives undertaken by Harvard Schools and key offices in the Central Administration since the 2023-24 academic year aimed at addressing antisemitism and anti-Israeli bias. The information presented here is based entirely on self-reports provided by these Schools and offices in response to a request from the Task Force co-chairs.

While the co-chairs acknowledge these reported efforts as important steps and promising signs of growing institutional commitment, several important caveats must be emphasized. The initiatives described are illustrative examples, not an exhaustive list. Furthermore, the Task Force has not independently verified the implementation or effectiveness of these actions. Crucially, their inclusion here does not imply that the significant concerns about antisemitism and anti-Israeli bias detailed elsewhere in the Task Force's report have been resolved or sufficiently addressed.

All that said, the self-reported actions provide important context for the Task Force's recommendations (presented in Chapter 5). Our recommendations seek to build upon this foundation of existing efforts by promoting the systemic change needed to create a truly inclusive and welcoming environment for all members of the Harvard community.

Training on Antisemitism and Anti-Israeli Bias

According to information provided to the Task Force, several Schools have implemented specialized training programs focused specifically on understanding antisemitism, anti-Israeli bias, and related forms of discrimination. These efforts appear aimed at equipping faculty, staff, and student leaders with the knowledge and tools to recognize problematic behaviors and create more inclusive environments.

- The University committed to hiring a new Office for Community Conduct (OCC) employee who will have responsibility for consulting on all complaints of antisemitism and supervising the preparation of the written report of such complaints that will be included in the annual report published by the OCC director.
- All OCC staff involved in reviewing complaints raising allegations of antisemitism will participate in expert training focused on recognizing and combating antisemitism and the IHRA definition of antisemitism.[620]
- Beginning in the 2025-26 academic year, Harvard will push out broadly to the University community training that is focused on recognizing and combating antisemitism. This will be mandatory for students, staff, and members of disciplinary boards.

[620] To be clear, the Task Force did not deliberate on, or endorse, any particular definition of antisemitism. As we mentioned in the Executive Summary, we defined antisemitism through the actual experiences of faculty, staff, and students, not with specific reference to any of the lengthy definitions of antisemitism.

- The University's Office for Equity, Diversity, Inclusion, and Belonging (OEDIB) devoted its annual Inclusion and Belonging Leadership Summit in academic year 2024-25 to the theme of "Committed to " Hate and Bias," with programming addressing antisemitism, anti-Israeli bias, and other forms of bias. Separately, OEDIB also held a moderated panel discussion on Title VI of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 that featured the general counsel from Hillel International and reviewed what is covered under Title VI and the role of universities in addressing incidents of harassment and discrimination.
- OEDIB led development of a series of seven sessions offered across the Harvard campus called "Honoring Our Shared Humanity: Combatting Islamophobia and Antisemitism." Developed through a partnership with Project Shema, the sessions focused on providing practical strategies to combat Islamophobia, antisemitism, and anti-Arab, and anti-Palestinian, and anti-Israeli biases on campus.
- The Harvard Kenneth C. Griffin Graduate School of Arts and Sciences (GSAS) held events in Fall 2024 with Project Shema, a training organization focused on addressing contemporary antisemitism, and earlier in the same year GSAS staff attended Brandeis University's Summer Institute on Countering Antisemitism in Higher Education.
- The Harvard T.H. Chan School of Public Health (Harvard Chan School) co-hosted "Honoring Our Shared Humanity: Combatting Islamophobia and Antisemitism" in October 2024 for the Longwood campus and will be bringing Project Shema to campus for three intensive workshops on antisemitism in the coming months, tailored to the School's administrative leadership, department chairs, students, staff, and faculty.
- Harvard University staff and Harvard College senior leadership and staff participated in multiple training sessions led by Brandeis University's Summer Institute on Antisemitism in Higher Education to deepen their understanding of antisemitism, its historical and contemporary manifestations, and effective strategies for responding to bias incidents.
- The College also organized Project Shema training sessions for residential staff, tutors, proctors, and other College staff to help recognize and challenge antisemitic tropes, equipping them with tools to foster nuanced discussions and a more supportive campus climate.
- The Harvard John A. Paulson School of Engineering and Applied Sciences held two workshops in February 2025 on combating antisemitism and Islamophobia, respectively.
- The Faculty of Arts and Sciences (FAS) has enhanced faculty training on antisemitism, anti-Israeli bias, and classroom climate. The Bok Center Director's remarks at New Faculty Institutes addressed concerns about antisemitism and anti-Israeli bias in classrooms and emphasized keeping personal politics out of teaching. Since the University's Non-Discrimination and Anti-Bullying (NDAB) Policy went into effect in Fall 2023, the FAS Office for Faculty Affairs has conducted 55 trainings for faculty, staff, and academic leadership.
- Harvard Law School (HLS) has begun piloting staff training focused on antisemitism.

Curricular Reviews and Academic Program Development

Schools have reported initiating reviews of their curricula and launching new academic initiatives intended to help ensure programs reflect diverse perspectives and promote inclusive excellence. These efforts include faculty searches in relevant fields, leadership transitions, program evaluations, and development of new academic offerings that address issues of religious and cultural understanding.

- The University has committed to hosting and sponsoring events with the goal of addressing antisemitism and increasing respect for and understanding of Harvard's Jewish and Israeli community members, including:

  - hosting, sponsoring, publicizing, and funding an annual academic symposium on the topic of antisemitism;
  - providing space and financial support for the Louis D. Brandeis Center for Human Rights Under Law to host an annual campus event; and
  - facilitating and funding an event at HKS on Israeli Jewish democracy.
- Harvard has committed to partnering prior to the 2025-26 academic year with an Israeli university (in addition to those in place already) and will offer Harvard students the opportunity to earn academic credit for participating in coursework from this university.
- The Harvard Graduate School of Education (HGSE) is undertaking a comprehensive curricular review entailing a detailed descriptive analysis of the course catalog, on a number of dimensions including enrollment and instructional cost, and are shifting to a content analysis, mapping and analyzing the curriculum by topics, competencies, and pedagogy types, in connection with HGSE's academic mission and commitment to excellence in learning and teaching.
- Harvard Divinity School (HDS) has appointed new leadership for the Religion and Public Life (RPL) program effective July 1, 2025, with the Academic Dean serving as interim director to help with the transition. Additionally, the School appointed a committee of four distinguished scholars from outside Harvard to review the RPL program. The committee will provide an independent evaluation of the program, focusing on academic quality, effectiveness, and alignment with institutional goals.
- HDS is taking steps towards the development of a Jewish Leadership Initiative, akin to the School's longstanding Buddhist Ministry Initiative, to prepare students for service in their congregations, broader communities, and beyond.
- HDS launched faculty searches in Fall 2024 for two positions that correlate strongly with the issues identified in this report: a Professor in Residence in Modern Jewish Studies and tenure-track Professor in Religion, Violence, and Peace.
- Through its Middle East Initiative and other frameworks, Harvard Kennedy School (HKS) currently provides a range of opportunities for students to learn about the Middle East and the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. HKS plans to expand course offerings that engage topics related to the Middle East, religion and politics, and issues of discrimination, including antisemitism and anti-Muslim bias, by searching for qualified adjunct faculty who can create classroom learning environments conducive to constructive conversation about difficult and contentious topics.
- GSAS's Equity, Diversity, Inclusion, and Belonging (EDIB) team is working closely with Harvard Hillel to develop a series of events with an academic focus addressing antisemitism.

Fostering Inclusive Community and Dialogue

In their communications with the Task Force, many Schools described efforts to build a more inclusive campus community, foster dialogue across differences, and cultivate skills for engaging with challenging or contentious issues. Based on these reports, Schools are developing frameworks for respectful discourse, creating spaces for meaningful exchange, and establishing community principles that value pluralism and inclusion.

- In February 2025, President Garber announced the award of four grants from the President's Building Bridges Fund for student-led initiatives focused on building community across faiths, cultures, and backgrounds.
- In October 2024, the Open Inquiry and Constructive Dialogue Working Group released its recommendations, which were accepted by President Garber, on strategies and best practices to

advance open and constructive learning environments including a required teaching module on constructive disagreement.

- In May 2024, following the recommendation of a faculty-led working group, the University adopted a policy on the "Institutional Voice," whereby University leaders will not issue official statements on behalf of the institution on matters of social or political significance that do not directly affect the University's core functions. (The Task Force is hopeful this will end the unproductive lobbying of administrators to issue statements that usually ended up satisfying nobody.)
- HGSE has dedicated resources to a broad effort to foster an inclusive community, led by a workgroup of faculty and administrators. This workgroup has drafted a strategic plan aiming to foster a dynamic campus community that values and promotes authentic dialogue and understanding across differences. The goal is to both leverage and enhance existing expertise across HGSE to ensure community members have the tools and disposition to further embed pluralism into their learning, teaching, research, advising, and field-based work.
- The Harvard Chan School initiated Harvard Chan LEADs (Learn & Engage Across Differences) to strengthen commitment to inclusivity and build capacity for meaningful discourse, including a module at student orientation and ongoing workshops and events.
- The Harvard Chan School is launching a Working Group on Constructive Engagement, with representatives from students, staff, trainees, and faculty. The working group is charged with developing practical recommendations for sustaining healthy pluralism at the School by nurturing an inclusive culture, encouraging open inquiry, and building capacity within all segments of the community to engage respectfully across differences.
- The Harvard Chan School has also created Principles of Citizenship, emphasizing respect and inclusivity, through a School-wide task force with representatives from student, alumni, staff, and academic appointees. It also launched a new Harvard Chan Citizenship Award to recognize students, staff members, and academic appointees who best exemplify the principles.
- HMS has implemented multiple initiatives to advance a culture of respectful discourse. The Dean of the Faculty of Medicine emphasized at White Coat Day that physicians must "leave their politics at the door" in patient care settings. HMS now requires all entering medical students to reflect on the School's Statement of Mutual Respect, supports dialogue series with relevant speakers, and has adjusted professionalism training to focus on tolerance, pluralism, and civil discourse. All master's students attended orientation sessions on civil discourse, while all PhD students developed community agreements for facilitated discussions in a required course.
- HKS has been immersed for several years in a robust "Candid and Constructive Conversations" project following extensive listening sessions, including signature events modeling constructive disagreement, a new online module, workshops during orientations, and facilitated discussions with diverse audiences.
- HKS held a day-long session for faculty to strengthen their capacities for constructive dialogue, including simulated classroom situations where students objected to taking on perspectives they felt were harmful.
- HDS developed programming to encourage dialogue across difference, including a "Community Read" of three books presenting different perspectives on the Israeli-Palestinian conflict.
- The FAS Civil Discourse initiative, launched in December 2023 by the Dean of the Faculty of Arts and Sciences and led by a tenured faculty member from the Government Department represents a long-term, high-profile commitment to fostering an environment of curiosity, ambition, mutual understanding, and achievement for the entire FAS community.

- HLS made restorative practices — facilitated dialogues aimed at repairing harm and rebuilding relationships — available to student group leaders focused on Israel and Gaza and launched a Community Connections Grant Program to encourage small-group discussions, build facilitation skills, and model constructive disagreement.
- In spring 2024, the Edmond and Lily Safra Center for Ethics began engaging in a Center-wide effort to expand its longstanding work on civil discourse, including a new Fellowship in Values Engagement. The Fellowship works with resident tutors to foster intellectual vitality by promoting ethical reflection and a culture of civil disagreement in undergraduate community life.
- In January 2024, Harvard College and PEN America hosted the Intellectual Vitality and Free Expression Student Summit aimed at fostering open, productive communication.

Strengthening Support for Jewish Students and Communities

According to information submitted to the Task Force, several Schools have taken steps to directly support Jewish students and communities through sustained engagement with Jewish organizations, dedicated programming, and regular communication between leadership and community members. These efforts appear aimed at ensuring Jewish students feel welcome, supported, and integrated into the broader campus community while having their specific concerns addressed.

- The University has developed and distributed a resource guide for all students, faculty, and staff to help them recognize and report online harassment. Harvard University Police Department (HUPD), working with Harvard's information security team, has processes in place to receive and act on these reports.
- Harvard has established 24/7 reporting mechanisms to allow community members to report antisemitic incidents anonymously. To directly address any allegations of antisemitism, Harvard has provided specialized resources and training on antisemitism and its manifestation on campus to those who adjudicate complaints under the Non-Discrimination Policy at all Schools.
- The University organized community support sessions led by the counseling team and Harvard's chaplains, which comprise more than 30 faith leaders representing Judaism and several other religions.
- Harvard has deployed additional law enforcement resources to protect Jewish students and ensure the safety of the entire community. Additionally, Harvard has increased coordination between HUPD and local and federal law enforcement to assess and respond to any potential or actual threats to the Harvard community.
- When circumstances warrant, Harvard has restricted access to Harvard Yard (the center of its Cambridge campus) and HMS has restricted access to the Longwood Campus Quadrangle to limit outside disruptions, better manage campus spaces, and ensure student safety.
- The University clarified that its inclusion and belonging efforts must reach all members of its community and has ensured that its "Inclusion and Belonging Student Leadership Council" includes Jewish student representation.
- Harvard leaders attend dinners at Harvard Hillel, Chabad, and other Jewish organizations across our community (both on campus and with alumni and other off-campus groups) to hear concerns and suggestions on improving the campus climate.
- Clinicians and staff from Harvard's Counseling and Mental Health Services (CAMHS) received cultural competency lectures from the then-Campus Rabbi at Harvard Hillel, who was a Harvard Chaplain, to provide a deeper understanding of antisemitism and enable better care for students.

- The University launched a webpage to provide information and guidance for planning events and programs with inclusion in mind, which include a multifaith calendar, a glossary of religious observances, and suggestions for inclusive catering.
- Harvard has committed to dedicating additional academic resources and opportunities to the study of antisemitism and to Hebrew and Judaic studies as a part of the Center for Jewish Studies at Harvard University and the Julis-Rabinowitz Program on Jewish and Israeli Law at Harvard Law School.
- Harvard has committed to issuing an Annual Report for the next 5 years from each Harvard School concerning Harvard's response to discrimination or harassment based on Title VI-protected traits.
- Harvard College held regular weekly meetings with Harvard Hillel to plan events, coordinate vigils, and address emergent concerns related to antisemitism on campus, ensuring Jewish students' perspectives, experiences, and needs were integrated into the College's broader inclusion efforts and students' concerns and issues were addressed.
- The Harvard Chan School has held and remains committed to holding regular meetings between the Dean of the Faculty, the School's senior leadership team, and members of the Jewish community. The Dean's Office has offered guidance to a new community-wide Jewish and Israeli support group for students, staff, and faculty across the Longwood area, which holds weekly lunches at the Harvard Chan School.
- HMS has reconfigured its Admitted Students Preview Days to focus on the academic, scientific, and clinical learning environment at HMS.
- Senior leaders at HDS have held meetings to establish clear lines of communication with Jewish students, Muslim students, and representatives from Harvard Hillel.
- Harvard School of Dental Medicine (HSDM) administrators and faculty allies have served as bridges between Jewish students and the administration, helping students understand policies that create a safe campus climate. Jewish faculty leaders at HSDM offer mentorship through both individual meetings and group gatherings. HSDM administrators also work closely with a Hillel staff member who is specifically dedicated to serving graduate and professional students, collaborating to promote activities and access to additional support resources.
- HKS hosts and funds several Shabbat dinners on campus, open to all members of the HKS community, and awards competitive student fellowships for a wide range of students, including those from Israel (previously Wexner Fellows, now Wolk fellows) and "emerging leaders from Israel and Palestine" (Ofer Fellows).
- The Office of the President provided funding for weekly Jewish community lunches on both the Cambridge and Longwood campuses. Kosher food is served at both.
- University Dining Services expanded access to Kosher food for students.

Reviewing and Strengthening Policies and Processes

Schools have reported implementing structural and policy changes that they believe will ensure programs are consistent with core academic values, that guidelines for events and conduct are clear and enforced, and that appropriate leadership and oversight mechanisms are in place. These administrative changes appear intended to institutionalize commitments to inclusivity and establish clearer expectations for community behavior.

- In March 2025, the University posted FAQs, clarifying that both Jewish and Israeli identity are covered by the Non-Discrimination and Anti-Bullying policy (NDAB), and that the IHRA definition

and examples will be used in applying NDAB. The FAQs further clarify that conduct targeting Zionism may violate the NDAB.

- In November 2024, the University issued Library Protest FAQs explaining how the University-Wide Statement on Rights and Responsibilities (USRR) applies to protests in Harvard's libraries.
- In September 2024, the University released Guidance explaining that doxxing violates the University-Wide Statement on Rights and Responsibilities' (USRR) prohibition against "intense personal harassment" and is "bullying" under the NDAB Policies.
- In August 2024, the University announced Updated Campus Use policies to centralize existing regulations and provide new guidelines to facilitate productive use of space and enforcement of policies. Among other things, these policies expressly prohibit camping with or without a tent.
- In July 2024, the University adopted new procedures to standardize fact-finding for disciplinary cases involving students from different Harvard Schools following the encampment in Spring 2024.
- In January 2024, the University issued updated Guidance on Protest and Dissent (endorsed by the Harvard Corporation) under the USRR. The Guidance makes clear that protests and rallies are prohibited in study and instructional areas, like classrooms and libraries, and in private areas, such as dorms and dining halls. Moreover, protestors are barred from blocking access to campus buildings, classrooms, and offices and preventing the free movement of people and vehicles.
- Harvard committed to issuing an annual statement for at least the next five years stating that antisemitism will not be tolerated and that the IHRA definition and examples will be used in applying NDAB.
- Harvard is in the process of instituting an Action Plan and training to ensure that all personnel charged with reviewing and evaluating complaints of potential shared ancestry discrimination, whether anonymous or informal, are applying similar standards consistent with the Policies and Procedures. This Action Plan will be submitted to the Department of Education OCR, with records of trainings.
- HGSE is designing a review of student groups and organizations, including affinity groups, to ensure that all are genuinely accessible and inclusive to all students, and that they are funded and administered equitably.
- HMS is codifying and enforcing policies regarding student group-sponsored events and establishing guidelines for faculty in the case of classroom disruptions, with policies and guidelines now written, approved, distributed, and currently in force.
- HMS is also advancing open inquiry through a new Task Force on Open Inquiry, convened and chaired by a former Dean of the Faculty of Medicine. This task force will evaluate culture and climate issues, assess the recommendations of this Task Force and interventions already in place, and issue recommendations that reconcile both the Task Force reports and ongoing changes.
- HDS launched a strategic planning process in Fall 2024 for the entire School to identify key areas of academic/scholarly growth, create better structures for oversight and guidance of centers and programs to ensure academic excellence, develop more consistent guidelines for selecting and reviewing non-ladder faculty teaching appointments, and enhance the academic quality of the overall learning experience.
- HSDM and HMS launched a new, more robust Student Organizations, Events, and Activities Manual, requiring open student membership, annual registration, clear guidelines on the use of Harvard names in communications, and established procedures for addressing policy violations.

- FAS created a Classroom Social Compact Committee that developed handbook language for students and instructors outlining expectations for classroom behavior. This language, which will be effective in academic year 2025-26, aims to advance academic freedom, engagement with a range of viewpoints, and a vibrant learning environment.
- The Harvard Graduate School of Design (GSD) implemented a new Campus Posting Policy, defining acceptable content and outlining procedures for non-compliance. The School also introduced a Statement of Mutual Respect and Public Discourse to foster an environment of open and civil dialogue and establish expectations for community members during events, meetings, and gatherings, including peaceful protests.
- HKS hired a full-time "Community and Professional Conduct Specialist" who acts as the HKS "Local Designated Resource," conducts training and education, and works closely with the University Office of Community Conduct.
- HKS also has established clear policies on "debate and dissent" which permit protest or dissent at events so long as it does not interfere with the speakers' right to speak or the audience's right to listen. The School has established protocols for handling potential disruptions at events and works closely with hosts and moderators to help them implement these protocols effectively.
- HLS improved guidance and enforcement regarding the use of campus spaces for protest and dissent, incorporating community input and feedback.

Conclusion

The initiatives described above represent what Schools and key offices in the Central Administration report as important steps in addressing the complex challenges of antisemitism and anti-Israeli bias at Harvard. While these self-reported efforts suggest institutional responsiveness to emerging concerns, the Task Force co-chairs recognize that more coordinated, comprehensive, and sustained efforts are necessary to create lasting change. We believe that many of them may have strong and positive impacts on the Harvard community that goes beyond concerns about antisemitism and anti-Israel bias, but many of these initiatives are still nascent, and their impact remains to be seen.

The recommendations presented in Chapter 5 of this report build upon these promising foundations, offering a comprehensive framework for addressing antisemitism and anti-Israeli bias across the University. By acknowledging both reported progress and areas requiring further attention, we aim to catalyze a more robust institutional commitment to creating a truly inclusive and welcoming environment where all members of the Harvard community can thrive.

Appendix 2: Preliminary Recommendations (June 2024)

June 24, 2024

Harvard University
Presidential Task Force on Combating Antisemitism
Preliminary Recommendations

I. Introduction

On January 19, 2024, Interim President Alan Garber established a Task Force on Combating Antisemitism. On February 25, he announced the Task Force's membership, which consists of two co-chairs (Professors Jared Ellias and Derek Penslar), seven additional ladder faculty, and two student representatives. Three officials from the University's Central Administration and a former executive director of Harvard Hillel serve as advisors.

The Task Force's charge is as follows:

> It will examine the recent history of antisemitism and its current manifestations on the Harvard campus. It will identify causes of and contributing factors to anti-Jewish behaviors on campus; evaluate evidence regarding the characteristics and frequency of these behaviors; and recommend approaches to combat antisemitism and its impact on campus.[621]

In March, the Task Force began its work with a series of preliminary meetings among its members and between its co-chairs and the co-chairs of the Task Force on Combatjng Anti-Muslim and Anti-Arab Bias. There followed two months of listening sessions that brought Task Force members into contact with students, faculty, and staff from throughout the University and its chaplaincy organizations — the College, GSAS, the professional Schools, Hillel and Chabad. In total, there have been more than forty listening sessions attended by over 500 Harvard affiliates.

As members of the Task Force recently wrote in the *Crimson,* the listening sessions provided abundant reports that since last October, and to some extent long before then, many Jewish students (and especially Israeli students) have been subject to shunning, harassment, and intimidation.[622] These findings reinforce the necessity of preliminary recommendations for policy changes that should be implemented at the earliest feasible date.

Our preliminary recommendations focus on short-term actionable items rather than long-term structural changes. The Task Force will devote the summer to intensive study of Jewish life at Harvard (historical and current) and existing policies regarding protest, complaints, and discipline. Working jointly with the Task Force on Combating Anti-Muslim and Anti-Arab Bias, our Task Force will consider the most effective means for bridging difference and fostering pluralism within our campus community.

The findings of our Task Force's summer research will be incorporated into a substantive report that will be submitted in the Fall. Our final report will offer a detailed analysis of how Harvard got into its current crisis of community and lay out proposals to transform our University culture for the better over the medium- and long-term.

[621] https://www.harvard.edu/president/news/2024/announcement-of-presidential-task-forces/ (accessed May 19, 2024)
[622] https://www.thecrimson.com/article/2024/5/23/penslar-ellias-antisemitism-task-force/ (accessed May 24, 2024)

II. Recommendations

CLARIFY HARVARD'S VALUES

A) When these recommendations are released to the public, they should be prefaced by a statement that antisemitism and anti-Israeli bias -- like Islamophobia, anti-Arab bias, racism, misogyny, homophobia, or transphobia -- are forms of hatred that have no place within the Harvard community. The statement should clarify further that:

- differences of religious observance and political affiliation are a matter of personal right.
- conversations about those differences should be grounded in mutual respect and appreciation of common belonging to the Harvard community.
- disagreement about contentious issues – including Israel/Palestine – do not justify aggression or malice, nor should it lead to exclusion from a Harvard-recognized organization or activity.

ACT AGAINST DISCRIMINATION, BULLYING, HARASSMENT, AND HATE

B) The situation of Israeli students at Harvard has been dire. They have frequently been subject to derision and social exclusion. Discrimination, bullying, or harassment based on an individual's Israeli nationality is a gross violation of University policy and, beginning immediately, must be both publicly condemned and subject to substantive disciplinary action. The administration should explore methods to build support systems for Israeli students and to ensure sufficient ability to prevent, or if needed, capably and speedily address, such issues in the future.

C) We have heard disturbing reports that faculty members and teaching fellows discriminate against or harass students because they are Israeli or have pro-Israel views. Harvard should make clear that such behavior by instructional staff is contrary to University policy and will be subject to disciplinary action when it occurs. As teaching fellows are often very early on in their teaching career, antisemitism and anti-Israeli bias need to be included in training for these essential employees in the College.

D) Social media has become an increasingly pernicious source of antisemitic text and images. The University should:

- encourage its constituent units to incorporate into their codes of conduct and values warnings about the damage to our community caused by intemperate speech and offensive imagery in social media postings.
- make clear that harassment, abuse and intimidation in Harvard-related social media postings could have disciplinary consequences.

E) In our listening sessions and many private meetings with students, we heard from many students who believe that extracurricular student life is now characterized by political litmus tests that make it impossible for some students to participate in activities because of political views unrelated to the activity. Students expressed deep regret that these barriers (along with others) prevented them from connecting with students whose political views on some topics might differ from their own but who share other interests and views.

We strongly believe that the University needs to ensure that extracurricular student life remains vibrant and accessible to all students and supportive of an overall culture of belonging, consistent with Harvard's values and principles of non-discrimination, across a diverse campus and student body.

IMPROVE DISCIPLINARY PROCESSES

F) At present students suffer from a lack of transparency, clarity, and clear process for the submission of complaints of antisemitic or otherwise hostile behavior. OEDIB staff as well as Academic Advisors and residential staff must be knowledgeable as to their own proper roles when approached by students complaining of antisemitic or otherwise hostile behavior. University employees who receive complaints should be trained to do so without prejudice, to guide students in the process of reporting, and to follow up, or ensure that there is follow-up, not only in an initial reply or form-message but until the matter is resolved. Those who have reported incidents need to be apprised as to where the matter stands (explaining, when necessary, that some details may not be communicated because of confidentiality concerns).

G) At present, the policies of administrative boards and other disciplinary bodies vary widely across the University's separate units, and there are significant disparities across units in the handling of disciplinary cases. There needs to be communication and a striving for consistency in disciplinary cases across the University's constituent units.

H) The lack of follow-up after complaints regarding antisemitic expression or behavior causes many members of the Harvard community to doubt that the University is committed to imposing substantive consequences for antisemitic expression or action. To restore the community's trust in Harvard's disciplinary processes, the University should — to the extent legally possible — reveal information about disciplinary cases (e.g., the number and outcomes of cases) in an aggregated and anonymized form.

IMPLEMENT EDUCATION AND TRAINING

I) At its most recent summit in April, the Office of Equity, Diversity, Inclusion, and Belonging demonstrated its commitment to include antisemitism awareness and training in its purview. In that spirit, the administration should institute anti-harassment training for all students, including examples of recent antisemitic incidents on campus and a review of the process to report incidents.

J) Orientation (including all pre-orientation programs) for new students (undergraduate, graduate, and professional), student organization leaders, peer advising fellows (PAF), residential undergraduate supervisors (Proctors and Tutors) should center around the construction of a Harvard community that celebrates diversity but is bound by common core values. To the extent that Orientation discusses issues of oppression and injustice, antisemitism and anti-Israeli bias should be included. Similarly, the First-Year International Program should include antisemitism training and condemn discrimination based on national origin.

FOSTER CONSTRUCTIVE DIALOGUE

K) The University should commit to fostering spaces for productive dialogue on difficult subjects in ways that support and affirm the ability of all students to participate. Possible initiatives include:

- A high-profile series of talks, attended by the President or Provost, between pairs of individuals who disagree vehemently on controversial issues but do so respectfully and productively.
- A series of talks by Harvard faculty on historic and contemporary relations between Christianity, Islam, and Judaism. The talks would be tailored for a broad audience and held in student residences to maximize undergraduate student attendance.
- Recognition of student leaders who are promoting constructive dialogue on campus about the Israeli-Palestinian conflict and other contentious issues.
- An award for student, faculty or staff innovation around combating antisemitism;

- Provision of incentives and funding for undergraduate collaborative research, dialogue groups, and events on resolution of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. FAS' Intellectual Vitality Initiative should encourage the joint participation of Israeli, pro-Israeli, Palestinian, and pro-Palestinian students in such opportunities.

SUPPORT JEWISH LIFE ON CAMPUS

L) The University must ensure a welcoming environment for religiously observant Jewish students, faculty, and staff. To that end,

- Kosher hot lunches should be made available by the start of next term at Hillel or at least one of the River Houses and, due to its distance from the Yard, the Radcliffe Quad. Hot kosher dinners, which are currently available at Hillel, should also be available at the Quad.
- In all dining facilities, pork products should be clearly marked.
- Instructional staff must provide reasonable accommodation for observant students who miss class or examinations due to Jewish holidays or the Sabbath. The University should circulate guidance including a calendar of religious observances (Appendix A), the text and a plain English description of Massachusetts General Laws, Chapter 151C: § 2B, and a reminder that the law sets the lower bounds of accommodation for religion that instructors can exceed but not fail to meet.
- The University should explore allowing newly hired staff to "pull forward" yet-unearned vacation or personal leave days as necessary for religious observance, to assist observant Jewish new hires who lack the vacation time they need to blend their religious observance with their new role at Harvard University.
- The University should create a simple web address (e.g., www.harvard.edu/jewishcalendar) that will provide information on Jewish holidays for members of the community. Appendix A contains information on Jewish observance as well as dates of Jewish holidays. The list should be updated annually to allow academic units to *simply, easily and reliably* determine the days on which they should try to avoid scheduling events.

M) Students at the Longwood Campus discussed difficulty building relationships and connections across siloed Schools and the rest of the University. We recommend allowing, at least in some cases, equal membership rights for students in the Chan School of Public Health to clubs shared between the other health Schools, such as the Maimonides Society, which is the joint club for Jewish students in the Medical and Dental Schools.

Appendix included in the Preliminary Recommendations

APPENDIX A: Selected Jewish Religious Holidays and Observances (with dates for 2024-2025)

A note on Jewish holidays: Jewish holidays follow the Jewish (lunar) calendar, so appear on different days of the Gregorian calendar in every year. Some holidays are observed as one sacred day; others two days. Some liberal Jews only observe holidays for one day. The Jewish reckoning of a day starts at sundown and ends at nightfall the following day. This brief guide only includes the Jewish holidays that come with work restrictions, which would interfere with the ability of observant Jewish students, faculty, and staff to participate in University events, take exams, or go to class.

Shabbat — The core of Jewish observance is the observance of the Jewish Sabbath, which begins Friday evening 18 minutes before Sunset and lasts until nightfall on Saturday night. During this time, many observant Jews will refrain from engaging in work or even actively using electricity.

Rosh HaShanah — The start of the New Year of the Jewish Calendar. This two-day holiday is observed as a sabbath (see above). (In 2024, Rosh HaShanah runs from the evening of October 2 until nightfall on October 4)

Yom Kippur — The "Day of Atonement," a day of fasting, prayer, reflection, penitence, and forgiveness. This one-day holiday is observed as a sabbath. (In 2024, Yom Kippur runs from the evening of October 11 until nightfall on October 12)

Sukkot — The "Festival of Booths," of dwelling in temporary outdoor pavilions built specially each year for the holiday. The festival extends for seven days, but only the first two days of the holiday are observed like a sabbath. (In 2024, Sukkot runs from the evening of October 16 until nightfall on October 24, with the sabbath-like period beginning on the evening of October 16 until nightfall on October 18)

Shemini Atzeret and Simchat Torah — The "Eighth Day Convocation" concluding the biblical autumn period of pilgrimage, followed by Simchat Torah — The "Rejoicing of the Torah," concluding and starting anew the yearly cycle of scriptural readings in the synagogue. This two-day holiday is observed as a sabbath. (In 2024 Shemini Atzeret runs from the evening of October 24 through nightfall on October 26).

Passover (Pesach) — Passover, celebrating the Israelite exodus from slavery in Egypt and the start of the homeward journey to the Promised Land. The first two and last two days are holy days and observed as a sabbath. (In 2025 Pesach runs from the evening of April 12 until nightfall on April 20, with the first two-day sabbath-like period beginning on the evening of April 12 until nightfall on April 14, and the second two-day sabbath-like period beginning on the evening of April 18 until nightfall on April 20)

Shavuot — The "Feast of Weeks," at seven weeks from the Passover festival, marking the time of the barley harvest in the Land of Israel and associated ritual in the Jerusalem Temple. This two-day holiday is observed as a sabbath. (In 2025 Shavuot runs from the evening of June 1 until nightfall on June 3)

In general, many religiously observant Jewish students will refrain from using electricity, taking exams, and attending professional events on all Saturdays, the two days of Rosh Hashanah, the first two days of Sukkot, Shemini Atzeret, Simchat Torah, and the first two days and last two days of Pesach. These holidays usually fall within the academic year. Observant Jews will also refrain from work on the two days of Shavuot, which usually fall over the summer.

Appendix 3: Report from the Joint Subcommittee on Pluralism

Report from the Joint Subcommittee on Pluralism
To the Presidential Task Forces on Combating Anti-Semitism and Anti-Israeli Bias, and on Combating Anti-Muslim, Anti-Arab, and Anti-Palestinian Bias

December 2, 2024

Charge to the Committee: In May 2024, Danielle Allen and Ali Asani were charged by both Task Forces with establishing a joint subcommittee to examine the resources that exist at Harvard for interfaith engagements, interdisciplinary collaborations, religious literacy, and community building, including through the arts, and propose new resources, structures, and/or practices.

At the first meeting, the subcommittee agreed to organize its work by means of a framework of pluralism with the goal of advancing a campus culture of pluralism and the practices necessary to support it. That modification to the charge was reviewed and approved by the Task Force chairs.

Definition of Pluralism: The committee established the following framework for pluralism to guide its work:

We understand a culture of pluralism to entail a recognition that we are a campus:

- where people are diverse in their identities and divergent in their ideologies, and the concept of identity ranges broadly across race, ethnicity, gender, sexuality, faith, viewpoint, geographic background, and the wide variety of experiential characteristics; also there is diversity within groups, cultures, and religious traditions as well as between and across them;
- where even within a given identity there is much diversity;
- where we **respect, relate and cooperate** with each other;
- where the specific project of our cooperation is to advance an educational and research mission where all can learn and grow;
- where therefore we all bear responsibility for the quality of the relationships that support that cooperative project of learning and growth;
- and where that work requires that we connect our personal values and commitments to the shared civic values of our campus as expressed in the University Values Statement, thereby linking our personal identity and our Harvard civic identity.

Our committee also acknowledges that the definition sketched above includes our aspirations. For instance, we cannot always relate. Sometimes relating is hard when the differences are so real and run as deeply as they do. Yet we should aspire to relate and, even when relating is difficult, we should value one another as partners in learning.

Application of the Theme of Pluralism to the Themes of the Two Task Forces

The Presidential Task Forces on Combating Anti-Muslim, Anti-Arab, and Anti-Palestinian Bias and on Combating Antisemitism and Anti-Israeli Bias have both found a campus context in which students from a range of religious, cultural, ethnic, geographic, and ideological backgrounds have experienced harms to their experience of belonging on campus, limits on their abilities to express their views, and forms of bias.

Many of these experiences pre-dated the events of October 7, 2023. They were, however, after that date, significantly exacerbated by the efforts of members of our campus community to make sense of the Hamas attack on Israel, the ensuing conflict between Israel and Hamas (and now further parties), and the

resulting humanitarian crisis for Palestinians, and to find ways of communicating views about these matters and to advance related civic causes. How members of our community harmed one another brought to the surface weaknesses in how our existing paradigms for inclusion and belonging work for all members of our campus. While the original Inclusion and Belonging framework developed for the campus in 2018 prioritized "pluralism," as defined above, that pluralism framework for advancing inclusive excellence has often disappeared from view. While some members of our campus community have felt well supported by diversity, equity and inclusion offices on campus, many others had come to feel that these offices were not effectively supporting their needs, by virtue of largely prioritizing work around race, disability, and sexual and gender identity, and not engaging the many other aspects of identity listed above. Race, disability, and sexual and gender identity are all important aspects of human identity, but they do not suffice to capture the range of experiences people bring to campus. Supporting members of our campus community to thrive in a context where our differences can be very profound requires the broader and more multi-faceted framework of pluralism. A pluralism framework helps us view one another more holistically; encourages us to focus on how we can activate the assets that we all bring to campus from our different backgrounds; and asks us to develop a sense of some shared values, even as we also carry forward a variety of differing and even opposing commitments. A pluralism framework spurs intentionality in how we inhabit our several roles as students, educators, staff members, members of specific social communities, and citizens and civic participants, so that we can enjoy the rights and fulfill the responsibilities of all these roles. Ultimately, a pluralism framework should support efforts of all members of our campus community to connect their multi-faceted senses of personal identity to their identity as a member of the Harvard community, a role given definition by the values of the University.

University Values and Pluralism:

The Subcommittee also adopted the University Values Statement as a basic guide to its work, and especially the fifth value, focused on bonds and bridges. The Values Statement is as follows:

> Harvard University aspires to provide education and scholarship of the highest quality — to advance the frontiers of knowledge; to equip students, staff, and faculty and academic personnel for fulfilling experiences of life, work, and inclusive leadership in a complex world; and to provide all members of our diverse community with opportunities for growth. We pursue these goals for our own good and for the public good through the many ways that advancing and sharing knowledge can improve human flourishing and through the service and leadership of our community members on campus and beyond. Achieving these aims depends on the efforts of thousands of students, staff, and faculty and academic personnel across the University. Some make their contributions by engaging directly in teaching, learning, and research; others contribute by supporting and enabling those core activities in essential ways, while also pursuing professional growth.
>
> Whatever each person's individual role or location within Harvard, we owe it to one another to uphold certain basic values of the community. These include:
>
> - Respect for the rights, differences, and dignity of others.
> - Honesty and integrity in all dealings.
> - Conscientious pursuit of excellence in our work.
> - Accountability for actions and conduct in the community.
> - Responsibility for the bonds and bridges that enable all to grow with and learn from one another.

Motivation for the Committee's Work:

During the spring of 2024, both committees conducted extensive listening sessions on Task Force themes throughout the Harvard campus. In addition, a survey was fielded exploring challenges around bias and

inclusion. Also, another University Task Force on Open Inquiry and Constructive Dialogue explored related questions. The listening sessions, and the work of the Task Force on Open Inquiry and Constructive Dialogue, brought out clearly that all constituencies on campus found it difficult to discuss controversial issues, whether in the classroom or outside of it. In addition, many students found themselves experiencing social ostracism that undermined their learning experience, on account of their political views or views attributed to them. Students with religious commitments found it difficult to find places simply to practice their faith without their faith being politicized. The quantitative data revealed that questions of race and religion were both important to understanding people's experiences in addition to other demographic attributes.

Finally, in the listening sessions, when participants were asked to reflect on University values, key themes emerged: (1) that the values were reasonable but that the participants did not experience the University as living up to them; (2) that participants understood concretely what was entailed by the first four values, but not by the value of taking "responsibility for the bonds and bridges that enable all to grow with and learn from one another."

In sum, the listening sessions and quantitative data painted a clear picture of a campus that has no ethnic, religious, or racial "mainstream." In contrast to the University's early history as a school for and of Puritans, and in contrast to the 1970s, when the question was whether Harvard's white majority would be open to Black students or whether Christian students would include Jewish students in University organizations, now the question is how a community composed of a far wider range of people from a far wider range of backgrounds than nearly all have previously encountered, can activate the assets that all bring to our community for individual and shared thriving. Harvard University has actively chosen to organize itself around the value of pluralism, and now we need the culture and practices that can support that, but we do not yet have them.

Paradoxically, Harvard researchers have a long history of working on the value of pluralism, and the challenge of activating it for the well-being of a specific community, or society more generally. As Eboo Patel[623] points out, and as is documented in Louis Menand's ***The Metaphysical Club***,[624] pluralism, as an intellectual tradition can be traced back to the work of Harvard Professor William James. James argued "against Hegel's theory that the universe was one thing, countered that the universe was many things. Hegel's theory was known as monism.[625] James called his view 'pluralism.' … He proposed an intriguing metaphor: 'The pluralistic world is thus more like a federal republic than like an empire or a kingdom.'" Since the time of James, Harvard scholars from numerous disciplines have advanced our understanding of the nature and potential of pluralism, and pluralistic societies — from the work of John Rawls in philosophy to Michèle Lamont in sociology, Mina Cikara in psychology, Melani Cammett in government, and Diana Eck and Ali Asani in the study of religion, among many others. Yet as a campus we have done an imperfect job of drawing on this rich work to help ourselves advance in a direction that supports practices of pluralism, and the intellectual vitality, they can sustain.

There have been efforts. The Harvard Foundation was established by President Derek Bok and the Deans of Harvard University in 1981, as the Harvard Foundation for Intercultural and Race Relations with the mandate to "improve relations among racial and ethnic groups within the University and to enhance the quality of our common life." In pursuit of this mission, the Foundation has sought to involve students of all racial, ethnic, and cultural backgrounds in the ongoing enterprises of the University. The Foundation sponsors annual programs and activities that are designed to promote interracial and intercultural awareness and understanding in the Harvard community, as well as to highlight the cultural contributions

[623] https://www.insidehighered.com/opinion/views/2024/10/10/pluralism-better-frame-free-speech-opinion
[624] https://books.google.com/books/about/The_Metaphysical_Club.html?id=-hpHYbwdCCkC#:~:text=The%20Metaphysical%20Club%20is%20the%20winner%20of%20the%202002%20Pulitzer
[625] https://www.britannica.com/topic/pluralism-philosophy#ref236719

of students from all backgrounds. The Harvard Foundation for Intercultural and Race Relations runs through the hard work and dedication of many stakeholders such as full-time staff, undergraduate interns, an undergraduate student advisory board, member student organizations, race relations tutors, a faculty advisory committee, student volunteers, and various campus partners.

Over time, the Harvard Foundation came to focus its efforts on students in the College, rather than supporting the whole University, and to focus primarily on race relations, gender, and sexuality, a subset of a pluralism agenda. For the students whom the Foundation currently serves, it does valuable work.

In 2018, the University-wide Task Force on Inclusion and Belonging sought to establish pluralism as the basis for campus practices and to ensure that attention to diversity that emerges from religion, viewpoint, geographic origin, disability, and life experience (for instance, military service) would also receive due attention in work on campus culture. That Task Force report stressed the need for adequate support (including prayer spaces) for students of faith as well as the need to support a culture of academic freedom and civil discourse, as necessary parts of the work of inclusion and belonging, so that all voices may richly contribute to our campus teaching and learning.

The spring 2024 listening sessions and subsequent surveys made clear the urgent need to elevate that nascent focus on pluralism, civil discourse, and support for practices that help everyone on campus activate the assets they bring to campus from their remarkably wide array of backgrounds, for the sake of intellectual vitality and personal and community flourishing. **To achieve that elevation, the campus needs an organizational focal point for pluralism work.**

A few key principles should inform the design of that focal point.

First, the broad conception of pluralism laid out above should be at the center of the work, as well as the University's values statement, especially the fifth value.

Second, this focal point should serve faculty, staff, and students, across the whole University. No community should be left out of this work.

Third, this focal point should have faculty leadership, because a significant portion of the necessary work is intellectual and should be fully integrated with the academic mission of the University. The campus would benefit from routine engagement with the intellectual themes involved in the work of inclusion, belonging, and pluralism in ways that connect to the academic mission of the University and its standards of academic excellence. There is need to teach and support instruction in practices of pluralism; this work should be connected to the campus' teaching mission. There is important translational work to do to draw on the University's research enterprise to inform the University's organizational practices. As a "translational" entity, this focal point should facilitate the adaptation of rich scholarly material into tools and resources for use in applied and practical contexts. The importance of faculty leadership in this domain is a point that has now been made in many generations of reports. We hope this recommendation will not be overlooked again.

Fourth, the campus focal point for cultivating practices of pluralism should have a staffing structure that enables integration of academic resources, student affairs resources, and translational work. This principal points in the direction of establishment of this campus focal point inside a School, with a mission to serve the whole University, rather than as an inter-faculty initiative.

Fifth, the campus focal point for cultivating practices of pluralism should be well-connected to and working in partnership with the Office of Equity, Diversity, Inclusion, and Belonging, other Diversity, Inclusion, and Belonging offices on campus, and the Harvard Foundation so that the campus' inclusive excellence framework can evolve in partnership with, and not in competition with, efforts to deepen campus cultures of pluralism. Such connection and partnership should ensure that good work currently being done for specific campus communities continues even as additional work and a broadened mandate

are embraced. Such a partnership would also support developing an approach to issues of inclusion, belonging, and pluralism that can align approaches across staff, student, and faculty cohorts.

Sixth, the campus focal point for cultivating practices of pluralism should be well-connected to and working in partnership with a new Office of Religious, Spiritual, and Ethical Life, to advance interfaith opportunities and experiences, and to integrate engagement with religious identity fully within the work on pluralism. This should be an explicit and clearly communicated part of the mission of the entity.

Our subcommittee believes that such a focal point could be achieved by reimagining the existing Harvard Foundation as the Harvard Foundation for Pluralism, or by establishing a new University-wide Center for Pluralism, in which the Harvard Foundation is incorporated as a program. (A model for this kind of incorporation exists in the incorporation of the DuBois Institute within the Hutchins Center.) We recommend reimagining the Harvard Foundation or incorporating it in a new Center for Pluralism because of the importance of bringing different communities on our campus into a shared framework for pursuing inclusive excellence. The Harvard Foundation has already been through several evolutions in its operations; evolution is possible. On either path (a reimagined Foundation or a new Center incorporating the Foundation as a program), **special focus must be paid to ensure that the expansion does not detract from the services currently offered to undergraduate students and community members who are engaged with the existing institution.** At the same time, the importance of ensuring that the communities currently served by the Foundation are also connected to campus pluralism work brings us back again and again to the idea that a connection here is necessary.

The Committee's Work

Listening Sessions and Discussions

Participants	Learning Materials	Key Takeaways
School staff responsible for orientation	Readings and visit from Eboo Patel of Interfaith America about a pluralism framework; University Values Statement	Orientation leaders were receptive to using a pluralism framework; identified opportunities for bringing it to life in their programs; and communicated a need for further learning and professional development, particularly around how a pluralism framework connects to diversity, equity and inclusion work.
Office of the President	Documents tracings the history of the structure of religious life on campus	The President's Office is currently working on a redesign of structures to support religious life and recognizes the importance of interfaith resources; committee discussion included some dissent focused on the value of secularism.
Center Leaders	Discussion of draft proposal for dialogue series	Dialogue themes were developed for a potential presidentially-sponsored dialogue series, to model civil disagreement on challenging topics.
Arts Leaders	Reflection on University values statement	Arts Leaders collated all upcoming arts events relevant to Israel and Palestine; and are open to exploring expanded collaborations.
NELC Language Leaders	Reflection on challenges that emerge in contexts of Arabic and Hebrew instruction	NELC has added a diversity and civility statement to courses in the department; program leaders would appreciate support in identifying helpful professional development resources for language instructional staff; program leaders also see a need for

		tools to improve their ability to recruit and retain professionalized language instructional staff.
OEDIB and Harvard Foundation Leadership	Discussion of the history of the Harvard Foundation and pros and cons of different models for potentially reimagining the Foundation, or for potentially incorporating within a new center	The Harvard Foundation currently serves students and communities in important ways that should be protected, as part of any reimagining or incorporation within a Center for Pluralism; also best practices can be drawn from current work; reimagining might also bring opportunity to tackle strategic questions that have arisen.
Central student life leaders	Reflection on University values statement	Identified a need for student life leaders, EDIB personnel, and Local Designated Resources to have professional development opportunities around the University values.

Overarching Recommendation:

To establish a campus focal point for pluralism work, we recommend reimagining the Harvard Foundation as the Harvard Foundation for Pluralism, or establishing a new University-wide Center for Pluralism, in which the Harvard Foundation is incorporated as a program. (A model for this kind of incorporation exists in the incorporation of the DuBois Institute within the Hutchins Center.) A proliferation of entities in overlapping thematic areas is not ideal for both budgetary reasons and the potential to generate competition where there should be collaboration. For the sake of simplicity, we'll refer to whatever entity emerges based on this recommendation as the Reimagined Harvard Foundation/Center for Pluralism. The Reimagined Harvard Foundation/ Center for Pluralism would ground its work in the University values statement.

As design of a Reimagined Harvard Foundation/Center for Pluralism is considered, the three design principles named above are critical for the success of this endeavor: faculty leadership; partnership with OEDIB and other DIB offices on campus; and a robust staffing structure to support cross-functional work.

The goal of this recommendation is to anchor the practices of the University around a commitment to pluralism, and to engage all members of our campus community in exploring, bringing to life, and embracing our University values across a variety of contexts — from orientation and onboarding to interdisciplinary exchanges and language learning, to interfaith experiences, student life, and the arts on campus. Many other entities also work in these areas and the specific value-add of a Reimagined Harvard Foundation/Center for Pluralism would be to connect the academic enterprise of the University, and campus expertise on issues of inclusion, belonging, and pluralism, to the administrative enterprise that fulfills these functions.

A Reimagined Harvard Foundation/Center for Pluralism would need to serve the whole campus community. If the decision is to reimagine the Harvard Foundation, this reimagining might be modeled on recent reorganizations for Phillips Brooks House and the Office for the Arts, where they have been elevated in their reporting structures, restructured with regard to their engagement with faculty leadership, and expanded in their functions, as well as receiving University-level resources for their work. Special focus would need to be paid to ensure that the expansion does not detract from the services currently offered to community members who are engaged with the existing institution. Other campus models also exist to provide precedent for innovation in organizational structure, for instance the Harvard Center for International Development, which is housed in one School but serves the whole University and leads coordination across a set of allied and adjacent organizations. We would recommend taking as a model a School-based entity that serves the whole University campus, rather than an inter-faculty initiative. In general, School-based entities are more quickly

woven into the capillary structure of the University than IFIs; also IFIs generally support faculty research but do not as easily articulate with the teaching and co-curricular mission of the campus.

Finally, a Reimagined Harvard Foundation/Center for Pluralism should develop and implement programs that reinforce pluralism. For example, the Center/Foundation could support a fellowship program for students; a campus awards program for students who lead in advancing a culture of pluralism on campus; engaging faculty with expertise in pluralism and connected subject areas to develop trainings and professional development opportunities for the campus; mediation resources for conflicts that involve issues of pluralism; and the work of OEDIB and the School-specific DIB offices to cultivate a campus-wide network of expertise on pluralism that all Schools could tap into in a shared way, so that support is available for students from the full range of backgrounds, via expertise sharing across campus.

A Reimagined Harvard Foundation/Center for Pluralism offers a valuable opportunity to rethink the qualitative character of academic bureaucracy, a realm too often characterized by alienation and distance between faculty and staff. One of the most profound flaws of the traditional DEI framework — and indeed of much of contemporary university organization — is that it sustains this divide, reinforcing the sense that staff are functionaries rather than integral partners in the academic mission (See Appendix B for further thoughts emerging from subcommittee listening sessions on how the character of academic bureaucracy might be rethought.)

As a partner to OEDIB, a Reimagined Harvard Foundation/Center for Pluralism could spearhead the Harvard Culture Collaborative, under development by OEDIB, an interdisciplinary, faculty-led network designed to develop new research, learning initiatives, and pathways to advance the University's shared values, particularly focusing on inclusion and belonging. By leveraging faculty expertise, the collaborative will aim to cultivate an inclusive campus culture and develop related curricular and co-curricular programs that align with Harvard's broader strategic diversity agenda. Such a collaborative could:

1. Contribute to the development of orientation programming to integrate pluralism and inclusion.
2. Complement an office of religious life in supporting programming that respects and enhances diversity that relates to the wide range of faith backgrounds on campus.
3. Convene leaders of interdisciplinary centers to create dialogue series on substantively significant and challenging issues.
4. Collaborate with arts leaders on projects that resonate with the mission of pluralism and inclusion.

Achieving the Goal of a Reimagined Harvard Foundation/Center for Pluralism would require action steps as follows:

GOAL 1: Establish an institutional anchor for practices of pluralism on campus.

Responsible Party	Recommended Action Step
OPP	Invest in a Reimagined Harvard Foundation/Center for Pluralism on par with investments in OFA, and as a One Harvard entity to serve the whole University, even if administered in the College; seek partnering investments in a Reimagined Harvard Foundation/Center for Pluralism from all Schools to support a re-establishment of its University-wide mission; establish faculty leadership for the Reimagined Harvard Foundation/Center for Pluralism, charge the leadership of the Reimagined Harvard Foundation/Center for Pluralism with developing a next generation strategy for anchoring practices of pluralism on campus.

Deans	Support faculty leadership for a Reimagined Harvard Foundation/Center for Pluralism; Deans of all Schools invest in a revamped, One Harvard model for a Reimagined Harvard Foundation/Center for Pluralism.
Reimagined Harvard Foundation/Center for Pluralism	Under University and/or decanal leadership, and with restored faculty leadership and a faculty advisory committee, a Reimagined Harvard Foundation/Center for Pluralism to take responsibility for a One Harvard strategy for advancing University values and a culture of pluralism, including providing professional development across campus in University values, a culture of pluralism, and constructive dialogue for staff in OEDIB, CODOS, OFA, HUCA, and the informal cross-campus arts planning group; the faculty committee in religion and board of religious, ethical, and spiritual life; and House Dean teams and staff designated as Local Designated Resources, Orientation Leaders, Student Affairs leaders, or language instructors.

Further Recommendations:

The goal of creating a Reimagined Harvard Foundation/Center for Pluralism would work in tandem with five other, **independent goals but no less important** goals:

(1) **Advance the University's Values.** The University has established a strong framework of core values but these are not well-known on campus. They should anchor our efforts to navigate through challenging moments on campus, as well as the gray areas of campus interaction, that don't rise to the level of formal grievance processes.

(2) **Cultivate practices of pluralism anchored in the University's values.** It is not enough to name values to establish a culture of pluralism. Developing practices that bring those values to life is also important. The fifth University value — "taking responsibility for the bonds and bridges that enable all to grow with and learn from one another" — requires innovation in campus understanding of core practices that define our community.

(3) **Invest in strengthening interfaith opportunities on campus and support access to multilingualism for all.** The campus has over forty chaplains and an impressive array of ways of engaging with faith, belief, and the lack thereof. The time has come to create a University-wide Office of Religious, Spiritual, and Ethical Life (see below for further detail). A culture of pluralism would activate that diversity in support of increased religious literacy, mutual understanding, and opportunities for interfaith collaboration. Similarly, understanding the value of a pluralistic culture requires access to the cultures of others. This is especially acquired through language learning. We should be strengthening language learning on campus in support of multilingualism as a defining feature of our campus.

(4) **Inspire creativity in engagement with the concept of pluralism.** People participate best in pluralism when they are confident that their own identities are seen and supported. The Office for the Arts may be especially able to uplift and to celebrate the various cultures represented in the Harvard community, and also to create events that reflect, model, and encourage interchange among these heritages and living traditions.

(5) **Model civil disagreement by annually sponsoring Presidential level dialogues on substantive questions.** This goal addresses the common theme in listening sessions for both Task Forces that members of our campus community desired more intellectual engagement with the substantive issues in the crisis at a University-wide level. While recognizing that many Centers in campus have indeed been leading such engagement, there continues to be a need for such engagement

sponsored from the Offices of the President and Provost. Such further engagement should, however, build on the good efforts of many colleagues around campus. The goals of the dialogues would be: (1) to model constructive, respectful dialogue in conditions of pluralism; and (2) to make substantive progress toward improved understanding on themes subject to heated debate. See Appendix A [of this Appendix 2] for sample topics that might by curated for such a series.

These goals could be advanced as follows:

GOAL 2: Advance the University's values.

Responsible Party	Recommended Action Step
OPP	Add existing University Values' statement to University website and Provost's Office list of policies.
Deans	Incorporate the University's Values Statement in School policy documents and core School messaging; work with faculty leadership at Harvard Foundation to develop invitation and incentives for departments to engage in case-based workshops related to the University Values Statement.
Reimagined Harvard Foundation/Center for Pluralism	See above, Goal 1.

GOAL 3: Cultivate practices of pluralism anchored in the University's values.

Responsible Party	Recommended Action Step
OPP	Charge existing standing bodies with carrying out two initiatives- — one about advancing the University's values and one about advancing a culture of pluralism, reporting back at the end of each of the coming three years what they have done and what difference it is making in their work; bodies to be charged are the Reimagined Harvard Foundation/Center for Pluralism, OEDIB, CODOS, OFA, HUCA, and the informal cross-campus arts planning group; the faculty committee in religion and board of religious, ethical, and spiritual life; and House Deans.
Deans	Deans of all Schools should support staff at all levels in participating in professional development and professional communities of practice around University values, pluralism, and constructive dialogue.
Reimagined Harvard Foundation/Center for Pluralism	Coordinate pluralism work across OEDIB, CODOS, OFA, HUCA, and the informal cross-campus arts planning group; the faculty committee in religion and board of religious, ethical, and spiritual life; and House Deans.

GOAL 4: Inspire creativity in engagement with the concept of pluralism.

Responsible Party	Recommended Action Step
OPP	Invest in the Office of the Arts to seed a University-wide culture of creative engagements with the idea of pluralism; seek a partnering investment from every School; charge OFA with leading a University-wide conversation about space needs for arts programming.
Deans	Deans of all Schools invest in the Office of the Arts to seed a University-wide culture of creative engagements with the idea of pluralism and have Schools participate in campus-wide effort to identify improved spaces for the arts.
OFA, HUCA, and informal arts planning group	Connect the campus to the national Presidential Committee on Arts & Humanities, Artists for Understanding — brings together communities of artists from across lines of difference; explore creation of new routes to support student arts programming the relates to pluralism.

GOAL 5: Invest in strengthening multifaith opportunities on campus and support access to multilingualism for all.

Responsible Party	Recommended Action Step
OPP	Create an Office of Religious, Spiritual, and Ethical life to support students in their faith engagements and proactively advance interfaith programming, with this office ideally to be led by someone who also carries an academic appointment, whether ladder or non-ladder, as at our peers (Yale, Stanford, and until recently, Princeton); formalize the rights and responsibilities of chaplains and require adherence to University policies such as NDAB; create a feedback process for the director of the Office of Religious Life and the Chaplains, as well as mechanism for student input into the hire of the above roles; fund an application-based process for student proposals to advance interfaith initiatives. This Office should collaborate effectively with the Harvard Foundation/Center for Pluralism as well as with the Edmond and Lily Safra Center for Ethics.
Deans	The Dean of FAS and the Dean of Humanities should work with leaders of language instruction programs to identify tools that will improve the ability of program leaders to recruit and retain a highly professionalized corps of language instructors, particularly in language areas where thematic controversies can arise such as Arabic and Hebrew; while campus events post Oct. 7th, 2024, brought particular attention to these languages, the challenge of instructing students with differing relations to the societies and cultures connected to the language of instruction can appear across the curriculum, from Japanese and Korean to Ukrainian and Russian, and so on. We also recommend revisiting the reduction of the language requirement to 1 year.
Reimagined Harvard Foundation/Center for Pluralism	Partner with the Office of Religious Life to support interfaith engagements, and to ensure that religion, faith, and cultural identity connected to religious communities are fully taken into account in practices of pluralism.

GOAL 6: Model civil disagreement by annually sponsoring Presidential level dialogues on substantive questions, with multiple speakers representing a range of views per event, and a high caliber moderator.

Responsible Party	Recommended Action Step
OPP	Four questions have been proposed for 2024-25; see appendix. Given the passage of time, they would need to be updated prior to embarking on programming, but they provide an indication of the kind of direction intended.
Deans	Support build-out of audience for these events by seeking to avoid counter-programming.
Reimagined Harvard Foundation/Center for Pluralism	Annually convene directors of University-wide centers to explore potential themes for Presidential level dialogue series; annually convene directors of orientation at all Schools for intellectual engagement in support of professional development.

Conclusion

The Harvard campus is full of people who appreciate the pluralism of our community and long for that pluralism to be a source of intellectual vitality, rather than conflict. Our subcommittee believes that an explicit effort to anchor the culture of the campus around practices of pluralism will improve the teaching, learning, and working environment for everyone, strengthen the caliber of our debate on campus, and enhance the ability of all members of our community to make a positive difference on the issues they care about on campus and in the world.

Appendices included in the Report from the Joint Subcommittee on Pluralism

APPENDIX A: THE MAJOR QUESTIONS DIALOGUE SERIES — SAMPLE EVENTS

The reimagined Harvard Foundation for Pluralism would present dialogues over the course of the year. Each event would be organized around a question and would have four participants and a moderator. The four participants would represent a wide spread of opinion in relation to the question at hand. They would be selected for their academic and intellectual excellence.

Each event would be staged in a major campus venue and also livestreamed into other venues on campus. For instance, an event might be staged in Sanders Theater or the Smith Center, and then livestreamed into an auditorium in the Medical School, and vice versa. Some should be physically based on the Harvard Square campus and some in either Longwood or Allston. Events should be scheduled with a view to maximizing participation.

All interdisciplinary centers and student groups pertinent to the themes of the dialogues would be engaged by series organizers to secure co-sponsorships and co-marketing, to support campus-wide crowd-building for the conversations.

A set of sample dialogue themes developed by our subcommittee, in consultation with the leaders of interdisciplinary centers on campus, is as follows:

1. **The Road to 1948:** What was the history that led up to the events of 1948 and what key lessons from that history can help us think about the present? How did European nationalisms, antisemitism, Islamophobia, the general transition from empires to nation-states in the first half of

the 20th century, pan-Arab nationalism, newly established Arab countries, and Israelite/Jewish roots and indigeneity in the Middle East all play a role in that history?

2. **The Road to Oct 7 and Beyond:** Starting from roughly 2000, what is the history of the conflict that led up to the events of Oct 7, the Hamas attack on Israel, the ensuing conflict between Israel and Hamas (and now further parties), and the resulting humanitarian crisis for Palestinians? How does that history help us understand and contextualize the present? Who are the parties to the conflict and why? How is religion being used in this conflict? What can we learn from other cases where religion has been brought into deeply political issues about land and governance, such as Kashmir and Chechnya?
3. **Where do we go from here on campus?**: What does pluralism mean in the context of our University and our education? Can we support one another, across deeply experienced differences and disagreements, as partners in learning? How can we help people connect their personal identities to identification with a shared learning community, a Harvard identity? What can engagement with values offer us as we think about identity and community? What is the value and what are the opportunities of dialogue in our University community? What are the obstacles? And why should we even care?
4. **Antisemitism and Islamophobia in America — and at Harvard:** What are the sources of the surge in antisemitism and rise in Islamophobic incidents in the US over the past decade? How are these phenomena impacting Muslim and Jewish communities? How are these increases affecting college campuses? Can we see any hopeful countertrends or constructive phenomena in this regard? How does the social shunning of Israeli and Zionist students arise and figure in campus life? How are experiences of Palestinian invisibility on campus part of the present situation? What demands of assimilation or self-negation are being made on different communities and individuals, as a price of belonging? How can we instead forge a culture of pluralism?

APPENDIX B: RETHINKING ACADEMIC BUREAUCRACY AS A COLLABORATIVE ENTERPRISE

The creation of the Harvard Foundation/Center for Pluralism offers a valuable opportunity to re-think the qualitative character of academic bureaucracy, a realm too often characterized by alienation and distance between faculty and staff. One of the most profound flaws of the traditional DEI framework — and indeed of much of contemporary University organization — is that it sustains this divide, reinforcing the sense that staff are functionaries rather than integral partners in the academic mission.

1. A New Model of Administration

A Reimagined Harvard Foundation/Center for Pluralism could, for instance, reimagine staff roles. Leading staff members in the Foundation should hold hybrid positions that bridge the academic and administrative worlds, involving not only programmatic leadership but also direct engagement with academic instruction. Such roles would allow staff to participate as co-creators of Harvard's intellectual and institutional culture, modeling the collaboration necessary to bring pluralism to life. Harvard could set a transformative precedent, demonstrating that institutional pluralism begins with the very design of its positions and the relationships they enable. Some examples of the alternative model described here currently exist throughout the FAS, as when individuals hold positions that combine a Senior Lectureship appointment with an administrative appointment (for instance, several Directors of Undergraduate Studies).

2. Faculty and Staff Pluralism Workshops

To address the perennial sense of mission drift among faculty, students, and staff, the Reimagined Harvard Foundation/ Center for Pluralism should emulate Radcliffe's exploratory seminar project, offering a program of workshops designed to align diverse constituencies around the values of pluralism. Faculty and staff clusters, departments, and programs could apply for tailored workshops convened with outside experts to learn, strategize, and experiment with embedding pluralism in their work.

Imagine a retreat on pluralism and the social theory canon for Social Studies, or a seminar on teaching conservatism across cultures for the Government Department. Consider the potential of Gen Ed courses invigorated by guest speakers, curricular planning support, and the kind of intellectual scaffolding that inspires faculty to engage deeply with pluralist themes.

These workshops would provide not just a framework for implementing pluralism but an arena for grappling with its complexities — contextualizing it within the particular missions of various academic and administrative units. Through these efforts, the Foundation can help build intellectual and strategic bridges across the University.

3. A Year-Long Thematic Series for Sustained Intellectual Engagement

Pluralism is not something that can be cultivated in sporadic, one-off events. To deepen the intellectual and cultural engagement of the Harvard community, we recommend not only a year-long thematic series of signature events, but also a further surround of workshops, readings, lectures, and discussions.

This series would aim to move beyond the shallow rhetoric of inclusion and toward the kind of substantive engagement that equips students to think critically and empathetically across profound differences. Over four years, students would ideally participate in one or two such series, attending talks, engaging with readings, and sharing meals with interlocutors. This would be pluralism as lived, not merely invoked. It might be a way of earning course credit.

While a year-long series might narrow attendance in some respects, it would deepen our community's collective capacity to address pressing questions, foster informed debate, and cultivate habits of sustained intellectual inquiry. Dynamic feedback mechanisms would ensure that the themes and speakers reflect the intellectual vitality of the student body itself.

4. Leadership for Crisis Response and Inclusion

The leadership of the Reimagined Harvard Foundation/Center for Pluralism must reflect its dual mandate: to serve as a beacon of pluralist values and a steady hand during moments of crisis. This is no small charge. The leadership team must include individuals with the empathy, intellectual dexterity, and moral clarity to address the fractious issues that inevitably arise in a community as diverse as ours.

This leadership will be crucial in fostering trust across constituencies — among students who feel alienated, among faculty who feel skeptical, and among staff who too often feel undervalued. To succeed, the Reimagined Harvard Foundation/Center for Pluralism must see crisis response not as a detour from its mission but as central to the work of pluralism.

5. Revitalizing House Diversity Tutors and Local Engagement

The Reimagined Harvard Foundation/Center for Pluralism should look to its own history for inspiration. House diversity tutors once played a vital role in bridging the intellectual and social lives of students, particularly around issues of race and culture. While the needs of today's student body are broader and more complex, the Houses remain an invaluable resource. The Foundation should explore ways to integrate House-based programming into its broader mission, encouraging Houses to serve as microcosms of pluralism.

6. Alain Locke as a Symbol and Intellectual Guide

If the Foundation is to embody Harvard's commitment to pluralism, it must anchor itself in a lineage that is both intellectually rigorous and profoundly humane. Alain Locke, a Harvard alumnus, the first Black Rhodes Scholar, and one of the most incisive theorists of pluralism, offers such a touchstone.

Locke's vision of cultural pluralism — his insistence that diversity enriches the human experience and that cultural exchange can deepen our understanding of ourselves and others — resonates deeply with the mission of this Foundation. His reflections on race, culture, sexuality, and religion remain as urgent today as they were in his time. To center Locke in the Foundation's narrative is not merely to honor the past but to remind ourselves of the intellectual and moral stakes of the work ahead.

The links below provide an entry point into Locke's vision, which should inform both the narrative and programming of the Center:

- [Video on Alain Locke's life and work] (https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=KCaE_jQAPa0)
- [Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy: Alain Locke] (https://plato.stanford.edu/entries/alain-locke/)

Appendix 4: Listening Sessions Guidelines

March 2024

Prior to beginning of session

Self-introductions and introduction of facilitator (if present).

Explain the purpose of the session and your place in it. For instance, you might mention:

- to understand people's experiences;
- to learn from their suggestions for solutions;
- to understand what values they think should guide this work.

Assure the participants that you are there to attentively listen for the purpose of substantive and constructive action, including recommendations to the president on a rolling basis.

You might acknowledge that the task force was recently formed, but the issues and events that participants have been experiencing and dealing with have been going on for months, if not longer. People may be feeling fatigue about being asked to share their experiences yet again.

Remind everyone that we're adhering to the Chatham House Rule,[626] under which individuals may refer to the conversation, but not which speaker made a particular comment. That said, if we hear something that indicates danger, or a level of seriousness which requires a need to report out, we may have a legal obligation to share with the appropriate internal office(s).

Ask participants not to record, broadcast, or live tweet the event in the interests of creation of a safe and open space where people can speak freely. (If it seems necessary, mention that Massachusetts is a two-party consent state and so recording without permission risks violating Massachusetts law.)

For Zoom sessions, you may want to ask people to refrain from using chat, and not to take screenshots of any kind.

During the session

First 25 minutes

Question: Since October 7, [2023] have you experienced what you would consider to be antisemitism? What form(s) did it take? [Ask the audience to take a few minutes to write down their responses before speaking.]

Follow up: If participants speak of feeling unsafe or unprotected, ask them what they mean by these words.

Next 25 minutes

Appendix: Listening Session Template

Question: What would you like to see done to improve the situation of Jewish members of the Harvard community? What concrete measures would you like to see Harvard take? [If participants speak of being safe and protected, please ask what they mean if those terms have not already been clarified.]

[626] https://www.chathamhouse.org/about-us/chatham-house-rule

Question: How would you balance Harvard's commitments to academic freedom, freedom of expression, and the value of encountering views different from your own with your own sense of inclusion and well-being at Harvard?

Last 10 minutes

Question: Harvard's 2018 Values Statement[627] refers to "respect for the rights, differences, and dignity of others, honesty and integrity in all dealings, conscientious pursuit of excellence in one's work, accountability for actions and conduct in the community, and responsibility for the bonds and bridges that enable all to grow with and learn from one another." Does this statement correspond with your own sense of what Harvard should be? Has Harvard failed to realize these values? If so, how?

Question: Is there anything that we didn't ask that we should have asked?

Thank everyone for attending and participating.

Acknowledge this is not easy, and it is important.

Offer a brief summary of the main points expressed by the participants.

Let people know that they can send additional feedback to the facilitator via email (if this is true) and share the email address.

After the Session

Staff will prepare a brief written summary of the session's main takeaways, including representative data.

Facilitation tips (shared with us by the Center for Workplace Development)

Create opportunities for everyone to participate:

- In addition to keeping the group focused on the content of the discussion, keep track of how participants are communicating with each other, who has spoken and who hasn't spoken.
- If a person is quiet, ask if they have thoughts or ideas they want to share with the group.
- If a person dominates the discussion, ask them to hold their thoughts as others have ideas to share. Then, come back to them when possible.
- Set a time limit for responses (approximately 2 minutes each) to ensure everyone gets a turn.
- If multiple small conversations occur, ask everyone to focus on one conversation at a time.
- If there's silence, sit with it a bit. Try counting silently to 5 before you restate or rephrase the question. People sometimes need time to think before they respond.

If conflict arises:

- Reaffirm purpose and ground rules.
- Focus on the substance of the ideas or opinions — not personal style.

[627] https://inclusionandbelongingtaskforce.harvard.edu/files/inclusion/files/vii._appendix_d._revised_values_statement.pdf

- Remind participants that consensus is not the goal — hearing multiple perspectives is the goal.
- Offer the possibility that you move to the next question and come back to this later in the meeting if time allows.

If someone becomes forceful or disruptive:

- Remain calm, and politely but firmly ask the person to lower their voice so others feel comfortable sharing.
- Refocus the conversation on listening respectfully to different views rather than debating one perspective.
- Suggest taking a mini break of 1 or 2 minutes if emotions are running too high, then reconvene.

If someone cries:

- Acknowledge their emotions with empathy, pause briefly, and continue the conversation.
- Ask if they need a short break or would like to continue speaking.
- Remind others this is an understandably emotional topic and to listen supportively without judgment.

Appendix 5. Analysis Report from the Joint Subcommittee on the Harvard-Wide Task Force Survey

January 5, 2025

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I. Introduction

At the end of the 2023-24 academic year, Harvard's two presidential task forces — one aimed at combating anti-Muslim, anti-Arab, and anti-Palestinian bias, the other aimed at combating antisemitism and anti-Israeli bias — jointly organized an opt-in survey of the Harvard community. Between May and September 2024, the online survey was open to students, faculty, and staff across all of Harvard's Schools.

The survey asked questions about respondents' sense of belonging and safety at Harvard and solicited what factors contributed to that sense of belonging and safety. The survey also asked respondents for their recommendations. The survey asked about respondents' identities, such as their religious, racial, and political identities. In this report, we detail the findings from the survey, including both qualitative and quantitative results.

The intent of the survey was to complement the listening sessions conducted by the two Task Forces in the Spring of 2024. It provided a structured way for a wider segment of the Harvard community to express their opinions in an anonymous format. Compared to participating in listening sessions, taking the survey required less time and could be done when convenient for the respondents rather than at a scheduled time, and in a way that allowed for anonymity, which was a serious concern for many respondents given incidents of being targeted and/or doxxed. We should note that the survey was not designed to be representative of the entire Harvard community for two reasons. First, we lacked an appropriate sampling frame for the affected/relevant communities. For instance, we do not know precisely how many Jewish identifying and Muslim identifying individuals are in the Harvard community. Similarly, there may likely be relevant populations from other demographic groups that hold views on the issues related to the Task Forces or may have experienced/observed bias but are not readily verifiable based on their demographics. Second, given the specific intent of the survey as noted above, it was not administered or marketed as a University-wide survey like the 2019 Pulse Survey, for instance, but rather distributed in a variety of channels on behalf of the two Task Forces. This survey exercise is therefore best viewed as a way to incorporate more opinions from those community-members who wanted to anonymously weigh in than listening sessions alone would allow and to also do so in a closed-ended format that enabled presenting quantitative results overall and by various relevant respondent demographic attributes as outlined in the pre-analysis plan. Importantly, the findings provide a window into the social, educational, and professional environment at Harvard. They also point to the need for the continuation and expansion of efforts that gauge the wellbeing of the community and ways to address their concerns.

A core finding is that most respondents do not feel comfortable expressing their political views and believe doing so would jeopardize their academic and professional careers. Most respondents also reported that that the 2023-24 year was worse than the previous year in terms of their sense of well-being and safety.

Faculty and staff feel a greater sense of belonging than students. They are more comfortable expressing their opinions and less likely to have personally experienced stereotyping and discrimination. Students feel particularly stifled in their ability to express themselves.

Muslim respondents are especially likely to say they do not feel a sense of belonging and safety at Harvard. Among students, we find that Jewish respondents and Muslim respondents have much more negative experiences than the two largest religious cohorts in our survey: Christians and Atheists/Agnostic/No Religious Affiliation. On nearly every measure, Muslim and Jewish identifiers are less comfortable sharing their views and are more likely to report experience with discrimination than Christians and Atheists/Agnostic/No Religious Affiliation. Among racial groups, Middle Eastern or North African (MENA) students offer the most negative experiences of any group.

When asked what factors contributed negatively or positively to their experience, the survey respondents are mostly in consensus that internal factors were more positive than external ones. Notably, external

events, external actors, and external media contributed negatively to their experiences, whereas student, faculty, and staff interaction contributed mostly positively. However, student interactions outside academic spaces, especially in online interactions, contributed negatively to the experiences of Jewish and Muslim students. Respondents evaluated University policies and administrative responses less positively.

II. Survey and Methodology

The survey was fielded starting late May 2024 with most responses coming in the earlier part of the summer. The data from this analysis spans from May 22 to September 15 and comprises of a total of 2,295 submitted responses. The survey was posted on the two Task Forces' websites. Responses were solicited by the task forces sharing the survey link with community members who had joined the listening sessions hosted by the task forces during the Spring semester. The link was also shared with various affinity groups.

The pre-analysis plan for this study is provided in the appendix along with the survey instrument. For each of the substantive questions in the survey, we show the overall distribution of responses. We also tabulate responses by subgroups within key demographics, including affiliation (e.g., faculty, staff, student), School, age, national identity, race/ethnicity, religious views, gender, sexuality, and political ideology. The subgroups that show the most meaningful differences are in the main text while the remaining ones are in appendices. In places, we further subdivide the sample, for instance, we look at differences by religious affiliation just among students. We also employ regression analysis to better understand how a variety of background characteristics correspond to the substantive responses. The multivariate analysis is not explicitly described in the pre-analysis plan, but it is a helpful extension to the original plan and assists our understanding of the sample.

In Table 1 below, we show the distribution of respondents by demographic subgroup.

Table 1: Summary Statistics

Summary Statistics	Count	Percent		Count	Percent
	2295	100.00		2295	100.00
Affiliation			**Religion**		
Undergraduate	233	10.15	Agnostic/Atheist/No Religious Affiliation	875	38.13
Graduate/Post-Doc/Fellow	495	21.57	Christian	592	25.80
Faculty	489	21.31	Jewish	447	19.48
Staff	898	39.13	Muslim	89	3.88
Other	68	2.96	Other	282	12.29
Prefer not to answer	112	4.88	Prefer not to answer	258	11.24
School			***Gender***		
College/FAS/GSAS	1100	47.93	Female	1084	47.23
HBS	303	13.20	Male	866	37.73
HMS/HSPH/HSDM	349	15.21	Other	117	5.10
Other	641	27.93	Prefer not to answer	259	11.29
Prefer not to answer	164	7.15			
Race			***Sexuality***		
White	1508	65.71	Straight	1464	63.79
Asian	230	10.02	Gay/Lesbian	155	6.75
Black	83	3.62	Other	331	14.42
Hispanic	124	5.40	Prefer not to answer	391	17.04
MENA	125	5.45			
Other	139	6.06			
Prefer not to answer	314	13.68			
Age			***Ideology***		
Under 21	123	5.36	Very liberal	457	19.91
21-25	217	9.46	Liberal	783	34.12
26-30	280	12.20	Slightly liberal	263	11.64
31-40	470	20.48	Moderate	255	11.11
41-50	381	16.60	Conservative	124	5.40
51-60	321	13.99	Other	170	7.41
61+	317	13.81	Prefer not to answer	243	10.59
Prefer not to answer	186	8.10			

Table 1 Note: Some categories do not sum to 100% since some respondents provided multiple responses to the same question. "Other" category for affiliation represents those that selected "Other" as their affiliation in the survey. "Other" category for religion aggregates: Buddhist, Hindu, Taoist, Shintoist, Sikh, Bahai, Jain, followers of folk religions, those who identified as spiritual, and those who chose to self-identify. "Other" category for School aggregates: HDS, HKS, GSD, HGSE, SEAS, HLS, Division of Continuing Education (including the Extension School), Central Administration, and those who simply selected "Other" as their School in the survey. "Other" category for gender aggregates: Gender Non-Conforming, Genderqueer, Nonbinary, Questioning, Transgender, and those who chose to self-identify. Other category for race aggregates: American Indian or Alaska Native, Native Hawaiian or Pacific Islander, and those who chose to self-identify. "Other" category for sexuality aggregates: Bisexual, Queer, Pansexual, Asexual, and those who chose to self-identify. "Other" category for ideology aggregates: Apolitical and those who chose to self-identify.

As we noted above, the survey was intended to provide an avenue for those affected by and/or desiring to express an opinion on matters related to the mandate of the two Task Forces — examining anti-Arab, anti-Israeli, anti-Muslim, anti-Palestinian, anti-Pro-Palestinian bias, and antisemitism as experienced by the Harvard community. Since this population frame is not readily identifiable and the survey was not administered as a University-wide survey, we cannot provide appropriate response rate numbers or say how representative our sample is of this population or of the underlying demographic populations such as race, religion, and political views (regarding the conflict). That said, we can use the 2019 Pulse survey — a University-wide effort at Harvard — as a benchmark Appendix D [of this Appendix 5] shows comparisons with the Pulse survey. As the first table shows, our sample here is 66% White, which is slightly higher than that in the Pulse data (59%). Asian/Asian Americans and Black respondents are underrepresented in our survey, and MENA respondents are slightly overrepresented, compared to Pulse. Respondents to this survey are twice as likely to not list a race (13% vs 6%) compared to Pulse.

By religion, Christian identifiers are effectively equally represented in this survey compared to Pulse (25% vs 26%). Muslim and especially Jewish respondents are somewhat overrepresented relative to the Pulse survey (3.9% vs 1.8% and 19.5% vs 6.8% respectively), as one may expect given the intent of the survey. "No religion" is the largest religious category in both surveys, with 38-39% of respondents identifying this way. Finally, a big difference between Pulse and this survey here is in the degree to which faculty and students are represented. In Pulse, there are 4 ½ times more students than faculty (45.7% vs 10.1%). In the current survey, faculty and students compose similar shares of the sample (21.3% and 26.5% respectively).

In addition to the survey questions that will be analyzed with quantitative methods, some survey questions solicited open-ended responses as a follow-up to the quantitative questions. While these were entirely optional, 81% of respondents provided at least one open-ended response. We analyze the qualitative data by directly reviewing responses from demographic groups that were outliers in their negative experiences as revealed in the quantitative analysis as well as by using machine learning techniques to help synthesize the main themes and salient responses for all respondents. The quotes were selected to reflect the main themes observed while protecting the respondents' identity. We present this qualitative analysis alongside the quantitative findings as it helps provide some more color and context.

III. Main Results

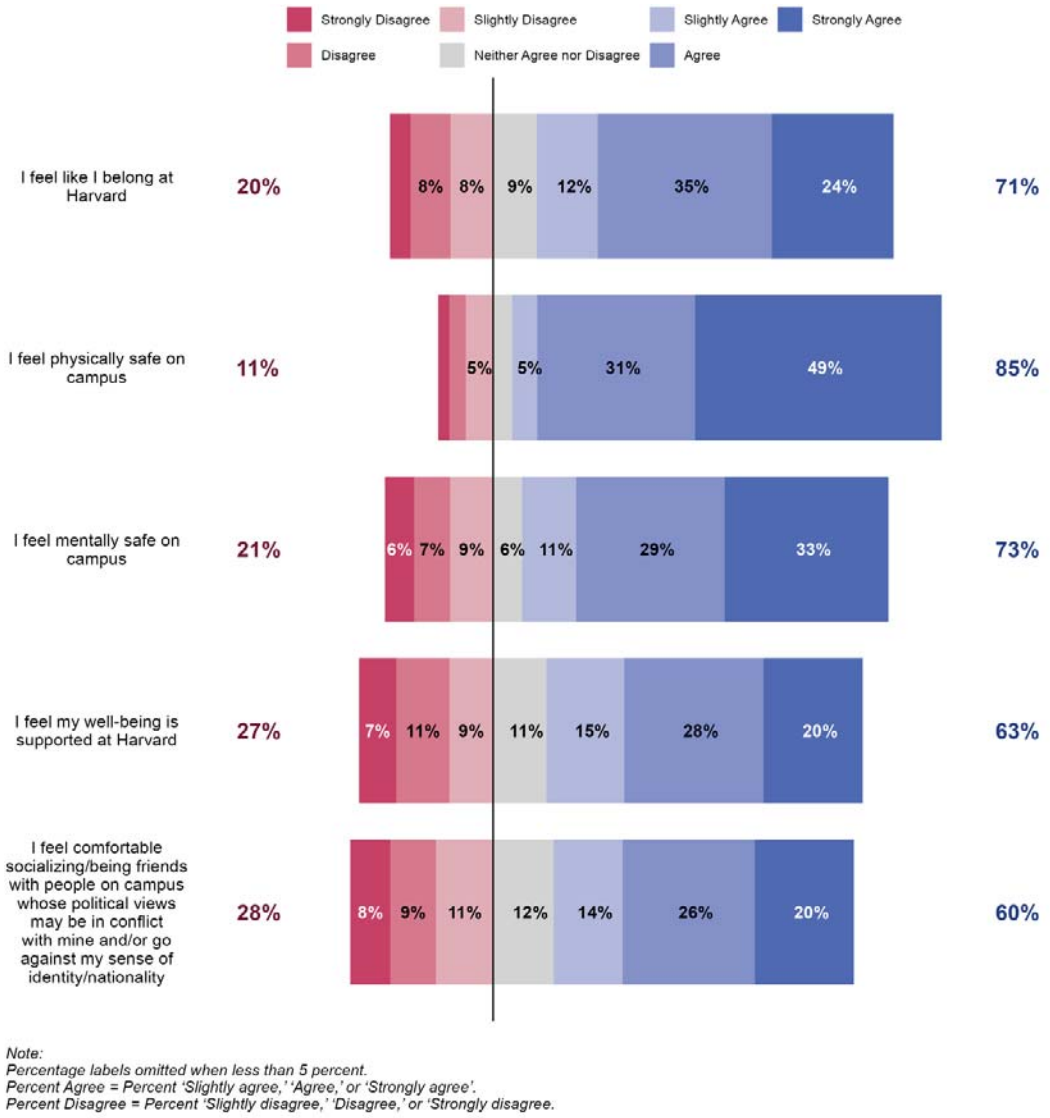
A. Safety, Belonging, and Free Expression

The first section of the online survey asked respondents a battery of ten agree/disagree questions. For each, respondents used a 7-point scale (from strongly disagree to strongly agree). They could also select that they preferred not to answer.

In Figure 1 below, we show responses to five of these ten agree/disagree items that relate to safety and belonging.[628] One in ten respondents (11%) reported they do not feel physically safe on campus. Twice as many reported that they do not feel like they belong or that they do not feel mentally safe on campus. Just over a quarter of respondents reported they do not believe their well-being is supported. Finally, 28% said they do not feel comfortable socializing with people on campus whose political views conflict with their own or go against their sense of identity. Thus, while most respondents reported positive sentiment toward their sense of safety, well-being, and comfort at Harvard, it is not uncommon for community-members to express negative sentiment either.

[628] We only report non-missing values for each question. Missing responses constitute 0.7-2.2% of all responses.

Figure 1: Safety and Belonging — All Respondents



Note:
Percentage labels omitted when less than 5 percent.
Percent Agree = Percent 'Slightly agree,' 'Agree,' or 'Strongly agree'.
Percent Disagree = Percent 'Slightly disagree,' 'Disagree,' or 'Strongly disagree.

As noted previously, respondents could also provide open-text responses to further elaborate on their quantitative responses. Specifically, we asked them to share recent and/or salient experience(s) — positive and/or negative — that could shed further light and/or nuance on their quantitative responses. Looking at this qualitative data helps further our understanding of the quantitative findings.[629]

Some respondents spoke directly to the low level of physical and mental safety they felt on campus. One respondent (#978, student) explained how "names being posted online so that people will search for those names and choose not to hire those people; faces being put on trucks and the campus doing nothing about it, students having guns pulled on them and having their rooms raided or their belongings thrown out also makes it a much less safe environment mentally and physically." Another respondent (#512, missing affiliation) wrote, "I am not comfortable and do not feel safe expressing my ethnic, religious or political self at Harvard, or even in this survey, for fear of retaliation. This has been the case for many years. The recent events on campus have only solidified this for me." A third (#135, missing affiliation) succinctly wrote, "I

[629] We provide excerpts directly from the quotations from respondents without changing any of their language. The only exception is that we correct obvious typos and spelling mistakes.

definitely do not feel safe on campus or in remote Harvard environments to express my political opinions and personal beliefs."

A key theme mentioned by respondents was how the response at Harvard to expressing opinions over the past year made Harvard less safe. Several respondents commented on Harvard's response directly — one respondent (#1460, student) wrote, "I have been very harshly punished by Harvard administrators for expressing my political views. These punishments have included sudden eviction from my source of housing and food, sudden termination from my job, the threat of not allowing me to complete the semester, the clear and material threat of calling in police against me, and the withholding of my degree for an entire year after I completed all my graduation credits with high honors… I have never felt more unsafe or unsupported in my life than I have at the hands of Harvard administrators this past year." Another respondent (#793, staff) echoed this sentiment, saying "I have felt unsafe by the way that Harvard has conducted themselves. People have been fired for speaking up for their beliefs and displaced from their homes. It is not right for a university to act this way when people have been peaceful, non-violent, and have not physically harmed anyone their actions."

Respondents also spoke to the lack of comfort and well-being they felt socially on campus. One respondent (#1803, student) noted, "I generally refrain from discussing political/controversial topics with members of the community who I do not know well because I find that conversations often become hostile and campus reputations are easily harmed." Another (#2167, student) wrote, "I do not feel mentally safe on campus. Though I am not Israeli, I have openly expressed sympathy for October 7th survivors and attended events for Holocaust survivors. I have faced many social consequences for not thinking in ways my classmates would deem progressive, which I find unreasonable."

Another frequent theme was a perceived lack of response by the University to outside actors — one respondent (#1091, student) wrote, "The sight of doxxing trucks and planes flying hateful messages like 'Harvard Hates Jews' around Harvard Square deeply disturbed me. Despite their prominent presence, it seemed like the University wasn't taking any action, which left me feeling perplexed and unsafe. The loud and repetitive circling of the planes over the yard heightened my anxiety, especially since I couldn't discern their intentions." Another respondent (#708, staff) described the presence of non-affiliated protestors on their safety — "I feel safe when it comes to Harvard and the people who are involved with the University. However, there are outside actors who will show up at the Science Plaza and pick fights with people for not supporting their cause. These same outside actors (or at least, other outside actors sharing their viewpoints) have attempted to assassinate the character of much more important people than myself on campus." Similarly, a different respondent (#2080, staff) noted that "the administration seems to prioritize external political interests over the well-being of internal community members, and has not done enough to earn trust among the community."

However, a few respondents had somewhat different views regarding safety and felt more comfortable despite the tumultuousness of the past year. One respondent (#1603, staff) said, "I have never felt unsafe on campus, but the camp in the yard made a big mess of trying to just get my own things done. I wish it had made a difference without disrupting everything and making folks angry but ineffective." Another respondent (#413, student) wrote, "Much of the discourse that would make someone feel unsafe or unable to express their opinions happens online. In my experience, people are often less combative in person and the negative climate is more digital." A third respondent (#532, staff) even stressed that the safety on Harvard's campus should encourage challenging conversations — "I think most of the students, faculty, and staff are perfectly capable of engaging in difficult dialogue… Harvard's campus is very likely the safest place on the planet for Palestinian, Israeli, Jewish, and Muslim students, faculty, and staff to engage in productive dialogue. Make it so, keep leaning into this. Wasted potential that can genuinely save lives is hard to witness."

The remaining five agree/disagree items in this first battery of survey questions largely reflect on how comfortable or uncomfortable it is to express one's views on campus. Is it easy to express oneself? Do respondents feel they suffer professionally or academically, or face outright discrimination, when they express their views? Figure 2 shows overall results.[630]

This second graphic shows that discomfort with expressing one's views is quite common, and much more common than feeling physically or mentally unsafe. About half of all respondents reported that they are uncomfortable expressing their opinions and uncomfortable expressing their political opinions. Most respondents (59%) believe there are academic and professional penalties for expressing one's political views at Harvard. Nearly a third (29%) said that they have personally experienced discrimination, stereotyping, or biases because of their views on current events. When asked about expressing religious beliefs and disclosing ethnic identifications, a third of all respondents do not agree that they can do so comfortably.

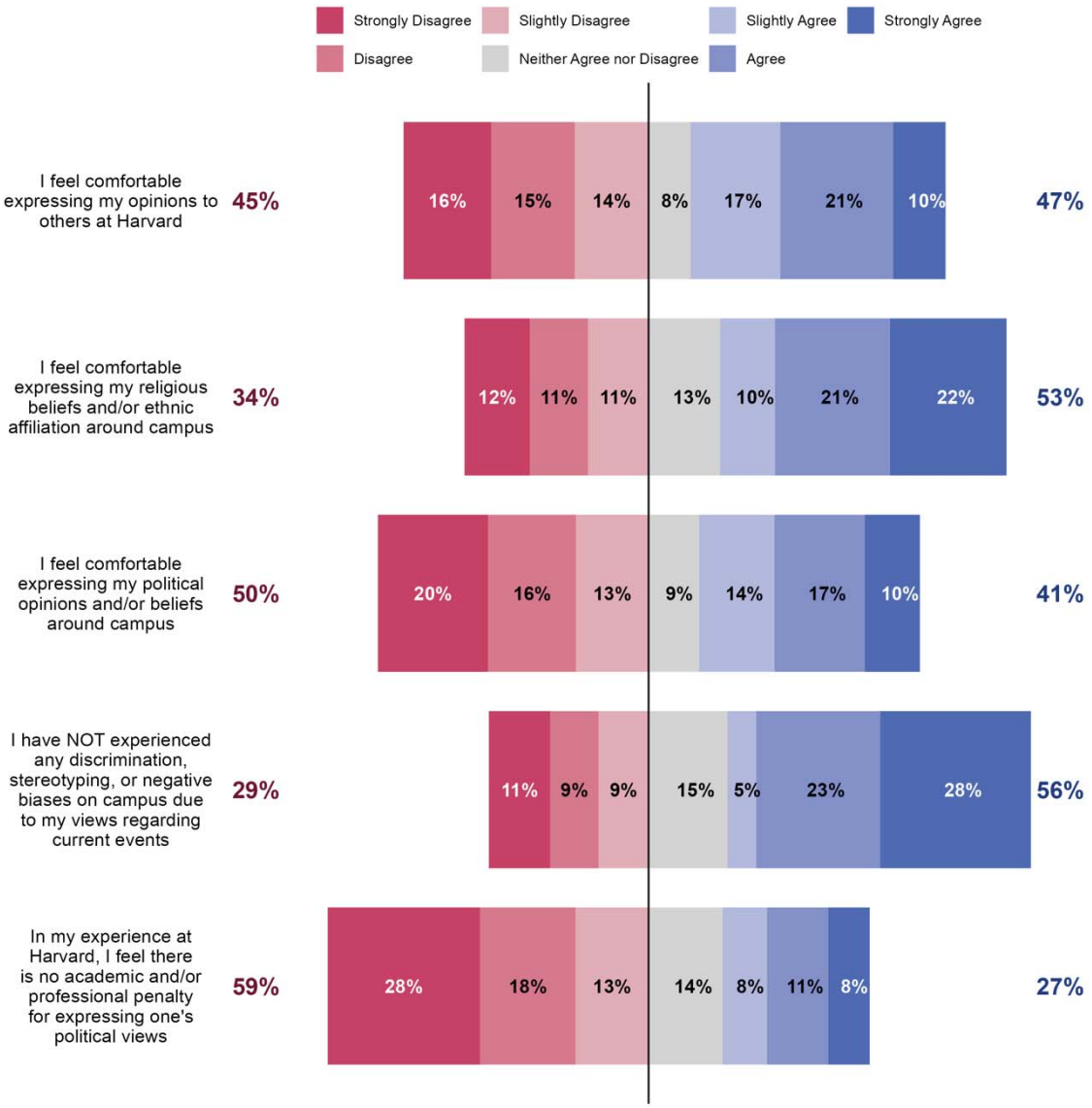
It is worth emphasizing that readers of this report may disagree about the normative interpretation of the results in these first two graphics. For instance, some may believe that at a university, faculty, staff, and students should all feel at liberty to express their views on political and other matters. If they do not feel comfortable doing so, this means the University is failing to create a culture of dialogue and debate. Others may believe, particularly for staff and faculty, that it is inappropriate to express one's personal views in the workplace. Thus, some readers may believe it would be better for more respondents to feel uncomfortable expressing their views.

As another example of normative disagreement, consider the item about being comfortable socializing with those on campus who have conflicting viewpoints. Some may believe that everyone should feel comfortable socializing with those who disagree with them politically; others may believe that community-members should not need to feel comfortable doing so.

Thus, while on some of these survey items, we think there would be widespread agreement about the interpretation of results (e.g., students feeling physically unsafe on campus is a problem), on other items, the interpretation of results would be more contested.

[630] We only report non-missing values for each question. Missing responses constitute 0.6-2.6% of all responses.

Figure 2: Freedom of Expression — All Respondents



Note:
Percentage labels omitted when less than 5 percent.
Percent Agree = Percent 'Slightly agree,' 'Agree,' or 'Strongly agree'.
Percent Disagree = Percent 'Slightly disagree,' 'Disagree,' or 'Strongly disagree.

Consistent with the quantitative results, respondents in the open-ended questions described a divisive environment on campus when it comes to political discourse. While respondents praised the diversity of Harvard, those who had been in classrooms or other settings that brought up political divisions described a level of discomfort. This sense of discomfort comes in many varieties. For instance, as one respondent (#932, staff) said, "I would never feel comfortable voicing my opinion on the current war in Gaza." The respondent does not share his/her identity with others. Another respondent (#894, staff) feels at home at Harvard because his/her views align with the majority view, but laments how unwelcome the environment is to those who are politically conservative. Harvard students, the respondent says, "are militantly passionate about certain approved views and they will make anyone who disagrees with the party line regret it."

Respondents feel they could be stigmatized or punished for expressing views outside of the mainstream views on campus. One respondent (#856, student) explained that "the climate at Harvard is such that unless you profess orthodox woke views, you're ostracized. Admin has contributed to this culture, as have some faculty. I've basically given up on the whole situation and don't particularly care at this point." Another (#346, staff) wrote, "While, in theory, there is freedom of speech, academic freedom, ethnic and religious diversity on and around Harvard, in reality those that are vocal or at either far end of a spectrum are often rejected. Given the dynamic and often volatile climate on campus, I find myself not wanting to discuss anything at all outside of just work related topics."

Respondents also reflect on institutional practices that lead to a strained environment for political expression. Several respondents believe that pressure from donors and external actors has led Harvard to punish students when they express dissenting viewpoints, with one respondent (#474, student) saying, "It was really astonishing to see the administration react so poorly towards student protesters simply to save face and protect donor interests. The administration simply could have let the students walk at their graduation without any consequence, but chose retributive action that ultimately eroded the faltering trust between the student body and the administrators." A staff member respondent (#132, staff) stated, "Freedom of expression has been severely restricted by OUTSIDE actors. Alumni and donors should NEVER have a say in Harvard life. Harvard is a FACULTY LED university, not donor led, not alumni led, not student led."

Respondents also reflected on the pressure coming from inside the University, with one (#297, fellow) saying "There is a peculiar sensitivity to expressing divergent views in light of recent events whether international or US-related. Often certain perspectives shared are constrained or deterred if they don't appear to align with University opinions. This breeds discontentment and likely civil disobedience." They also spoke about the effect that disciplinary action against protestors had on the overall sense of freedom of expression on campus — one respondent (#1067, staff) commented, "I have seen that Harvard administration has decided to pursue disciplinary action against staff and students who have peacefully protested, and in some cases simply been in the vicinity of the peaceful protesting. This makes me feel extremely uncomfortable with the administration's position on protecting free speech and the ability to express one's political views without fear of retaliation. It is Harvard's actions as an institution that is concerning to me, not the actions of students or staff with differing viewpoints."

Many respondents raised concerns about the unclear enforcement of free speech rules and confusion over the policies. One respondent (#2035, staff) said, "Harvard is consistently contradicting itself in advocating for free speech and social justice yet at the same time clamping down on those who speak out." Another (#2074, student) stated, "Honestly, I am agnostic to the School's policy on student speech but the sheer inconsistency of it astounds and disgusts me." A third respondent (#1054, staff) specifically explained their personal concerns: "As a staff member, I do not feel safe in expressing political opinions, particularly when they go against what many students and faculty seem to believe. While faculty and students seem to have license to express theirs, the University is lacking clear guidance, or at least clearly communicated guidance, on what staff members can and cannot say, as well as whether such speech is as supported as it is for faculty and students." A fourth (#907, student) similarly wrote, "I self censor these views because I do not believe to have any protection from the University on freedom of expression."

Another major theme arising from the open-ended responses is the sense that individuals no longer want to discuss views on campus. Some respondents explained they do so to avoid offending others even unintentionally or to prevent others from misinterpreting them. One respondent (#1008, post-doc) said "I simply don't express much of my political views, or if I do, I am careful to use tempered inclusive language," and another (#231, staff) similarly remarked, "The shifting definitions of terms that used to describe specific behaviors, actions, or identities has occurred under such ideological/partisan strain that it

is difficult to know how to express oneself, even when trying to comfort or empathize." A third respondent (#796, staff) though, explained how their views have shifted away from discussing sensitive topics in the workplace as a broader rule: "The events of this past year have made me question whether it is appropriate at all to be discussing my personal political views at work. As a person in a leadership role, I would not want my expression of views to inhibit more junior people or make them feel that they are not welcome or unable to advance because my views are different than theirs. Conversations with friends at work are different when they are during a break, but during working hours I sometimes wonder if we should all just be more mindful about when and how we express our views so others do not feel excluded."

A different group of respondents emphasized the importance of continuing to have difficult conversations openly on campus. "The penalties can be academic, professional, or social. Yet, I really want to push myself and others to have thicker skin, and better faith. It's impossible to stay comfortable, impossible to avoid 'harm.' Our freedom (of speech) should be exercised, not minimized," wrote one respondent (#217, staff). A second respondent (#2072, student) similarly commented, "While I find many conservative views antithetical to my own views, I think part of studying at a university is having your own views challenged. If we can't accept those with differing views at a place where diversity is encouraged, how can we expect society to do the same. I find that the University prides itself on diversity of thought, religion, sexuality, etc. — and that's a good thing, I love that about Harvard — but at least at the graduate level, I do not think enough emphasis is placed on accepting people with conservative views or at least welcoming them even if we disagree with their political values."

Finally, some respondents spoke positively about the status of free speech at Harvard and the administration's policies. One respondent (#1536, staff) wrote, "I feel the University has done a good job overall at trying to accommodate a very diverse set of opinions and feelings while honoring our values and the right to free speech." Another (#1409, staff) similarly commented, "In my relations with Harvard colleagues, I prefer to acknowledge differences, and despite our differences, focus on the good we can do together in fulfilling Harvard's noblest values, and when we have true consensus, act. I welcome the new Institutional Voice policy."

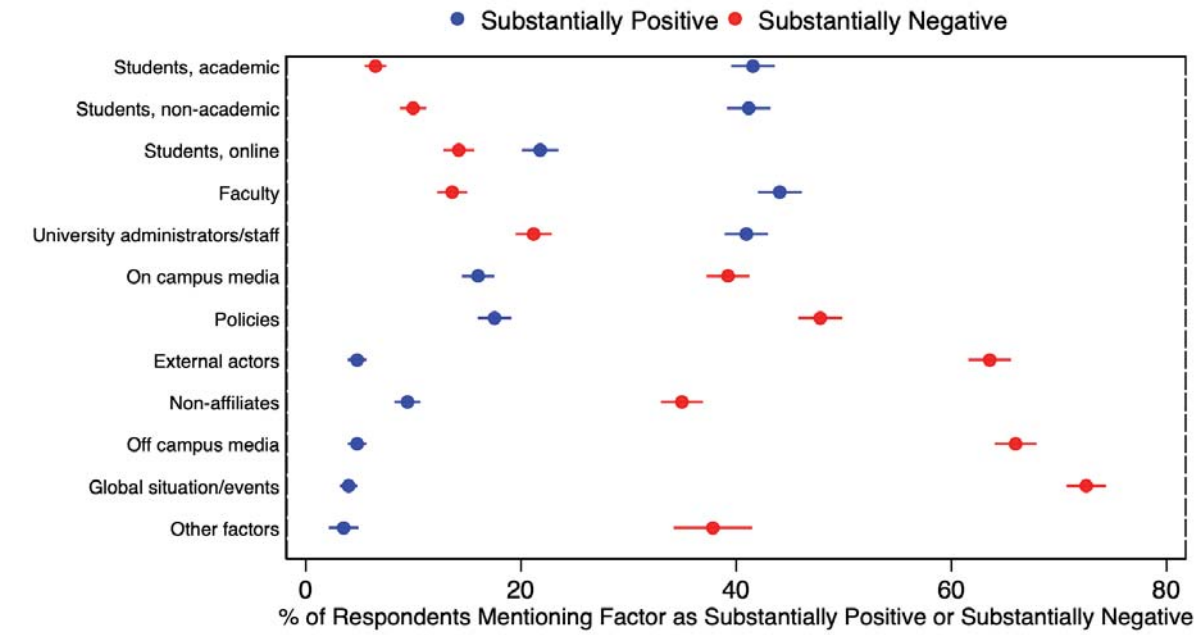
After answering this battery of ten agree/disagree questions, the survey asked respondents, "Compared to this time last year, how has your sense of safety, belonging, and/or ability to interact positively with the community on the Harvard campus changed?" Recall that respondents took this survey in the spring or summer of 2024, and so they were being asked to reflect on how they felt after the 2023-24 school year compared to after the 2022-2023 school year. They could say they felt the same or that things had become much worse, worse, better, or much better than the prior year. The data (see appendix B) shows — perhaps unsurprisingly given the circumstances of the 2023-24 school year — that there was a significant worsening with 61% reporting worsening situation (25% say much worse and 36% say worse). Thirty-six percent reported the situation was the same as a year before, and 3% said the situation was improved.

B. Contributing Factors

The survey asked respondents to reflect on the factors that contributed positively or negatively to their experience on campus. What factors made them feel "a sense of safety, belonging, and/or ability to interact with the community"? And what factors made things worse? Based on what the task forces had heard from the community in the open-ended listening sessions, we provided a pre-defined set of factors while allowing respondents to suggest additional factors (12.9% did). Since a given factor may contribute both positively and negatively, we allowed for both options: respondents could check that a factor contributed positively and/or negatively or that it did not have a substantial impact. Moreover, for each factor we allowed respondents to provide open-text details that we also include below.

Figure 3 below considers each factor in turn and presents the percentage of individuals who report this factor as positive and/or negative.[631] Overall, the findings make clear that interactions with faculty, students, and staff were seen as generally positive, whereas factors associated with media, external actors, and University policies were seen as generally negative. Recall that a large fraction of respondents to this survey are faculty and staff, and so their perceptions of interactions might differ than we restrict the sample just to students, as we do later on in this report.

Figure 3: Contributing Factors — All Respondents



Exact wording for each factor shown below:

Students, academic: In-person interactions with Harvard students in academic settings (e.g. classroom, lab, etc.)
Students, non-academic: In-person interactions with Harvard students in non-academic settings (e.g. extracurricular activity, event, or social gathering)
Students, online: Online interactions with Harvard students
Faculty: In-person or online interactions with Harvard faculty
University administrators/staff: In-person or online interactions with Harvard administration/staff
On campus media: On campus media coverage (print/social)
Policies: Harvard University and School policies
External actors: External actors' presence/influence on campus life and climate
Non-affiliates: In-person or online interactions with individuals not affiliated with Harvard
Off campus media: Off campus media coverage (print/social)
Global situation/events: Global situation/events
Other factor: Other factor

We now examine each potential factor in turn:

(1) In-person interactions with Harvard students in academic settings (e.g. classroom, lab, etc.)

41.6% rated a positive factor; 6.5% rated a negative factor.

In open-ended explanations, responses with positive reflections praised students for their thoughtfulness, intellect, and their desire to have open and honest discussions, even on controversial topics. One respondent (#2150, faculty) noted they "had a fantastic class, multi-cultural, from all parts of the world, different religions, and views. Classroom experience was still fantastic." Respondents felt that they benefit from a sense of community on campus centered around a desire to learn together, with one respondent (#1141, student) noting "In-person interactions with students is the heart of the on-campus connection. These interactions provide a sense of belonging and creative interaction that are essential to higher

[631] The omitted category for each factor consists of those that answered "not substantial/no opinion" for each factor or did not answer the questions. 0.4% of respondents did not answer the questions.

education." Most students, respondents said, understand that difficult political and social issues are complex and nuanced.

Respondents with negative evaluations found students to be easily offended when confronted with opinions they disagree with. One respondent (#1320, faculty) summarized this as "Students do not give others grace for differing opinions, and easily dismiss others in the course of class discussions. If someone misspeaks and then tries to course-correct, there is no forgiveness." Interactions with students in classes, some respondents noted, tend to be superficial and not lead to durable friendships and relationships. Some students are seen as struggling when discussing sensitive issues. Some respondents also have experienced directly either discrimination, bias, or teasing based on attributes such as their race or their political views.

(2) In-person interactions with Harvard students in non-academic settings (e.g. extracurricular activity, event, or social gathering)

41.2% rated a positive factor; 9.9% rated a negative factor.

Respondents expressed genuine excitement for the opportunity to learn from students from a diversity of backgrounds. Students are interested in what others think. One respondent (#324, staff) called students "thoughtful, curious, and wise." Another respondent explained that outside academic settings, students are not always discussing current events; they bond over shared interests like sports and entertainment.

Respondents who feel that student interactions in non-academic settings have been negative pointed to several contributing factors. One is that some students do not seem interested in exploring difficult issues with nuance, but rather want to be provocative or dominate conversations with their views. Another is that there is special difficulty in talking about sensitive issues such as race and gender without fear of retribution, with one respondent (#269, staff) saying they had "very intense social conversations in which it was made clear that if you didn't agree, you would be verbally attacked and criticized behind your back." A third is that students largely do not want to have deep conversations about issues.

(3) Online interactions with Harvard students

21.8% rated a positive factor; 14.1% rated a negative factor.

Respondents who found online interactions with students to be positive mostly articulated similar themes to those about in-person interactions. Namely, they find students online to be open, empathetic, thoughtful, and inquisitive. Respondents also reflected on the benefits of diversity of perspectives in online interactions. Much online interaction is not political at all. As one respondent (#152, faculty) said, their "online interactions with Harvard students have been very similar to this year as in prior years" adding that "political discussions basically never arise for me — we are scientists and stay focused on that."

Those with negative evaluations pointed to the intolerance they witness online. One respondent (#1075, student) suggested an increase among students in "racism, Islamophobia, and colonial mentalities." Another (#1111, NA) noted that they "hate that Sidechat and other University socials exist because they perpetuate radical views, student conflict, etc." A third respondent (#998, faculty) found online student behavior to be lacking nuance: "I have been very disappointed by the level of vitriol, ignorance, and binary thinking in these posts."

(4) In-person or online interactions with Harvard faculty

44.1% rated a positive factor; 13.6% rated a negative factor.

Respondents with positive insights about their interactions with Harvard faculty pointed to the supportive, thoughtful environments created by faculty, with one respondent (#278, faculty) noting "I saw colleagues engaging current events in unprecedented ways, reading deeply and broadly and wanting to discuss academic works on the topic". Most respondents feel energized by the professionalism and research-orientation of faculty, but typically avoid politics-related conversation, with one respondent (#152, faculty)

explaining: "Interactions have been very similar to in prior years (which is to say, positive), but it's important to note that political topics rarely (if ever) arise."

On the negative side, respondents find that discussions with faculty members are superficial because there is a general avoidance of sensitive subjects. Respondents also find that interactions can be difficult due to underlying power dynamics between faculty and students or because of a lack of diversity among faculty with respect to race and gender. One respondent (#1712, faculty) succinctly said, "They have power to decide my future. I am very careful how I present myself".

(5) In-person or online interactions with Harvard administration/staff

41.0% rated a positive factor; 21.1% rated a negative factor.

Respondents with positive interactions with administration and staff describe staff as helpful, collegial, and effective. One respondent praised technology, maintenance, and library staff. Another respondent (#395, staff) specifically praised staff for helping the University work through conflicts in a constructive way — "My interactions with administration and staff have all focused on finding a way through these problems and protecting students".

Respondents with negative interactions did not think staff and administration performed well in dealing with campus conflicts. Multiple respondents felt that staff-members approach difficult issues with increasingly inflexible, top-down methods, with one (#1788, student) explaining "Top-down policies around discipline, and restrictions on what they can say through public emails, made it difficult to have any good interactions".

(6) On campus media coverage (print/social)

16.0% rated a positive factor; 39.2% rated a negative factor.

Respondents with positive experiences with on-campus media praised campus publications for platforming a more diverse set of perspectives than off-campus publications. Respondents found on-campus media to be entertaining, informative, and leading to dialogue. One respondent (#277, faculty) noted "I found opinion pieces on both sides, some agreeable, some disagreeable; this is as it should be."

Those with negative experiences find that the on-campus publications, like mainstream publications, prioritize negative stories and casting blame, presenting a skewed view of Harvard. One respondent (#1520, staff) explained "I felt a lot of the media coverage was negative and did not provide for a full picture of what was happening across the University." Respondents find this approach is not constructive and does not help build a sense of community.

(7) Harvard University and School policies

17.5% rated a positive factor; 47.8% rated a negative factor.

Respondents with positive reviews of Harvard polices reported that policies succeed in being inclusive, thoughtful, and balanced. As one respondent (#853, staff) said, "I felt like policies tried to balance different views as best as possible."

Respondents with negative reviews had a wide variety of themes. One theme is that policies are made reactively rather than proactively, which undermines the goal of the University having a principled approach to campus issues. One respondent (#979, staff) explained this as follows: "The School policies have not felt clear and have seemed to change with the times rather than policies intended for the best academic honest approach". Another theme is that policies have failed to get the balance right between free expression and creating an inclusive environment. A third theme is that rules are vague, and enforcement of rules is inconsistent, and so students do not have a clear sense of what behaviors will be punished. Finally, respondents believe that University policies are politically biased. To some respondents,

the political bias disfavors pro-Palestinian voices. To others, the political bias disfavors conservative voices on issues such as race (e.g., diversity statements) and gender (e.g., use of pronouns).

(8) External actors' presence/influence on campus life and climate

4.7% rated a positive factor; 63.6% rated a negative factor.

Respondents who had positive reports about external actors pointed to several themes. Due to Harvard's standing, it is inevitable that outsiders will take interest in what happens on campus. One respondent (#1487, student) argued that this was good, explaining that "External actors, including speakers and commentators, help connect the campus to the real world and larger community in which we will serve." Outside actors can also be helpful in pointing out problems on campus. One respondent mentioned that outside actors helped to call out antisemitism on campus.

Respondents who had negative reports about outside actors point to the undue influence of certain actors, such as donors, on the University administration, which comes at the expense of the administration listening to on-campus stakeholders. Other respondents felt that outside interests have goals (such as advocating for a political position) that are at odds with the goals of the University (such as research and learning) — one respondent (#34, student) noted "I have gotten the sense that external actors often operate solely with their own interests in mind and without respect for our mission as academics."

(9) In-person or online interactions with individuals not affiliated with Harvard

9.5% rated a positive factor; 34.9% rated a negative factor.

Those who describe positive interactions with individuals not associated with Harvard reported a general satisfaction with discussions with friends. Some specifically felt they benefited from talking about some of the University-related conflicts with friends not affiliated with Harvard, with one respondent (#1983, faculty) explaining "I have found outsiders I talk to open, respectful and interested in learning more. While people have had, not infrequently, strong views on Harvard and how it has presented in the public forum over the last year; no one has given me trouble but instead they have been interested to hear what my experience and thoughts are". Another respondent (#1957, faculty) found that interactions with those outside Harvard helped pushed Harvard toward prioritizing "diversity of thought."

Respondents with negative interactions with individuals outside of Harvard point to the spillover between campus conflicts and those not affiliated with Harvard. Respondents received negative feedback about Harvard from outsiders, which affected their ability to do their work. They saw negative messaging about Harvard on social media. One respondent (#1731, staff) felt a lower sense of morale due to the tarnished reputation of Harvard in their community: "My community has been largely negative about the institution and so that has been tough to my sense of pride in my work."

(10) Off campus media coverage (print/social)

4.8% rated a positive factor; 66.0% rated a negative factor.

Respondents who pointed to positive attributes of media coverage expressed that most news about Harvard is positive and draws attention to work being done on campus. When it comes to media coverage of campus conflicts, some respondents felt that the outside coverage shined light on real problems on campus, such as a lack of viewpoint diversity. Finally, one respondent (#859, faculty) said outside media coverage was "good and useful to see how the events at Harvard compare with events at other universities."

Respondents who felt that off-campus media coverage was negative said that the stories reported about Harvard were negative, conflict-driven, biased, sensationalist, and not fully truthful. One respondent (#386, NA) explained "News and social media coverage has been highly skewed and, due to the nature of these medias, help worsen tensions. Headlines are simplistic, social media posts are short and snappy, neither provide nuanced coverage nor do they encourage nuanced and thoughtful engagement."

(11) Global situation/ events

4.0% rated a positive factor; 72.6% rated a negative factor.

Respondents who viewed global events as having a positive effect on them fell into two camps. Some respondents felt hopeful about the prospects of change in the world, a sense of connection to the world outside Harvard, and, as one respondent (#1248, fellow) put it, a feeling of "solidarity in the actions of others around the world." Another camp identified world events as catalyzing introspection and change on campus. As one respondent (#1722, faculty) put it, "Global events have provoked thoughts for everyone in terms of the role and appropriate behavior for both institutions and individuals."

Those who viewed global events negatively tie events, namely the war in Israel and Gaza, to campus conflicts. The war and the reactions to the war have been both polarizing on campus and constant topic of discourse. Some found the discourse around the war to be uncivil and lacking in nuance. Others viewed global events negatively not because of the effects on campus but rather because the "suffering and brutality in Israel and Palestine" (respondent #1747, staff) affected them emotionally. One respondent (#331, student) wrote they felt "overwhelmed and powerless in the face of enormous injustice."

(12) Other factors:

3.5% rated a positive factor; 37.8% rated a negative factor.

The positive additional factors primarily surfaced themes that were already reviewed above. Respondents felt positive about an environment conducive to open inquiry and a setting in which students can develop as people and express themselves. On the negative side, respondents emphasized the mood on campus is not good, with community members feeling isolated, feeling required to conform to viewpoints, and feeling that they have witnessed hateful behavior on campus.

IV. Heterogeneity by Affiliation, Religion, and Race

We now revisit the analysis in the previous section but focus on whether and how this varies across different demographic groups. We focus this section on dimensions where we find the most meaningful differences by subgroup, particularly as they relate to campus issues brought on by the events in the Middle East. We report on the other demographic groups (age, gender, nationality, political ideology, School, and sexual orientation), in the appendix. We do encourage readers to look at analyses of other subgroups, where there are meaningful differences as well. For instance, a common theme in some open-ended comments relates to a lack of ideological diversity and conservatives feeling stifled. Figure A4d shows meaningful differences between liberals and conservatives in their ability to express themselves.

We should caution that while comparisons within a demographic category — say between students and faculty — are interesting, they need to be interpreted carefully. As is standard in survey work, interpreting these differences as arising due to differential biases experienced by these groups assumes that the groups themselves did not differentially select to participate in the survey based on their experiences of bias. For example, if we find that student respondents report worse outcomes than faculty respondents, to ensure that this result would hold for the average student compared to the average faculty requires that a student with a given level of bias experienced is as likely to participate in the survey as a faculty member with a comparable bias experienced. While plausible, without being able to test for this explicitly, we need to be cautious in interpretating the results. As an additional reminder, when a finding references a respondent's affiliation, that finding only encompasses those who chose to respond to this survey and also chose to identify their religion, ethnicity, or other demographic characteristics in the survey.

A. Heterogeneity by Harvard Affiliation

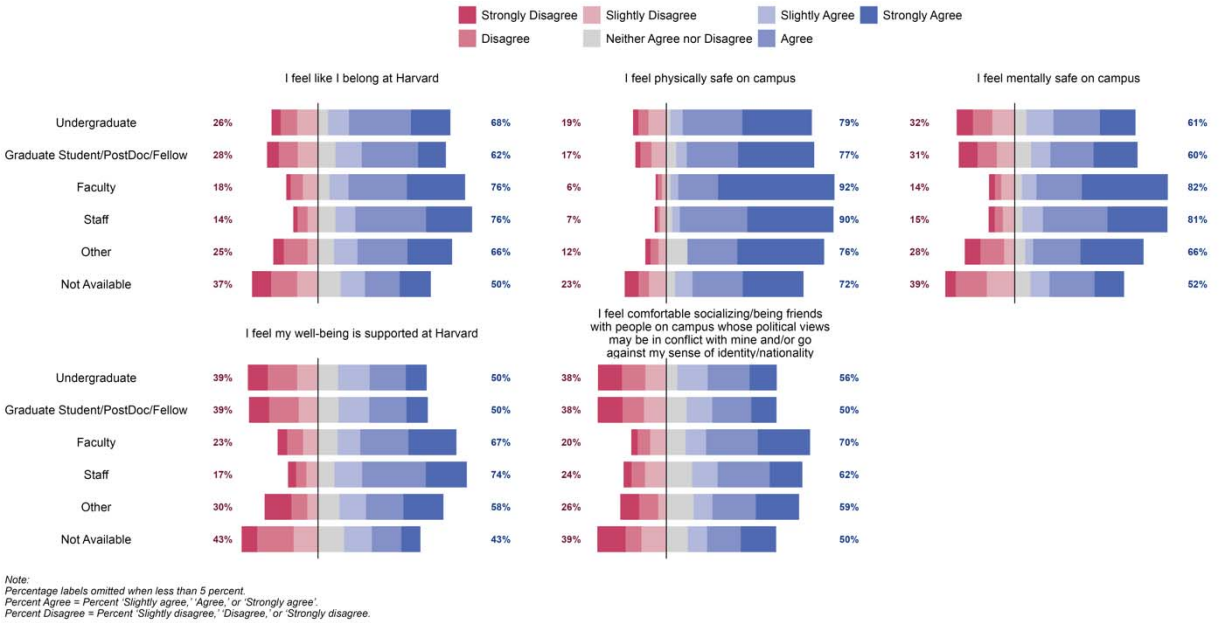
The results below present our previous findings separately by the Harvard affiliation of the respondent. The general result here is that student respondents (undergraduate students and graduates/fellows) tend to report more negative responses as compared to faculty and staff respondents (note: for the sake of brevity we will not always add the word "respondents" after each demographic category).

SAFETY, BELONGING, COMFORT, AND FREE EXPRESSION

For all measures reflecting on a sense of belonging, undergraduate and graduate students report worse outcomes. For the sake of completeness, we report results also for respondents who chose not to report their Harvard affiliation. These also tend to report worse outcomes, perhaps unsurprising, since their unwillingness to report their status may itself reflect their sense of belonging and well-being.

One in five (19%) undergraduate students report feeling physically unsafe on campus, and even for graduate students this number is quite high at 17%. Close to 40% of undergraduate and graduate students do not feel their well-being is supported at Harvard or that they are comfortable socializing with others on campus who have differing views.

Figure 4: Safety and Belonging by Affiliation — All Respondents

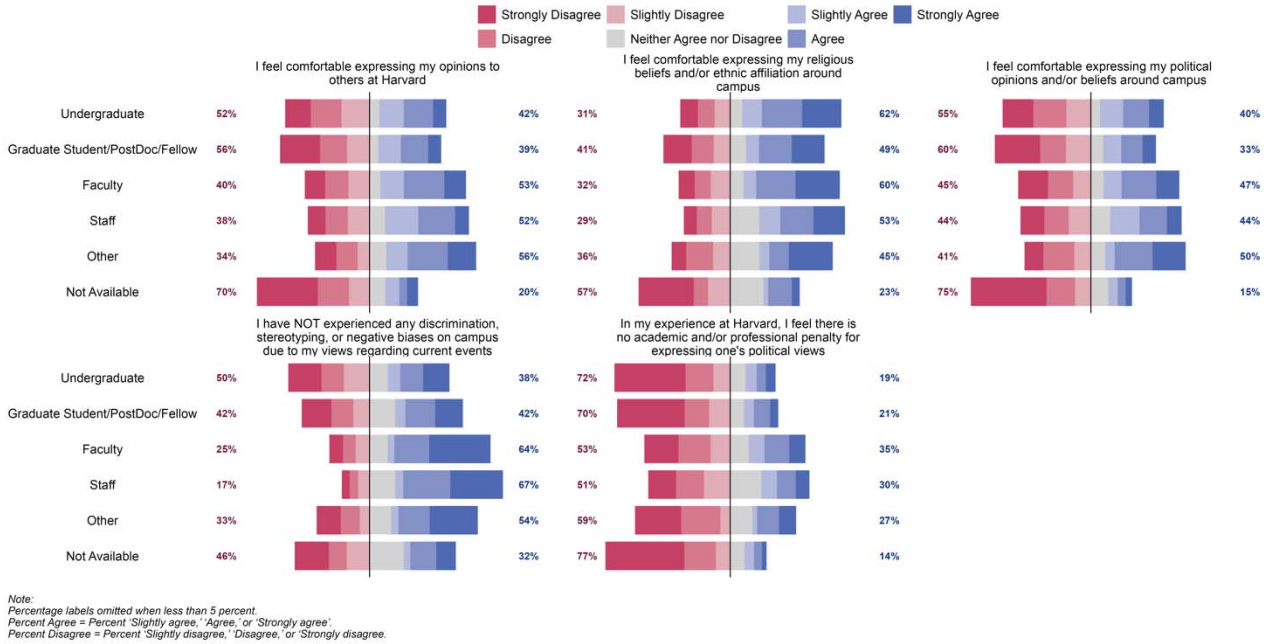


Note:
Percentage labels omitted when less than 5 percent.
Percent Agree = Percent 'Slightly agree,' 'Agree,' or 'Strongly agree'.
Percent Disagree = Percent 'Slightly disagree,' 'Disagree,' or 'Strongly disagree.

Recall from the previous section that results related to free expression contained more negative evaluations than the ones regarding safety and belonging. Here, too, undergraduate and graduate students/fellows report more negative evaluations than others at Harvard. For instance, 72% of our undergraduate students and 70% of graduate students and fellows said that there is an academic and professional penalty for expressing their political views. The majority of faculty agree with this as well (53%).

Interestingly, the one area where the difference between students and faculty/staff is less stark is comfort around expressing one's religious beliefs and ethnic identity. On this item, undergraduate student and faculty are similarly uncomfortable (31% and 32%) while graduate students and fellows are the most uncomfortable (41%).

Figure 5: Freedom of Expression by Affiliation — All Respondents



Note:
Percentage labels omitted when less than 5 percent.
Percent Agree = Percent 'Slightly agree,' 'Agree,' or 'Strongly agree'.
Percent Disagree = Percent 'Slightly disagree,' 'Disagree,' or 'Strongly disagree.

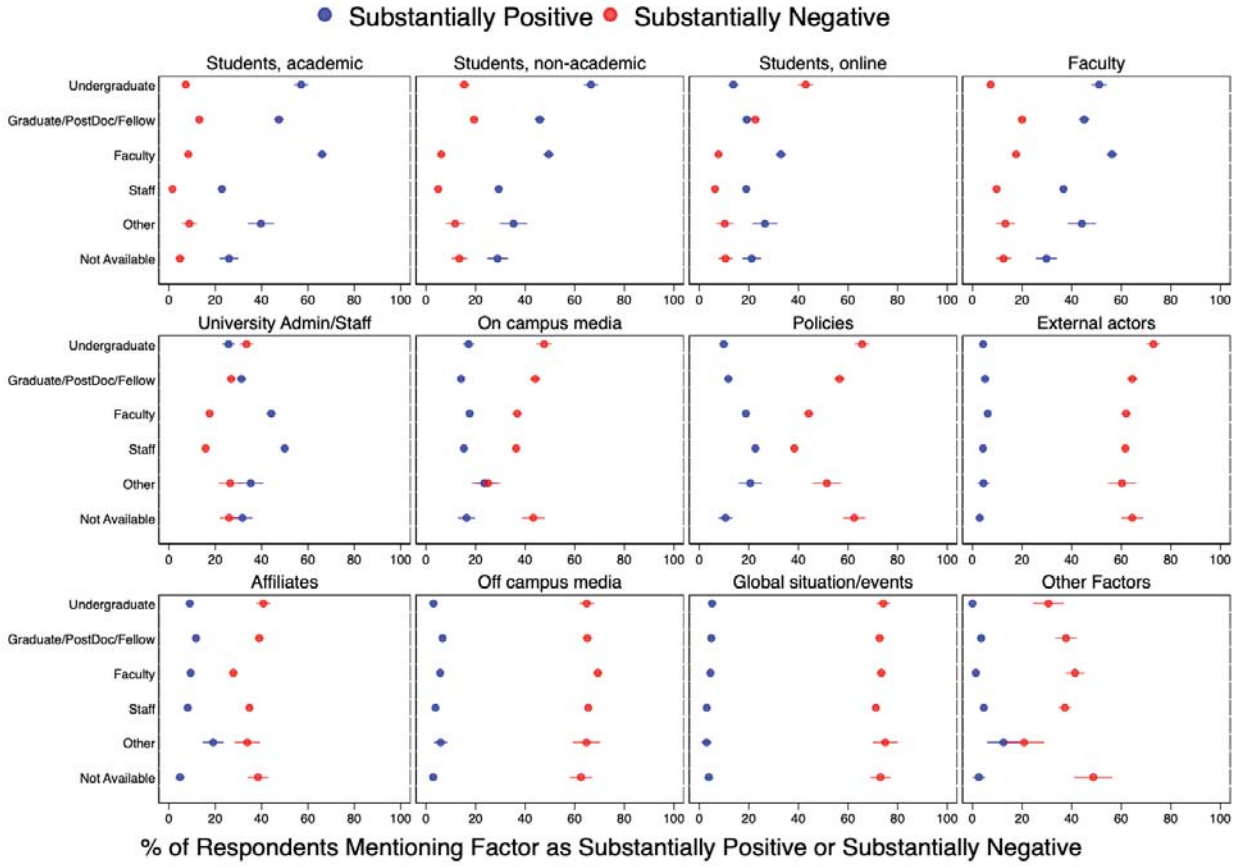
In examining the qualitative data, students talk about a range of issues. One student noted, "I have repeatedly felt physically unsafe on campus." (#649, student). Another student worries that "Having seen how Harvard has sanctioned or threatened student protestors, I no longer feel like the University has our safety at heart, nor that it does its utmost to defend academic freedom" (#876, student).

And while not everyone has expressed discrimination, students note the difficult situations others face because of their identity. As one student comments "I have not personally experienced discrimination of this sort because I fall into the majority view at my School — anti-genocide, anti-Hamas, anti-Netanyahu. I am not Jewish or Muslim, nor have I been active in the protests. However, I have had conversations with groups of my peers about taking a more active role. These conversations always acknowledge the real risks of doing so. We don't consider these to be safety risks; instead, we see how students like those at Columbia have been treated, and how our University president was forced out, and we recognize the possibility of social (and professional) censor that could derail our careers". (#487, student)

CONTRIBUTING FACTORS

The general pattern we had noted earlier was that for most factors internal to Harvard (except campus media and Harvard policies), more respondents reported them as positive. On the other hand, factors external to Harvard were widely seen as negative. As seen in the figures below, this pattern generally holds for the different Harvard affiliates. However, there are some nuances that we highlight below, again showcasing the more negative experiences for students. Students tend to report more negative and somewhat less positive roles of internal factors compared to faculty and staff. The starkest example of this is perhaps online interactions with students, which undergraduate students rate as more negative than positive (43% say it is negative while 14% say it is positive) and graduate students noting them somewhat similarly positive and negative (23% say it is negative while 19% say it is positive). In contrast to internal factors, we find less heterogeneity across Harvard affiliates with regards to factors external to Havard — all find them more negative than positive.

Figure 6: Contributing Factors by Affiliation — All Respondents



Students generally talk positively about their interactions with other students. One notes that "Working with other students is half the reason why I am here. This contributes to my sense of belonging" (#744, student). Another says that "engaging with other students in academic settings has made me feel like I can agree to disagree more, and I like learning why people think the way they do in an academic context" (#1426, student).

Students are also grateful that they have been supported by classmates. One noted that "I have had people ask me how I am doing in class and offer assistance in terms of study groups" (#965, student). Yet another respondent noted that "speaking with friends often proved to be the most fruitful way to discuss difficult themes and events." (#474, student)

But there is also a sense that students may be choosing carefully who to interact with. One student noted that "(I) was able to surround myself with people who have similar interests and do things that distracted from the political atmosphere on campus (or allowed me to talk about it in a safe space)" (#348, student).

But there are examples of negative student interactions, with one student noting that other students can be "Incredibly unfriendly and unwelcoming" and that there is a "lack of accountability in students being aggressive or offensive" (#845, student). Yet another student observes that they have had "very positive interactions with open minded people on campus, but interactions with other students has felt unproductive, and some students have acted provocatively, making me feel uncomfortable engaging in a peaceful protest. These students have had a hateful agenda and been uninterested in dialogue or common ground, just stoking anger and further disengagement across lines." (#1165, student)

The University's' policies received negative feedback from students, but for different sets of reasons. One student questioned: "Why were the protests allowed when they were in CLEAR violation of campus

policies?" (#2048, student) Another remarked that "Banning protests is a ridiculous policy. Inventing rules and secretively imposing academic sanctions to those who break them is unjust. The University has worked overtime trying to chill free speech." (#1871, student). Another student worried that "the University seemed to selectively enforce its policies, and it often generated more controversy than it was worth." (#934, student)

Even more negative is the students' views of external actors. One noted that "Outside agitators absolutely influence campus vibes and security" (#2154, student) and another that "outside media and alumni made Harvard too concerned about its reputation rather than its students" (#1412, student). Student respondents were quite attentive to external actors engaging in "doxxing." A student noted: "The doxxing trucks were an awful addition to the school campus this year, and did much harm to the student community, especially Muslim students. IT discouraged free speech and punished specific people for their political opinions. Furthermore, Harvard's inaction towards this harassment only exacerbated the situation and demonstrated Harvard's lack of care for its brown students." (#474, student) Another (#844, student) said that "I have seen many people attempt to photograph or record students, and it makes me feel less safe walking on campus, especially on the main campus."

Students noted that external individuals and media attention has been especially harmful. One student observed that "The amount of random protesters who come onto the school to yell at passerby students makes me feel uncomfortable when I'm walking to class" (#1070, student) Another wrote that it has been "incredibly stressful to have prominent figures constantly weighing in on Harvard and adding tension to difficult times on campus." (#1086, student) These concerns are well summarized by a student who remarks that "Politicians, journalists, donors, etc., all writing or talking about how terrible and violent the community at Harvard has become. This has been extremely divisive, both directly for the community, and in the way it has brought further negative media attention to us." (180, student)

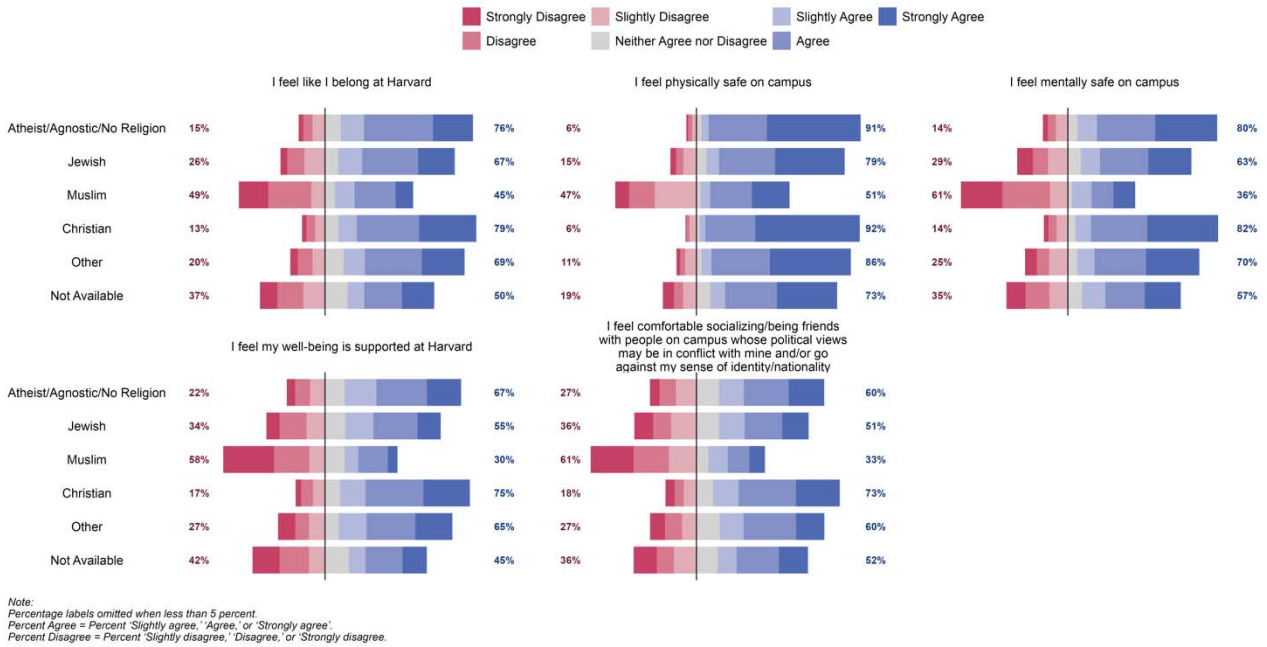
B. Heterogeneity by Religion

We now examine whether there are differences in experiences across individuals' self-declared religious identities. We combine some categories for ease of presentation. There is a nontrivial fraction of individuals who did not declare their religious identity and we separately report outcomes for them as well. The general result across all these questions is Muslims tend to report the worst outcomes, followed by Jews as well as those who chose not to report their religious affiliation.

SAFETY, BELONGING, COMFORT, AND FREE EXPRESSION

As seen in the figure below across all measures of safety and belonging we see Muslim community members report the most negative outcomes followed by Jewish community members. A common pattern seems to be Muslim respondents are four times as likely, and Jewish respondents twice as likely, to report negative sentiment compared to Christians and Atheists/Agnostic/No Religious Affiliation. The starkest comparison perhaps is physically safety where 47% of Muslim respondents report they are not physically safe on campus and 15% of Jewish respondents also feel physically unsafe relative to 6% for Christians and Atheists/Agnostic/No Religious Affiliation. The item with the highest rate of negative evaluations is the one asking if respondents feel comfortable socializing on campus with people with conflicting political views: 61% of Muslim respondents, 36% of Jewish respondents, 27% of Atheist/Agnostic/No Religious Affiliation respondents, and 18% of Christian respondents said they are not comfortable doing so.

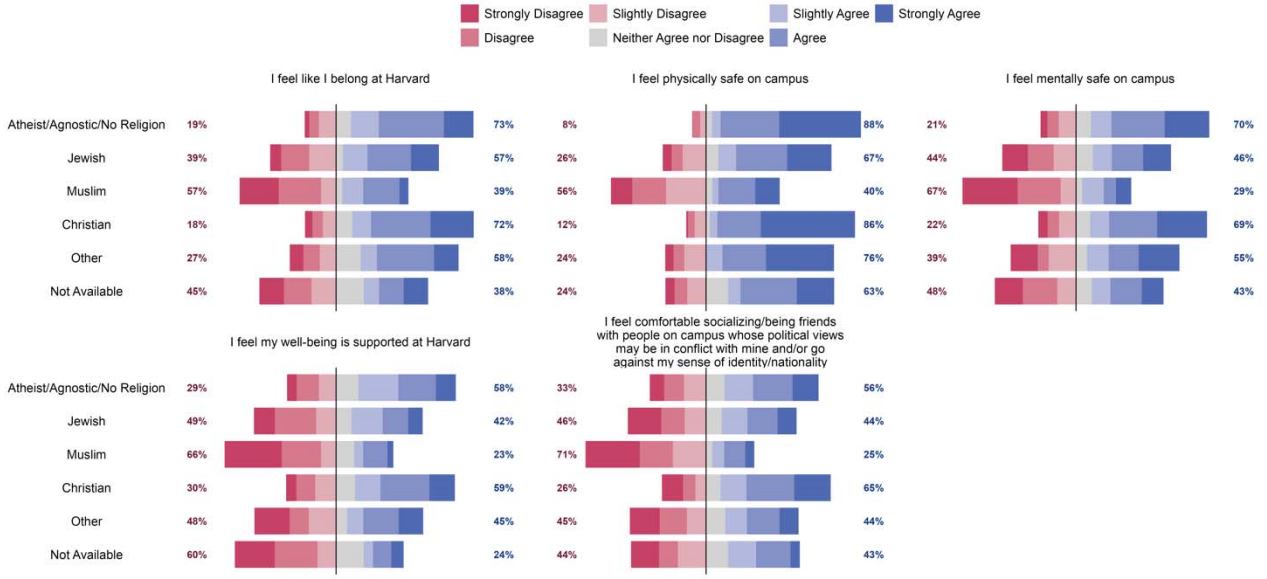
Figure 7: Safety and Belonging by Religion — All Respondents



Note:
Percentage labels omitted when less than 5 percent.
Percent Agree = Percent 'Slightly agree,' 'Agree,' or 'Strongly agree'.
Percent Disagree = Percent 'Slightly disagree,' 'Disagree,' or 'Strongly disagree.

Given our previous results that students tend to report worse outcomes, we felt it was instructive to show the religious heterogeneity for students (undergraduate student and graduates/fellows) only to see if the patterns change. Among student respondents, Muslims have the most negative evaluations followed by Jews though the ratios are somewhat less stark. Jewish students are roughly twice as likely as Christian students to report negative evaluations, while Muslim students are around 3 times more likely to do so as Christian students.

Figure 8: Safety and Belonging by Religion — Only Students



Note:
Percentage labels omitted when less than 5 percent.
Percent Agree = Percent 'Slightly agree,' 'Agree,' or 'Strongly agree'.
Percent Disagree = Percent 'Slightly disagree,' 'Disagree,' or 'Strongly disagree.

Muslim and Jewish respondents offered many details about their sense of safety and belonging on campus. Beginning with Muslim respondents, several commented about the discrimination they face even though they take no political positions. Respondents encountered hostility if they present as Muslim, wear a hijab, or have a Muslim surname. One wrote (#89, student), "My peers who have lost their jobs simply for being in the leadership of Muslim faith organizations have been left out to dry once they had their offers revoked. Most of them never signed anything or participated in any activism." Another (#649, student) wrote, "Between October and December at the peak of the tension, I took Ubers at night to go from campus to home and would not use public transportation or walk at night alone for fear of my safety due to my Arab-looking and Muslim identity." Another (#1486, student): "As a Muslim woman who wears hijab, I have faced violent verbal and mental abuse across campus. I have been spat on, yelled at, and harassed in multiple places on campus."

For Muslim respondents who expressed solidarity with Palestinians, they found it was difficult to figure out how to express their political views without being accused of antisemitism. As one respondent (#38, staff) put it, "I avoid bringing up support for Palestine with anyone I don't know well as I'm worried about being labeled antisemitic. I fear this would negatively impact my career/promotion opportunities." Another (#162, student): "I often self-censor in fear that my opinion be misinterpreted or misunderstood and that I would be labeled antisemitic." Another (#505, student): "My hesitancy to speak up about my political beliefs lies in the fact that I feel as if being pro-Palestinian is automatically viewed as being antisemitic. For example, wearing a kefiyyeh, an indicator of Palestinian solidarity, may be considered antisemitic simply because of its affiliation with the pro-Palestinian cause. As a result, I do not and never plan to wear a kefiyyeh on campus. The ambiguity between what is considered antisemitic and what is considered rightfully pro-Palestine is what frustrates me most of all." Another (#1003, staff): "I don't wear the keffiyeh because I feel like I will be targeted. I already wear a hijab and have faced verbal abuse just because of that before. The definition of `antisemitism' has been stretched beyond belief (to people who simply want a ceasefire) and that is detrimental to Jewish people who are actually facing antisemitism."

Finally, some respondents felt that the chasm between sides in this conflict were too deep to allow for civic discourse. As one student (#901, student) wrote, "Why would I ever feel a sense of belonging here? I would rather be dead in Gaza than feel comfortable conversing with the people who defend a genocide that has murdered 10 of my family friends."

Muslim respondents noted multiple forms of racism they experience. One (#1863, student) said "There are, of course, the everyday instances of racism—a professor questioning my English (my native language!) in a way they would never question that of a White student, a lecturer playing an unprompted guessing game as to my family's country of origin, a student dismissively attributing my opinion to my religion in a seminar, an administrator telling us to be "grateful" when we challenged the bestowal of a University award upon an apologist for genocide, a fellowship interviewer indicating that my interests were too informed by my Muslimness and asking me what I would study if I weren't Muslim, an administrator calling the henna design from my culture ugly, my research constantly being mischaracterized by my department and beyond because work on Arabs and Muslims can't possibly be considered "theory," a *Crimson* reporter incorrectly reporting on an event I held and thus landing it (with my name and photo) on a right-wing website, my first-year adviser (who was also a senior administrator) recurringly confusing me with another female Muslim student three years my senior. Examples like these are endless."

Several Muslim respondents recognize antisemitism is real but is not zero sum with Islamophobia. As one wrote (#1210, student), "While I acknowledge Antisemitism is indeed an issue, this attitude should not project into believing that Islamophobia is lesser of an issue."

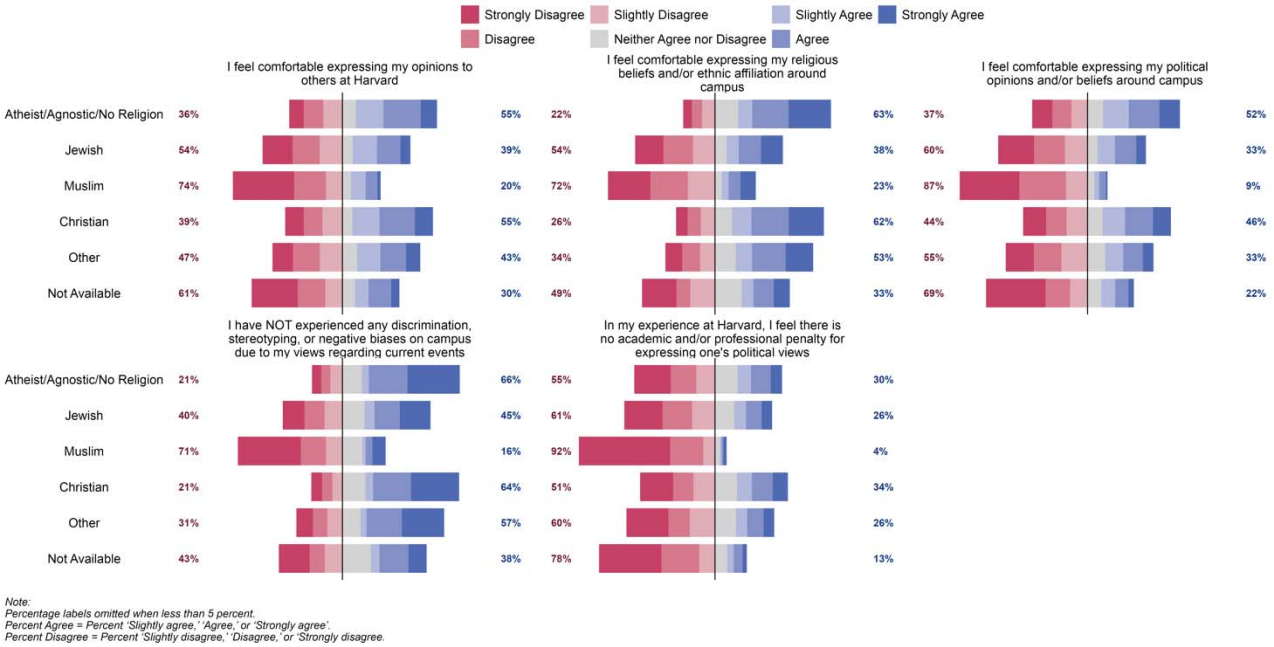
Among Jewish respondents, several themes emerged in the open-ended responses. The first is that a number of Jewish students felt targeted based on their Jewish identity. As one wrote (#361, student): "I've never

experienced antisemitism as profound and pervasive as it has been at Harvard. I left campus before the end of the semester to move back home due to the detrimental effects on my productivity and well-being. I've been stalked across Harvard Yard by students whose faces were completely covered by keffiyehs, I've been screamed at while attending outdoor, on campus events held by Harvard Chabad, and have encountered more swastikas and classic antisemitic canards than I did growing up in the Bible Belt." Another (#1251, fellow): "I hesitate to wear any visible symbols of my Jewish faith or to express support for Israel, due to potential negative reactions, or being perceived as wanting to inflame tensions." Another (#997, student): "I was in a class and had said that I spoke Hebrew. Right afterwards, someone pretended to stretch in order to punch me in the face. Although the professor saw it, she said nothing to the student. I also do not feel comfortable expressing my views even in the field that I study for fear that I will not receive funding or good letters of recommendation. I do not feel physically or intellectually safe at Harvard."

Jewish respondents reported that they pay social penalties for expressing support for Israel. As one said (#286, student): "As a Jewish student, I have been told that certain people (particularly the ones in the encampments) hate me for being pro-Israel. I have lost friendships because of it as well." Another (#118, student): "When I walk around campus, I do not fear for my physical safety. But I feel socially isolated. At times, I tried to have conversations with students whom I knew had different views, but this often did not go well. Even though I have not engaged in any counter-protests (or said anything publicly about the conflict), the students at the encampment refused to speak to me because, as one said, "I'm a Palestinian-hating Zionist." Maybe it was the fact that I wear a kippah that led them to believe that?" Another (#1273, staff): "I cannot express my opinions (two state solution and peace) as I know I would face backlash professionally and socially. It is almost like Jews have to pass a purity test to be 'a good jew' in order to be accepted." Another (#82, student): "I have felt totally alienated and alone on campus- anyone who was friendly to me before October 7th has gone to at best, ignoring me, or at worst saying awful comments to me about how `no Israeli is a civilian including babies who will grow up to be in the IDF' and that they want to scare all Zionists away from Harvard." Another (#1224, student): "The 'cancel' culture rules this campus. If you are not progressive, you should know that expressing your opinion == someone will cancel you and some doors will be closed for you, etc."

On measures of free expression (Figure 9), we see Muslim community members report the most disagreement with the items followed by Jewish community members. A common pattern seems to be Jewish members are twice as likely to disagree with the survey items compared to Christians and Atheists/Agnostic/No Religious Affiliation, while Muslim members are one-and-a-half more likely to report negative outcomes than Jewish members. Almost all (92%) of Muslim respondents, 61% of Jewish, 55% of Atheist/Agnostic/No Religious Affiliation, and 51% of Christian respondents say there is an academic or professional penalty for expressing political views. Another stark comparison is experiencing discrimination based on one's views: 71% of Muslim respondents report they experienced discrimination, bias, or negative stereotyping along with 40% of Jewish respondents and 21% of Christians and Atheists/Agnostic/No Religious Affiliation respondents.

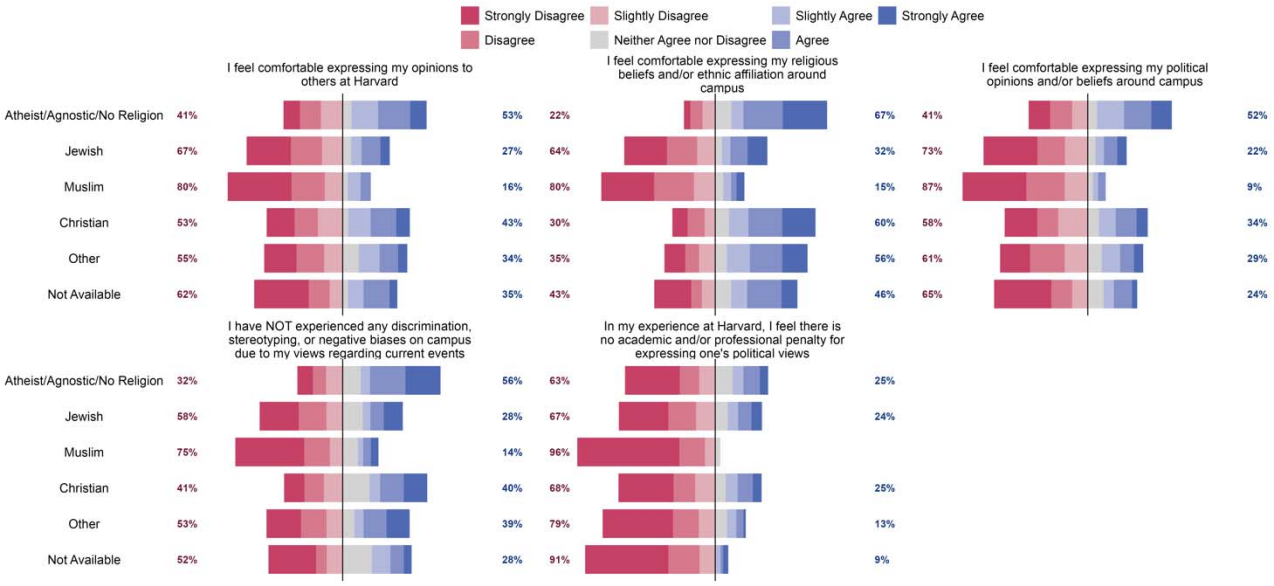
Figure 9: Freedom of Expression by Religion — All Respondents



Note:
Percentage labels omitted when less than 5 percent.
Percent Agree = Percent 'Slightly agree,' 'Agree,' or 'Strongly agree'.
Percent Disagree = Percent 'Slightly disagree,' 'Disagree,' or 'Strongly disagree.

As before, we also show the above results restricted to students and see the same patterns as previously — the ordering remains the same though the ratio of differences is reduced. For example, around two-thirds of students regardless of religious affiliation perceive academic and professional penalties from expressing their political views, though here too Muslim students are more likely to offer negative evaluations (96% negative).

Figure 10: Freedom of Expression by Religion — Only Students



Note:
Percentage labels omitted when less than 5 percent.
Percent Agree = Percent 'Slightly agree,' 'Agree,' or 'Strongly agree'.
Percent Disagree = Percent 'Slightly disagree,' 'Disagree,' or 'Strongly disagree.

Muslim respondents also reported they paid penalties for expressing support for Palestinians. One respondent said that a potential donor for a research project decided not to support the research after learning that the respondent signed a letter supportive of a ceasefire. Another wrote (#121, staff), "I have felt that my professional relationship with the leader of my organization at Harvard has deteriorated after she sensed my support for Palestinian freedom. For example, this leader started leaving me off emails and invites for teams that I have long been a part of."

Respondents who expressed support for the Palestinian cause felt harassed. For instance, one wrote (#412, student), "I myself have heard slurs and insults such as `terrorist', `baby-killer', `towelhead', and `antisemite' … because of my decision to wear a keffiyeh and show my solidarity with a people experiencing the worst crime known to humanity." One respondent (#302, faculty) wrote about how they were surveilled after being publicly supportive of Palestinians: "My boss has told me my colleagues are complaining to him that my social media posts are offensive. This is all because I am posting about Palestine. HR has found my posts compliant but it hasn't stopped them from surveilling me. My boss has refused to tell me what exactly was offensive or offered to facilitate a conversation with those who have been offended."

Muslim respondents perceived double standards in how the University responded to events on campus. As one wrote (#89, student), "If there were antisemitic trucks driving around campus and planes flying over with antisemitic slogans, I cannot help but believe Harvard would have done more to stop it." Another student (#314, student): "An antisemitic cartoon gets a University wide email from a president but doxxing, physical violence and a list of other crimes does not." Another student (#1966, student): "I have never before felt more disappointed and embarrassed to be a Harvard student. I find it appalling that Harvard can show empathy to other groups of oppressed people but does not extend that same responsibility to Palestinians."

Several Jewish students felt uncomfortable around the pro-Palestine protests. As one explained (#861, student), "For almost eight months Jews living in the Yard have been yelled at, or around them, things like 'globalize intifada'. I experienced the second intifada in Israel, in which suicide bombers kept blowing up in civilians centers, busses, coffee shops, night clubs — murdering over a thousand children, elderly, just people. Having that chanted daily without any repercussion, recourse, or help from the University has been a complete failure of the University to protect one of its smallest minority groups."

A common refrain from Jewish respondents was that there was a lack of nuance on campus, and Jewish students had difficulty taking a middle position on the conflict. One wrote (#383, student), "The abject canceling, dehumanization, and unwillingness to even engage with anyone who even slightly questions small aspects of the groupthink mentality has unfortunately characterized my final year at Harvard." Another (#570, student): "I am in my first year of grad school and I am afraid to meet new people (including both students and faculty) because they may very well think I am a monster for being a Jew and a Zionist (I believe that the State of Israel has a right to exist and is the homeland of the Jewish people. I also believe there should be a Palestinian state)." Another (#1650, faculty): "I think that the polarization has eliminated discussion of moderate liberal views on many issues — e.g., despite a two-state solution being the only viable path, it is hard to bring up in the current climate."

A number of Jewish respondents are supportive of Palestinian rights, anti-Zionist, and/or advocates of a ceasefire in the region. These respondents felt uncomfortable and upset as well. As one said (#46, faculty), "As a Jewish faculty member without the protections of tenure, I am afraid of publicly expressing my support for a ceasefire or Palestinian human rights. I was afraid to be even seen walking near the encampment lest someone doxx me and try to get me fired." Another (#1014, student): "As an anti-Zionist, pro-Palestinian Jewish student at Harvard, I have been targeted and harassed by Harvard students and faculty for my political views. At the same time, my Jewish identity is totally ignored by the Zionist

individuals telling me I am `pro-Hamas.' If my Jewish identity is addressed, I have been told I am antisemitic, not a real Jew, or a `kapo.'" Another (#486, student): "I am a Jewish student who holds pro-Palestinian and anti-Zionist views. I do not feel unsafe at all as a Jewish student at Harvard, but I do feel unsafe publicly demonstrating those political beliefs at Harvard although I think that my being Jewish makes me more comfortable voicing those beliefs than if I wasn't. However, I think that there is still a considerable effort to target Jews who stand up for Palestine, and I think Harvard should take steps such as recognizing Harvard Jews for Peace to protect us."

When asked if the 2023-24 school year was worse than prior years, Muslim and Jewish respondents had many reflections about the Israel/Hamas war and its effects on campus.

A student (#61, student) wrote, "Muslim students were almost constantly subjected to both internal and external persecution regardless of whether or not they had actually said anything about the conflict, and administration never provided support the way it has shown support for Jewish students." Muslim respondents specifically mentioned doxxing (i.e., publicizing names and faces of individual student activists and leaders) as a source of their negative feelings on the year.

Jewish respondents perceive a double-standard against them as well. As one student (#2136, student) wrote, "I lost faith that my classmates would treat me and my beliefs and opinions with respect. I felt isolated and threatened by chants that protesters claimed were made with good intent. However, while we broadly condemn microaggressions not for their intention but for their impact, we seem to not care at all about the impact of the chants that echo around campus."

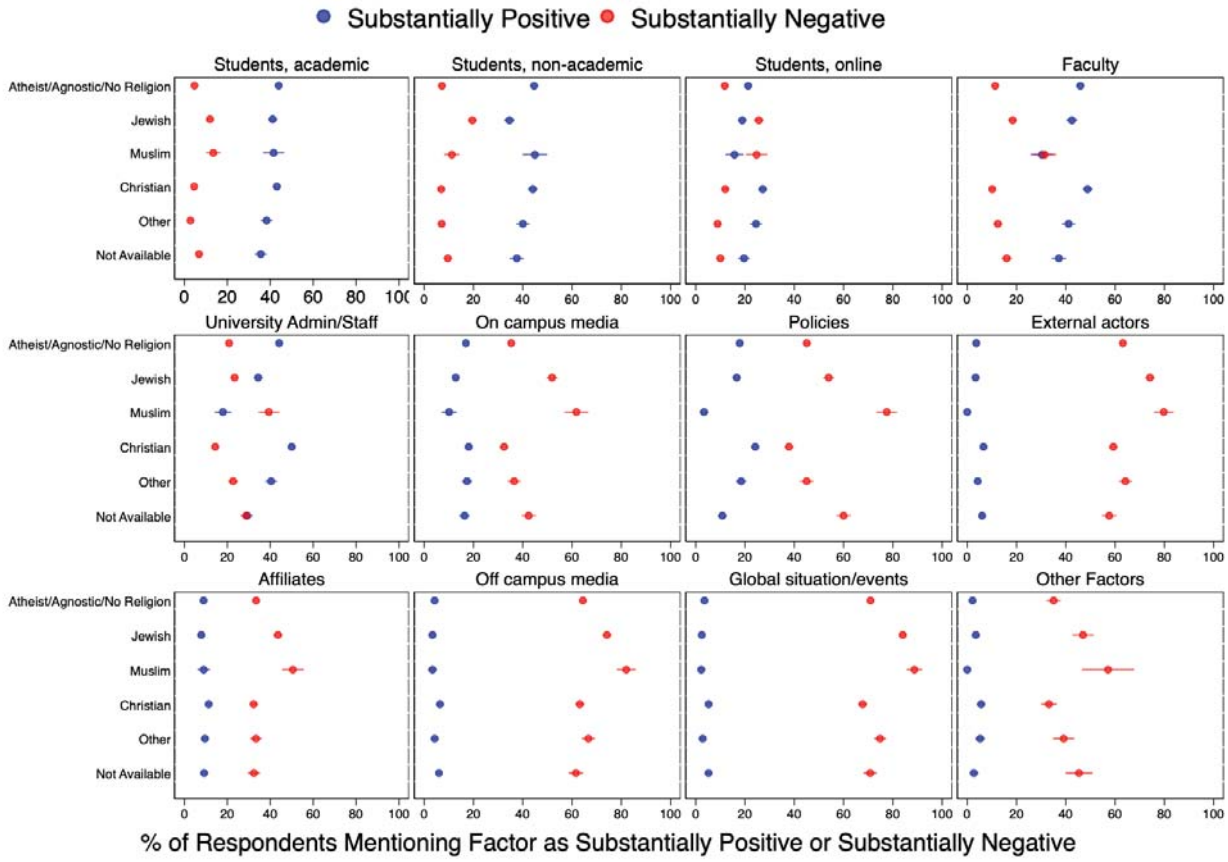
Jewish respondents largely said the year was worse than prior because they feel unwelcome. As one wrote (#95, student), "The barrage of antisemitic hate speech and protests outside of Harvard regulations (e.g. encampment) is nonstop and unrelenting. I feel completely unwelcome and out of place at Harvard now." Another wrote (#361, student), "Literally have been stalked across Harvard Yard by protestors while walking my dog, had "Heil Hitler" yelled at me twice while waiting for the M2, lost most of my non-Jewish friends and acquaintances on campus after posting about antisemitism I've been experiencing (nothing about Israel or politics). I've never felt less safe on a campus than I did this past year at Harvard."

Jewish respondents who were supportive of pro-Palestine protests also voiced dismay about being vilified for their views and the "consequences for standing up against genocide."

CONTRIBUTING FACTORS

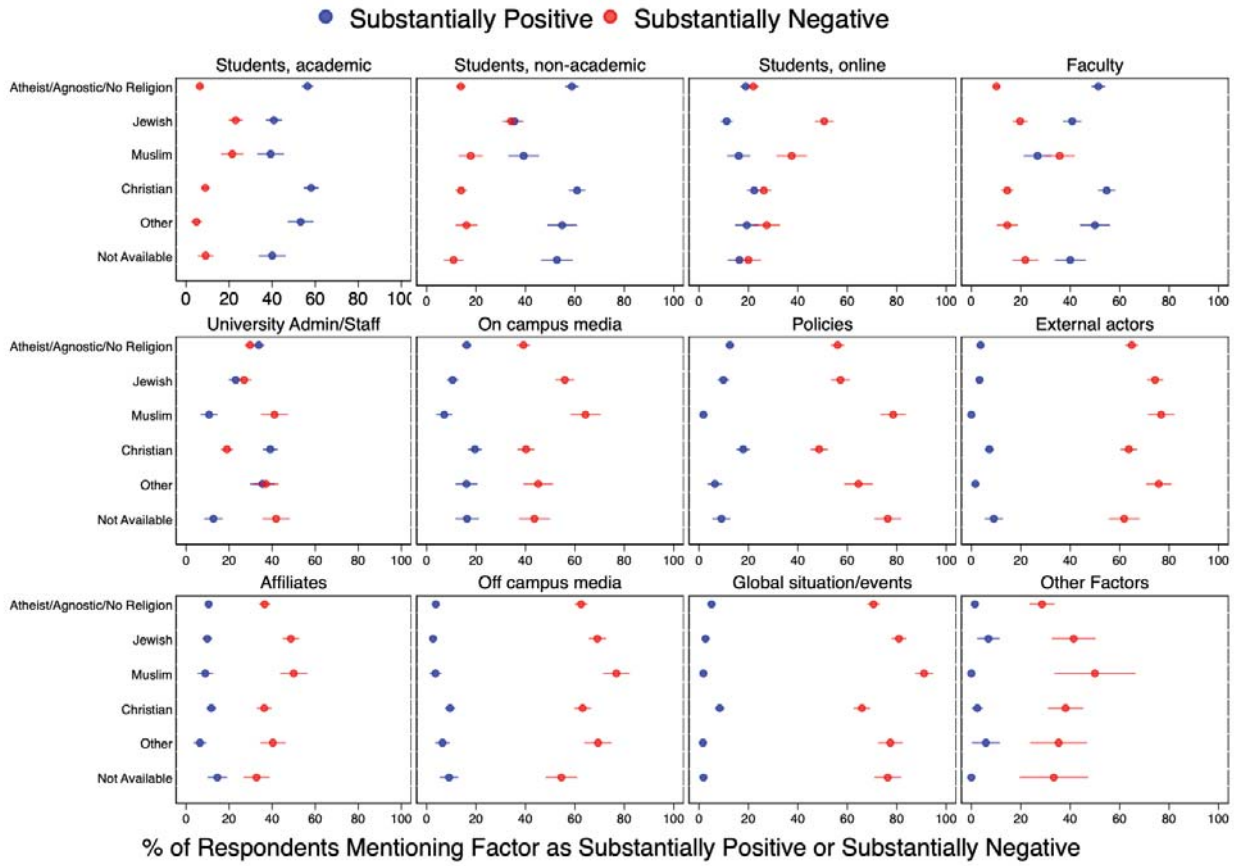
When examining factors that are contributing to the community's experiences, we tend to see similar patterns across the different religious groups as we saw previously. The few noteworthy effects may be that Jewish community members (especially students — see the subsequent figure) find non-academic interactions with students to be more negative than other religious groups, and Muslim respondents (especially students) are less happy with faculty and staff interactions, on-campus media, Harvard polices and several of the external factors.

Figure 11: Contributing Factors by Religion — All Respondents



The graph below presents the results but restricting to students only. The results mostly accentuate those presented above. Student online interactions with other students is now factor that is more negative than positive, especially for Muslim and Jewish students. For Jewish students, in-person non-academic interactions with fellow students is viewed equally negatively as positively.

Figure 12: Contributing Factors by Religion — Only Students



When asked to describe the positive and negative factors that contribute to their sense of belonging at Harvard, Muslim and Jewish respondents echoed similar themes as previously reported. With respect to their experience with other students, Muslim students citing positive stories wrote responses like that they "appreciated getting to know students by visiting encampments (#55, faculty)" and "Harvard students are, as a whole, immensely capable of nuanced interactions and curiosity — in a structured environment, they are willing to learn and discuss difficult ideas (#104, staff)". One respondent wrote (#302, faculty), "Working with students who have been bravely speaking up for justice in Palestine have been an inspiration. I respect them. I learn from them. I appreciate them." A student recounted a story of a dialogue that happened at an event (#1511, faculty): "Even when I was at an event discussing the dismal public health situation in the Occupied Palestinian territories and one of the other attendees called Arabs animals unwilling to make peace, I approached them after class to refute those general claims. We ended up having over an hour-long conversation and exchanged book recommendations and hugs."

Some Jewish respondents had similar positive experiences with other students, writing notes such as, "I have enjoyed lots of peaceful and productive academic discourse in my classes and sections (#349, student)" and that they appreciated "students open to listening and providing different perspectives in a respectful manner. (#1977, student)"

Muslim and Jewish respondents both also wrote about the negative experiences they have had with their peers. Among Muslim respondents, we saw messages such as this (#302, faculty): "I have been dismissed and silenced for speaking out about Palestine. Reactions from my peers have been shocking. Many have stopped speaking to me. Some (not sure how many) have made complaints about me." Another (#1028, student): "Blatant racism was expressed by a small minority of students in my cohort, but massively soured

my entire experience. I spent every Monday of the Fall dreading attending or speaking in class lest I be doxxed by my classmate who sent us emails she received from reporters asking for the names and contact information of Arab/Muslims students who were suspected to be pro-Palestine." Another (#1614, student): "In the days and weeks following October 7th, I noticed several Zionist classmates of mine checking my LinkedIn profile, when they had never looked at it before. This was clearly, to me, an attempt to dox me for any membership in organizations they deemed to be critical of Israel."

For Jewish students, many them pointed to the toxic student environment they witnessed on the social media platform, Sidechat. As one says (#30, student), "Have you seen sidechat? The amount of antisemitism there is unlike anything I've seen before." Another (#35, student): "Sidechat — people say horrible things. Antisemitic, antizionist, just plain hurtful about other students." Jewish students also experienced negative interactions with fellow students in class. As one wrote (#1305, student), "Students in my program make racist and discriminatory jokes about Jews and Christians. It is almost even worse outside of the school environment."

Some Muslim and Jewish students praised interactions with faculty for being kind and supportive. But others had negative comments about faculty. Muslim students wrote responses such as this (#926, student): "Certain members of Harvard faculty feel comfortable calling students `terrorist sympathizers' and are then somehow expected to maintain professional boundaries." Another (#55, faculty): "It has been hard to interact with faculty who are silent on the genocide and our complicity in it, or even worst, justify it." Another (#1146, student): "Harvard faculty have expressed outrageous and dangerous opinions that show clear anti-Arab and anti-Muslim bias." A Jewish respondent (#996, student) wrote that faculty contributed negatively because they showed "no empathy for the effects of October 7th on Jewish students." Another student noted (#1800, student): "My comments in class are always judged through the lens of `the Israeli is speaking'. Also, there have been many cases of anti-Israeli and anti-Jewish bigotry in classroom settings, mostly dismissed by the Professors in a way that would never fly for any other minority group.

Respondents have more lopsidedly negative comments about the Harvard administration and its policies. One Muslim respondent (#1467, student): "Harvard has abdicated any responsibility it has towards its students to conservative donors who now get to even dictate who receives a Harvard degree and who does not. There are no Harvard policies to protect Arab and Muslim students and other students of color." Another (#1749, faculty): "I am deeply disappointed in Harvard's treatment of its students. I'm appalled that the Board was able to interfere in the graduation of students who earned their degrees. I am not annoyed, I am appalled." Another (#121, staff): "I believe Harvard was creating rules and applying rules to stifle the pro-Palestine voice on campus."

Many of the negative comments about the administration and policies point to the influence of donors. Said one respondent (#121, staff), "I believe the pressure of Harvard's donors has reduced Harvard's academic freedom." Another (#1003, staff): "I think Harvard as an institution has really distanced itself as a rigorous, academic institution and has degraded itself in the eyes of the public. Personally, I will be quitting. The environment on campus has just been so toxic and I can't contribute to a university that values money and Zionism over education and its own students." Another (#1003, staff): "Big money donors. The sway they have on administration is shocking."

A Muslim student (#1486, student) pointed to double standards in enforcement of rules: "These policies were not harshly enacted in previous protests like the Occupy movement, but all of a sudden when they protest Israel the policies are used to crack down on Black and Brown students."

A Jewish student (#95, student) thought double standards cut the other way: "Harvard policies are a joke because they are enforced with a massive double standard. If protesters wore KKK regalia and chanted slogans offensive to large numbers of Black students, I doubt they would have been allowed to camp out in

Harvard yard for three weeks and escaped any disciplinary consequences." Another Jewish student (#383, student) wrote: "Hate speech apparently tolerated."

The role of outside actors was a negative contribution for many Muslim and Jewish students. Here are a couple of Muslim respondents: "Doxxing trucks! Airplane banners at Commencement! Zionist CEOs shouldn't be calling for the resignation and expulsion of children and students (#982, staff)." Another: "Doxxing, getting students fired, sending doxxing trucks to their homes, signed letter after signed letter calling Muslim students pedophiles and child-be-headers, etc (#1028, student)."

On the matter of outside actors, Jewish students had similar responses to Muslim students. "People who are not on campus and not actually experiencing what was happening presumed they knew what was happening on campus and injected themselves into campus life in inappropriate and detrimental ways. It made the environment on campus far worse (#742, student)." Another Jewish student: "The Zionists that drove around trucks with images of students labeling them as antisemitic were horrible (#1076, student)."

Finally, and not surprisingly, the war in Israel and Gaza itself was a major source of pain for many Muslim and Jewish respondents. As one Muslim respondent put it, "Forced famine. War crimes. Genocide. International organizations and the world's highest courts have been spoken. It's a very dark time in history. We are in a country and an institution that is not only denying these atrocities, we are actively supporting them (#302, faculty)." Another: "I felt like weeping or did weep pretty much ever day the past 8 months on campus and my pain was never once acknowledged by my teachers, administrators, or University leadership (#1614, student)." Another: "I don't like my family being murdered, held hostage, and then blamed for defending themselves (#30, student)."

A Jewish student noted that the pain is felt by everyone: "The ongoing war in Gaza is a disaster for all parties involved. Seeing the suffering of Palestinian noncombatants and Israel's existential security threats makes me feel sad and helpless (#95, student)."

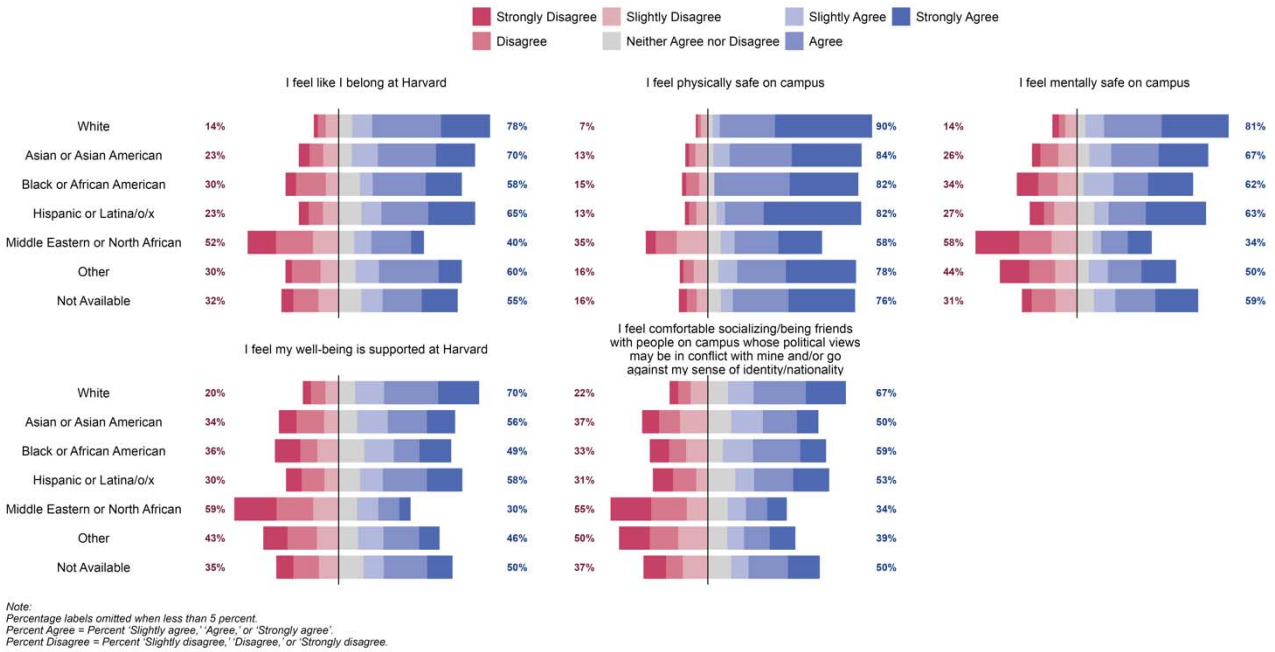
C. Heterogeneity by Race

We now examine whether there are differences in experiences across individuals' self-declared racial identities. We combine some categories for ease of presentation. The general result across all these questions is MENA community members tend to report the most negative evaluations, followed by Black, and then Asian and Hispanics, with Whites reporting the most positive evaluations.

SAFETY, BELONGING, COMFORT, AND FREE EXPRESSION

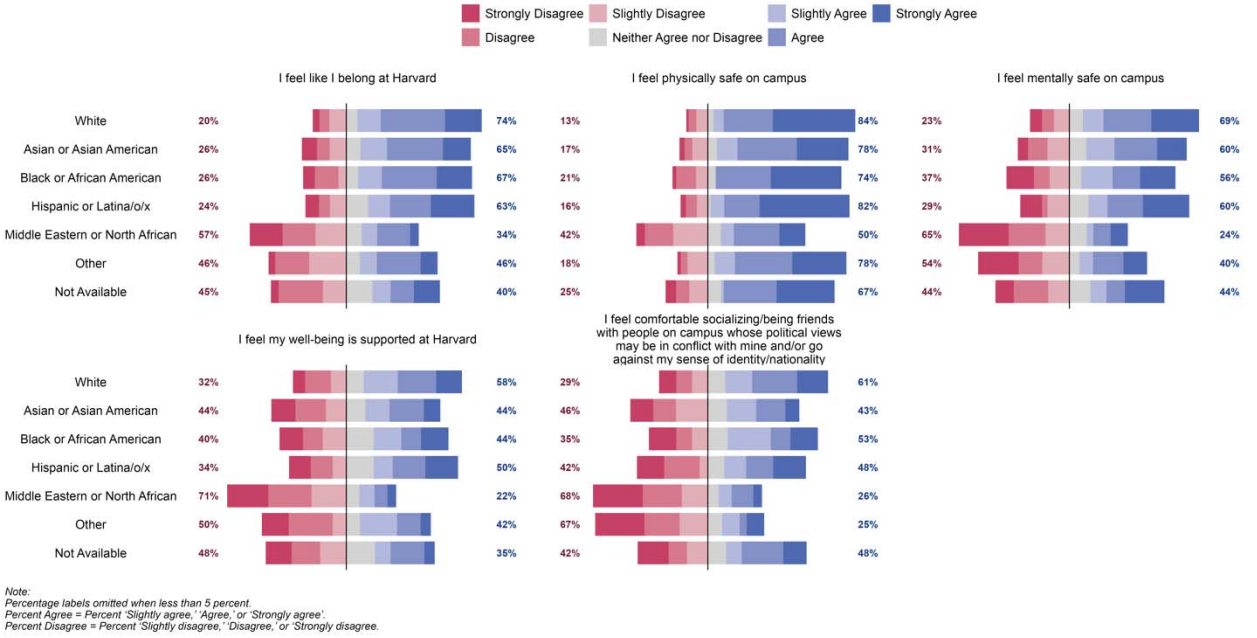
Across all the safety and belonging questions respondents who identify as Middle Eastern or North African (MENA) reported the most negative outcomes — 52% of them feel they do not belong at Harvard, 35% and 58% respectively do not feel physically and mentally safe on campus, 59% feel Harvard does not support their well-being, and 55% do not feel comfortable socially with others who hold differing views. MENA identifiers were almost twice as likely to offer negative evaluations as the next group articulating negative experiences — Black or African American students. Hispanic and Asian community members reported slightly more positive experiences than Black community members, and while mental safety is a similar issue for Hispanics as it is for Asians (27% feel mentally unsafe versus 26% for Asians), Asians reported their well-being is slightly less supported (34% versus 30% for Hispanics) and they are less comfortable socializing with others with differing views (37%) than Blacks (33%) and Hispanics (31%).

Figure 13: Safety and Belonging by Race — All Respondents



The next figure restricts the responses only to student respondents, where negative evaluations are especially common. Close to three-quarters of students who self-identify as MENA reported they do not feel mentally safe on campus or feel their well-being is supported by Harvard. Black students are typically the next group most likely to have negative experiences — especially in the case of physical safety (21% of Black students report feeling physically unsafe versus 17% for Asian and 16% for Hispanic students). On other items, such as those measuring comfort in socializing with those who hold differing views, Asian and Hispanic students are more likely to respond negatively than Black students.

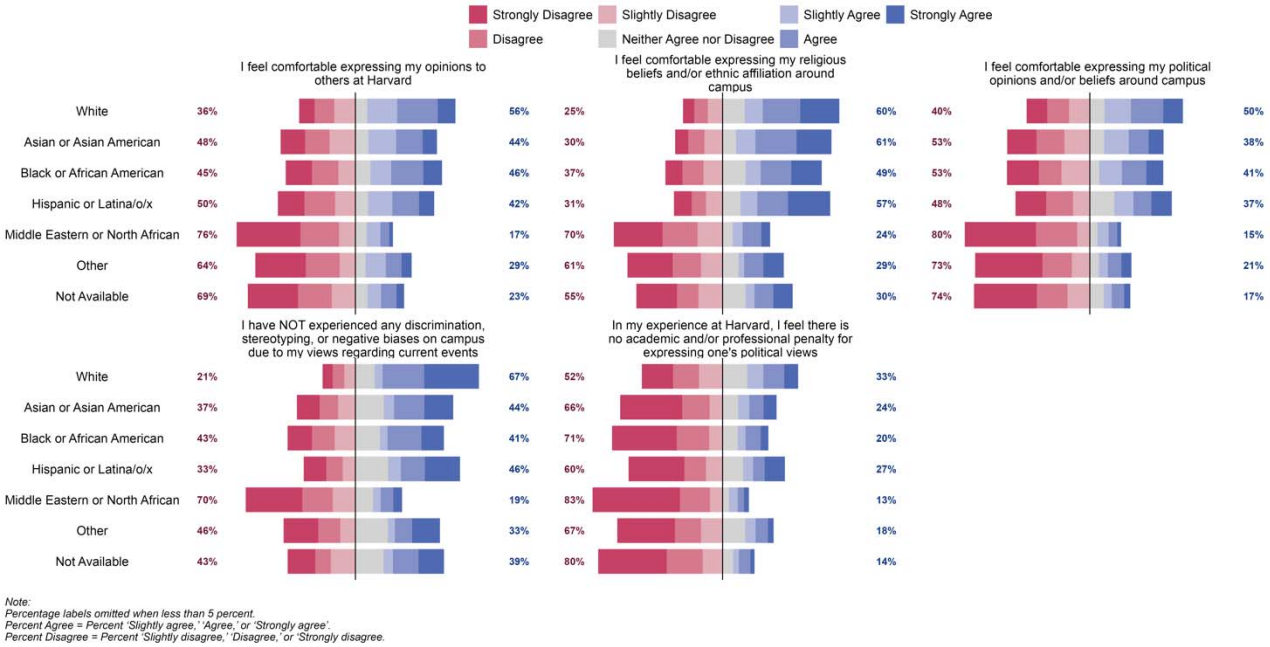
Figure 14: Safety and Belonging by Race — Only Students



As

As the figure below shows, we again find the MENA community members reported the highest levels of concerns in being able to express their opinions. About four-fifths of the MENA respondents reported not being comfortable expressing their views, experiencing discrimination and facing professional and academic penalties for expressing their political views. While Black community members are typically the group next most likely to report negative experiences, in this case Asian and Hispanic community members are also close, and even White respondents report fairly high levels of discomfort expressing their views (25 to 40%), facing discrimination (21%), and facing academic or professional penalties (52%) when they do so.

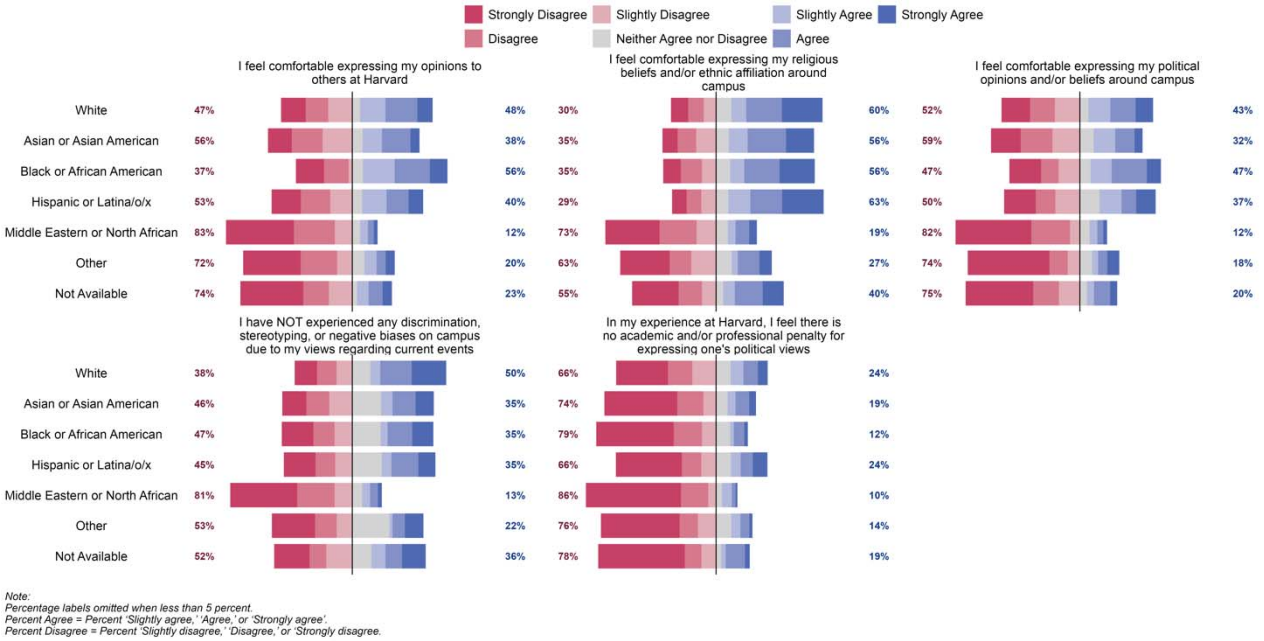
Figure 15: Freedom of Expression by Race — All Respondents



Note:
Percentage labels omitted when less than 5 percent.
Percent Agree = Percent 'Slightly agree,' 'Agree,' or 'Strongly agree'.
Percent Disagree = Percent 'Slightly disagree,' 'Disagree,' or 'Strongly disagree.

Restricting to students (Figure 16) shows similar patterns with generally more negative evaluations on all the questions. As one example — even for White respondents, close to two-thirds reported there is an academic/professional penalty for expressing their political views; the corresponding number is 86% for MENA students.

Figure 16: Freedom of Expression by Race — Only Students



We now explore the open-ended responses by race focusing first on MENA given it is a large outlier. While there is overlap with our examination of religion — with a third of MENA respondents being Muslim and a quarter being Jewish — a reasonable fraction includes Christian, atheist, and others. And while the respondent numbers are not large enough to readily separate by national identity, the Israeli and Palestinian experiences seem especially distinct.

A MENA student notes that "Harvard, like most if not all American universities, is a place where the appearance of difference is tolerated, even welcome, but the reality of difference and the expression of difference is not. Diversity is skin-deep here — diversity of color, appearance, and identity markers is encouraged, but difference of opinion and worldview is suppressed in countless ways. This extends to all realms of thought." (#289, student) A faculty member noted that "As an Arab American who is committed to human rights for everyone, I have isolated and ostracized in the workplace and been silenced and threatened for speaking out." (#302, faculty) Another MENA faculty member reported, "In general, being Arab is hard — people just make a lot of assumptions about you, and you feel professional repercussions. Harvard has never made this easier, and in fact, in the past tried to limit discourse about being Arab or Palestinian. It feels like it has gotten worse this year." (#49, faculty). A staff member notes that "I fear sharing my Arab identity for fear of reprisal" (#1632, staff).

Jewish Israelis reported difficulty navigating campus tensions. As one said (#1174, student): "While I respect other students' privilege and right to make their voice heard and fully believe that Israel's actions deserve criticism, I have felt that a growing portion of the student body increasingly feels that the state where my entire family has lived for generations does not deserve to exist, and that my very existence as an Israeli Jew marks me in some way as morally in the wrong." Another (#44, student): "I have had professors who have found out that I'm Israeli (without even knowing my political beliefs themselves) treat me completely differently in and out of class after they find out. One professor literally cut me off from speaking in the middle of response I was giving in class and asked if anyone else wanted to speak instead of me." Another (#6, postdoc): "I'm Israeli and while I am appalled by the situation in Gaza, I support the

existence of the State of Israel where my family and friends live. This has somehow become a controversial opinion which I cannot state anywhere for the fear of being cancelled."

This is echoed by the Palestinian experience as well. A student noted that "Harvard has made it quite clear that as a Palestinian-American student, I am not welcome here. As someone who started at Harvard in Fall 2023, the things I have experienced this past year will forever shape how I feel at Harvard." The same student goes on to note that "Because of the genocide of my people, my mental health has been terrible this year, which has negatively affected my productivity. However, I am too scared to bring that up to my advisers because I fear that I would face discrimination, rather than support." (#1879, student)

One staff-person (#158, staff) wrote, "In most ways my work days chug along as usual, but there is a pit in my stomach anytime anything having to do with the conflict comes up. What will people say? My team knows I'm Palestinian — I feel all eyes are on me so I have to watch how I act and what I say."

A MENA student (#389, student) perceived double standards that made the year worse, saying, "I feel the University prioritized the concerns/feeling accepted of certain groups while dismissing other groups of students, specifically Arab ones felt ignored."

Black students also reported facing a lack of belonging. An undergraduate student notes that "I chose Harvard because I felt safe and seen when I visited before I enrolled. My first semester, however, showed me that the support only came from the students who looked like me, but to the larger community, we did not really matter. (#327, student)" A Black graduate student remarked that "I have experienced negative biases due to my views on current events and even due to my identity — there's a sort of assumption that solidarity with Gaza is equivalent to antisemitism, or that all Black women inherently carry some sort of antisemitism" (#2253, student). This is echoed by a Black staff member who noted that: "As a woman of color, I don't feel safe expressing my views, especially considering that President Gay was forced out not because she was antisemitic, but because she was a Black woman." (#169, staff). A Black faculty member (#1270, faculty) noted that "While I feel like I belong within certain communities at Harvard, I do not feel a strong sense of belonging to my School or a sense of shared identity with the Harvard administration. Events since the October 7th attacks have contributed to the sense that I do not fully belong at Harvard." The same respondent goes on to note that, "I also question whether the University would offer any support if politicians or other outside actors targeted me due to my work or scholarly positions. While I believe my scholarly positions are independent of my ethnic and religious background, I fear that those factors would also be held against me in this context." (#1270, faculty).

CONTRIBUTING FACTORS

We now turn to contributing factors and here, despite the large differences in sense of belonging, safety and ability to speak freely, we do not see large differences in the contributing factors across the different racial groups. The salient difference is that MENA community members rated their online interactions with students, faculty and staff, on campus media and Harvard's policies less favorably than other groups. The results for students are similar but just slightly more accentuated.

Figure 17: Contributing Factors by Race — All Respondents

The figure below now shows the responses restricting to students only.

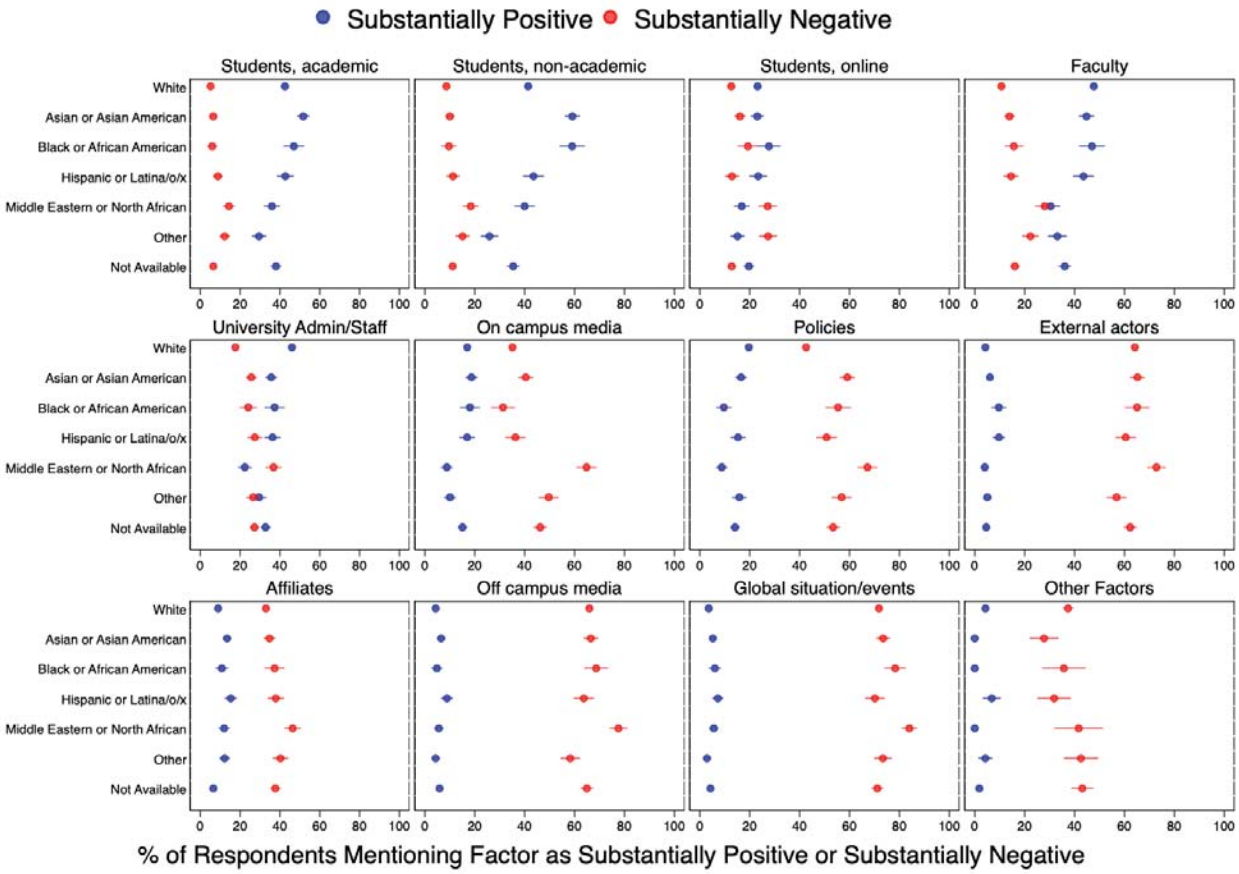
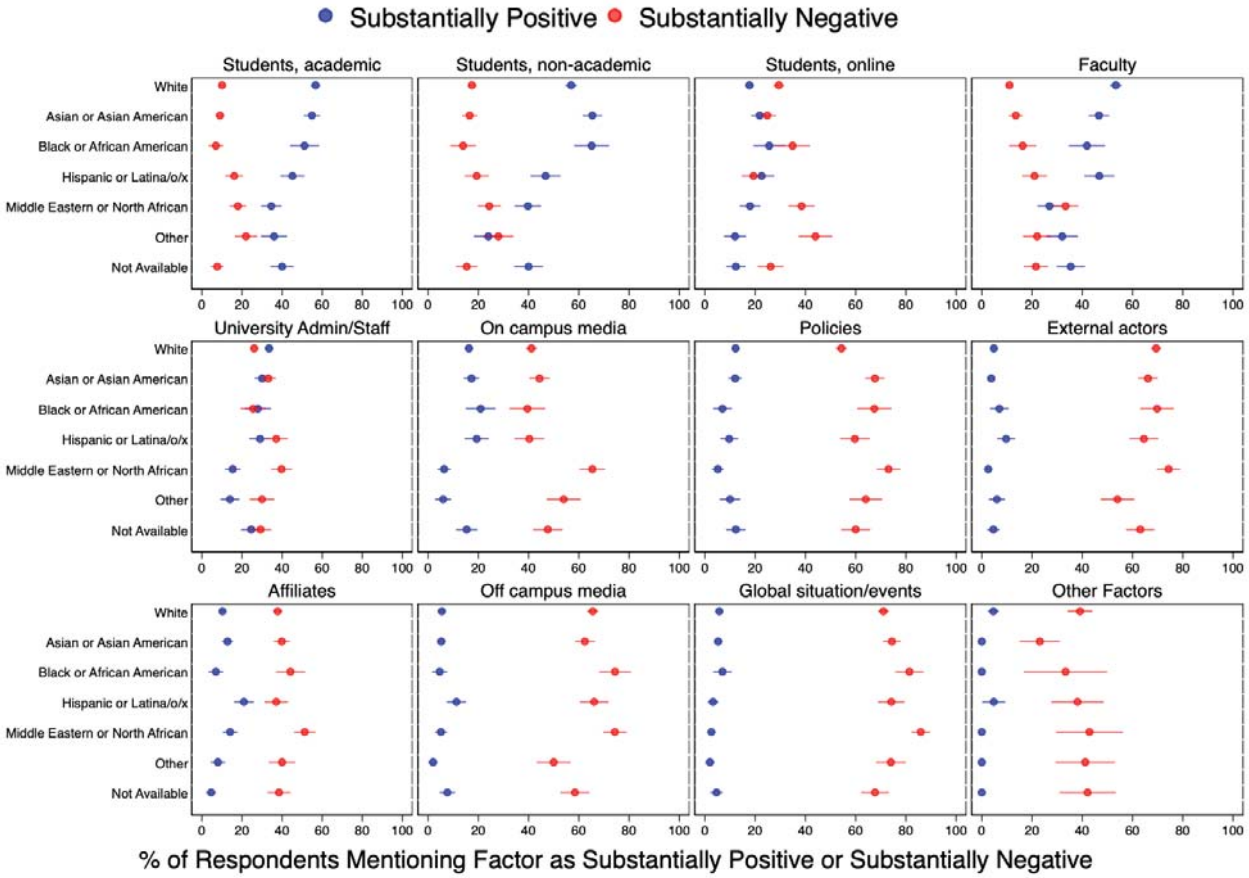


Figure 18: Contributing Factors by Race — Only Students



D. Regression Analysis on Religion and Race Heterogeneity

Our previous two sections have shown the there is substantial heterogeneity of impact by religion and race. Notably, Muslim and Jewish respondents as well as MENA respondents show the most negative evaluations. Given that MENA identity overlaps with both Muslim and Jewish, there is a question as to which dimension — race or religion — is more impactful in our results.

Table E1 in Appendix E shows the cross-tabulation of religion and race showing the extent of this overlap in our sample. Notably, the largest two religious categories for MENA respondents are Muslim and Jewish. Conversely, the two largest racial categories for Muslim respondents are MENA and Asian/Asian American. Given there is some overlap, we run multi-variate regression analysis (Appendix C) where for any of our given factors analyzed in the main body of our report (affiliation, religion, race) we show how our results are affected once we also control for other demographic attributes analyzed in the appendix (including gender, sexuality, political ideology, nationality).

Our results show that for the main outcomes our results are largely unaffected with the differences a given group experiencing remaining the same even when we have controlled for a range of other demographic attributes. This can be seen by comparing the odd number columns (results with no controls) with the subsequent even number ones (results with controls). The only case where our results are affected is the differential experience of Muslim and MENA respondents. While these two groups still show the most negative evaluations (within the religion and race categories respectively) even after we introduce other demographic controls, the magnitude of the differences for both are almost halved. Examining further, we find that this is because both Muslims and MENA identity have somewhat additive effects. In other

words, while non-MENA Muslim respondents report substantially negative evaluations, MENA Muslim respondents report even worse (at times twice as much) evaluations. Analogously, while Non-Muslim MENA respondents report large negative evaluations, Muslim MENA respondents have even larger negative evaluations: it is the combination of an individual being both Muslim and MENA that leads to the most negative evaluations. Tables C4a and C4b in the appendix show this further by simultaneously controlling for race and religion. As we can see the largest two (negative) effects are on the Muslim and MENA identities suggesting that both have distinct and separate impact. Moreover, for Tables C4a-b we see that adding more demographic controls (the odd numbered columns) does not affect either the coefficient on Muslim or MENA. This further confirms that our earlier results in Tables C2a-b and C3 a-b where the Muslim and/or MENA coefficients were affected due to controls was primarily driven by the overlap between Muslim and MENA categories.

While the data is somewhat limited to explore even finer sub-groups, we explore this further in Appendix E where we focus on SIX categories (respondent counts given in parenthesis) where we combine religion and race. Notably we separately present our results for the following respondents: (i) MENA Muslims (38); (ii) MENA Jews (36); (iii) MENA Other Religions (51); (iv) Non-MENA Muslims (51); (v) Non-MENA Jews (411); and (vi) non-MENA Other Religions (1710). We should caution though that some of the respondent counts are small and there is likely non-differential distribution of these categories across some of other demographic variables like Harvard affiliation etc. which is why we will also present regression results controlling for these additional demographics as well. Regardless, given the small sample sizes here, in comparing across race and religion categories, we draw suggestive inferences rather than firm conclusions. This is an area that we feel is worth exploring further using additional and more purposely collected data to study these adversely affected communities. That said, Figures E1 and E2 present now a more nuanced picture showing that while MENA Muslims typically express the most negative sentiment, the next most negative group is often MENA Jewish respondents, typically followed by Non-MENA Muslims and MENA respondents who are neither Muslim nor Jewish. Table E3 and E4 show the regression equivalent of these figures for the same six categories (the omitted category is non-MENA Other Religions) and present similar findings highlighting the adverse experiences that those with both MENA and Muslims/Jewish identities report. In the even numbered columns, we control for other demographic changes and while most results are unaffected there is a slight increase in the negative outcomes for non-MENA Jewish respondents likely because there is a higher fraction of faculty & staff than students in this category and we know from our results before that students tend to report worse outcomes than faculty and staff.

V. Respondents' Suggested Recommendations

The survey asked respondents to suggest specific recommendations that would be responsive to the concerns they may have raised in the questionnaire. We first used ChatGPT to help summarize themes in the recommendations suggested by students, faculty, and staff.

Among students, one key theme is about divestment and disclosure. A number of students recommend that the University divests financial interests in companies tied to Israel and/or to industries connected to warfare. Along these lines, students also recommended the University disclose investments in these areas.

A second theme relates to the enforcement of rules. Students would like clarity on rules related to free expression, and they would like for those rules to be enforced consistently in a content-neutral manner.

A third theme relates to claims about antisemitism, anti-Zionism, Islamophobia, anti-Arab bias and other forms of prejudice. Some students would like more education about what these terms mean to the

University. They also want the University to sanction those who behave prejudicially, and they want the University to do so consistently across targeted communities.

A fourth theme is about transparency in University procedures. Students want more information about how decisions are made, including disciplinary decisions and investment decisions. They'd like to know how large donors influence decisions.

A final theme is about inclusiveness. For some, Harvard has failed to be inclusive by hiring "so many antisemitic faculty members (#95, student)". For others, Harvard has failed to be inclusive by tolerating doxxing trucks. Still others feel that Harvard is not inclusive to pro-Palestine activists, who were treated negatively compared to activists of other social movements. And others report that Harvard could be more inclusive to religious students by offering more accommodations around their holiday observances.

Among faculty, the overall themes of recommendations were different. A core theme among faculty respondents was that Harvard should do more to engage students (including graduate students) in respectful dialogue, including on sensitive issues. Relatedly, faculty suggested more community-building and trust-building efforts so that the University feels more like a cohesive community. Faculty also raised several points related to ensuring the University is a place of free expression and not influenced by the interests of donors.

For staff, the theme of community-building also came up. Respondents want to see community-members spending more time together and more in dialogue. Staff also prioritized support for various subcommunities, such as "community members of color, its LGBTQAI+ community members, its community members with disabilities, etc (#83, staff)." Finally, staff members recommended both more transparency in University policies and improved communication across the University.

In addition to the AI-based review of all recommendations, we also read through the recommendations of Muslim and Jewish respondents. Among Muslim students, four key themes emerged.

One theme was around activism. Respondents recommend that students be given latitude to protest without fear of punishment from the University. Respondents recommend the University apologizes to students who were punished during the 2023-24 school year. Respondents call for the University to protect students who have been doxxed and support community-members when they are subjected to media attacks. Some ask for more security around Harvard Yard.

A second theme involves governance. Recommendations include divestment from Israel-related and military-related firms and disclosure of such investments. Respondents also recommend reducing the influence donors have on University policies and academic freedom. Some respondents want students to be more involved in governance around discipline and financial investments.

A third theme relates to education and dialogue. Respondents call for more educational opportunities to learn about the contemporary Middle East and specifically about "Palestine, Palestinian culture, and Palestinian history. (#290, student)" Respondents also want more opportunities for dialogue between Jewish and Palestinian community-members and more dialogue about the Israeli-Palestinian conflict.

A final theme from Muslim respondents is greater University support to the Muslim community. Recommendations include support for community-members dealing with Islamophobia and support in the form of programming around Ramadan.

Note that we also reviewed recommendation text for respondents by some racial categories, including Black respondents and MENA respondents. Black respondents and MENA respondents who were neither Jewish nor Muslim were largely overlapping with themes from Muslim students in terms of their suggested recommendations.

Among Jewish respondents, some recommendations were similar to those reported above and some were different. Perhaps the most common theme among Jewish respondents relates to protest, free expression, and discrimination. Respondents want Harvard to allow protests but to have clear and consistently applied rules, including clear consequences for the violation of rules. Several respondents mentioned the need for times, places, and manner rules so it is made clear that protests in venues such as classrooms and libraries are prohibited.

Second, Jewish respondents recommend that Harvard arrives at clear definitions of what it considers antisemitism. A number of respondents point to the lack of clarity on what amounts to antisemitism and a lack of understanding in the Harvard community of how antisemitism connects to anti-Zionism.

Third, respondents recommend Harvard adjust its recruitment policies both for students and faculty. For students, respondents recommend recruiting students more committed to learning and less to activism. For faculty, respondents recommend efforts to counterbalance the perceived left-wing orientation of professors. They recommend hiring more faculty who provide balanced perspectives and balanced course offerings.

Also, on the topic of education, respondents specifically recommend more course offerings related to Israel and Judaism across Harvard Schools in which Middle East politics is discussed. Respondents also suggest a research center that studies issues like antisemitism and anti-Arab prejudice together in a single center. On a similar theme, respondents call for more dialogue across difference and more open discussion on campus.

Fourth, respondents offered suggestions for adding offerings for community-members to explore a greater range of topics related to Jewish culture, languages, and religion. This includes the suggestion for creating a space for Jewish anti-Zionist students on campus.

Finally, a large number of Jewish respondents endorsed institutional neutrality as a guiding principle for the University. They also suggested reforming the University's engagement with DEI initiatives and staff. Many Jewish respondents feel that DEI offices are not able to satisfactorily engage with Jews as a minority group. Some would like DEI offices improve their engagement with Jewish community-members. Others would like to see DEI programs wound down.

In summarizing the above recommendations, we seek to emphasize that these recommendations have not been endorsed by two task forces nor by the authors of this auxiliary report. They simply reflect viewpoints of respondents to the survey.

VI. Conclusion

The results presented in the quantitative analysis shed light on the situation on Harvard's campus in the late Spring of 2024 as experienced by our students, staff, fellows and faculty. While they show sobering results — especially in terms of being able to have free enquiry and open discussions, and the experience of specific subgroups based on their religious and racial identities — they help by focusing on areas that can help heal our community. They also stress the importance of regularly collecting and analyzing data that take the pulse of how our community is feeling with respect to the educational, professional, and social environment. The results also raise several areas where further examination is needed.

Our results show that freedom of expression is one area where the most negative outcomes are perceived, especially for students. The latter is especially noteworthy to the extent we believe that students — who are developing their skills and need breathing room to make mistakes — should be more at ease with self-expression and not face academic, social, and professional risks from doing so.

Separate from the evidence on free expression, the responses from Muslim, Jewish, and MENA student respondents are troubling. Over a half of Muslim student respondents, a quarter of Jewish student respondents and a bit under a half of MENA student respondents do not feel physically safe on campus. A

clear majority Muslim, Jewish and ME students reported that they are not comfortable expressing their religious and ethnic identities on campus. On this measure, these groups appear very different from the other religions and racial groups.

While the task forces independently will offer recommendations specific to the Jewish/Israeli and Muslim/Arab/Palestinian communities, our primary recommendation in this document is a call for regular and in-depth research into community members and their sense of safety and well-being, with a particular focus on groups that appear to have a harder time expressing themselves and finding safety and comfort at Harvard.

Appendices included in the Analysis Report from the Joint Subcommittee on the Harvard-Wide Task Force Survey

APPENDIX A

A1. Heterogeneity by Age

SAFETY AND BELONGING

Figure A1a: Safety and Belonging by Age — All Respondents

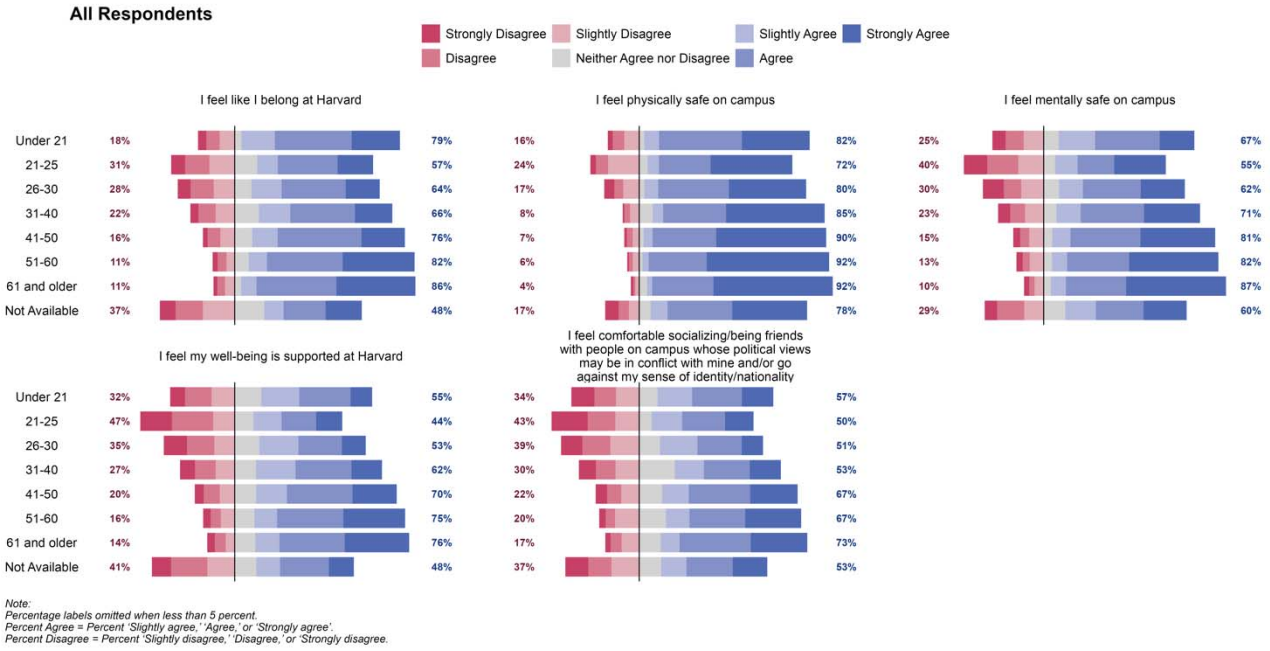
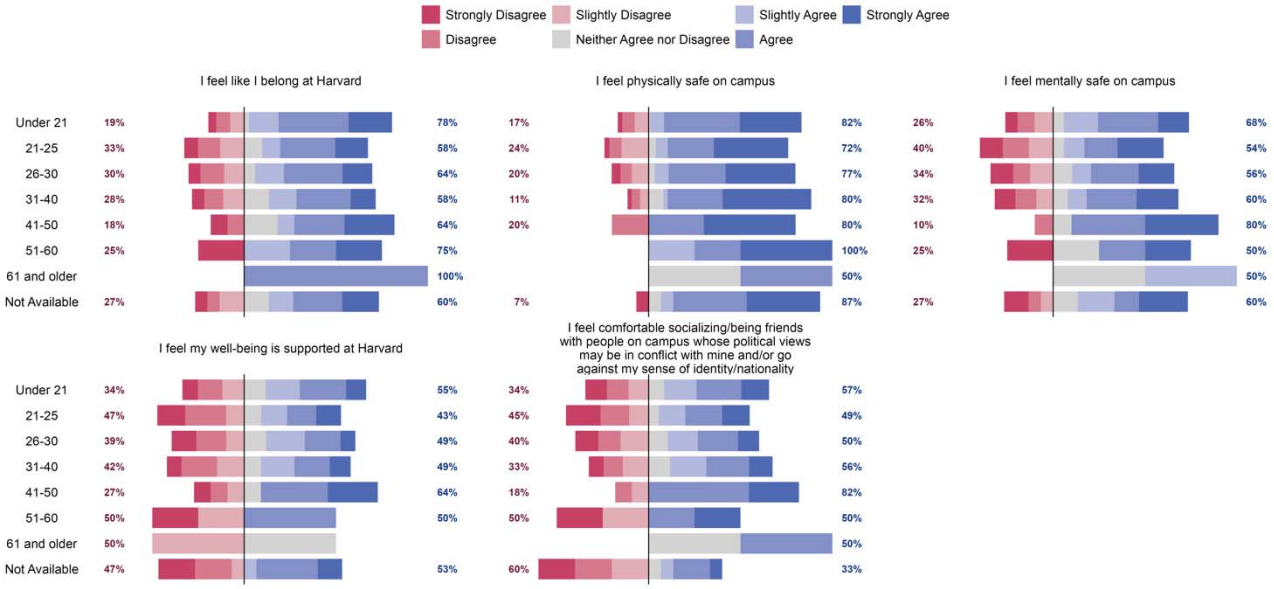


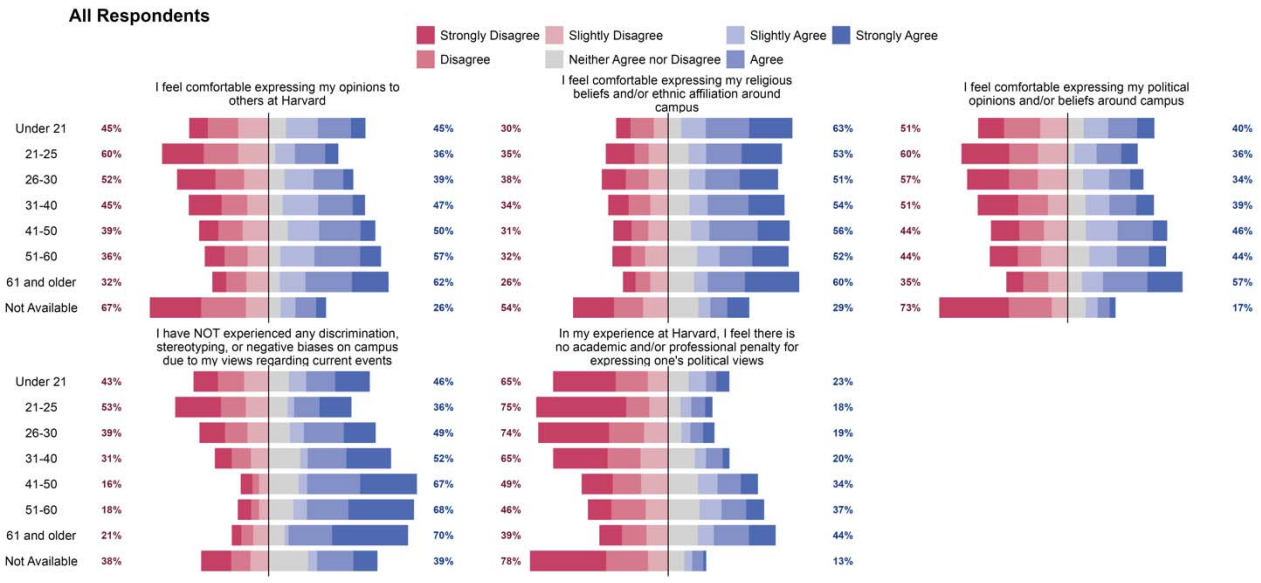
Figure A1b: Safety and Belonging by Age — Only Students



Note:
Percentage labels omitted when less than 5 percent.
Percent Agree = Percent 'Slightly agree,' 'Agree,' or 'Strongly agree'.
Percent Disagree = Percent 'Slightly disagree,' 'Disagree,' or 'Strongly disagree.

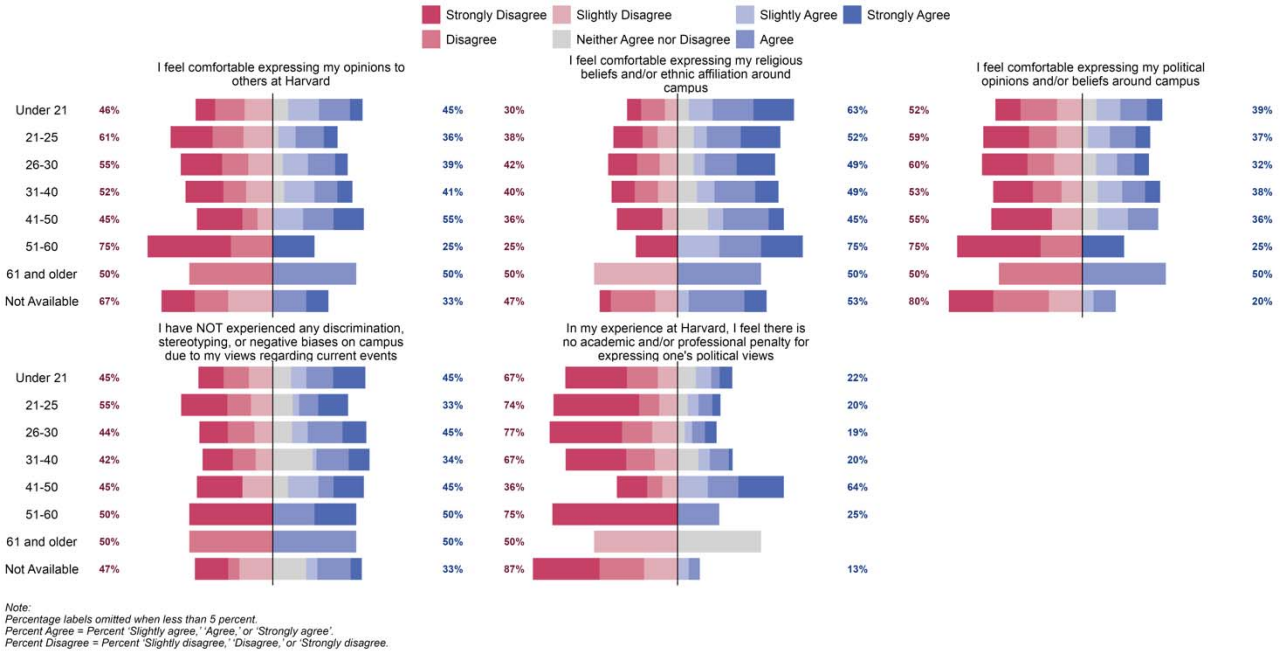
FREEDOM OF EXPRESSION

Figure A1c: Freedom of Expression by Age — All Respondents



Note:
Percentage labels omitted when less than 5 percent.
Percent Agree = Percent 'Slightly agree,' 'Agree,' or 'Strongly agree'.
Percent Disagree = Percent 'Slightly disagree,' 'Disagree,' or 'Strongly disagree.

Figure A1d: Freedom of Expression by Age — Only Students



Note:
Percentage labels omitted when less than 5 percent.
Percent Agree = Percent 'Slightly agree,' 'Agree,' or 'Strongly agree'.
Percent Disagree = Percent 'Slightly disagree,' 'Disagree,' or 'Strongly disagree.

CONTRIBUTING FACTORS

Figure A1e: Contributing Factors by Age — All Respondents

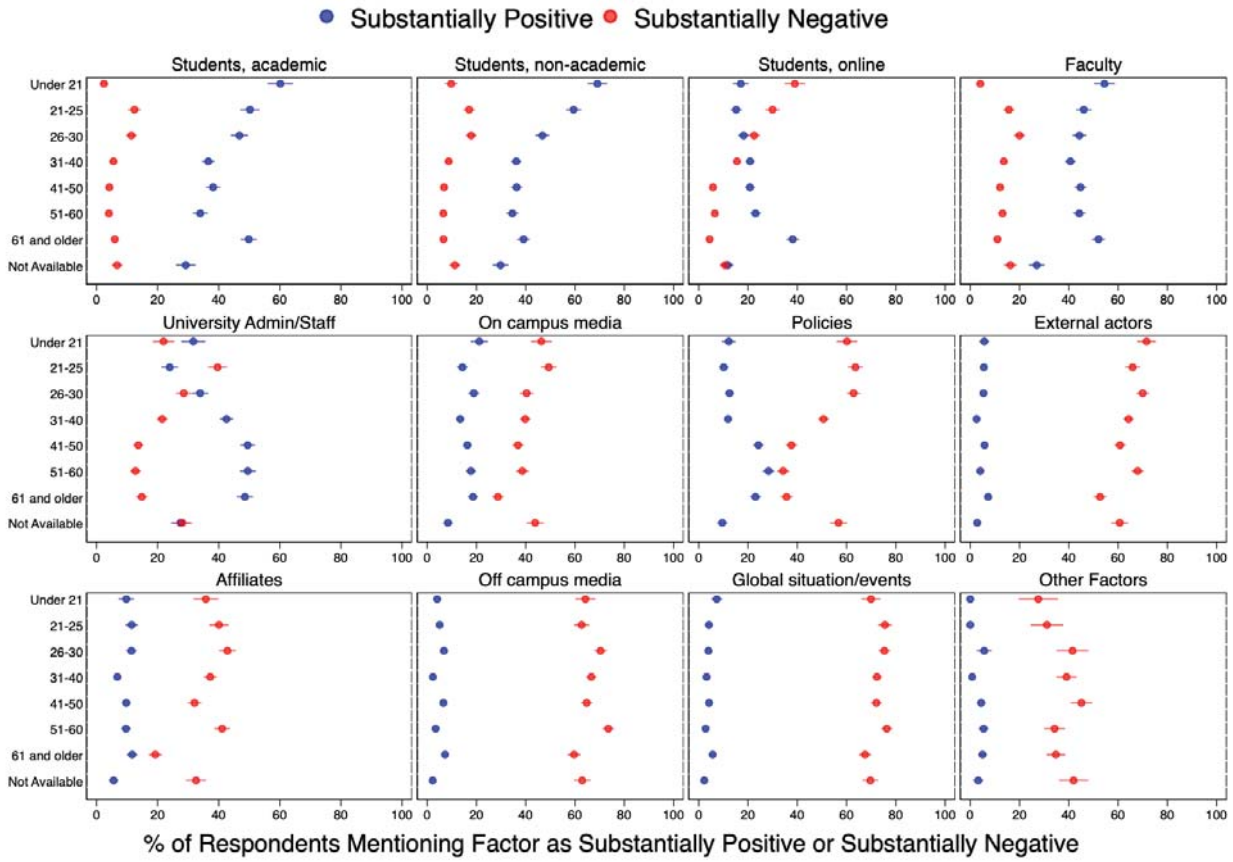
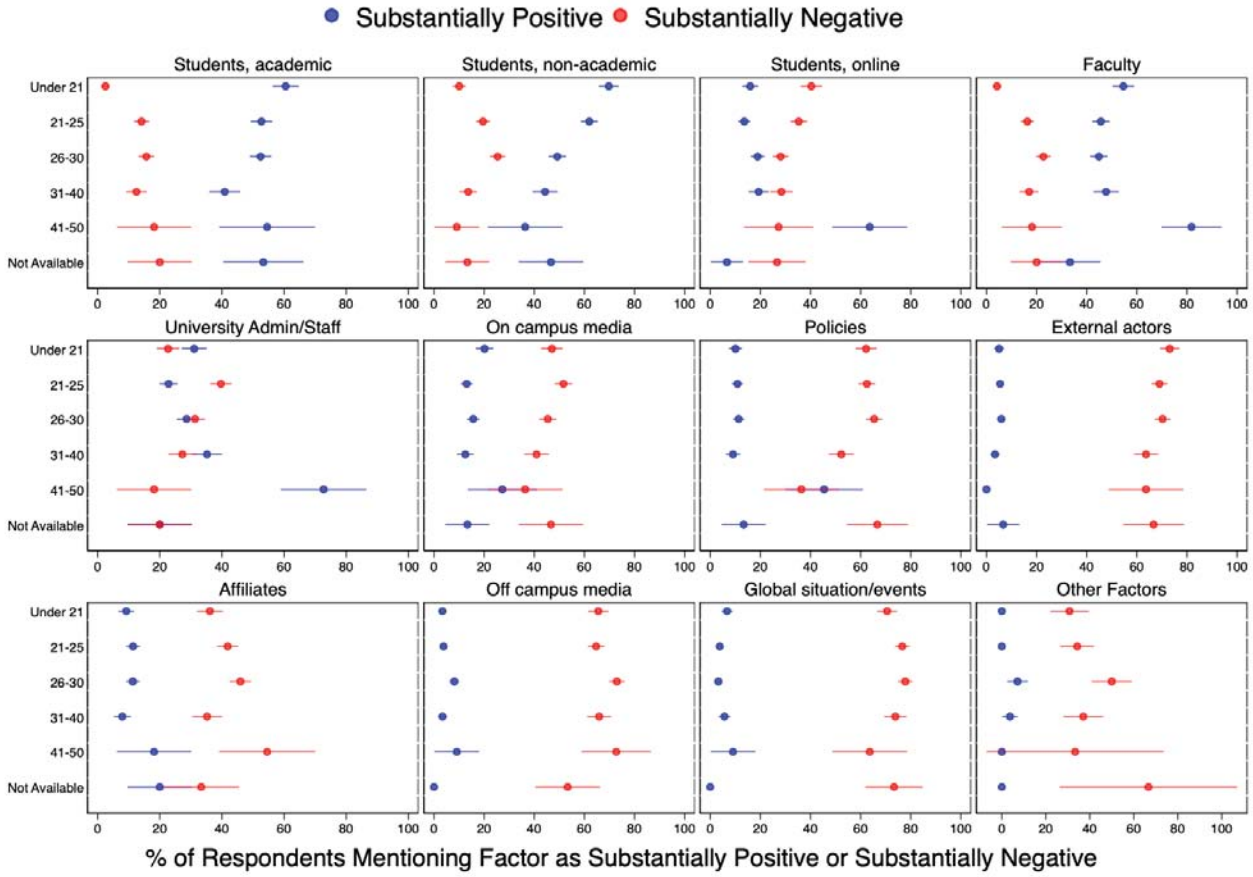


Figure A1f: Contributing Factors by Age — Only Students



A2. Heterogeneity by Gender

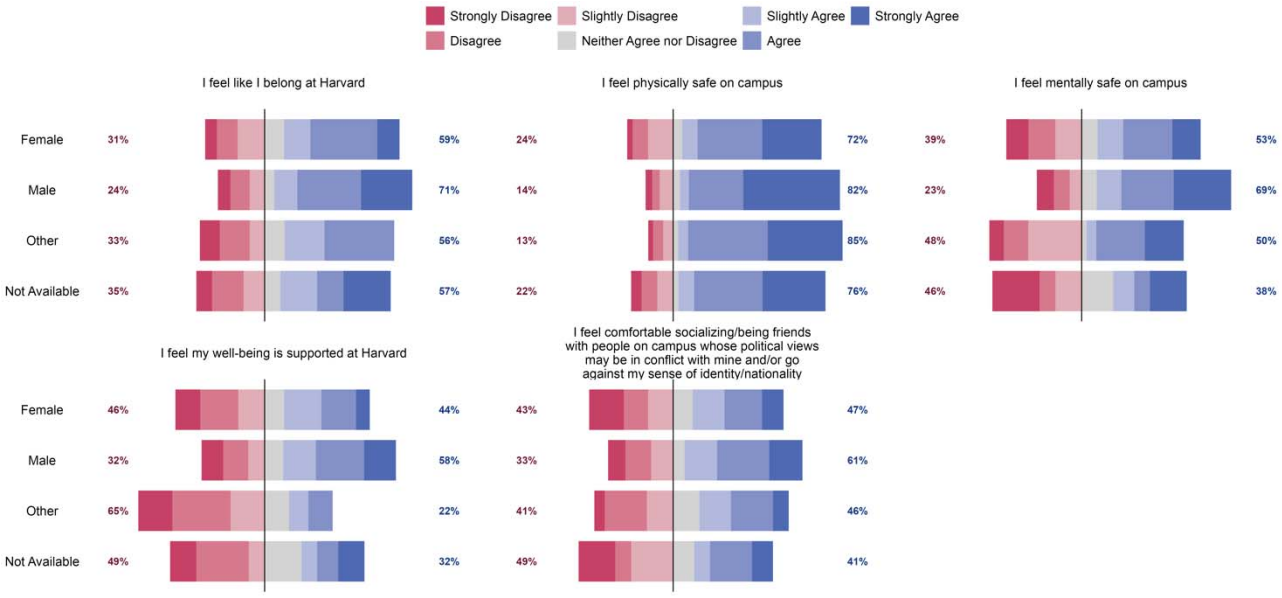
SAFETY AND BELONGING

Figure A2a: Safety and Belonging by Gender — All Respondents



Note:
Percentage labels omitted when less than 5 percent.
Percent Agree = Percent 'Slightly agree,' 'Agree,' or 'Strongly agree'.
Percent Disagree = Percent 'Slightly disagree,' 'Disagree,' or 'Strongly disagree.

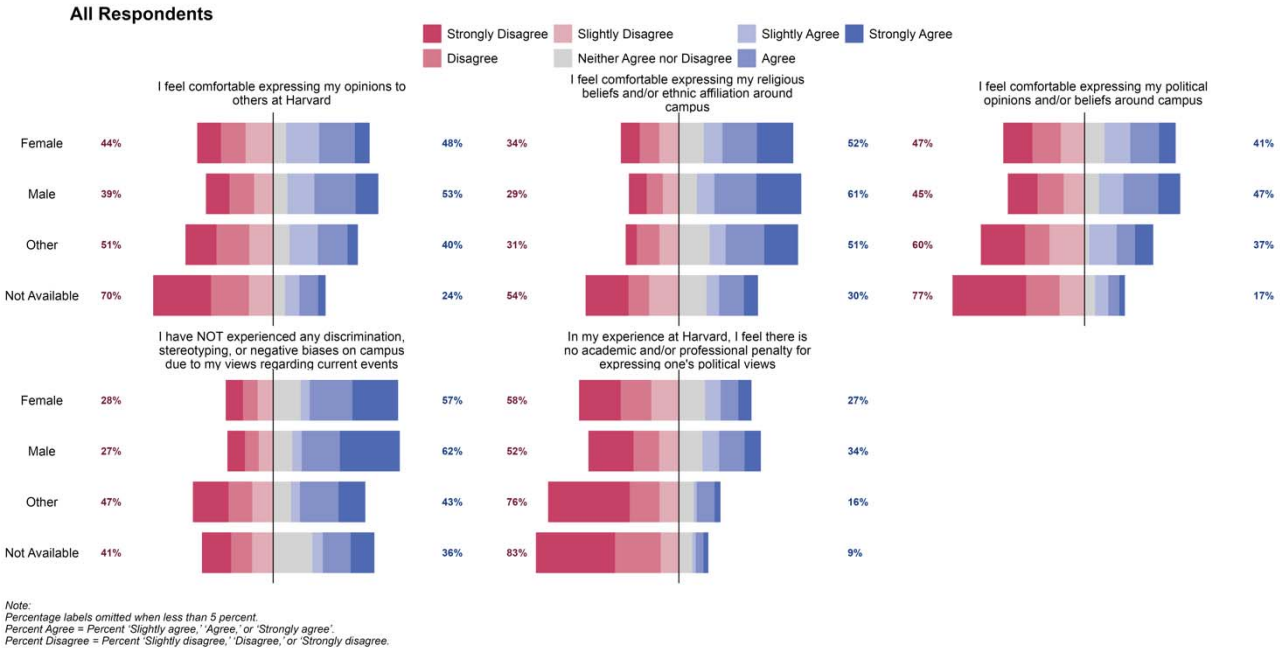
Figure A2b: Safety and Belonging by Gender — Only Students



Note:
Percentage labels omitted when less than 5 percent.
Percent Agree = Percent 'Slightly agree,' 'Agree,' or 'Strongly agree'.
Percent Disagree = Percent 'Slightly disagree,' 'Disagree,' or 'Strongly disagree.

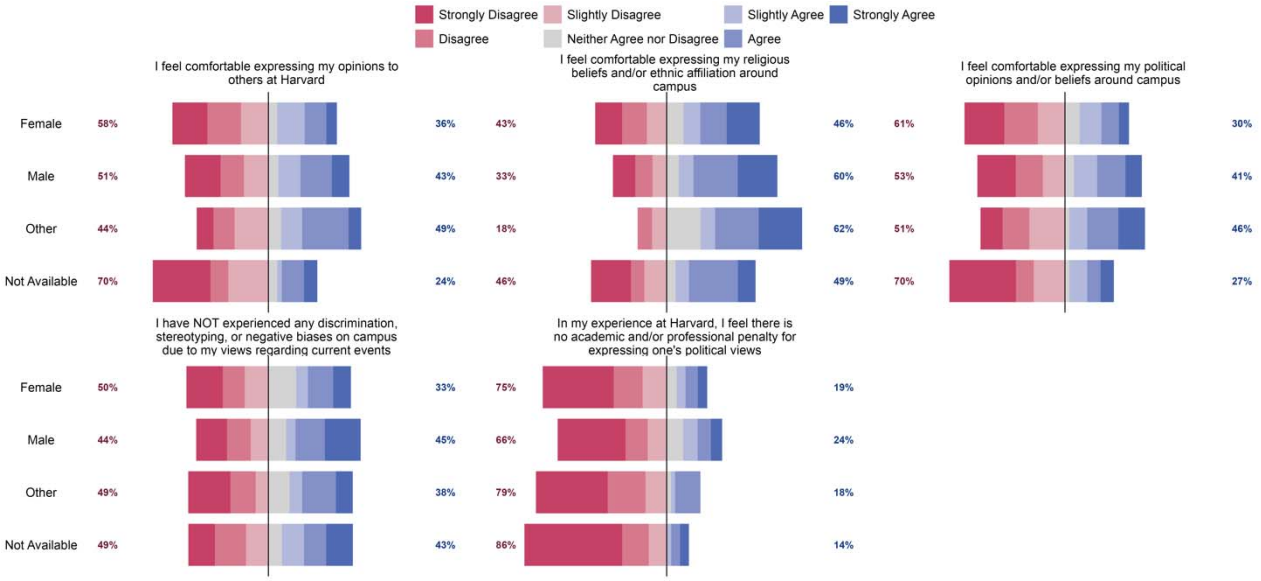
FREEDOM OF EXPRESSION

Figure A2c: Freedom of Expression by Gender — All Respondents



Note:
Percentage labels omitted when less than 5 percent.
Percent Agree = Percent 'Slightly agree,' 'Agree,' or 'Strongly agree'.
Percent Disagree = Percent 'Slightly disagree,' 'Disagree,' or 'Strongly disagree.

Figure A2d: Freedom of Expression by Gender — Only Students



Note:
Percentage labels omitted when less than 5 percent.
Percent Agree = Percent 'Slightly agree,' 'Agree,' or 'Strongly agree'.
Percent Disagree = Percent 'Slightly disagree,' 'Disagree,' or 'Strongly disagree.

CONTRIBUTING FACTORS

Figure A2e: Contributing Factors by Gender — All Respondents

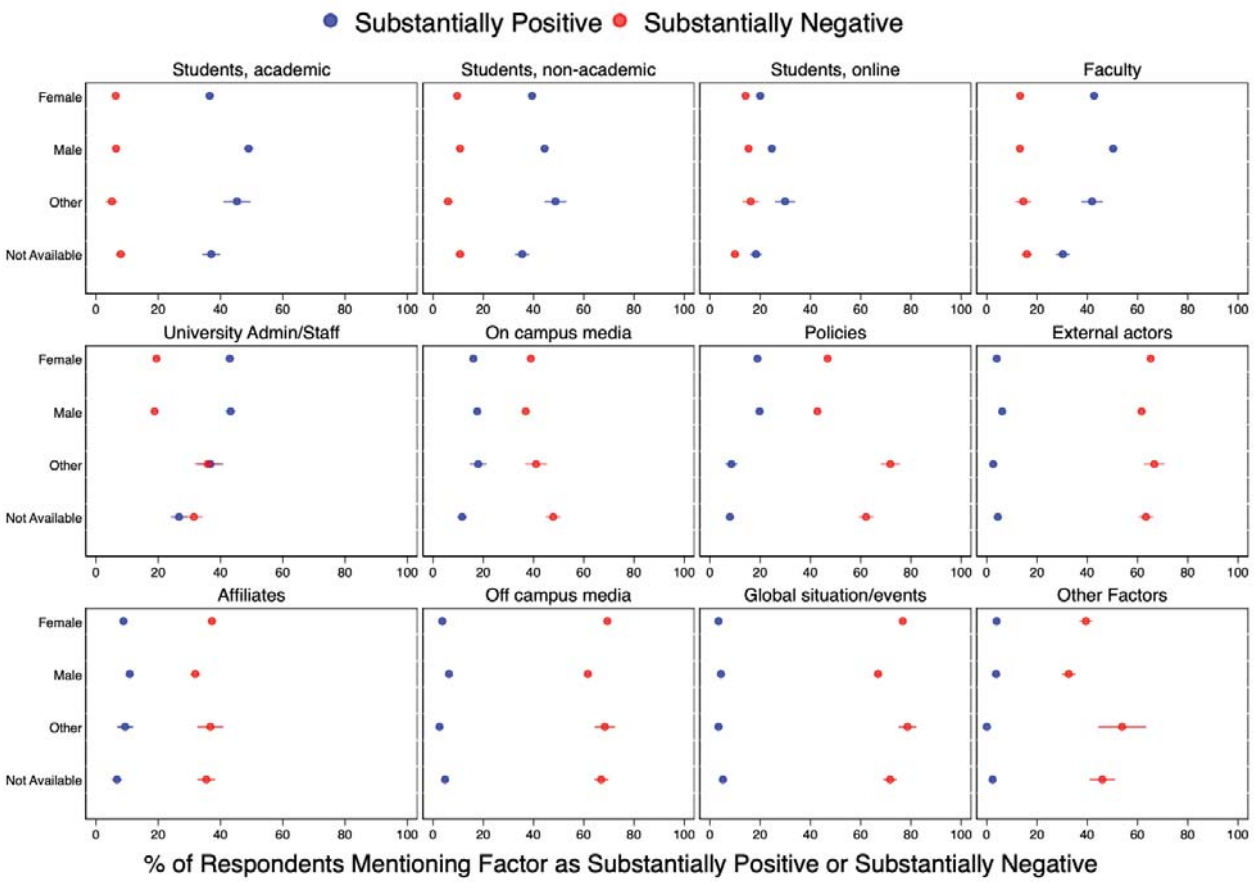
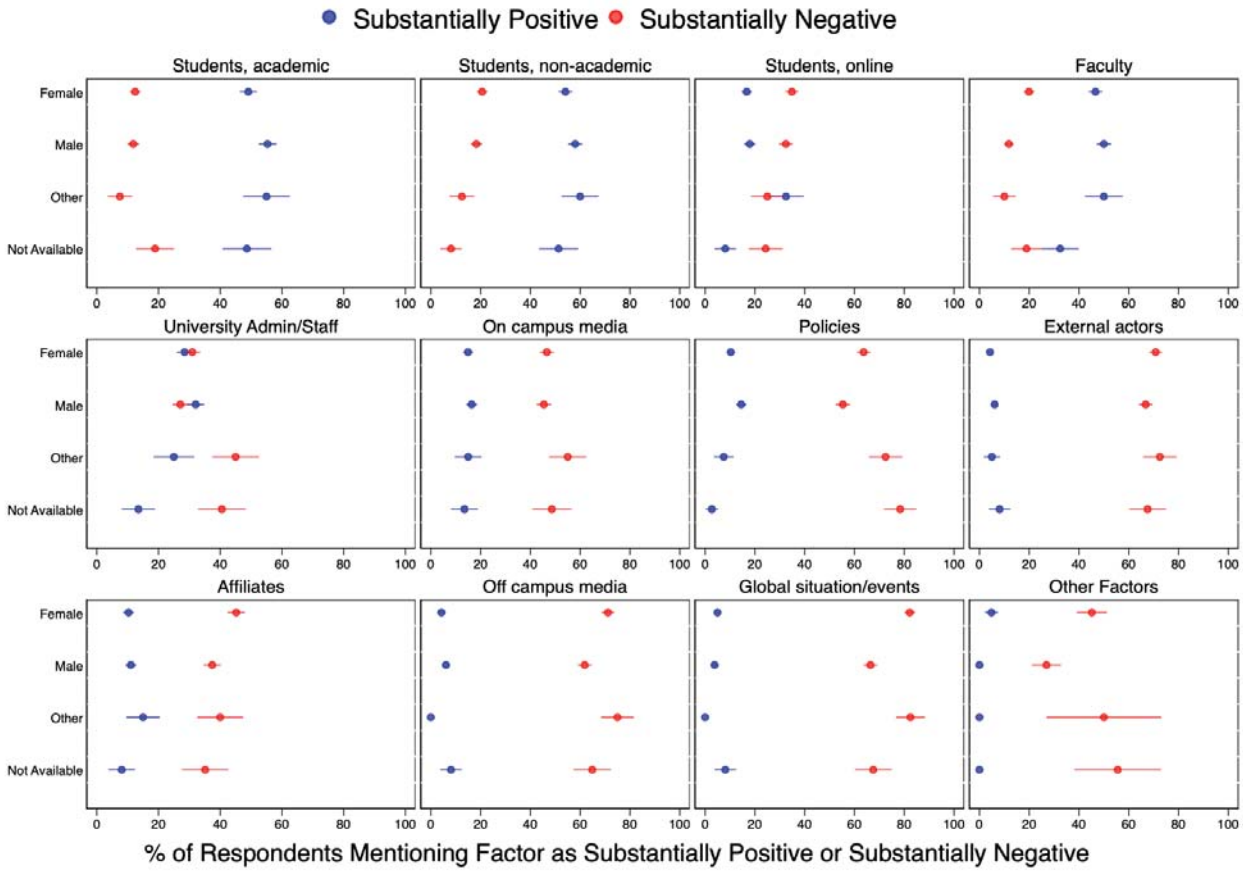


Figure A2f: Contributing Factors by Gender — Only Students



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A3. Heterogeneity by US/Non-US

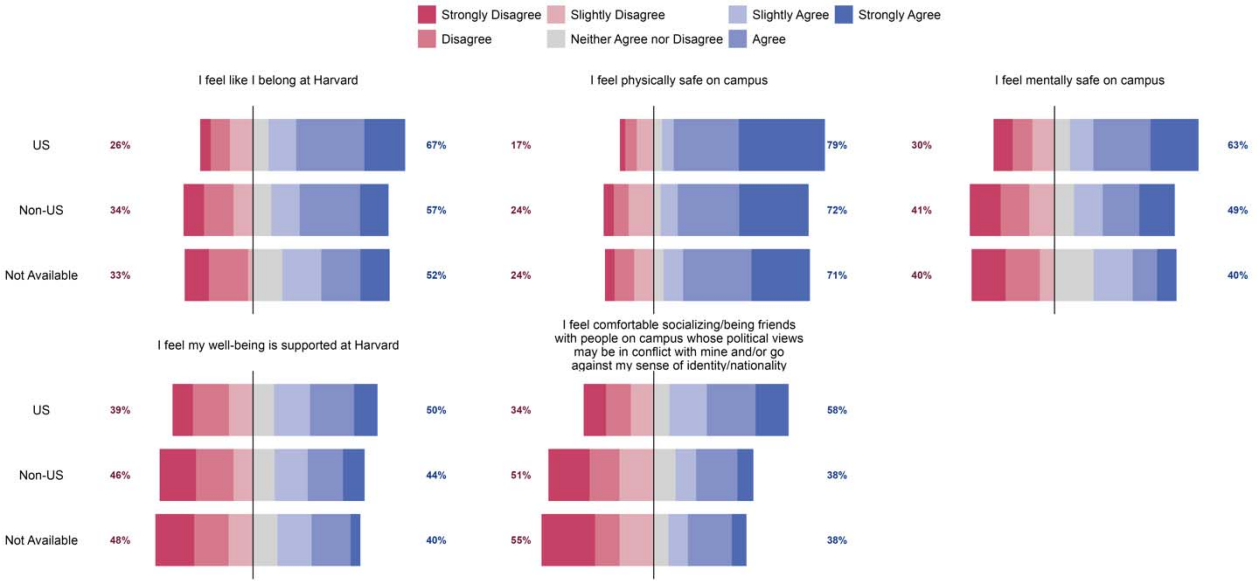
SAFETY AND BELONGING

Figure A3a: Safety and Belonging by US/Non-US — All Respondents



Note:
Percentage labels omitted when less than 5 percent.
Percent Agree = Percent 'Slightly agree,' 'Agree,' or 'Strongly agree'.
Percent Disagree = Percent 'Slightly disagree,' 'Disagree,' or 'Strongly disagree.

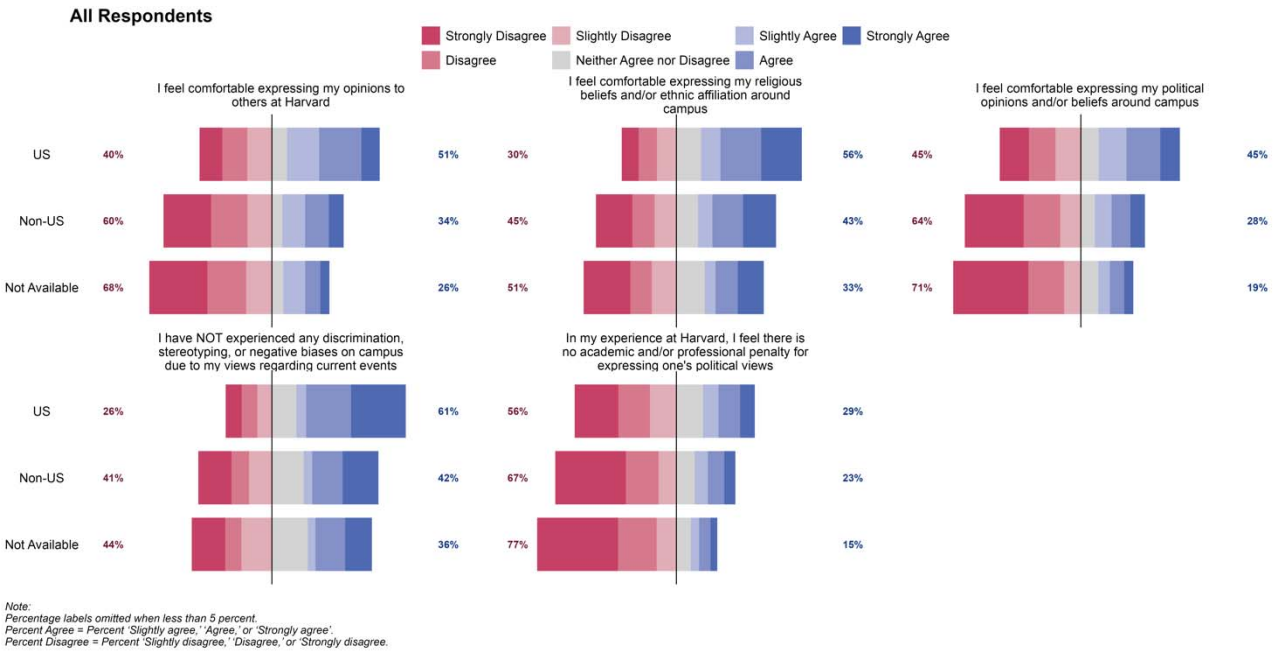
Figure A3b: Safety and Belonging by US/Non-US — Students Only



Note:
Percentage labels omitted when less than 5 percent.
Percent Agree = Percent 'Slightly agree,' 'Agree,' or 'Strongly agree'.
Percent Disagree = Percent 'Slightly disagree,' 'Disagree,' or 'Strongly disagree.

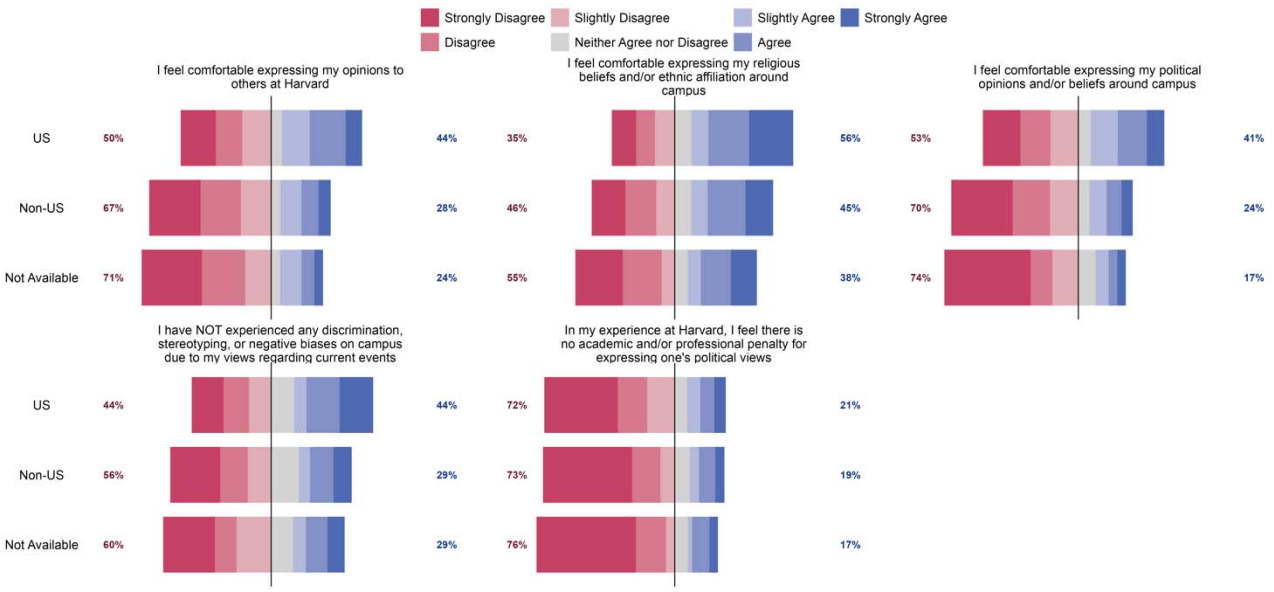
FREEDOM OF EXPRESSION

Figure A3c: Freedom of Expression by US/Non-US — All Respondents



Note:
Percentage labels omitted when less than 5 percent.
Percent Agree = Percent 'Slightly agree,' 'Agree,' or 'Strongly agree'.
Percent Disagree = Percent 'Slightly disagree,' 'Disagree,' or 'Strongly disagree.

Figure A3d: Freedom of Expression by US/Non-US — Only Students



Note:
Percentage labels omitted when less than 5 percent.
Percent Agree = Percent 'Slightly agree,' 'Agree,' or 'Strongly agree'.
Percent Disagree = Percent 'Slightly disagree,' 'Disagree,' or 'Strongly disagree.

CONTRIBUTING FACTORS

Figure A3e: Contributing Factors by US/Non-US — All Respondents

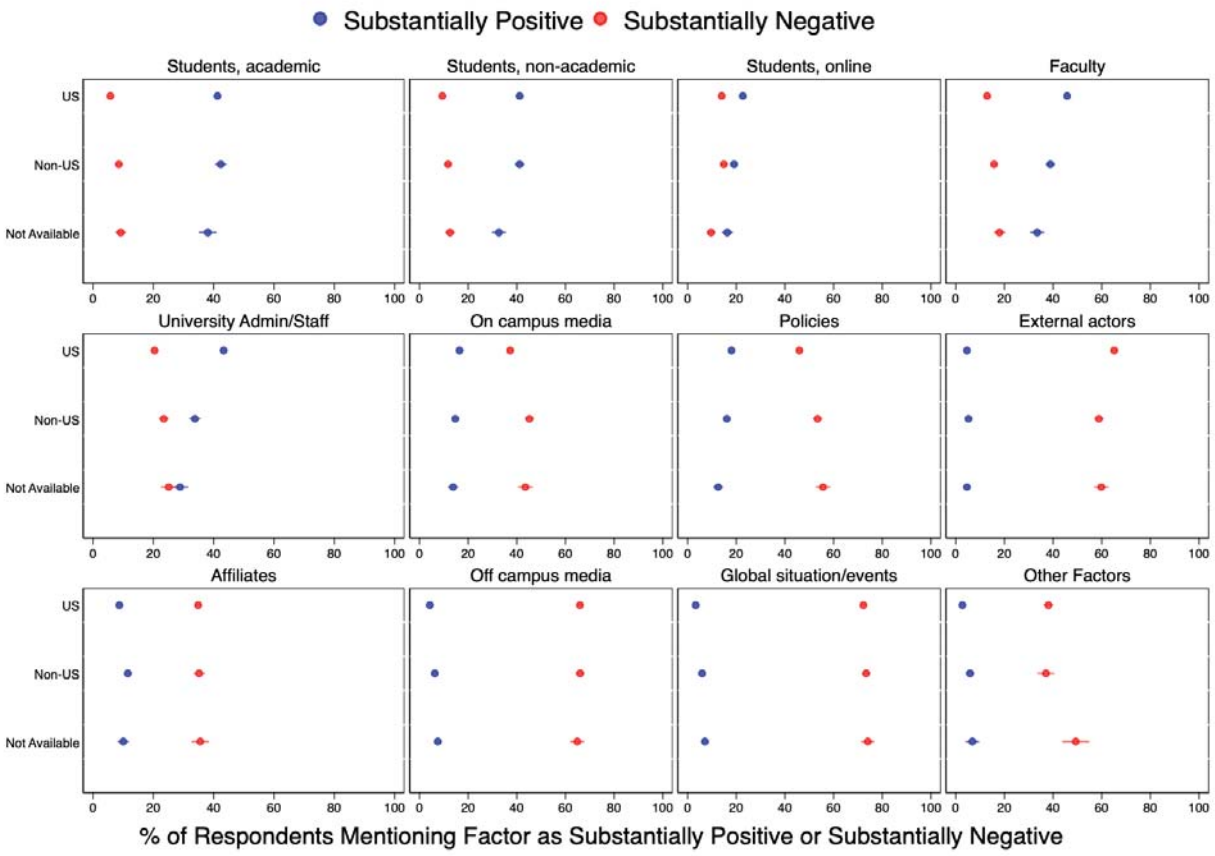
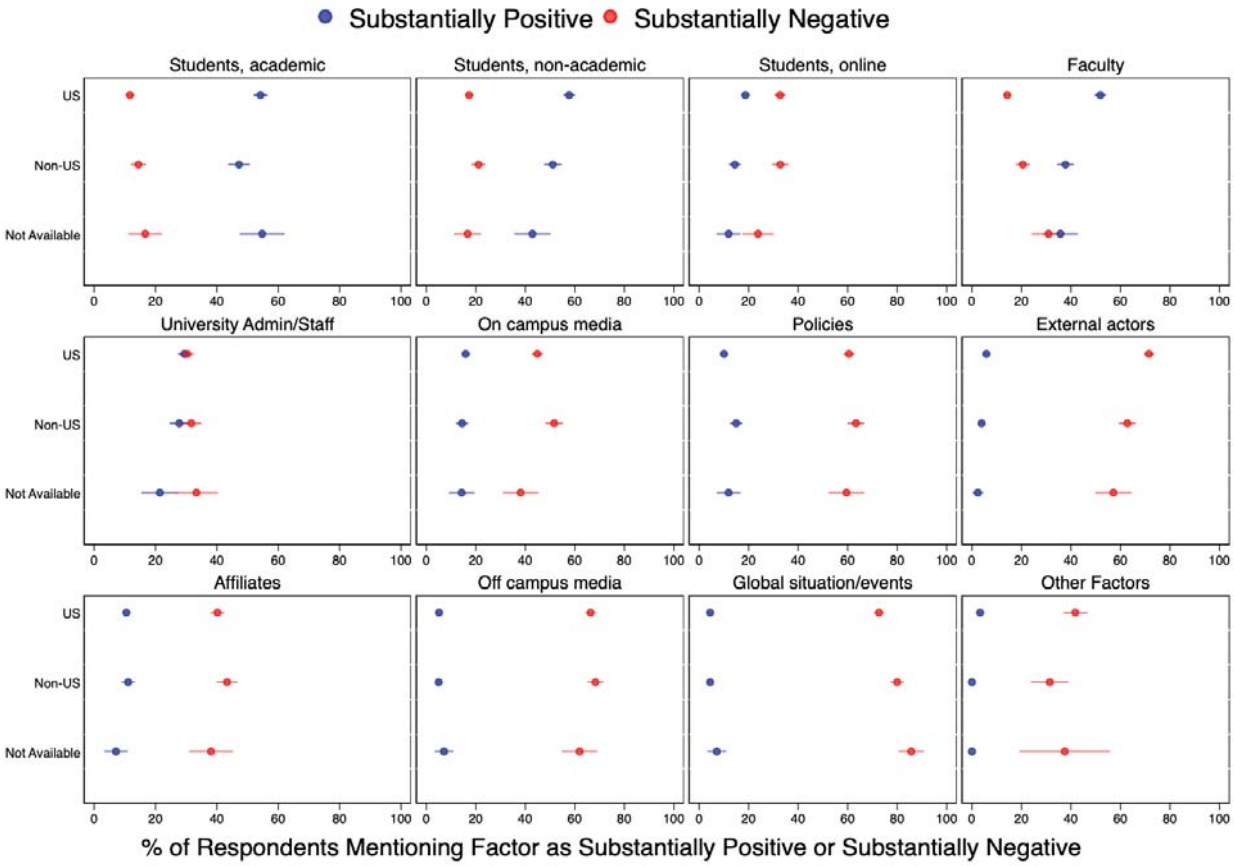


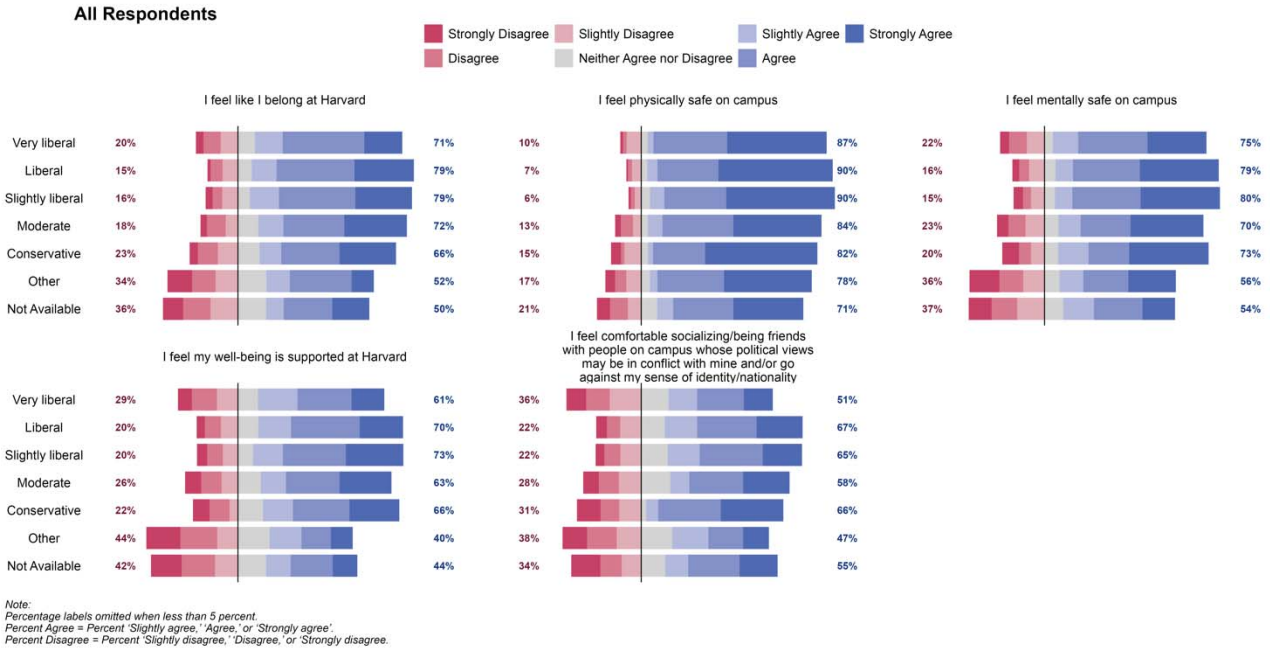
Figure A3f: Contributing Factors by US/Non-US — Only Students



A4. Heterogeneity by Ideology

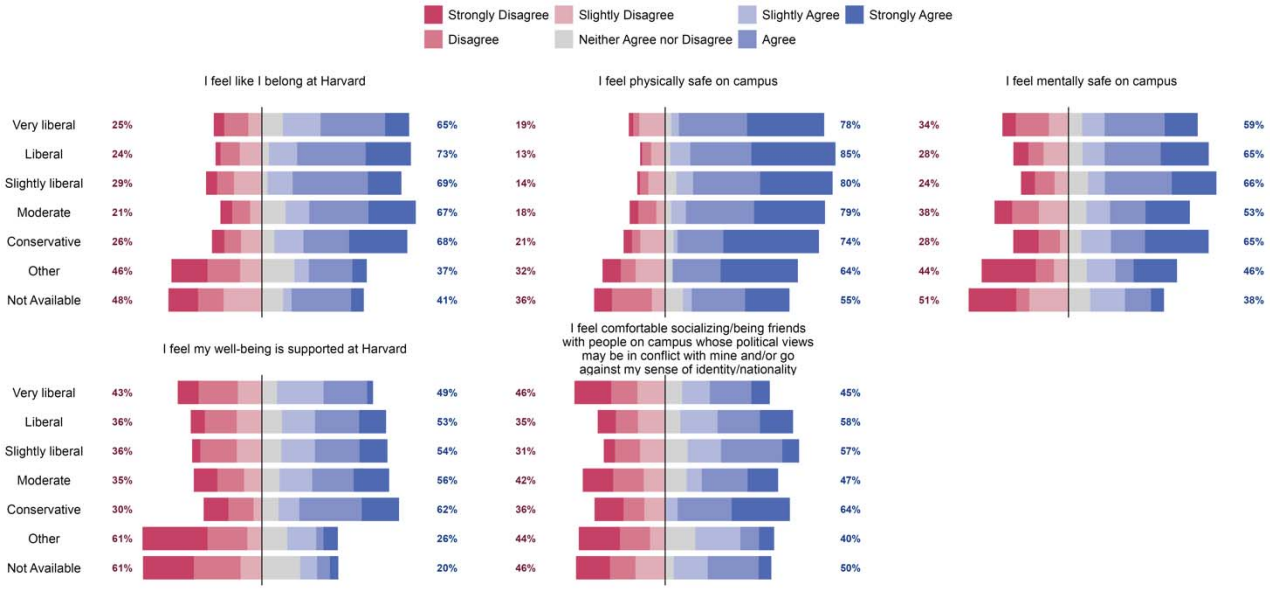
SAFETY AND BELONGING

Figure A4a: Safety and Belonging by Ideology — All Respondents



Note:
Percentage labels omitted when less than 5 percent.
Percent Agree = Percent 'Slightly agree,' 'Agree,' or 'Strongly agree'.
Percent Disagree = Percent 'Slightly disagree,' 'Disagree,' or 'Strongly disagree.

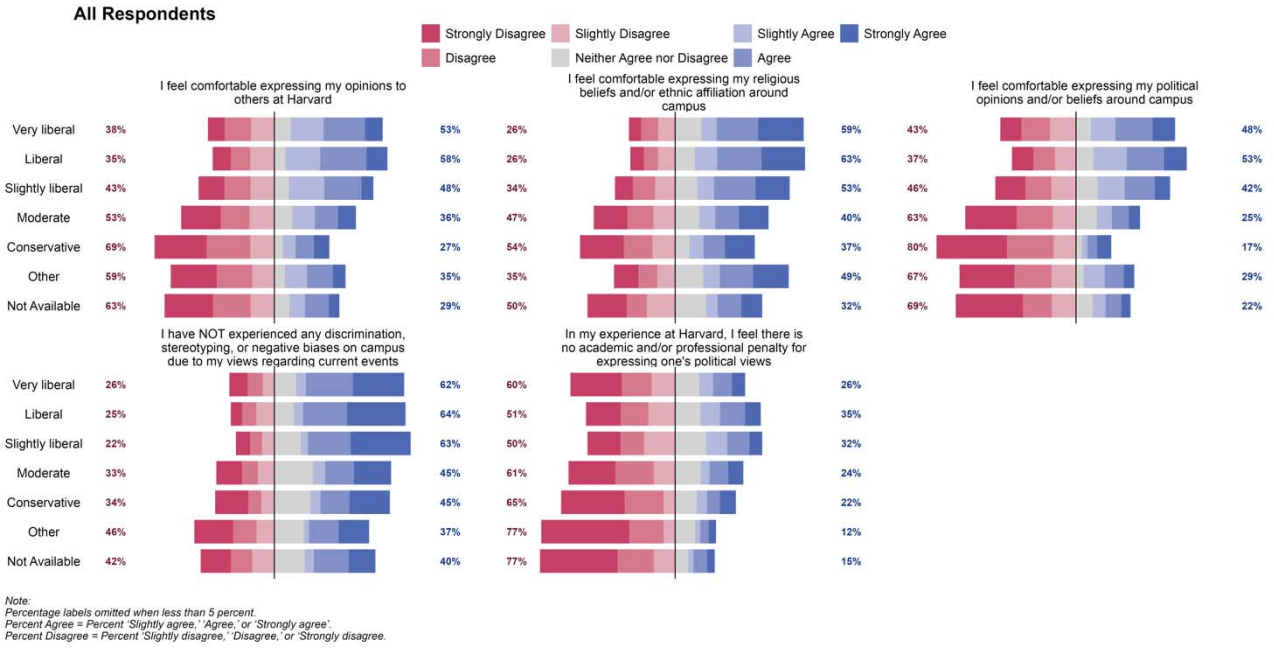
Figure A4b: Safety and Belonging by Ideology — Only Students



Note:
Percentage labels omitted when less than 5 percent.
Percent Agree = Percent 'Slightly agree,' 'Agree,' or 'Strongly agree'.
Percent Disagree = Percent 'Slightly disagree,' 'Disagree,' or 'Strongly disagree.

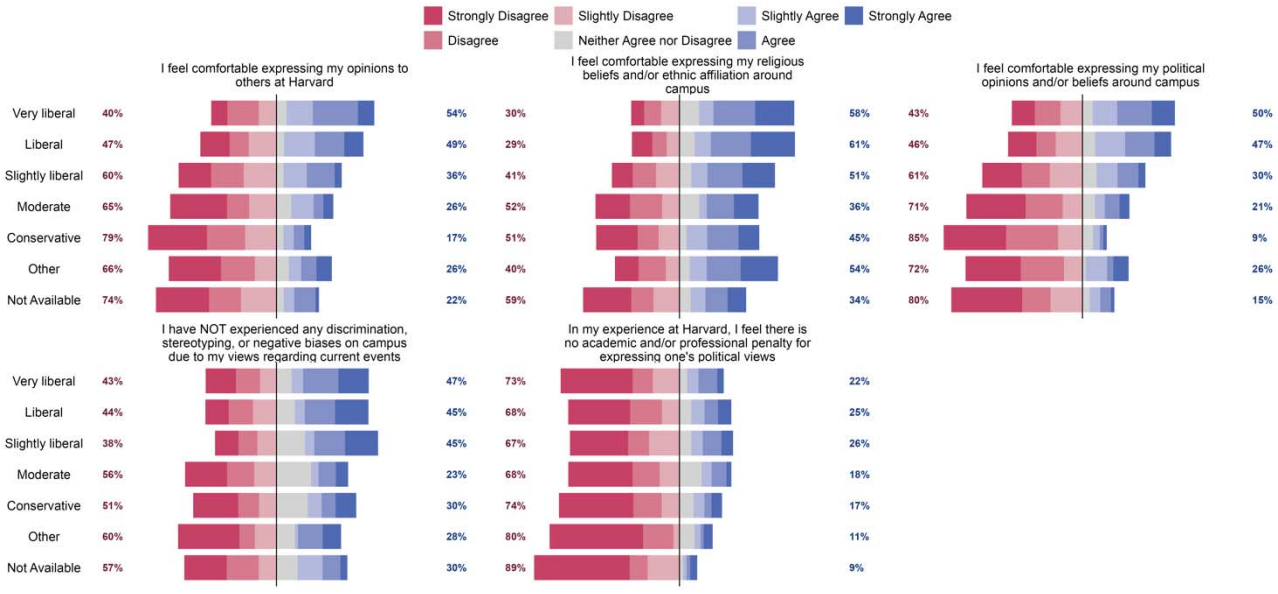
FREEDOM OF EXPRESSION

Figure A4c: Freedom of Expression by Ideology — All Respondents



Note:
Percentage labels omitted when less than 5 percent.
Percent Agree = Percent 'Slightly agree,' 'Agree,' or 'Strongly agree'.
Percent Disagree = Percent 'Slightly disagree,' 'Disagree,' or 'Strongly disagree.

Figure A4d: Freedom of Expression by Ideology — Only Students



Note:
Percentage labels omitted when less than 5 percent.
Percent Agree = Percent 'Slightly agree,' 'Agree,' or 'Strongly agree'.
Percent Disagree = Percent 'Slightly disagree,' 'Disagree,' or 'Strongly disagree.

CONTRIBUTING FACTORS

Figure A4e: Contributing Factors by Ideology — All Respondents

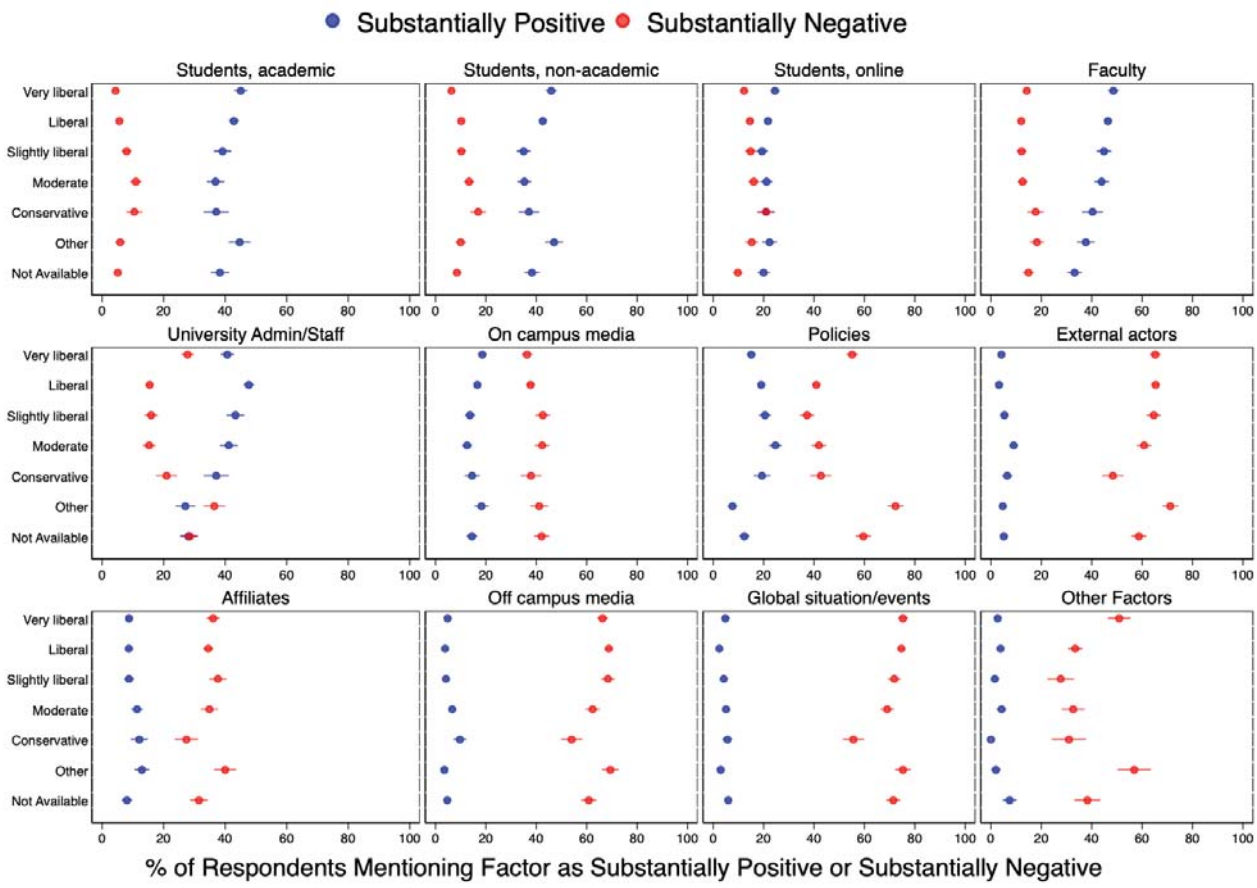
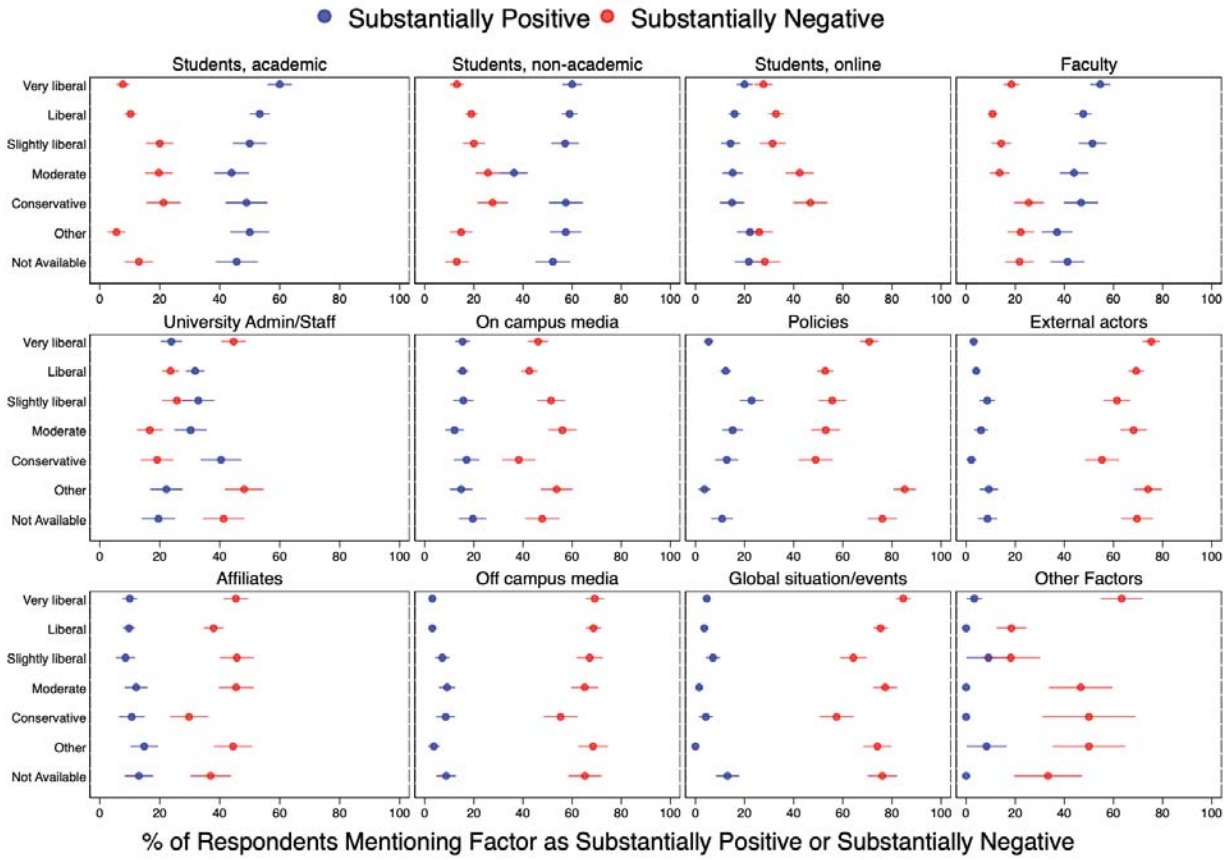


Figure A4f: Contributing Factors by Ideology — Only Students



A5. Heterogeneity by School[632]

SAFETY AND BELONGING

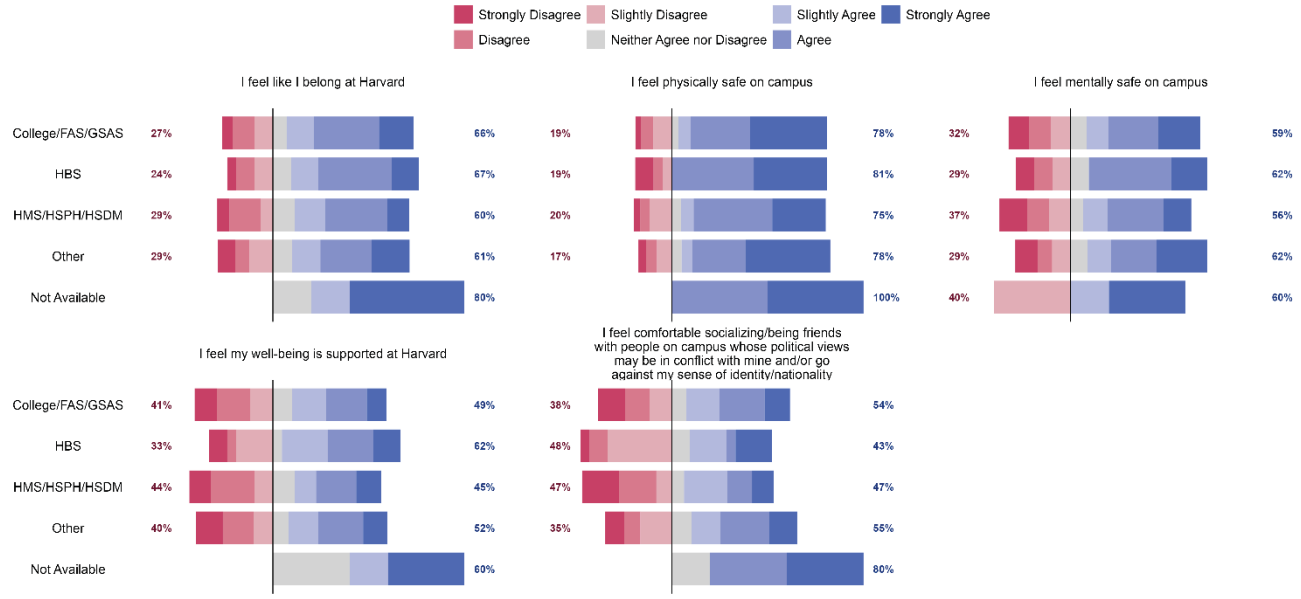
Figure A5a: Safety and Belonging by School — All Respondents



Note:
Percentage labels omitted when less than 5 percent.
Percent Agree = Percent 'Slightly agree,' 'Agree,' or 'Strongly agree'.
Percent Disagree = Percent 'Slightly disagree,' 'Disagree,' or 'Strongly disagree.

[632] For presentational simplicity, we group similar Schools together and include Schools with the fewest observations in the "Other" category. Counts for each category are as follows: College/FAS/GSAS (FAS — 639; College — 367; GSAS — 260); HBS (303); HMS/HSPH/HSDM (HMS — 195; HSPH — 175; HSDM — 5); Other (Central Administration — 130; HKS — 116; Harvard Division of Continuing Education including the Extension School — 110; SEAS — 82; HDS — 61; HLS — 59; GSD — 56; HGSE — 55; Harvard Radcliffe Institute for Advanced Study — 13; Other — 16); Not Available (164).

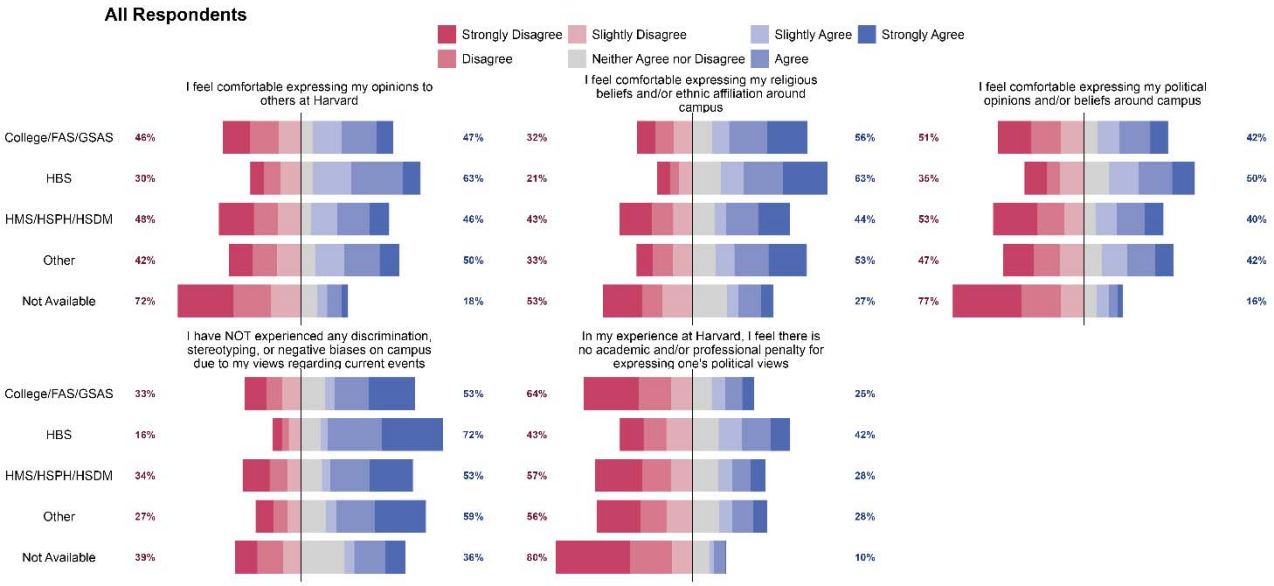
Figure A5b: Safety and Belonging by School — Only Students



Note:
Percentage labels omitted when less than 5 percent.
Percent Agree = Percent 'Slightly agree,' 'Agree,' or 'Strongly agree'.
Percent Disagree = Percent 'Slightly disagree,' 'Disagree,' or 'Strongly disagree.

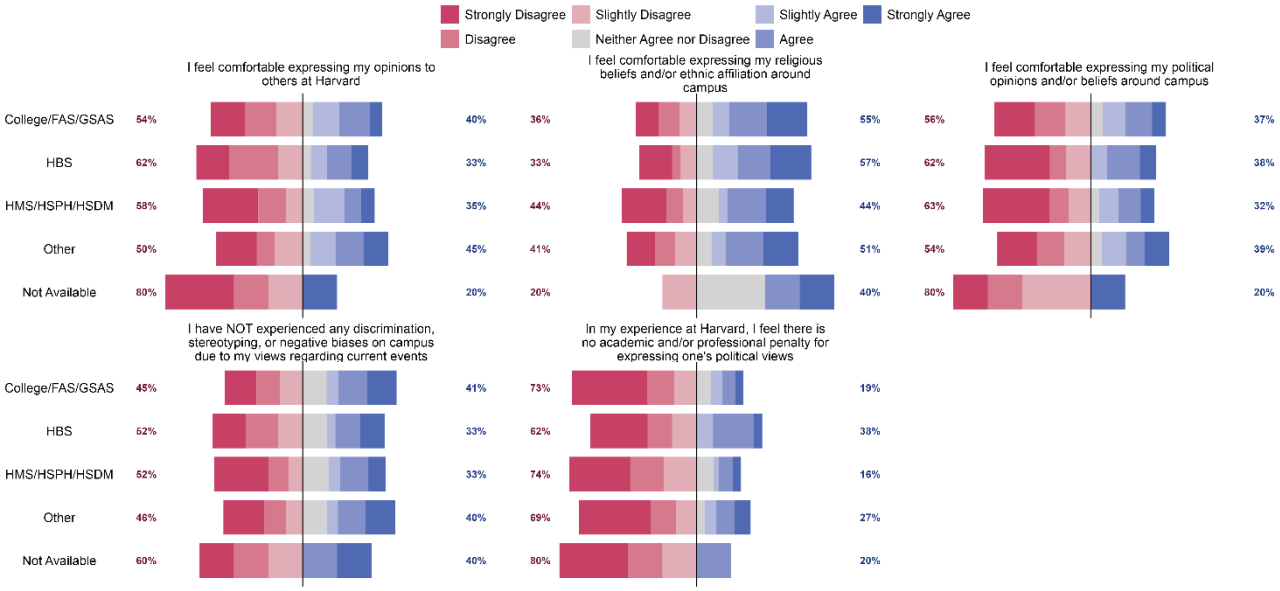
FREEDOM OF EXPRESSION

Figure A5c: Freedom of Expression by School — All Respondents



Note:
Percentage labels omitted when less than 5 percent.
Percent Agree = Percent 'Slightly agree,' 'Agree,' or 'Strongly agree'.
Percent Disagree = Percent 'Slightly disagree,' 'Disagree,' or 'Strongly disagree.

Figure A5d: Freedom of Expression by School — Only Students



Note:
Percentage labels omitted when less than 5 percent.
Percent Agree = Percent 'Slightly agree,' 'Agree,' or 'Strongly agree'.
Percent Disagree = Percent 'Slightly disagree,' 'Disagree,' or 'Strongly disagree.

CONTRIBUTING FACTORS

Figure A5e: Contributing Factors by School — All Respondents

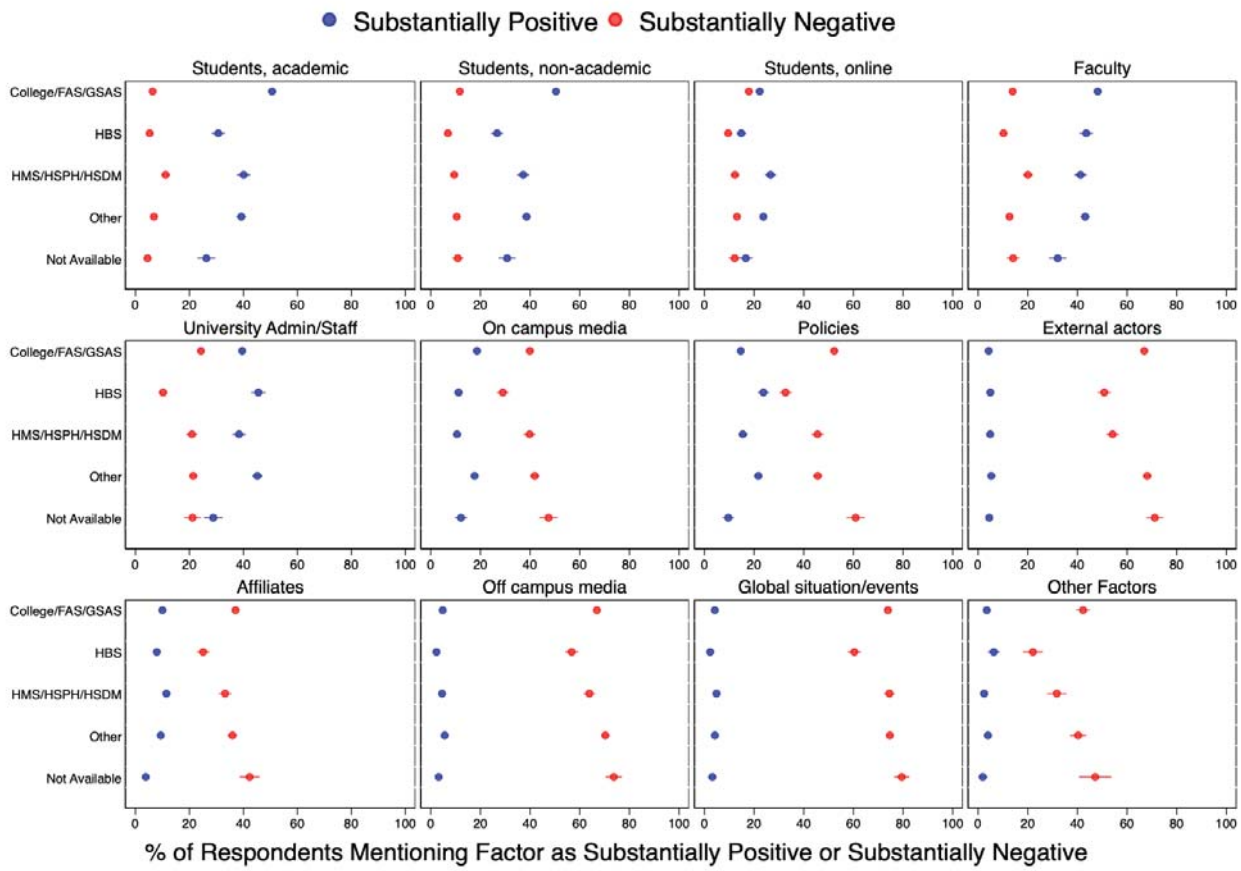
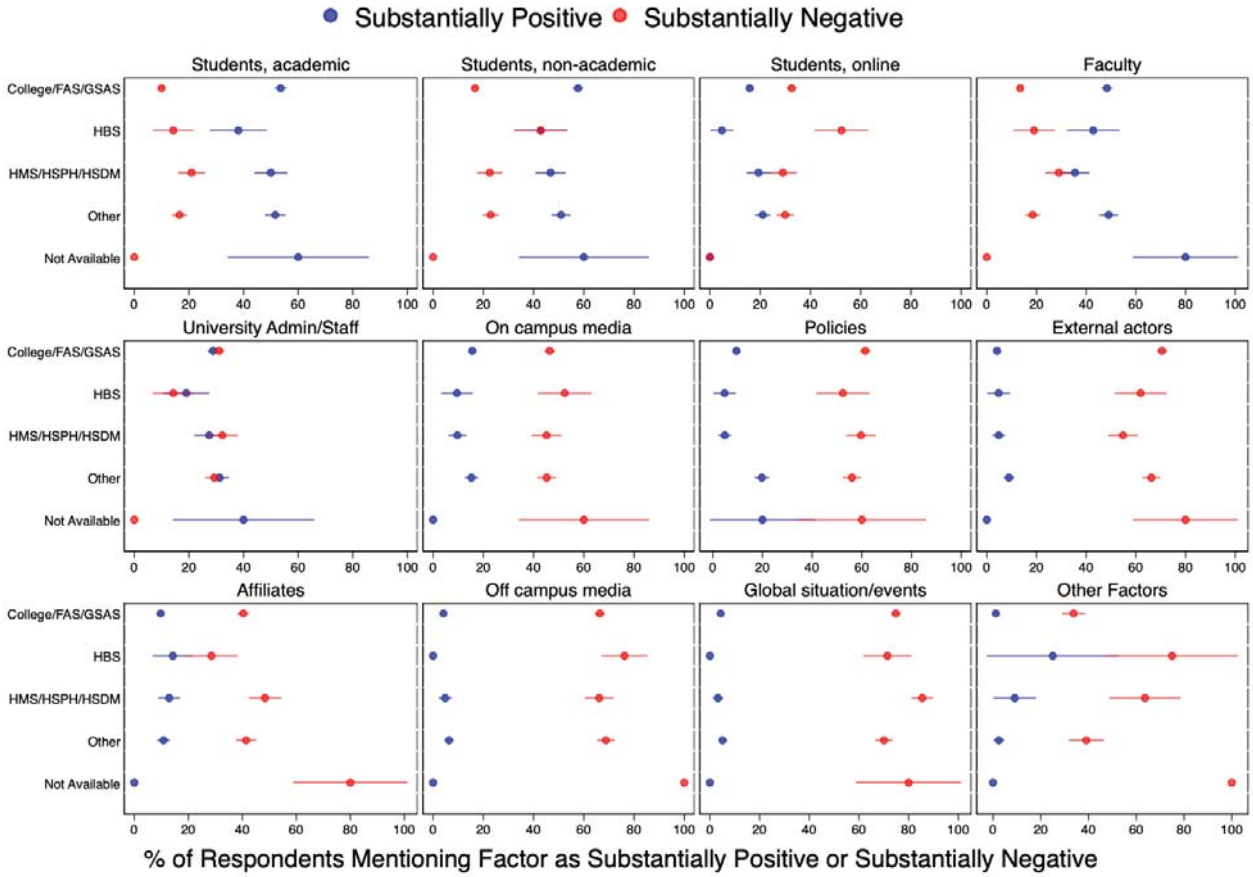


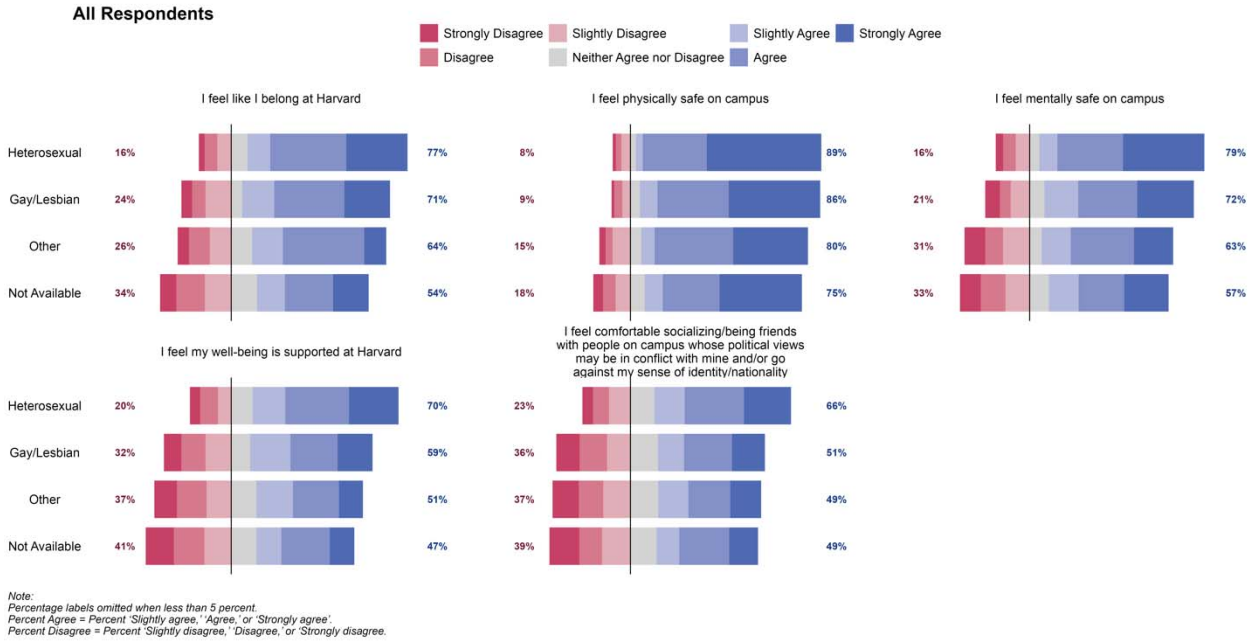
Figure A5f: Contributing Factors by School — Only Students



A6. Heterogeneity by Sexual Orientation

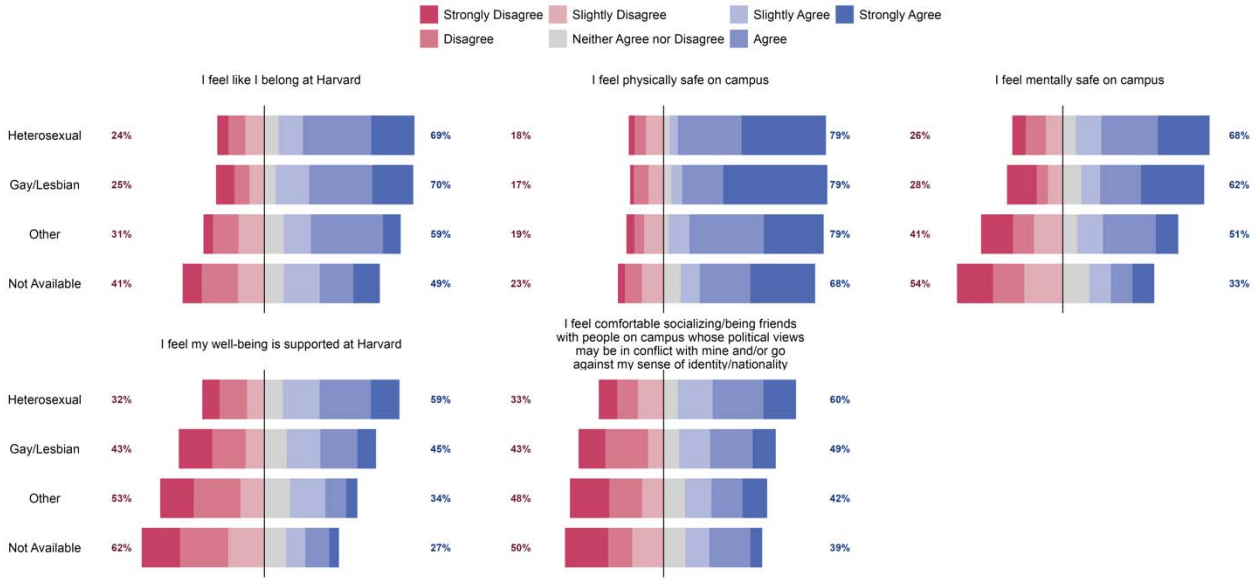
SAFETY AND BELONGING

Figure A6a: Safety and Belonging by Sexuality — All Respondents



Note:
Percentage labels omitted when less than 5 percent.
Percent Agree = Percent 'Slightly agree,' 'Agree,' or 'Strongly agree'.
Percent Disagree = Percent 'Slightly disagree,' 'Disagree,' or 'Strongly disagree.

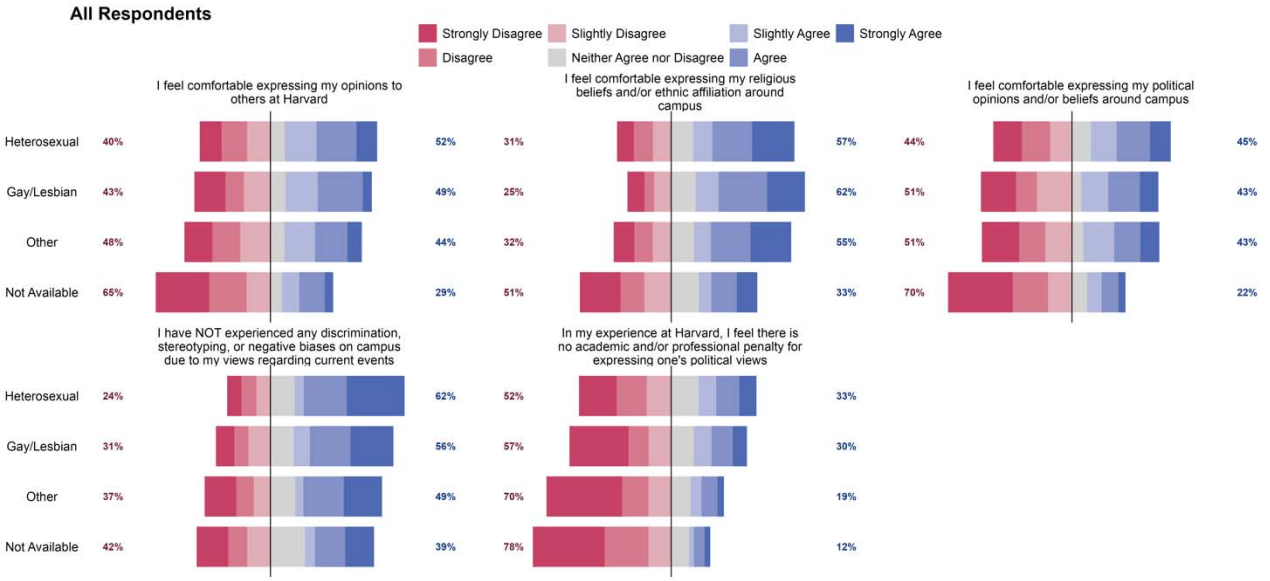
Figure A6b: Safety and Belonging by Sexuality — Only Students



Note:
Percentage labels omitted when less than 5 percent.
Percent Agree = Percent 'Slightly agree,' 'Agree,' or 'Strongly agree'.
Percent Disagree = Percent 'Slightly disagree,' 'Disagree,' or 'Strongly disagree.

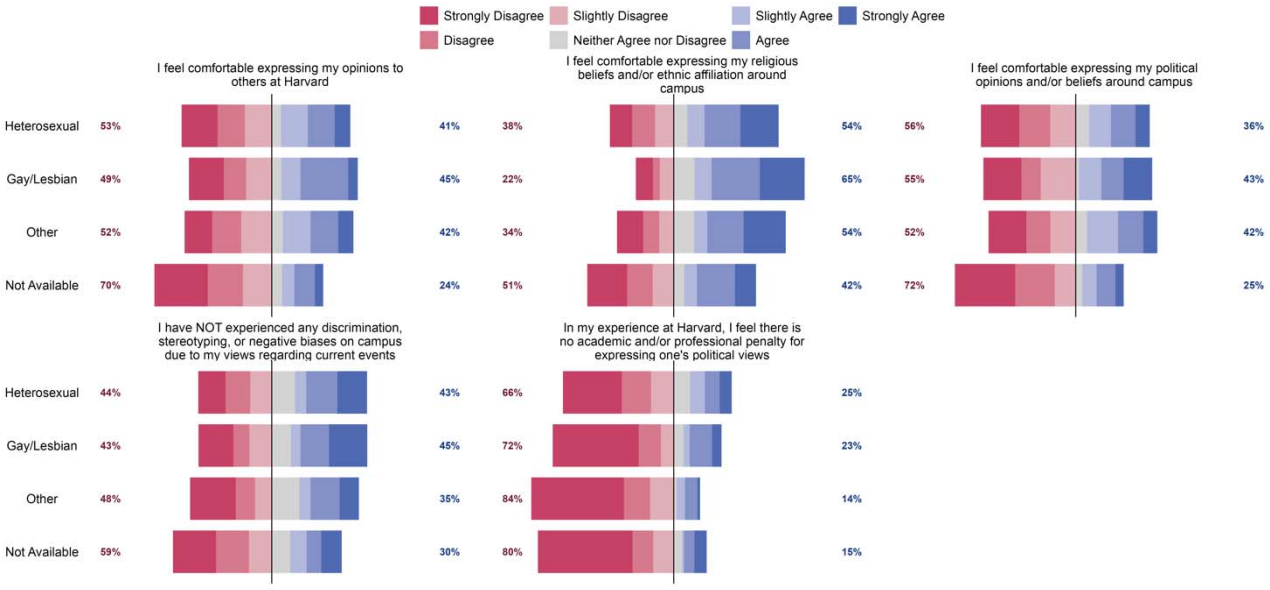
FREEDOM OF EXPRESSION

Figure A6c: Freedom of Expression by Sexuality — All Respondents



Note:
Percentage labels omitted when less than 5 percent.
Percent Agree = Percent 'Slightly agree,' 'Agree,' or 'Strongly agree'.
Percent Disagree = Percent 'Slightly disagree,' 'Disagree,' or 'Strongly disagree.

Figure A6d: Freedom of Expression by Sexuality — Only Students



Note:
Percentage labels omitted when less than 5 percent.
Percent Agree = Percent 'Slightly agree,' 'Agree,' or 'Strongly agree'.
Percent Disagree = Percent 'Slightly disagree,' 'Disagree,' or 'Strongly disagree.

CONTRIBUTING FACTORS

Figure A6e: Contributing Factors by Sexuality — All Respondents

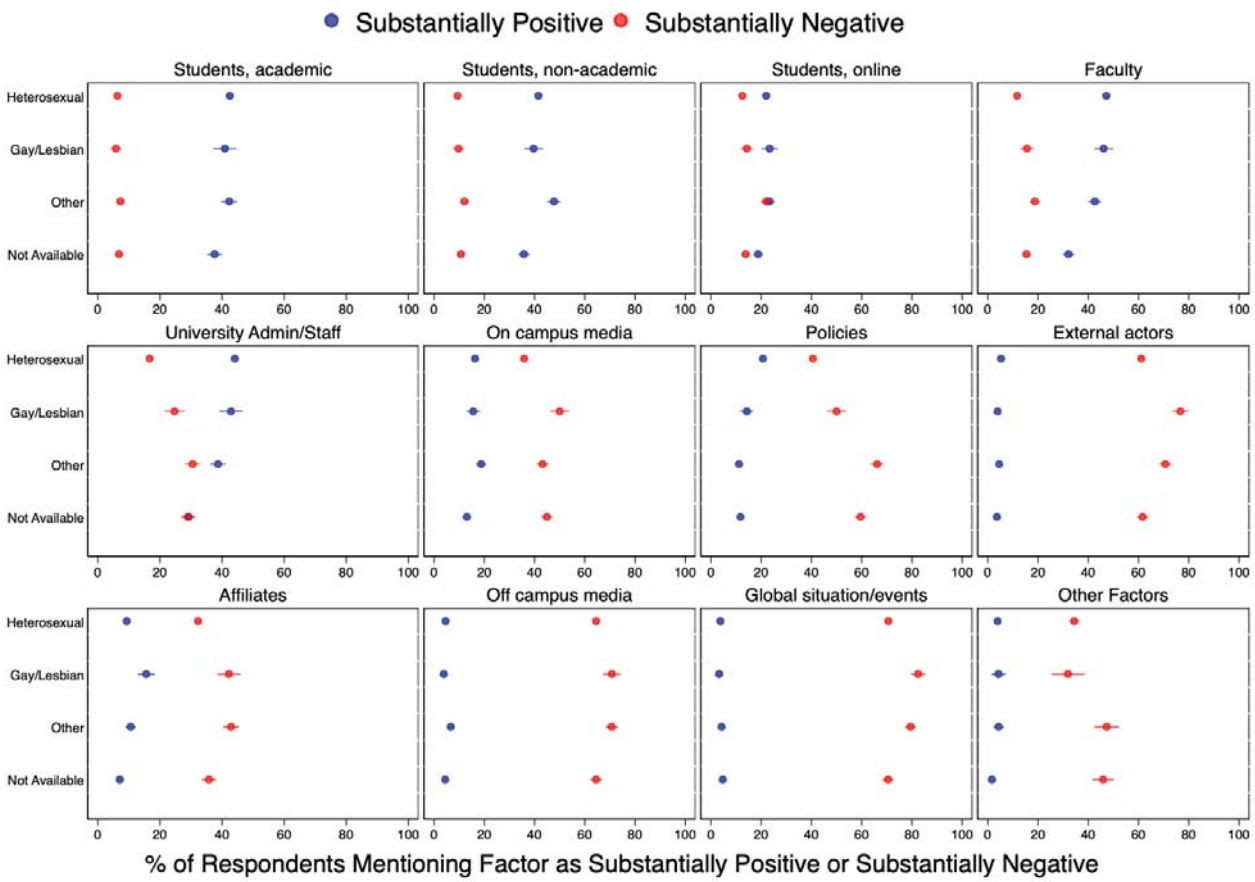
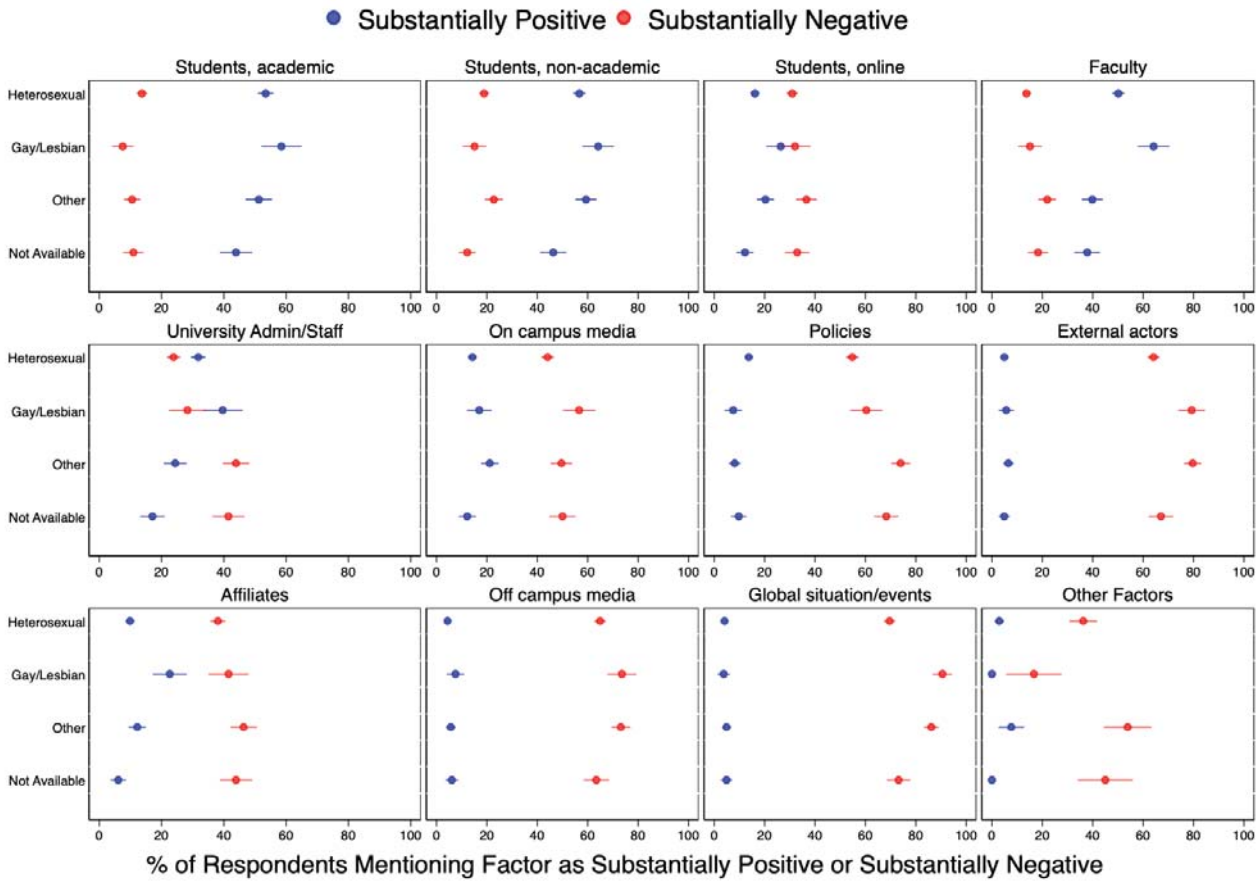


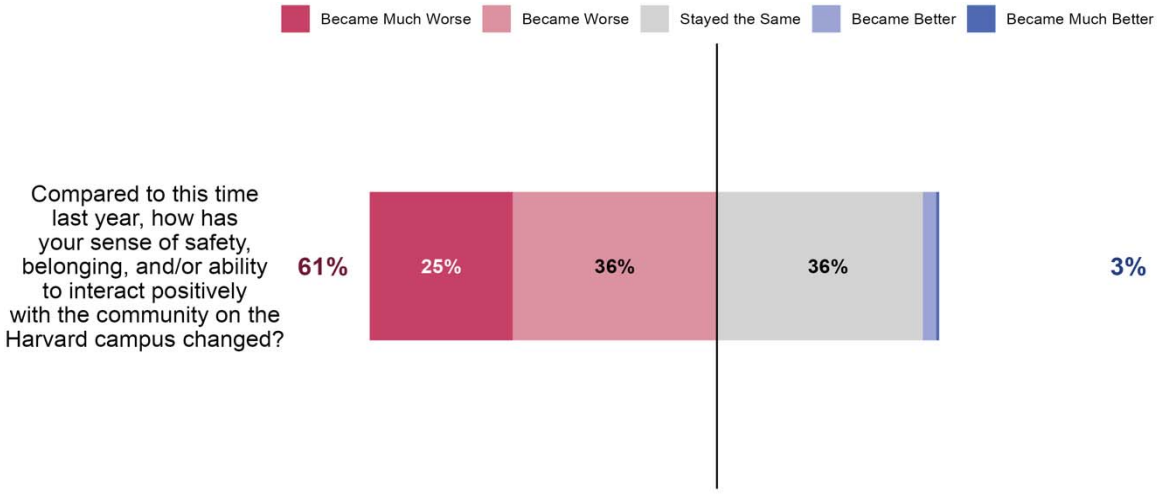
Figure A6f: Contributing Factors by Sexuality — Students Only



APPENDIX B: CHANGES OVER TIME

B1. Change in Experience Over Time (Overall)

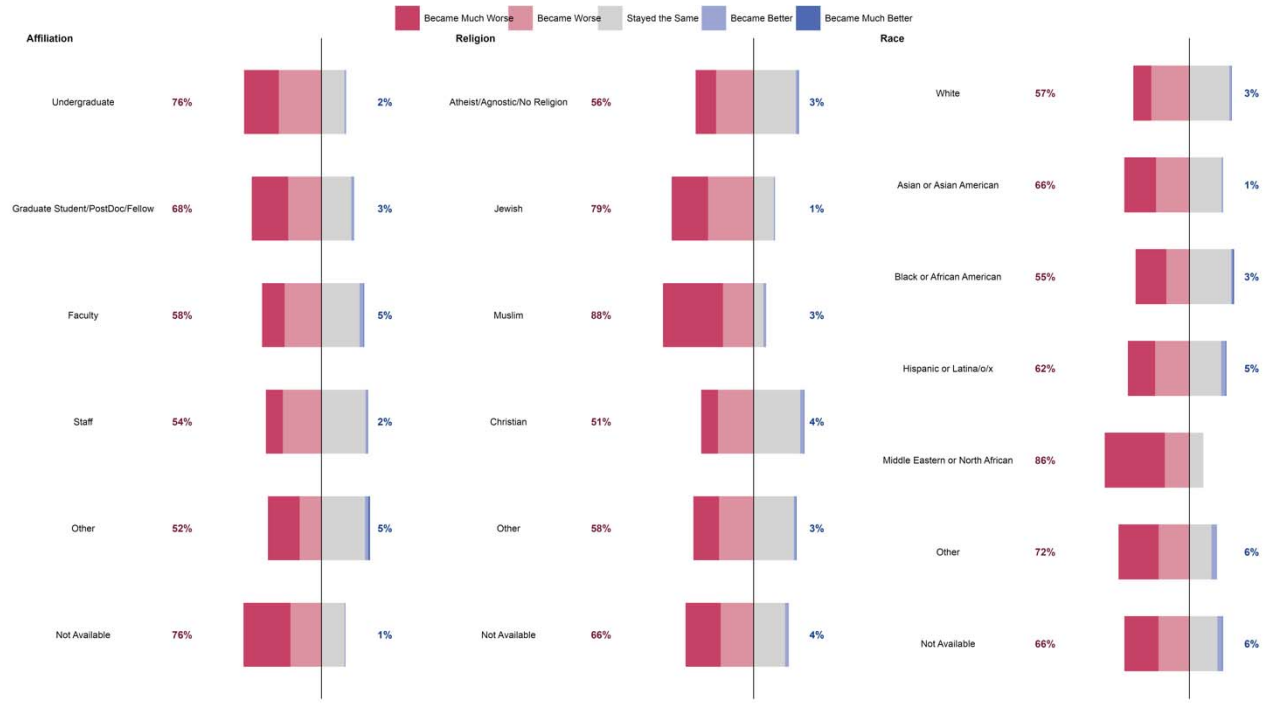
Figure B1: Change in Experience — All Respondents



Note:
Percentage labels omitted when less than 5 percent.
Those who reported not being on campus last year are omitted.
Percent Worse = Percent 'Worse' or 'Much worse'.
Percent Better = Percent 'Better' or 'Much better'.

B2. Change in Experience Over Time (By Affiliation, Religion, Race)

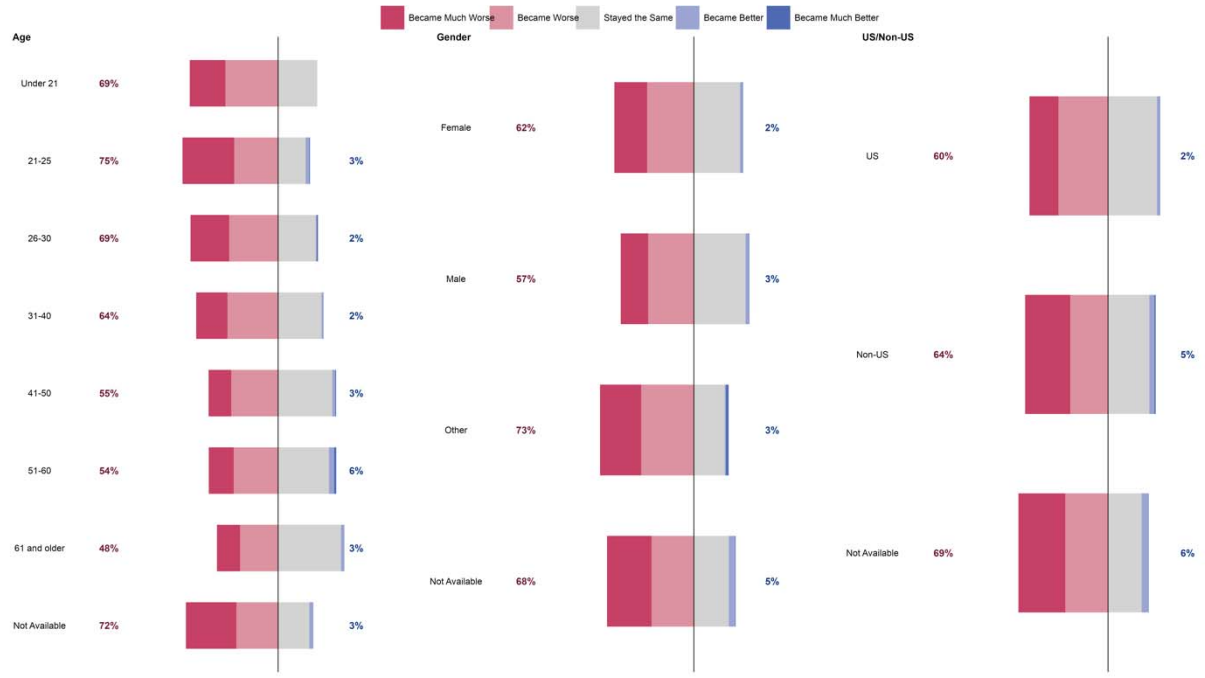
Figure B2: Change in Experience by Affiliation, Religion, Race — All Respondents



Note:
Percentage labels omitted when less than 5 percent.
Those who reported not being on campus last year are omitted.
Percent Worse = Percent 'Worse' or 'Much worse'.
Percent Better = Percent 'Better' or 'Much better'.

B3. Change in Experience Over Time (By Age, Gender, US/Non-US)

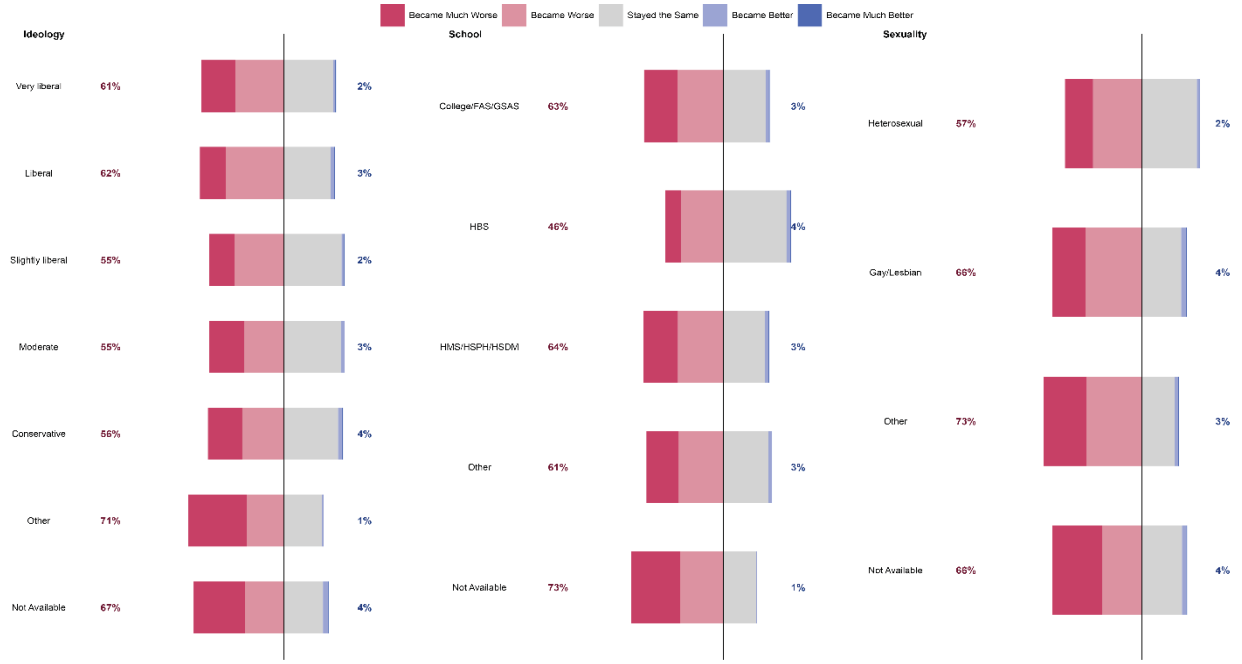
Figure B3: Change in Experience by Age, Gender, US/Non-US — All Respondents



Note:
Percentage labels omitted when less than 5 percent.
Those who reported not being on campus last year are omitted.
Percent Worse = Percent 'Worse' or 'Much worse'.
Percent Better = Percent 'Better' or 'Much better'.

B4. Change in Experience Over Time (By Ideology, School, Sexual Orientation)

Figure B4: Change in Experience by Ideology, School, Sexual Orientation — All Respondents



Note:
Percentage labels omitted when less than 5 percent.
Those who reported not being on campus last year are omitted.
Percent Worse = Percent 'Worse' or 'Much worse'.
Percent Better = Percent 'Better' or 'Much better'.

APPENDIX C — REGRESSION ANALYSIS

C1. Regressions — Safety and Belonging Freedom of Expression (By Affiliation)

Table C1a: Safety and Belonging by Affiliation — All Respondents

Dependent Variable	Belonging		Physical Safety		Mental Safety		Well-being Supported		Comfort Socializing	
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)
Undergrad	-0.4369***	-0.2619*	-0.7499***	-0.6032***	-1.1280***	-0.9123***	-0.9140***	-0.6744***	-0.9311***	-0.7519***
	(0.1438)	(0.1391)	(0.1270)	(0.1211)	(0.1507)	(0.1446)	(0.1533)	(0.1493)	(0.1578)	(0.1541)
Grad/PostDoc/Fellow	-0.7200***	-0.4697***	-0.7169***	-0.5424***	-1.0903***	-0.8074***	-0.8837***	-0.5953***	-1.0124***	-0.7362***
	(0.1132)	(0.1106)	(0.0968)	(0.0927)	(0.1203)	(0.1116)	(0.1218)	(0.1160)	(0.1223)	(0.1196)
Staff	-0.0087	-0.0205	-0.2013***	-0.2145***	-0.2039**	-0.2081**	0.1900*	0.2142**	-0.3640***	-0.4128***
	(0.0929)	(0.0960)	(0.0707)	(0.0752)	(0.0933)	(0.0932)	(0.1011)	(0.1017)	(0.0996)	(0.1031)
Other	-0.5001**	-0.4341*	-0.5420***	-0.5128***	-0.7434***	-0.6515***	-0.4991*	-0.3889	-0.4918*	-0.4378*
	(0.2468)	(0.2309)	(0.2093)	(0.1917)	(0.2705)	(0.2351)	(0.2716)	(0.2501)	(0.2632)	(0.2356)
N	2280	2280	2269	2269	2266	2266	2280	2280	2245	2245
R-Squared	0.0401	0.1842	0.0470	0.1869	0.0682	0.2555	0.0699	0.2153	0.0399	0.1709
Mean Omitted	5.4412	5.4412	6.3361	6.3361	5.7875	5.7875	5.0513	5.0513	5.2342	5.2342
Controls?	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y

Notes: * 0.10 ** 0.05 *** 0.01. Omitted category is Faculty. Results are shown both with and without controls. Controls are dummies for all values of our demographic categories: race, sexuality, affiliation, gender, political ideology, nationality (dummy US/Non-US). Those that refused to provide affiliation are included as a dummy but not shown in the table.

Table C1b: Freedom of Expression by Affiliation — All Respondents

Dependent Variable	Comfortable Expressing Opinions		Comfortable Expressing Religion/Ethnicity		Comfortable Expressing Political Beliefs		No Discrimination Expressing Views		No Professional Penalty Expressing Political Views	
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)
Undergrad	-0.5365***	-0.4485***	-1.3310***	-1.0812***	-0.0639	-0.0497	-0.3943**	-0.3104**	-0.9695***	-0.7631***
	(0.1598)	(0.1565)	(0.1701)	(0.1637)	(0.1674)	(0.1609)	(0.1663)	(0.1575)	(0.1561)	(0.1594)
Grad/PostDoc/Fellow	-0.7510***	-0.5467***	-1.0918***	-0.8137***	-0.5789***	-0.4603***	-0.6854***	-0.5144***	-0.8293***	-0.6144***
	(0.1316)	(0.1253)	(0.1359)	(0.1300)	(0.1397)	(0.1306)	(0.1353)	(0.1284)	(0.1285)	(0.1268)
Staff	-0.0710	-0.2110*	0.1758	0.0542	-0.1865	-0.4136***	-0.0807	-0.2488**	0.0070	0.0126
	(0.1118)	(0.1083)	(0.1119)	(0.1094)	(0.1153)	(0.1140)	(0.1180)	(0.1133)	(0.1131)	(0.1128)
Other	0.1744	0.1801	-0.5343*	-0.4580*	-0.3635	-0.3816	0.3171	0.3139	-0.3393	-0.2509
	(0.2691)	(0.2500)	(0.2906)	(0.2522)	(0.2764)	(0.2336)	(0.2806)	(0.2416)	(0.2786)	(0.2619)
N	2281	2281	2250	2250	2235	2235	2265	2265	2260	2260
R-Squared	0.0400	0.2009	0.0911	0.2695	0.0302	0.2204	0.0368	0.2302	0.0511	0.1654
Mean Omitted	4.2520	4.2520	5.1164	5.1164	4.7726	4.7726	3.9917	3.9917	3.5514	3.5514
Controls?	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y

Dependent Variable	Students Academic		Students Non-Academic		Students Online		Faculty		Admin/ Staff		On-Campus Media	
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)	(11)	(12)
Undergrad	-0.0804	-0.0942*	0.0498	-0.0187	-0.5283***	-0.5750***	0.0580	0.0878	-0.3357***	-0.3048***	-0.1022*	-0.1129*
	(0.0494)	(0.0509)	(0.0541)	(0.0554)	(0.0511)	(0.0515)	(0.0521)	(0.0537)	(0.0587)	(0.0591)	(0.0566)	(0.0580)
Grad/PostDoc/Fellow	-0.2284***	-0.2207***	-0.1761***	-0.2025***	-0.2819***	-0.2829***	-0.1299***	-0.0835*	-0.2171***	-0.1634***	-0.1003**	-0.0729
	(0.0419)	(0.0426)	(0.0429)	(0.0428)	(0.0386)	(0.0386)	(0.0466)	(0.0471)	(0.0472)	(0.0476)	(0.0441)	(0.0447)
Staff	-0.3512***	-0.3734***	-0.1899***	-0.2494***	-0.1236***	-0.1651***	-0.1051***	-0.1244***	0.0691*	0.0636	-0.0153	-0.0473
	(0.0322)	(0.0344)	(0.0324)	(0.0342)	(0.0308)	(0.0322)	(0.0389)	(0.0408)	(0.0407)	(0.0422)	(0.0387)	(0.0399)
Other	-0.2574***	-0.2688***	-0.1947**	-0.2252***	-0.0867	-0.1148	-0.0582	-0.0629	-0.1728*	-0.1499	0.1743*	0.1573*
	(0.0801)	(0.0786)	(0.0829)	(0.0769)	(0.0757)	(0.0724)	(0.0903)	(0.0876)	(0.1004)	(0.0950)	(0.0892)	(0.0828)
N	2333	2333	2342	2342	2324	2324	2377	2377	2344	2344	2358	2358
R-Squared	0.0565	0.0922	0.0244	0.0751	0.0671	0.1074	0.0101	0.0544	0.0382	0.1019	0.0065	0.0548
Mean Omitted	0.5618	0.5618	0.4300	0.4300	0.2485	0.2485	0.3670	0.3670	0.2610	0.2610	-0.1888	-0.1888
Controls?	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y

Notes: * 0.10 ** 0.05 *** 0.01. Omitted category is faculty. Results are shown both with and without controls. Controls are dummies for all values of our demographic categories: race, sexuality, affiliation, gender, political ideology, nationality (dummy US/Non-US). Those that refused to provide affiliation are included as a dummy but not shown in the table. If respondent said the factor was both positive and negative, they are included multiple times.

Dependent Variable	Policies		External Actors		Affiliates		Off-Campus Media		Global Events		Other Factors	
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)	(11)	(12)
Undergrad	-0.2872***	-0.2154***	-0.1152**	-0.1015**	-0.1298***	-0.1337***	0.0232	0.0439	0.0196	0.0438	-0.0625	-0.0413
	(0.0543)	(0.0557)	(0.0450)	(0.0465)	(0.0482)	(0.0503)	(0.0442)	(0.0460)	(0.0441)	(0.0458)	(0.0440)	(0.1001)
Grad/PostDoc/Fellow	-0.1861***	-0.1110**	-0.0318	-0.0251	-0.0831**	-0.0776*	0.0627*	0.0805**	0.0217	0.0386	0.1077	0.1341
	(0.0454)	(0.0458)	(0.0378)	(0.0386)	(0.0387)	(0.0397)	(0.0379)	(0.0390)	(0.0353)	(0.0361)	(0.0933)	(0.0981)
Staff	0.0981**	0.1209***	-0.0150	-0.0005	-0.0813**	-0.0859**	0.0252	0.0505	0.0049	0.0213	0.1563**	0.1122
	(0.0417)	(0.0426)	(0.0333)	(0.0340)	(0.0326)	(0.0343)	(0.0323)	(0.0340)	(0.0304)	(0.0317)	(0.0710)	(0.0690)
Other	-0.0543	-0.0198	-0.0073	0.0084	0.0382	0.0443	0.0400	0.0552	-0.0439	-0.0291	0.6875**	0.6989**
	(0.1005)	(0.0942)	(0.0754)	(0.0722)	(0.0880)	(0.0849)	(0.0775)	(0.0745)	(0.0667)	(0.0652)	(0.3488)	(0.3509)
N	2350	2350	2322	2322	2331	2331	2334	2334	2340	2340	282	282
R-Squared	0.0381	0.1194	0.0031	0.0469	0.0058	0.0293	0.0013	0.0369	0.0005	0.0457	0.0486	0.1593
Omitted Mean	-0.2500	-0.2500	-0.5515	-0.5515	-0.1811	-0.1811	-0.6283	-0.6283	-0.6767	-0.6767	-0.9375	-0.9375
Controls?	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y

Notes: * 0.10 ** 0.05 *** 0.01. Omitted category is faculty. Results are shown both with and without controls. Controls are dummies for all values of our demographic categories: race, sexuality, affiliation, gender, political ideology, nationality (dummy US/Non-US). Those that refused to provide affiliation are included as a dummy but not shown in the table. If respondent said the factor was both positive and negative, they are included multiple times.

C2. Regressions — Safety and Belonging And Freedom of Expression (By Religion)

Dependent Variable	Belonging		Physical Safety		Mental Safety		Well-being Supported		Comfort Socializing	
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)
Atheist	-0.1476*	-0.0966	0.0221	0.0108	-0.0036	0.0526	-0.2350***	-0.1182	-0.2911***	-0.1579*
	(0.0802)	(0.0772)	(0.0627)	(0.0624)	(0.0818)	(0.0766)	(0.0856)	(0.0805)	(0.0919)	(0.0894)
Muslim	-1.6975***	-0.8268***	-1.8109***	-1.1759***	-2.2487***	-1.2513***	-1.9842***	-1.0307***	-1.7750***	-0.8675***
	(0.2310)	(0.2466)	(0.2256)	(0.2335)	(0.2359)	(0.2426)	(0.2222)	(0.2383)	(0.2248)	(0.2353)
Jewish	-0.5541***	-0.5498***	-0.6023***	-0.6196***	-0.8153***	-0.7542***	-0.7961***	-0.7246***	-0.7537***	-0.7607***
	(0.1006)	(0.0977)	(0.0882)	(0.0864)	(0.1083)	(0.1001)	(0.1060)	(0.1009)	(0.1121)	(0.1105)
Other	-0.2925**	-0.1663	-0.2182**	-0.1378	-0.3901***	-0.2281**	-0.2765**	-0.1327	-0.3039**	-0.0650
	(0.1149)	(0.1134)	(0.0953)	(0.0960)	(0.1221)	(0.1158)	(0.1258)	(0.1218)	(0.1264)	(0.1192)
N	2280	2280	2269	2269	2266	2266	2280	2280	2245	2245
R-Squared	0.0675	0.1838	0.0929	0.1837	0.0964	0.2541	0.0717	0.2134	0.0478	0.1682
Mean Omitted	5.5719	5.5719	6.3141	6.3141	5.7177	5.7177	5.3125	5.3125	5.2241	5.2241
Controls?	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y

Notes: * 0.10 ** 0.05 *** 0.01. Omitted category is Christians. Results are shown both with and without controls. Controls are dummies for all values of our demographic categories: race, sexuality, affiliation, gender, political ideology, nationality (dummy US/Non-US). Those that refused to provide religion are included as a dummy but not shown in the table.

Dependent Variable	Opinions		Comfortable Expressing Religion/Ethnicity		Political Beliefs		No Discrimination Expressing Views		No Professional Penalty Expressing Political Views	
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)
Atheist	0.1865*	0.0570	0.2901***	0.2956***	0.3572***	0.1606*	0.3479***	0.1540	-0.1233	-0.0760
	(0.0963)	(0.0914)	(0.0982)	(0.0913)	(0.0962)	(0.0942)	(0.1002)	(0.0958)	(0.0992)	(0.0979)
Muslim	-1.6329***	-0.7384***	-2.3412***	-1.0327***	-1.7821***	-1.1033***	-1.7386***	-0.9105***	-1.7779***	-0.9981***
	(0.2053)	(0.2237)	(0.2192)	(0.2411)	(0.2260)	(0.2515)	(0.1670)	(0.1910)	(0.1516)	(0.1763)
Jewish	-0.6752***	-0.7320***	-0.8597***	-0.8515***	-1.1244***	-1.1536***	-0.6827***	-0.7823***	-0.3425***	-0.3194***
	(0.1140)	(0.1062)	(0.1223)	(0.1128)	(0.1201)	(0.1157)	(0.1161)	(0.1071)	(0.1136)	(0.1122)
Other	-0.2734**	-0.1580	-0.1854	-0.0586	-0.2627**	-0.1809	-0.4187***	-0.3101**	-0.2258*	-0.1049
	(0.1297)	(0.1251)	(0.1403)	(0.1315)	(0.1335)	(0.1330)	(0.1281)	(0.1245)	(0.1326)	(0.1279)
N	2281	2281	2250	2250	2235	2235	2265	2265	2260	2260
R-Squared	0.0653	0.1994	0.1018	0.2678	0.1084	0.2185	0.0877	0.2289	0.0520	0.1641
Mean Omitted	4.2640	4.2640	5.1164	5.1164	4.8410	4.8410	4.0051	4.0051	3.5990	3.5990
Controls?	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y

Notes: * 0.10 ** 0.05 *** 0.01. Omitted category is Christians. Results are shown both with and without controls. Controls are dummies for all values of our demographic categories: race, sexuality, affiliation, gender, political ideology, nationality (dummy US/Non-US). Those that refused to provide religion are included as a dummy but not shown in the table.

Dependent Variable	Students Academic		Students Non-Academic		Students Online		Faculty		Admin/ Staff		On-Campus Media	
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)	(11)	(12)
Atheist	0.0290	-0.0038	0.0485	0.0132	-0.0203	-0.0258	-0.0129	-0.0215	-0.0883**	-0.0623*	-0.0036	-0.0168
	(0.0284)	(0.0287)	(0.0303)	(0.0315)	(0.0296)	(0.0297)	(0.0329)	(0.0344)	(0.0364)	(0.0369)	(0.0342)	(0.0354)
Muslim	-0.0930	-0.0876	-0.0003	-0.0199	-0.2119***	-0.0852	-0.3604***	-0.2582***	-0.5225***	-0.2985***	-0.3370***	-0.2004**
	(0.0720)	(0.0786)	(0.0721)	(0.0801)	(0.0678)	(0.0733)	(0.0815)	(0.0872)	(0.0787)	(0.0872)	(0.0734)	(0.0807)
Jewish	-0.0823**	-0.1226***	-0.1913***	-0.2079***	-0.1919***	-0.1861***	-0.1245***	-0.1351***	-0.2138***	-0.1946***	-0.2233***	-0.2254***
	(0.0359)	(0.0353)	(0.0390)	(0.0400)	(0.0376)	(0.0364)	(0.0406)	(0.0416)	(0.0427)	(0.0433)	(0.0403)	(0.0418)
Other	-0.0076	0.0249	0.0059	0.0161	0.0556	0.0426	-0.0573	-0.0197	-0.1139**	-0.0925*	-0.0014	0.0201
	(0.0359)	(0.0354)	(0.0404)	(0.0412)	(0.0381)	(0.0377)	(0.0442)	(0.0453)	(0.0497)	(0.0498)	(0.0475)	(0.0481)
N	2333	2333	2342	2342	2324	2324	2377	2377	2344	2344	2358	2358
R-Squared	0.0063	0.0902	0.0180	0.0711	0.0202	0.1045	0.0155	0.0538	0.0314	0.1009	0.0219	0.0541
Mean Omitted	0.3787	0.3787	0.3618	0.3618	0.1495	0.1495	0.3712	0.3712	0.3493	0.3493	-0.1400	-0.1400
Controls?	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y

Notes: * 0.10 ** 0.05 *** 0.01. Omitted category is Christians. Results are shown both with and without controls. Controls are dummies for all values of our demographic categories: race, sexuality, affiliation, gender, political ideology, nationality (dummy US/Non-US). Those that refused to provide religion are included as a dummy but not shown in the table. If respondent said the factor was both positive and negative, they are included multiple times.

Dependent Variable	Policies		External Actors		Affiliates		Off-Campus Media		Global Events		Other Factors	
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)	(11)	(12)
Atheist	-0.0779**	-0.0135	-0.0714**	-0.0404	-0.0358	-0.0233	-0.0293	-0.0131	-0.0570**	-0.0389	-0.1308*	-0.1325
	(0.0367)	(0.0369)	(0.0293)	(0.0304)	(0.0303)	(0.0320)	(0.0293)	(0.0304)	(0.0269)	(0.0276)	(0.0773)	(0.0822)
Muslim	-0.5472***	-0.3494***	-0.2696***	-0.2899***	-0.2067***	-0.1992**	-0.2125***	-0.2221***	-0.2364***	-0.2433***	-0.2519***	-0.0933
	(0.0602)	(0.0733)	(0.0492)	(0.0579)	(0.0707)	(0.0798)	(0.0564)	(0.0611)	(0.0488)	(0.0552)	(0.0613)	(0.0861)
Jewish	-0.1731***	-0.1439***	-0.1801***	-0.1662***	-0.1537***	-0.1497***	-0.1395***	-0.1359***	-0.2087***	-0.2053***	-0.1051	-0.1201
	(0.0431)	(0.0441)	(0.0327)	(0.0337)	(0.0359)	(0.0373)	(0.0331)	(0.0348)	(0.0292)	(0.0311)	(0.0922)	(0.1011)
Other	-0.0395	0.0045	-0.0595	-0.0346	-0.0165	0.0040	-0.0514	-0.0309	-0.0966***	-0.0680*	0.0221	0.0174
	(0.0502)	(0.0489)	(0.0380)	(0.0382)	(0.0407)	(0.0421)	(0.0390)	(0.0394)	(0.0349)	(0.0353)	(0.1037)	(0.1142)
N	2350	2350	2322	2322	2331	2331	2334	2334	2340	2340	282	282
R-Squared	0.0302	0.1165	0.0188	0.0467	0.0110	0.0293	0.0123	0.0369	0.0234	0.0455	0.0196	0.1570
Mean Omitted	-0.1324	-0.1324	-0.5174	-0.5174	-0.2039	-0.2039	-0.5517	-0.5517	-0.6036	-0.6036	-0.7105	-0.7105
Controls?	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y

Notes: * 0.10 ** 0.05 *** 0.01. Omitted category is Christians. Results are shown both with and without controls. Controls are dummies for all values of our demographic categories: race, sexuality, affiliation, gender, political ideology, nationality (dummy US/Non-US). Those that refused to provide religion are included as a dummy but not shown in the table. If respondent said the factor was both positive and negative, they are included multiple times.

C3. Regressions — Safety and Belonging And Freedom of Expression (By Race)

Table C3a: Safety and Belonging by Race — All Respondents

Dependent Variable	Belonging		Physical Safety		Mental Safety		Well-being Supported		Comfort Socializing	
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)
Asian	-0.3845***	-0.1055	-0.3849***	-0.0865	-0.5439***	-0.1499	-0.6645***	-0.2290*	-0.7516***	-0.4552***
	(0.1271)	(0.1254)	(0.1062)	(0.1018)	(0.1339)	(0.1282)	(0.1398)	(0.1358)	(0.1325)	(0.1348)
Black	-0.6767***	-0.6309***	-0.3615**	-0.2441	-0.8736***	-0.6781***	-0.7377***	-0.5782***	-0.4050*	-0.3787*
	(0.2200)	(0.2143)	(0.1823)	(0.1666)	(0.2340)	(0.2171)	(0.2282)	(0.2142)	(0.2189)	(0.2153)
Hispanic	-0.3000*	-0.2297	-0.1541	-0.0899	-0.3902**	-0.2630	-0.3002*	-0.1795	-0.3790*	-0.2909
	(0.1701)	(0.1620)	(0.1480)	(0.1381)	(0.1832)	(0.1673)	(0.1809)	(0.1670)	(0.1952)	(0.1816)
MENA	-1.6959***	-1.1092***	-1.4183***	-0.7554***	-2.0344***	-1.2152***	-1.7506***	-0.9769***	-1.4714***	-0.8422***
	(0.1854)	(0.1964)	(0.1819)	(0.1840)	(0.1995)	(0.2033)	(0.1803)	(0.1898)	(0.1905)	(0.1931)
Other	-0.6653***	-0.3465**	-0.4943***	-0.2344*	-1.3270***	-0.9418***	-0.9406***	-0.5668***	-1.1034***	-0.8505***
	(0.1621)	(0.1544)	(0.1493)	(0.1376)	(0.1916)	(0.1807)	(0.1739)	(0.1665)	(0.1830)	(0.1745)
N	2280	2280	2269	2269	2266	2266	2280	2280	2245	2245
R-Squared	0.0807	0.1740	0.0701	0.1822	0.1112	0.2482	0.0768	0.2123	0.0662	0.1658
Mean Omitted	5.5000	5.5000	6.2087	6.2087	5.6484	5.6484	5.0992	5.0992	5.0327	5.0327
Controls?	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y

Notes: * 0.10 ** 0.05 *** 0.01. Omitted category is White. Results are shown both with and without controls. Controls are dummies for all values of our demographic categories: race, sexuality, affiliation, gender, political ideology, nationality (dummy US/Non-US). Those that refused to provide race are included as a dummy but not shown in the table.

Table C3b: Freedom of Expression by Race — All Respondents

Dependent Variable	Comfortable Expressing Opinions		Comfortable Expressing Religion/Ethnicity		Political Beliefs		No Discrimination Expressing Views		No Professional Penalty Expressing Political Views	
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)
Asian	-0.4655***	-0.2434*	-0.9356***	-0.4753***	-0.0505	-0.0400	-0.4664***	-0.2414*	-0.6518***	-0.2589*
	(0.1414)	(0.1457)	(0.1482)	(0.1435)	(0.1416)	(0.1422)	(0.1428)	(0.1424)	(0.1475)	(0.1489)
Black	-0.2727	-0.2863	-1.0160***	-0.7614***	-0.4077*	-0.5537**	-0.3119	-0.3037	-0.8200***	-0.6095***
	(0.2279)	(0.2292)	(0.2409)	(0.2374)	(0.2248)	(0.2202)	(0.2289)	(0.2257)	(0.2213)	(0.2223)
Hispanic	-0.4393**	-0.3518*	-0.6400***	-0.4687***	0.0106	-0.0253	-0.2502	-0.1556	-0.2609	-0.1161
	(0.1898)	(0.1801)	(0.1954)	(0.1815)	(0.1968)	(0.1839)	(0.1924)	(0.1798)	(0.2003)	(0.1945)
MENA	-1.8183***	-1.2244***	-2.3441***	-1.4262***	-1.8407***	-1.2543***	-1.7541***	-1.0962***	-1.4046***	-0.8008***
	(0.1616)	(0.1757)	(0.1799)	(0.1913)	(0.1783)	(0.1877)	(0.1575)	(0.1722)	(0.1617)	(0.1800)
Other	-1.1848***	-0.7820***	-1.2735***	-0.7973***	-1.4176***	-0.9659***	-1.3507***	-0.8892***	-0.6807***	-0.4010**
	(0.1782)	(0.1716)	(0.1972)	(0.1830)	(0.1879)	(0.1868)	(0.1756)	(0.1661)	(0.1661)	(0.1599)
N	2281	2281	2250	2250	2235	2235	2265	2265	2260	2260
R-Squared	0.1080	0.1951	0.1244	0.2606	0.1072	0.2166	0.1096	0.2244	0.0717	0.1632
Mean Omitted	4.3679	4.3679	5.2200	5.2200	4.8604	4.8604	4.1509	4.1509	3.5538	3.5538
Controls?	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y

Notes: * 0.10 ** 0.05 *** 0.01. Omitted category is White. Results are shown both with and without controls. Controls are dummies for all values of our demographic categories: race, sexuality, affiliation, gender, political ideology, nationality (dummy US/Non-US). Those that refused to provide race are included as a dummy but not shown in the table.

Table C3c: Contributing Factors by Race — All Respondents

Dependent Variable	Students Academic		Students Non-Academic		Students Online		Faculty		Admin/ Staff		On-Campus Media	
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)	(11)	(12)
Asian	0.0869**	0.0399	0.1641***	0.1085**	-0.0308	0.0654	-0.0473	-0.0470	-0.1725***	-0.0389	-0.0198	0.0101
	(0.0425)	(0.0442)	(0.0452)	(0.0474)	(0.0425)	(0.0436)	(0.0474)	(0.0504)	(0.0537)	(0.0558)	(0.0508)	(0.0529)
Black	0.0498	-0.0030	0.1832**	0.1053	-0.0057	0.0513	-0.0254	-0.0705	-0.1177	-0.0496	0.0740	0.0546
	(0.0668)	(0.0649)	(0.0742)	(0.0733)	(0.0752)	(0.0732)	(0.0784)	(0.0787)	(0.0853)	(0.0852)	(0.0754)	(0.0775)
Hispanic	-0.0187	-0.0318	0.0071	-0.0156	0.0226	0.0639	-0.0364	-0.0573	-0.1540**	-0.1191*	0.0179	0.0161
	(0.0569)	(0.0565)	(0.0599)	(0.0592)	(0.0544)	(0.0533)	(0.0646)	(0.0644)	(0.0730)	(0.0699)	(0.0637)	(0.0645)
MENA	-0.1412**	-0.1190*	-0.0946	-0.0649	-0.1913***	-0.0491	-0.3080***	-0.2071***	-0.3981***	-0.1999***	-0.3440***	-0.2163***
	(0.0602)	(0.0646)	(0.0647)	(0.0675)	(0.0583)	(0.0610)	(0.0676)	(0.0706)	(0.0690)	(0.0746)	(0.0585)	(0.0636)
Other	-0.1798***	-0.1561***	-0.2000***	-0.1395**	-0.2131***	-0.1758***	-0.2193***	-0.1498**	-0.2155***	-0.1266**	-0.1797***	-0.1084*
	(0.0539)	(0.0536)	(0.0545)	(0.0543)	(0.0551)	(0.0550)	(0.0628)	(0.0632)	(0.0654)	(0.0645)	(0.0563)	(0.0563)
N	2333	2333	2342	2342	2324	2324	2377	2377	2344	2344	2358	2358
R-Squared	0.0117	0.0892	0.0184	0.0731	0.0129	0.1053	0.0196	0.0500	0.0294	0.0999	0.0190	0.0516
Mean Omitted	0.3656	0.3656	0.3187	0.3187	0.1036	0.1036	0.3561	0.3561	0.2772	0.2772	-0.1751	-0.1751
Controls?	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y

Notes: * 0.10 ** 0.05 *** 0.01. Omitted category is White. Results are shown both with and without controls. Controls are dummies for all values of our demographic categories: race, sexuality, affiliation, gender, political ideology, nationality (dummy US/Non-US). Those that refused to provide race are included as a dummy but not shown in the table. If respondent said the factor was both positive and negative, they are included multiple times.

Table C3d: Contributing Factors by Race — All Respondents

Dependent Variable	Policies		External Actors		Affiliates		Off-Campus Media		Global Events		Other Factors	
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)	(11)	(12)
Asian	-0.1886***	-0.0501	0.0135	0.0243	0.0338	0.0383	0.0245	0.0252	0.0009	-0.0039	-0.2115***	-0.2506**
	(0.0530)	(0.0532)	(0.0418)	(0.0439)	(0.0451)	(0.0466)	(0.0422)	(0.0448)	(0.0394)	(0.0414)	(0.0473)	(0.1069)
Black	-0.1987***	-0.1329*	0.0399	0.0425	-0.0273	-0.0306	-0.0316	-0.0544	-0.0322	-0.0636	-0.2285***	-0.1890**
	(0.0755)	(0.0757)	(0.0729)	(0.0724)	(0.0721)	(0.0722)	(0.0643)	(0.0643)	(0.0632)	(0.0610)	(0.0507)	(0.0866)
Hispanic	-0.0953	-0.0760	0.0899	0.0764	0.0234	0.0113	0.0815	0.0501	0.0765	0.0513	0.1694	0.1146
	(0.0680)	(0.0664)	(0.0602)	(0.0582)	(0.0624)	(0.0631)	(0.0587)	(0.0586)	(0.0554)	(0.0548)	(0.1896)	(0.1880)
MENA	-0.3344***	-0.1221*	-0.0940*	-0.0179	-0.0904	-0.0292	-0.0891*	-0.0255	-0.0919*	-0.0254	-0.2264***	-0.1262
	(0.0604)	(0.0676)	(0.0502)	(0.0574)	(0.0603)	(0.0670)	(0.0516)	(0.0563)	(0.0493)	(0.0552)	(0.0488)	(0.0789)
Other	-0.1444**	-0.0596	0.0789	0.1149**	-0.0290	-0.0038	0.0727	0.1032**	-0.0350	0.0031	-0.0212	-0.0156
	(0.0638)	(0.0642)	(0.0516)	(0.0522)	(0.0570)	(0.0576)	(0.0506)	(0.0509)	(0.0454)	(0.0449)	(0.1309)	(0.1516)
N	2350	2350	2322	2322	2331	2331	2334	2334	2340	2340	282	282
R-Squared	0.0217	0.1177	0.0040	0.0466	0.0032	0.0288	0.0035	0.0368	0.0030	0.0455	0.0273	0.1579
Mean Omitted	-0.2218	-0.2218	-0.5917	-0.5917	-0.2358	-0.2358	-0.6029	-0.6029	-0.6671	-0.6671	-0.7946	-0.7946
Controls?	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y

Notes: * 0.10 ** 0.05 *** 0.01. Omitted category is White. Results are shown both with and without controls. Controls are dummies for all values of our demographic categories: race, sexuality, affiliation, gender, political ideology, nationality (dummy US/Non-US). Those that refused to provide race are included as a dummy but not shown in the table. If respondent said the factor was both positive and negative, they are included multiple times.

C4. Regressions — Safety and Belonging And Freedom of Expression (By Religion and Race)

Table C4a: Safety and Belonging by Race and Religion — All Respondents

Dependent Variable	Belonging		Physical Safety		Mental Safety		Well-being Supported		Comfort Socializing	
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)
Atheist	-0.1632**	-0.0819	0.0191	0.0213	-0.0170	0.0678	-0.2399***	-0.1079	-0.2862***	-0.1441
	(0.0779)	(0.0779)	(0.0619)	(0.0627)	(0.0786)	(0.0768)	(0.0837)	(0.0806)	(0.0903)	(0.0895)
Muslim	-1.0864***	-0.9896***	-1.3532***	-1.2726***	-1.5359***	-1.3968***	-1.2980***	-1.1284***	-1.1524***	-0.9957***
	(0.2464)	(0.2446)	(0.2388)	(0.2320)	(0.2506)	(0.2423)	(0.2409)	(0.2370)	(0.2438)	(0.2321)
Jewish	-0.4905***	-0.5272***	-0.5536***	-0.6049***	-0.7026***	-0.7325***	-0.7336***	-0.7098***	-0.6729***	-0.7414***
	(0.0995)	(0.0984)	(0.0875)	(0.0865)	(0.1040)	(0.1007)	(0.1048)	(0.1012)	(0.1111)	(0.1102)
Other	-0.2528**	-0.1694	-0.1841*	-0.1385	-0.3161***	-0.2296**	-0.2064*	-0.1329	-0.2137*	-0.0651
	(0.1107)	(0.1136)	(0.0949)	(0.0965)	(0.1187)	(0.1161)	(0.1231)	(0.1215)	(0.1241)	(0.1207)
Asian	-0.2582**	-0.1218	-0.2566**	-0.1158	-0.3953***	-0.1763	-0.5508***	-0.2575*	-0.6678***	-0.4917***
	(0.1283)	(0.1251)	(0.1016)	(0.1017)	(0.1311)	(0.1273)	(0.1429)	(0.1351)	(0.1356)	(0.1350)
Black	-0.6625***	-0.6213***	-0.3170*	-0.2263	-0.8340***	-0.6621***	-0.7562***	-0.5618***	-0.4444**	-0.3586*
	(0.2212)	(0.2142)	(0.1759)	(0.1679)	(0.2312)	(0.2181)	(0.2299)	(0.2148)	(0.2228)	(0.2135)
Hispanic	-0.3452**	-0.2107	-0.2163	-0.0568	-0.4634**	-0.2336	-0.3723**	-0.1465	-0.4438**	-0.2516
	(0.1660)	(0.1613)	(0.1431)	(0.1380)	(0.1805)	(0.1673)	(0.1789)	(0.1667)	(0.1915)	(0.1813)
MENA	-1.3427***	-1.1148***	-0.9581***	-0.7656***	-1.5122***	-1.2244***	-1.3274***	-0.9872***	-1.1248***	-0.8547***
	(0.1963)	(0.1963)	(0.1861)	(0.1830)	(0.2056)	(0.2029)	(0.1900)	(0.1897)	(0.2019)	(0.1923)
Other	-0.5676***	-0.3451**	-0.3686**	-0.2286	-1.1607***	-0.9372***	-0.8013***	-0.5619***	-0.9800***	-0.8447***
	(0.1587)	(0.1546)	(0.1436)	(0.1391)	(0.1873)	(0.1823)	(0.1694)	(0.1677)	(0.1802)	(0.1758)
N	2280	2280	2269	2269	2266	2266	2280	2280	2245	2245
R-Squared	0.1077	0.1731	0.1185	0.1782	0.1561	0.2461	0.1123	0.2100	0.0889	0.1622
Mean Omitted	5.4317	5.4317	6.1873	6.1873	5.5929	5.5929	5.0638	5.0638	4.9926	4.9926
Controls?	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y

Notes: * 0.10 ** 0.05 *** 0.01. Omitted category is White or Christian. Results are shown both with and without controls. Controls are dummies for all values of our demographic categories: sexuality, affiliation, gender, political ideology, nationality (dummy US/Non-US). Those that refused to provide religion or race are included as a dummy but not shown in the table.

Table C4b: Freedom of Expression by Race and Religion — All Respondents

Dependent Variable	Comfortable Expressing Opinions		Comfortable Expressing Religion/Ethnicity		Political Beliefs		No Discrimination Expressing Views		No Professional Penalty Expressing Political Views	
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)
Atheist	0.1750*	0.0716	0.2757***	0.3162***	0.3338***	0.1730*	0.3368***	0.1687*	-0.1380	-0.0657
	(0.0928)	(0.0917)	(0.0938)	(0.0920)	(0.0937)	(0.0947)	(0.0973)	(0.0962)	(0.0972)	(0.0979)
Muslim	-0.9531***	-0.8805***	-1.3877***	-1.2107***	-1.2252***	-1.2236***	-1.1272***	-1.0548***	-1.2124***	-1.0826***
	(0.2165)	(0.2209)	(0.2435)	(0.2411)	(0.2463)	(0.2500)	(0.1871)	(0.1879)	(0.1795)	(0.1774)
Jewish	-0.5482***	-0.7110***	-0.7946***	-0.8238***	-0.9613***	-1.1353***	-0.5385***	-0.7612***	-0.3008***	-0.3059***
	(0.1111)	(0.1068)	(0.1189)	(0.1139)	(0.1192)	(0.1163)	(0.1126)	(0.1073)	(0.1127)	(0.1122)
Other	-0.1846	-0.1585	-0.0764	-0.0573	-0.2097	-0.1817	-0.3319***	-0.3112**	-0.1584	-0.1035
	(0.1255)	(0.1258)	(0.1357)	(0.1322)	(0.1297)	(0.1336)	(0.1252)	(0.1254)	(0.1307)	(0.1283)
Asian	-0.4064***	-0.2726*	-0.8508***	-0.5074***	-0.0297	-0.0720	-0.3597**	-0.2696*	-0.4922***	-0.2842*
	(0.1443)	(0.1452)	(0.1479)	(0.1430)	(0.1380)	(0.1418)	(0.1425)	(0.1421)	(0.1510)	(0.1485)
Black	-0.2529	-0.2696	-0.9796***	-0.7430***	-0.4100*	-0.5360**	-0.2439	-0.2873	-0.7689***	-0.5957***
	(0.2263)	(0.2295)	(0.2384)	(0.2398)	(0.2207)	(0.2216)	(0.2281)	(0.2257)	(0.2231)	(0.2217)
Hispanic	-0.5012***	-0.3184*	-0.7339***	-0.4315**	-0.0997	0.0103	-0.3124*	-0.1244	-0.2927	-0.0875
	(0.1859)	(0.1813)	(0.1904)	(0.1811)	(0.1871)	(0.1846)	(0.1861)	(0.1801)	(0.1985)	(0.1949)
MENA	-1.4670***	-1.2348***	-1.8118***	-1.4373***	-1.3532***	-1.2658***	-1.3209***	-1.1061***	-1.0307***	-0.8100***
	(0.1728)	(0.1754)	(0.1940)	(0.1908)	(0.1850)	(0.1878)	(0.1689)	(0.1717)	(0.1766)	(0.1795)
Other	-1.0373***	-0.7773***	-1.0612***	-0.7907***	-1.1621***	-0.9611***	-1.1761***	-0.8845***	-0.6295***	-0.3966**
	(0.1767)	(0.1729)	(0.1914)	(0.1846)	(0.1884)	(0.1879)	(0.1712)	(0.1671)	(0.1671)	(0.1609)
N	2281	2281	2250	2250	2235	2235	2265	2265	2260	2260
R-Squared	0.1302	0.1930	0.1712	0.2581	0.1642	0.2142	0.1453	0.2225	0.0872	0.1616
Mean Omitted	4.2770	4.2770	5.1113	5.1113	4.7871	4.7871	4.0594	4.0594	3.4945	3.4945
Controls?	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y

Notes: * 0.10 ** 0.05 *** 0.01. Omitted category is White or Christian. Results are shown both with and without controls. Controls are dummies for all values of our demographic categories: sexuality, affiliation, gender, political ideology, nationality (dummy US/Non-US). Those that refused to provide religion or race are included as a dummy but not shown in the table.

C5. Regressions — Change in Experience (By Affiliation, Religion, Race)

Table C5: Change in Experience by Affiliation, Religion, Race — All Respondents

Dependent Variable	Change in Experience since Last Year					
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
Undergrad	-0.2210***	-0.1685***				
	(0.0657)	(0.0645)				
Grad/PostDoc/Fellow	-0.1977***	-0.1179**				
	(0.0539)	(0.0534)				
Staff	0.1278***	0.1010**				
	(0.0446)	(0.0457)				
Other	-0.0391	-0.0246				
	(0.1123)	(0.1017)				
Atheist			-0.0317	0.0078		
			(0.0407)	(0.0411)		
Muslim			-0.7086***	-0.4145***		
			(0.0821)	(0.0910)		
Jewish			-0.3970***	-0.3681***		
			(0.0453)	(0.0456)		
Other			-0.0814	-0.0277		
			(0.0541)	(0.0537)		
Asian					-0.1661***	-0.0692
					(0.0613)	(0.0612)
Black					-0.0903	-0.1011
					(0.1077)	(0.1020)
Hispanic					-0.1447*	-0.1243*
					(0.0772)	(0.0748)
MENA					-0.6236***	-0.4022***
					(0.0749)	(0.0794)
Other					-0.3738***	-0.2606***
					(0.0722)	(0.0698)
N	2074	2074	2074	2074	2074	2074
R-Squared	0.0369	0.1416	0.0610	0.1411	0.0543	0.1395
Mean Omitted	-0.8994	-0.8994	-0.7556	-0.7556	-0.8161	-0.8161
Controls?	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y

Notes: * 0.10 ** 0.05 *** 0.01. Omitted category is Christian in the first two columns, White in columns 3 and 4, and Faculty in columns 5 and 6. Results are shown both with and without controls. Controls are dummies for all values of our demographic categories: race, sexuality, affiliation, gender, political ideology, nationality (dummy US/Non-US). If respondent said they experienced both negative and positive changes, they are included multiple times.

APPENDIX D: REPRESENTATIVENESS OF SAMPLE

Table D: Representativeness — All Respondents

Summary Statistics	Count (Pulse)	Percent (Pulse)	Count (TF)	Percent (TF)
	20595	**100.00**	**2295**	**100.00**
Affiliation				
Students	9405	45.67	608	26.49
Faculty	2084	10.12	489	21.31
Staff	9106	44.21	898	39.13
Religion				
Agnostic/Atheist/No Religious Affiliation	8036	39.13	875	38.13
Christian	5464	26.61	592	25.80
Jewish	1398	6.81	447	19.48
Muslim	369	1.80	89	3.88
Other	3088	15.04	282	12.29
Not Available	2180	10.62	258	11.24
Race				
White	12068	58.60	1508	65.71
Asian	2867	13.92	230	10.02
Black	1188	5.80	83	3.62
Hispanic	1162	5.64	124	5.40
MENA	288	1.40	125	*5.45*
Other	1770	8.59	139	6.06
Prefer not to answer	1252	6.10	314	13.68

Note: Some categories do not sum to 100% since some respondents provided multiple responses to the same question.

APPENDIX E: HETEROGENEITY BY RACE AND RELIGION

Table E1: Religion And Race of Respondents

Religion/ Race	White	Asian or Asian American	Black or African American	Hispanic or Latina/o/x	Middle-Eastern or North African	Other	Not Available	Total
Atheist/ Agnostic/ No Religious Affiliation	663	102	24	53	32	41	52	875
Jewish	340	10	4	15	36	61	35	447
Muslim	8	34	8	2	38	2	8	89
Christian	448	37	38	54	16	29	39	592
Other	178	47	12	19	11	25	26	282
Not Available	55	20	6	6	10	8	171	258
Total	1508	230	83	124	125	139	314	

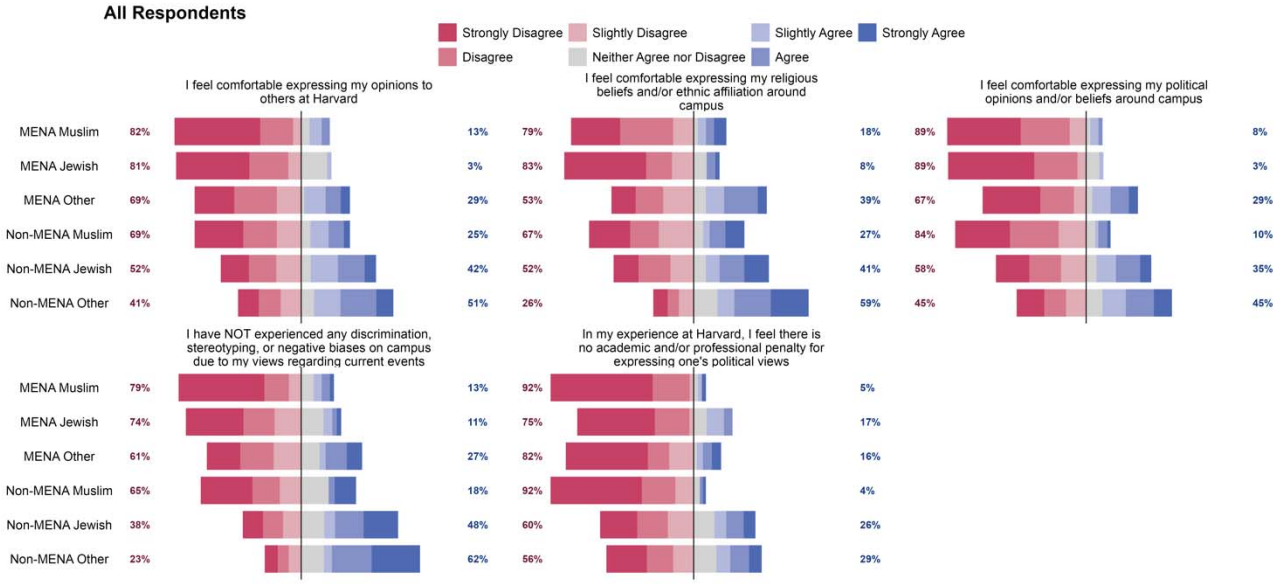
Note: Categories do not sum to 2295 since some respondents reported multiple religions/races.

Figure E1: Safety and Belonging by Race and Religion — All Respondents



Note:
Percentage labels omitted when less than 5 percent.
Percent Agree = Percent 'Slightly agree,' 'Agree,' or 'Strongly agree'.
Percent Disagree = Percent 'Slightly disagree,' 'Disagree,' or 'Strongly disagree.

Figure E2: Freedom of Expression by Race and Religion — All Respondents



Note:
Percentage labels omitted when less than 5 percent.
Percent Agree = Percent 'Slightly agree,' 'Agree,' or 'Strongly agree'.
Percent Disagree = Percent 'Slightly disagree,' 'Disagree,' or 'Strongly disagree.

Table E2: Safety and Belonging by Race and Religion — All Respondents

Dependent Variable	Belonging		Physical Safety		Mental Safety		Well-being Supported		Comfort Socializing	
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)
MENA Muslim	-2.2203***	-1.9605***	-2.1933***	-1.9496***	-2.7163***	-2.3450***	-2.4809***	-2.0360***	-1.8027***	-1.4314***
	(0.3183)	(0.2924)	(0.3327)	(0.3114)	(0.3504)	(0.3188)	(0.2962)	(0.2867)	(0.3359)	(0.3254)
MENA Jewish	-1.4970***	-1.4403***	-1.3073***	-1.2657***	-2.4224***	-2.3230***	-1.7309***	-1.5164***	-1.7968***	-1.7101***
	(0.3224)	(0.3336)	(0.3077)	(0.3130)	(0.3327)	(0.3396)	(0.2908)	(0.3090)	(0.3293)	(0.3294)
MENA Other	-1.2276***	-1.1157***	-0.8858***	-0.7728***	-1.1724***	-1.0157***	-1.1182***	-0.9194***	-0.9275***	-0.6926***
	(0.2850)	(0.2744)	(0.2608)	(0.2508)	(0.2925)	(0.2799)	(0.2826)	(0.2651)	(0.2940)	(0.2605)
Non-MENA Muslim	-0.9825***	-0.9270***	-1.3641***	-1.2709***	-1.6661***	-1.5500***	-1.2180***	-1.0377***	-1.4006***	-1.2357***
	(0.2957)	(0.3053)	(0.2885)	(0.2851)	(0.2933)	(0.2956)	(0.2872)	(0.2892)	(0.2829)	(0.2659)
Non-MENA Jewish	-0.2497***	-0.4258***	-0.4147***	-0.5583***	-0.4901***	-0.6860***	-0.4553***	-0.6073***	-0.4359***	-0.6476***
	(0.0956)	(0.0925)	(0.0870)	(0.0832)	(0.1040)	(0.0985)	(0.1030)	(0.0971)	(0.1049)	(0.1038)
N	2280	2280	2269	2269	2266	2266	2280	2280	2245	2245
R-Squared	0.0518	0.1593	0.0729	0.1682	0.0853	0.2215	0.0578	0.1951	0.0467	0.1451
Mean Omitted	5.3225	5.3225	6.1379	6.1379	5.5030	5.5030	4.9782	4.9782	4.9054	4.9054
Controls?	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y

Notes: * 0.10 ** 0.05 *** 0.01. Omitted category is Non-Middle-Eastern Non-Muslim or non-Jewish. Results are shown both with and without controls. Controls are dummies for all values of our demographic categories: sexuality, affiliation, gender, political ideology, nationality (dummy US/Non-US).

Table E3: Freedom of Expression by Race and Religion — All Respondents

Dependent Variable	Comfortable Expressing Opinions		Comfortable Expressing Religion/Ethnicity		Comfortable Expressing Political Beliefs		No Discrimination Expressing Views		No Professional Penalty Expressing Political Views	
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)
MENA Muslim	-2.0941***	-1.7647***	-2.8425***	-2.2321***	-2.1620***	-2.0328***	-1.9735***	-1.6409***	-1.6899***	-1.3557***
	(0.2545)	(0.2430)	(0.2803)	(0.2991)	(0.3052)	(0.3062)	(0.2100)	(0.2239)	(0.2079)	(0.2031)
MENA Jewish	-2.1190***	-2.1712***	-2.5124***	-2.2815***	-2.6547***	-2.8200***	-2.1708***	-2.2831***	-1.0715***	-0.9988***
	(0.2081)	(0.2089)	(0.2739)	(0.2796)	(0.2715)	(0.2571)	(0.1845)	(0.1913)	(0.2779)	(0.2888)
MENA Other	-1.1076***	-0.9897***	-1.6738***	-1.4746***	-1.0877***	-1.1174***	-1.0189***	-0.9487***	-1.0078***	-0.9516***
	(0.2735)	(0.2634)	(0.2857)	(0.2653)	(0.2753)	(0.2705)	(0.2919)	(0.2788)	(0.2643)	(0.2604)
Non-MENA Muslim	-1.2268***	-1.1265***	-2.0000***	-1.7341***	-1.5304***	-1.5833***	-1.5688***	-1.4821***	-1.5347***	-1.4315***
	(0.2647)	(0.2902)	(0.2892)	(0.2907)	(0.2965)	(0.3119)	(0.2143)	(0.2204)	(0.1844)	(0.1926)
Non-MENA Jewish	-0.4595***	-0.7036***	-0.6802***	-0.8619***	-0.9475***	-1.1628***	-0.4769***	-0.7601***	-0.0645	-0.2230**
	(0.1088)	(0.1028)	(0.1158)	(0.1095)	(0.1157)	(0.1114)	(0.1105)	(0.1024)	(0.1078)	(0.1071)
N	2281	2281	2250	2250	2235	2235	2265	2265	2260	2260
R-Squared	0.0497	0.1745	0.0883	0.2292	0.0797	0.1906	0.0509	0.2012	0.0329	0.1519
Mean Omitted	4.1456	4.1456	5.0251	5.0251	4.7926	4.7926	3.9198	3.9198	3.3212	3.3212
Controls?	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y

Notes: * 0.10 ** 0.05 *** 0.01. Omitted category is Non-Middle-Eastern Non-Muslim or non-Jewish. Results are shown both with and without controls. Controls are dummies for all values of our demographic categories: sexuality, affiliation, gender, political ideology, nationality (dummy US/Non-US).

Table E4: Religion and Affiliation of Respondents

Religion/Affiliation	Student	Fellow/Post-Doc	Faculty	Staff	Other	Not Available	Total
Atheist/ Agnostic/No Religious affiliation	245 (28%)	51 (6%)	167 (19%)	370 (42%)	22 (3%)	20 (2%)	875
Jewish	130 (29%)	23 (5%)	138 (31%)	127 (28%)	17 (4%)	12 (3%)	447
Muslim	49 (55%)	7 (8%)	11 (12%)	18 (20%)	2 (2%)	2 (2%)	89
Christian	151 (26%)	28 (5%)	112 (19%)	269 (45%)	20 (3%)	12 (2%)	592
Other	49 (17%)	13 (5%)	49 (17%)	150 (53%)	10 (4%)	11 (4%)	282
Not Available	44 (17%)	11 (4%)	53 (21%)	79 (31%)	5 (2%)	66 (26%)	258

Table E5: Religion and Affiliation of Respondents (MENA Only)

Religion/Affiliation	Student	Fellow/Post-Doc	Faculty	Staff	Other	Not Available	Total
Atheist/ Agnostic/No Religious affiliation	16 (50%)	2 (6%)	4 (13%)	10 (31%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	32
Jewish	20 (56%)	4 (11%)	7 (19%)	4 (11%)	1 (3%)	0 (0%)	36
Muslim	25 (66%)	4 (11%)	4 (11%)	4 (11%)	1 (3%)	0 (0%)	38
Christian	5 (31%)	2 (13%)	0 (0%)	8 (50%)	1 (6%)	0 (0%)	16
Other	4 (36%)	0 (0%)	2 (18%)	5 (45%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	11
Not Available	4 (40%)	1 (10%)	2 (20%)	2 (20%)	0 (0%)	1 (10%)	10

APPENDIX F: PRE-ANALYSIS PLAN AND SURVEY INSTRUMENT

Phase I Community Survey: Pre-Analysis Plan

The goal of this pre-analysis plan is to specify, before any data collection or analysis, the approach that will be taken in analyzing the results of this survey. The survey will be distributed and administered online beginning in May 2024. The survey is open to all members of the Harvard community, including undergraduate and graduate students, faculty members, staff, and Harvard affiliates more broadly. It is only open to these members and their anonymity will be preserved. The survey exercise represents Phase I of longer term data gathering and analysis exercise. This phase will focus on getting the views of those members of the community who are currently more engaged and responsive to sharing their views. The subsequent phase will endeavor to also reach out to a wider Harvard-wide audience.

BACKGROUND

This survey is the first phase of a data collection effort aiming to provide a sense of the experiences and views of the Harvard community members, especially those most affected by and engaged in the events of the past several months. Note that this survey is not intended as a public opinion survey, but rather aims to offer insights into (i) how the community is feeling, particularly regarding their sense of belonging amidst recent events spanning the past several months, including those that may have led to antisemitic, anti-Israeli and anti-Arab, anti-Muslim, and anti-Palestinian biases and related concerns; (ii) what factors may be especially relevant in generating these experiences and biases; and (iii) what recommendations the community members may have in helping lessen some of the adverse experiences and biases faced. The survey, while focused on those who are more inclined to respond currently, will provide a systematic analysis of these issues and will also subsequently help inform the design and questions of a more representative survey that we hope to launch in the fall with the Harvard-wide community.

SURVEY ADMINISTRATION

Instrument

The survey includes four distinct sections:

1. Experiences of belonging, safety, and engagement at Harvard
2. Positive and negative factors influencing experiences
3. Recommendations to address concerns

4. Demographics

Each of these sections will include close-ended/multiple choice questions and open-ended questions that allow participants to elaborate on their experiences and suggestions.

Sample

The survey will be posted on a Harvard website and disseminated to Harvard affiliates through various means such as targeted emails, and word of mouth reminders. To take the survey, participants will be required to login using their HarvardKey credentials. This verification allows us to avoid duplication of survey responses by the same person and to avoid the inclusion of individuals outside of Harvard.

Note that since completing the survey is not mandatory, as well as the fact that the survey will be publicized to community members in varying ways, the sample might not be proportionally representative of the overall Harvard population; instead, it might represent the views of those individuals in the Harvard community who are more inclined and willing to share their opinions.

Confidentiality

Responses to the survey are confidential and anonymous. As soon as participants submit their survey responses, their personal credentials will be immediately separated from their answers and deleted. Survey administrators and research team members will not have access to respondents' identifying information. The research team will also mask/redact any potentially identifying information from text submitted in response to the open-ended items. Accordingly, respondents will never be identified in published results.

Incentives

We are not offering any gifts or monetary incentives to finish the survey at this time. Affiliates will be asked to take the survey voluntarily to shed light on their experiences and feedback.

Timeline for Administration and Communication Plan

The survey will be launched in May by placing them on the websites of both task-forces. Links will be shared with community members using various formal and informal fora.

REPORTING OF RESULTS AND ANALYSIS

Analysis

The survey collects both open-ended and multiple-choice questions that will be analyzed and published in ways that both complement each other but also acknowledge differences due to elicitation methods.

1. Multiple choice/close-ended questions: we will tabulate and report the number and percentage of each answer selected on these questions. The idea will be to provide a sense of the average and variation in the responses.

2. Open-ended questions: to protect confidentiality, we will not fully share all open-ended answers and comments received. Instead, we will synthesize the answers to these questions and select parts of comments (while minimizing any risk of jeopardizing anonymity) to highlight in public communications. If specific feedback or recommendations are repeatedly highlighted by different respondents in open-ended fields, we will highlight this in our synthesis. While the open-ended questions are typically associated with specific close-ended questions, we acknowledge that respondents may cover multiple themes in one long text response and may not always make the distinction of keeping their open-responses separate and specific to the close-ended question they are adjacent to or even the given open-ended question prompt. Therefore, in our analysis we will compile all the open-ended responses together so they can be appropriately analyzed based on their content and not just location, and as appropriate, use their placement in the survey to interpret the context if not clear from the response itself.

Points of Disaggregation

We will report the variable tabulations separately for the different sub-groups and demographics. In doing so, we will make sure not to combine any groups in a way that may reveal respondents' identity. Sub-groups we are considering include:

- Harvard affiliation
- Harvard School
- Age
- National identity
- Race/ethnicity identity
- Religious views
- Gender
- Sexual orientation
- Political views

Representativeness and Weighting Strategy

Since this survey is not administered through a University-wide dissemination, it is not intended to provide a representative view. Instead, it is meant to share the views of those individuals who are currently more engaged and willing to share their opinions. That said, we will share the response numbers (overall and by various sub-groups) to be able to give a sense of coverage across various groups. Moreover, we hope that by comparing these sub-groups to those in the subsequent Harvard-wide Pulse survey in the Fall semester, we will be able to determine whether a weighting scheme (if any) is appropriate to best present the results. We will not weigh the results unless we have evidence it is needed and will note instances of where it is used in reports.

Deliverables

The main deliverable of the report will be a public key findings report with infographics for the wider Harvard and public community. The report will include descriptive statistics and detailed analysis with inferential statistics. The analysis will also be utilized to inform the design and administration of the Harvard-wide 2024 Pulse Survey anticipated to be launched in the Fall of 2024.

Proposed Timeline for Survey Analysis

We anticipate the survey will run for the month of May 2024 till June 2024. Analysis will be carried out over the summer with a plan to have an interim findings report by mid-summer and a final analysis by end summer 2024.

APPENDIX: SURVEY INSTRUMENT

PTF Survey 2024

This survey is being conducted by the two Presidential Task Forces set up in response to concerns regarding anti-Arab, anti-Muslim, and Antisemitic biases faced by members of the Harvard community. The survey solicits views on our community members' well-being, experiences, and recommendations. It complements the listening sessions conducted over the past few months. The data gathered will document (i) how the community is feeling regarding their sense of belonging, safety, and ability to engage positively; (ii) what factors may be especially relevant in generating community experiences; and (iii) specific

recommendations for improvement. The last survey section gives you the option to self-identify along several attributes to enable a more informative analysis that preserves anonymity. We anticipate the fixed response part of the survey taking 5-10 minutes. We allow for and especially encourage open-ended responses as they provide valuable nuance and specificity. Survey responses will be kept anonymous and participation in the survey is voluntary. The data collected will be analyzed according to a pre-specified analysis plan publicly available here. To take the survey in Spanish, Portuguese, Mandarin, or Haitian Creole, please visit this link.

I. Experience

Thank you for beginning the survey! Your responses on each page are saved when you click the right arrow on the bottom. This allows you to re-login at a later time to complete the survey. However, no further changes will be possible once you submit the survey. Upon submission, response data is de-linked from your login credentials to ensure anonymity.

For the following statements, please rate how strongly you agree or disagree.

	Strongly disagree	Disagree	Slightly disagree	Neither agree nor disagree	Slightly agree	Agree	Strongly agree	Prefer not to answer
I feel like I belong at Harvard	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○
I feel physically safe on campus	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○
I feel mentally safe on campus	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○
I feel my well-being is supported at Harvard	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○
I feel comfortable expressing my opinions to others at Harvard	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○
I have NOT experienced any discrimination, stereotyping, or negative biases on campus due to my views regarding current events	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○
I feel comfortable expressing my religious beliefs and/or ethnic affiliation around campus	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○

I feel comfortable expressing my political opinions and/or beliefs around campus	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○
I feel comfortable socializing/being friends with people on campus whose political views may be in conflict with mine and/or go against my sense of identity/nationality	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○
In my experience at Harvard, I feel there is no academic and/or professional penalty for expressing one's political views	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○

Please describe in more detail below recent and/or salient experience(s) — positive and/or negative — that can shed further light and/or nuance on your responses above:

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

Compared to this time last year, how has your sense of safety, belonging, and/or ability to interact positively with the community on the Harvard campus changed? Please elaborate using the open text-box and select multiple choices if you experienced both positive and negative changes.

☐ Became much worse this year. Please specify how / why: _____

☐ Became worse this year. Please specify how / why: _____

☐ Remained more or less the same this year. Please specify how / why: _____

☐ Became better this year. Please specify how / why: _____

☐ Became much better this year. Please specify how / why: _____

☐ Check if you were not on campus last year

II. Factors (positive and negative)

For each of the factors below, indicate whether they have contributed substantially positively and/or negatively to your sense of safety, belonging, and/or ability to interact with the community on campus. Note that the same factor could affect you positively or negatively. If a factor is not salient please select "Not substantial /No Opinion". Please also provide details on each substantial factor using the text boxes that appear at the end of the page based on your selections.

	Substantially positive	Substantially negative	Not substantial / no opinion
(1) In-person interactions with Harvard students in academic settings (e.g. classroom, lab, etc.)	○	○	○
(2) In-person interactions with Harvard students in non-academic settings (e.g. extracurricular activity, event, or social gathering)	○	○	○
(3) Online interactions with Harvard students	○	○	○
(4) In-person or online interactions with Harvard faculty	○	○	○
(5) In-person or online interactions with Harvard administration/staff	○	○	○
(6) On campus media coverage (print/social)	○	○	○
(7) Harvard University and School policies	○	○	○
(8) External actors' presence/influence on campus life and climate	○	○	○
(9) In-person or online interactions with individuals not affiliated with Harvard	○	○	○
(10) Off campus media coverage (print/social)	○	○	○
(11) Global situation/events	○	○	○

We now list each of the factors that you selected as affecting you substantially positively or negatively. Please provide details/specific examples on how you were affected for each by responding separately to the specific open text boxes below:

Positive: (1) In-person interactions with Harvard students in academic settings (e.g. classroom, lab, etc.)

_____

Negative: (1) In-person interactions with Harvard students in academic settings (e.g. classroom, lab, etc.)

_____

Positive: (2) In-person interactions with Harvard students in non-academic settings (e.g. extracurricular activity, event, or social gathering)

_____

Negative: (2) In-person interactions with Harvard students in non-academic settings (e.g. extracurricular activity, event, or social gathering)

_____

Positive: (3) Online interactions with Harvard students

_____

Negative: (3) Online interactions with Harvard students

_____

Positive: (4) In-person or online interactions with Harvard faculty

_____

Negative: (4) In-person or online interactions with Harvard faculty

_____

Positive: (5) In-person or online interactions with Harvard administration/staff

_____

Negative: (5) In-person or online interactions with Harvard administration/staff

_____

Positive: (6) On campus media coverage (print/social)

_____

Negative: (6) On campus media coverage (print/social)

_____

Positive: (7) Harvard University and School policies

_____

Negative: (7) Harvard University and School policies

_____

Positive: (8) External actors' presence/influence on campus life and climate

_____

Negative: (8) External actors' presence/influence on campus life and climate

_____

Positive: (9) In-person or online interactions with individuals not affiliated with Harvard

_____

Negative: (9) In-person or online interactions with individuals not affiliated with Harvard

_____

Positive: (10) Off campus media coverage (print/social)

_____

Negative: (10) Off campus media coverage (print/social)

_____

Positive: (11) Global situation/events

_____

Negative: (11) Global situation/events

_____

Positive: (12) Other Factor

_____

Negative: (12) Other Factor

_____

III: Recommendations

Please list up to five specific recommendations to help address some of the concerns that you have raised.

Recommendation 1:

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

Recommendation 2:

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

Recommendation 3:

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

Recommendation 4:

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

Recommendation 5:

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

Please share anything else that you feel is important to highlight regarding our campus community and current climate.

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

IV. Demographics

Please share how you self-identify along the attributes below. Doing so will allow the analysis to be separately tabulated by these identities and provide a more informative examination. Under a given category you can also choose "Other" and specify an identity that is not included in the list. You can also select multiple identities in each category. Be assured that we will not combine these categories in ways that could risk revealing a specific respondent. That said, for each category you can choose "Prefer not to answer" if you prefer not to disclose a specific identity.

Which of the following best describes your current primary affiliation with Harvard?

☐ Undergraduate Student

☐ Graduate or Professional Student

☐ Staff

☐ Tenured or Tenure-Track Faculty

☐ Non-Ladder Faculty

☐ Fellow / Researcher

☐ Postdoctoral Fellow

☐ Other _____

☐ Prefer not to answer

Which Harvard Schools or Units are you affiliated with? (select all that apply)

- ☐ Harvard Business School (HBS)
- ☐ Harvard College
- ☐ Harvard Divinity School (HDS)
- ☐ Harvard Division of Continuing Education (including the Extension School)
- ☐ Harvard Faculty of Arts and Sciences (FAS)
- ☐ Harvard Kennedy School (HKS)
- ☐ Harvard Kenneth C. Griffin Graduate School of Arts and Sciences (GSAS)
- ☐ Harvard Graduate School of Design (GSD)
- ☐ Harvard Graduate School of Education (HGSE)
- ☐ Harvard John A. Paulson School of Engineering and Applied Sciences (SEAS)
- ☐ Harvard Law School (HLS)
- ☐ Harvard Medical School (HMS)
- ☐ Harvard Radcliffe Institute for Advanced Study
- ☐ Harvard School of Dental Medicine (HSDM)
- ☐ Harvard T.H. Chan School of Public Health (HSPH)
- ☐ Central Administration
- ☐ Other _____
- ☐ Prefer not to answer

Which age group best describes you?

- ☐ Under 21
- ☐ 21-25
- ☐ 26-30
- ☐ 31-40
- ☐ 41-50
- ☐ 51-60
- ☐ 61 and older
- ☐ Prefer not to answer

Which nationality identity best describes you? If you have multiple nationalities, please press command/control and select all that apply.

[drop-down list of countries with Prefer not to Answer option included]

Which racial/ethnic identity best describes you? (select all that apply)

☐ American Indian or Alaska Native

☐ Asian or Asian American

☐ Black or African American

☐ Hispanic or Latina/o/x

☐ Middle Eastern or North African

☐ Native Hawaiian or Pacific Islander

☐ White

☐ Prefer to self-identify _____

☐ Prefer not to answer

Which best describes your religious identity? Please select all that apply and specify the branch, sect, or denomination you follow in the corresponding box below, if applicable.

☐ Buddhism. Please specify branch, sect, or denomination if applicable: _____

☐ Christianity. Please specify branch, sect, or denomination if applicable: _____

☐ Hinduism. Please specify branch, sect, or denomination if applicable: _____

☐ Islam. Please specify branch, sect, or denomination if applicable: _____

☐ Judaism. Please specify branch, sect, or denomination if applicable: _____

☐ Taoism. Please specify branch, sect, or denomination if applicable: _____

☐ Folk religions. Please specify branch, sect, or denomination if applicable: _____

☐ Shinto. Please specify branch, sect, or denomination if applicable: _____

☐ Sikhism. Please specify branch, sect, or denomination if applicable: _____

☐ Bahテ。ハシテュ Faith. Please specify branch, sect, or denomination if applicable: _____

☐ Jainism. Please specify branch, sect, or denomination if applicable: _____

☐ Spiritual

☐ Agnostic

☐ No religion

☐ Atheist

☐ Prefer to self-identify _____

☐ Prefer not to answer

Which best describes your gender identity? (select all that apply)

☐ Gender nonconforming

☐ Genderqueer

☐ Man

☐ Nonbinary

☐ Questioning

☐ Transgender
☐ Woman
☐ Prefer to self-identify _____
☐ Prefer not to answer

Which best describes your sexual orientation? (select all that apply)
☐ Bisexual
☐ Gay
☐ Lesbian
☐ Heterosexual
☐ Queer
☐ Pansexual
☐ Asexual
☐ Prefer to self-identify _____
☐ Prefer not to answer

Which of the following best describes your political views?
☐ Very conservative
☐ Conservative
☐ Slightly conservative
☐ Moderate, middle of the road
☐ Slightly liberal
☐ Liberal
☐ Very liberal
☐ Apolitical
☐ Prefer to self-identify _____
☐ Prefer not to answer

End of survey check
You have reached the end of the survey. If you are ready to submit your final responses, please proceed by clicking the "Submit" button on the right below. Note that once you submit the survey, you will not be able to retake it or to edit your submitted responses.

Federal Register
Vol. 90, No. 21
Monday, February 3, 2025

Presidential Documents

Title 3—

The President

Executive Order 14188 of January 29, 2025

Additional Measures To Combat Anti-Semitism

By the authority vested in me as President by the Constitution and the laws of the United States of America, it is hereby ordered:

Section 1. *Purpose.* My Administration has fought and will continue to fight anti-Semitism in the United States and around the world. On December 11, 2019, I issued Executive Order 13899, my first Executive Order on Combating Anti-Semitism, finding that students, in particular, faced anti-Semitic harassment in schools and on university and college campuses. Executive Order 13899 provided interpretive assistance on the enforcement of the Nation's civil rights laws to ensure that they would protect American Jews to the same extent to which all other American citizens are protected. The prior administration effectively nullified Executive Order 13899 by failing to give the terms of the order full force and effect throughout the Government. This order reaffirms Executive Order 13899 and directs additional measures to advance the policy thereof in the wake of the Hamas terrorist attacks of October 7, 2023, against the people of Israel. These attacks unleashed an unprecedented wave of vile anti-Semitic discrimination, vandalism, and violence against our citizens, especially in our schools and on our campuses. Jewish students have faced an unrelenting barrage of discrimination; denial of access to campus common areas and facilities, including libraries and classrooms; and intimidation, harassment, and physical threats and assault. A joint report by the House Committees on Education and the Workforce, Energy and Commerce, Judiciary, Oversight and Accountability, Veterans' Affairs, and Ways and Means calls the Federal Government's failure to fight anti-Semitism and protect Jewish students "astounding." This failure is unacceptable and ends today.

Sec. 2. *Policy.* It shall be the policy of the United States to combat anti-Semitism vigorously, using all available and appropriate legal tools, to prosecute, remove, or otherwise hold to account the perpetrators of unlawful anti-Semitic harassment and violence.

Sec. 3. *Additional Measures to Combat Campus Anti-Semitism.* (a) Within 60 days of the date of this order, the head of each executive department or agency (agency) shall submit a report to the President, through the Assistant to the President for Domestic Policy, identifying all civil and criminal authorities or actions within the jurisdiction of that agency, beyond those already implemented under Executive Order 13899, that might be used to curb or combat anti-Semitism, and containing an inventory and analysis of all pending administrative complaints, as of the date of the report, against or involving institutions of higher education alleging civil-rights violations related to or arising from post-October 7, 2023, campus anti-Semitism.

(b) The report submitted by the Attorney General under this section shall additionally include an inventory and an analysis of all court cases, as of the date of the report, against or involving institutions of higher education alleging civil-rights violations related to or arising from post-October 7, 2023, campus anti-Semitism and indicate whether the Attorney General intends to or has taken any action with respect to such matters, including filing statements of interest or intervention.

(c) The Attorney General is encouraged to employ appropriate civil-rights enforcement authorities, such as 18 U.S.C. 241, to combat anti-Semitism.

PRESS RELEASE

Federal Task Force to Combat Antisemitism Announces Visits to 10 College Campuses that Experienced Incidents of Antisemitism

Friday, February 28, 2025

For Immediate Release

Office of Public Affairs

The Federal Task Force to Combat Anti-Semitism announced that it will be visiting 10 university campuses that have experienced antisemitic incidents since October 2023. Created pursuant to President Trump's Executive Order on Additional Measures to Combat Anti-Semitism, the Task Force set as its first priority to eradicate antisemitic harassment in schools and on college campuses.

Leading Task Force member and Senior Counsel to the Assistant Attorney General for Civil Rights Leo Terrell informed the 10 universities yesterday that the Task Force was aware of allegations that the schools may have failed to protect Jewish students and faculty members from unlawful discrimination, in potential violation of federal law. Mr. Terrell said he intends for the Task Force to meet with university leadership, impacted students and staff, local law enforcement, and community members as it gathers information about these incidents and considers whether remedial action is warranted.

"The President, Attorney General Pamela Bondi, and the entire Administration are committed to ensuring that no one should feel unsafe or unwelcome on campus because of their religion," said Mr. Terrell. "The Task Force's mandate is to bring the full force of the federal government to bear in our effort to eradicate Anti-Semitism, particularly in schools. These visits are just one of many steps this Administration is taking to deliver on that commitment."

The 10 universities identified by the Task Force are: Columbia University; George Washington University; Harvard University; Johns Hopkins University; New York University; Northwestern University; the University of California, Los Angeles; the University of California, Berkeley; the University of Minnesota; and the University of Southern California.

WASHINGTON — Today, the Departments of Education (ED), Health and Human Services (HHS), and the U.S. General Services Administration (GSA), announced a comprehensive review of federal contracts and grants at Harvard University and its affiliates. This review is part of the ongoing efforts of the Joint Task Force to Combat Anti-Semitism.

The Task Force will review the more than $255.6 million in contracts between Harvard University, its affiliates and the Federal Government. The review also includes the more than $8.7 billion in multi-year grant commitments to Harvard University and its affiliates to ensure the university is in compliance with federal regulations, including its civil rights responsibilities.

"Harvard has served as a symbol of the American Dream for generations – the pinnacle aspiration for students all over the world to work hard and earn admission to the storied institution," said **Secretary of Education Linda McMahon**. "Harvard's failure to protect students on campus from anti-Semitic discrimination - all while promoting divisive ideologies over free inquiry - has put its reputation in serious jeopardy. Harvard can right these wrongs and restore itself to a campus dedicated to academic excellence and truth-seeking, where all students feel safe on its campus."

Today's actions by the Task Force follow a similar ongoing review of Columbia University. That review led to Columbia agreeing to comply with 9 preconditions <https://www.gsa.gov/about-us/newsroom/news-releases/hhs-ed-and-gsa-respond-to-columbia-universitys-actions-to-comply-with-joint-03242025> for further negotiations regarding a return of canceled federal funds. This initiative strengthens enforcement of President Trump's Executive Order titled "Additional Measures to Combat Anti-Semitism <https://www.whitehouse.gov/presidential-actions/2025/01/additional-measures-to-combat-anti-semitism/>. The Task Force ensures that federally funded institutions uphold their legal and ethical responsibilities to prevent anti-Semitic harassment.

The federal government will collaborate with relevant contracting agencies to assess whether Stop Work Orders should be issued for any identified contracts. Additionally, Harvard has been directed to submit a comprehensive list of all contracts—both direct and through affiliates—between their institution and the federal government that were not included in the initial review.

"The Task Force will continue its efforts to root out anti-Semitism and to refocus our institutions of higher learning on the core values that undergird a liberal education," said **HHS Acting General Counsel and Task Force member, Sean Keveney**. "We are pleased that Harvard is willing to engage with us on these goals."

Any institution found to be in violation of federal compliance standards may face administrative actions, including contract termination.

The Task Force remains committed to awarding federal funds responsibly and holding institutions accountable for taking decisive action against anti-Semitic harassment. GSA has been asked to facilitate the review of federal funding received by Harvard including grant and contract reviews across the Federal Government.

"Hate in any form goes against the foundational principles of America. While Harvard's recent actions to curb institutionalized anti-Semitism - though long overdue - are welcome, there is much more that the university must do to retain the privilege of receiving federal taxpayer's hard earned dollars," said **FAS Commissioner and Task Force Member, Josh Gruenbaum**. "This administration has proven that we will take swift action to hold institutions accountable if they allow anti-Semitism to fester. We will not hesitate to act if Harvard fails to do so."

For more information, visit the announcement on the formation of the Task Force to Combat Anti-Semitism <https://www.justice.gov/opa/pr/justice-department-announces-formation-task-force-combat-anti-semitism> and read the HHS, ED, and GSA joint press <https://www.gsa.gov/about-us/newsroom/news-releases/hhs-ed-and-gsa-announce-additional-measures-to-end-antisemitic-harassment-03032025> release from Monday, March 3rd.

###

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FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE
April 14, 2025

Contact: HHS Press Office

202-690-6343
Submit a Request for Comment

Joint Task Force Statement Regarding Harvard University

Harvard's statement today reinforces the troubling entitlement mindset that is endemic in our nation's most prestigious universities and colleges – that federal investment does not come with the responsibility to uphold civil rights laws.

The disruption of learning that has plagued campuses in recent years is unacceptable. The harassment of Jewish students is intolerable. It is time for elite universities to take the problem seriously and commit to meaningful change if they wish to continue receiving taxpayer support.

The Joint Task Force to combat anti-Semitism is announcing a freeze on $2.2 billion in multi-year grants and $60M in multi-year contract value to Harvard University.

###

U.S. House of Representatives
Staff Report on Antisemitism

December 18, 2024

In coordination with the:

Speaker of the House Mike Johnson
Majority Leader Steve Scalise
Majority Whip Tom Emmer
Republican Conference Chairwoman Elise Stefanik
Republican Conference Vice Chairman Blake Moore
Education and the Workforce Committee
Energy and Commerce Committee
Judiciary Committee
Oversight Committee
Veterans' Affairs Committee
Ways and Means Committee

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II. Executive Summary

Since the horrific terrorist attack carried out by Hamas on October 7, 2023, the United States has witnessed an alarming surge in antisemitism. Across the nation, Jewish Americans have been harassed, assaulted, intimidated, and subjected to hostile environments—violations that stand in stark contrast to America's fundamental values, including a foundational commitment to religious freedom for all.

In response, on April 30, 2024, Speaker Mike Johnson announced a unified U.S. House of Representatives initiative to confront this crisis head-on. This effort, spanning multiple committees, reflects an unwavering dedication to combating antisemitism and ensuring the safety and dignity of Jewish Americans. The initiative has been spearheaded by the Committees on Education and the Workforce, Energy and Commerce, Judiciary, Oversight and Accountability, Veterans Affairs, and Ways and Means. Together, these committees have undertaken investigations into federal funding, federal departments and agencies, foreign student visa programs, and tax benefits granted to nonprofit organizations and universities, all to address the troubling rise of hate and extremism.

The Committees' findings are alarming. For instance, some of our most prominent American universities refused to crack down on antisemitism. In fact, many colleges handed down disparate disciplinary actions for Jewish students versus their antagonists—the students who engaged in antisemitic behavior, encampments, and intimidating tactics such as campus checkpoints and tax-exempt organizations that enabled and funded violent campus protests, among other troubling findings. The failure of our federal government departments and agencies is astounding. For example, HHS and its grant-making agencies have entirely avoided any accountability for institutions to which they award millions of dollars annually.

The recommendations contained in this report are a result of thoughtful investigations by each Committee. These recommendations should not be taken lightly. First and foremost, as a nation we must protect Jewish citizens and students. That may require colleges and universities to use their vast endowments to better protect and support students on campus. Universities must ensure equal treatment for equivalent infractions. Students must learn that actions have consequences—not that there is a different standard based on race or ethnicity. This report reveals the lack of oversight of institutions receiving significant sums of federal grant money and the recommendations urge that the U.S. Department of Health and Human Services (HHS), in particular, engage in more robust oversight. Likewise, the U.S. Department of Veterans Affairs has more work to do inside and outside their headquarters. This is not an exhaustive list—readers should refer to the subsections for more specifics.

As Speaker Johnson emphasized when he announced the House-wide initiative, "[n]early every committee here has a role to play in these efforts to stop the madness that has ensued." Highlights of the initiative include:

- **The Committee on Education and the Workforce**: Conducted oversight by holding hearings with students and university presidents and obtaining more than 400,000 pages

of documents from postsecondary institutions through document requests and subpoenas to ensure accountability.

- **The Committee on Energy and Commerce**: Conducted oversight of the federal agencies responsible for disbursing taxpayer-funded research grants to institutions and several institutions themselves.

- **The Committee on the Judiciary**: Examined immigration policies and enforcement to address national security concerns, including foreign nationals with sympathies for Hamas entering the country.

- **The Committee on Oversight and Accountability**: Examined the actions of officials in the District of Columbia as it relates to their refusal to adequately address unlawful and antisemitic protests.

- **The Committee on Veterans Affairs**: Investigated antisemitic misconduct within the Department of Veterans Affairs and the inadequate internal investigation that followed such conduct. The Committee sent letters to the Department of Veterans Affairs and the Governors of California, New York, Illinois, Massachusetts, Michigan, and North Carolina asking them to investigate through the State Approving Agencies whether certain universities were adequately addressing the education needs of Jewish veteran students and were providing the quality of education required for participation in the GI Bill. These states and universities were chosen because they received a D or an F rating from the Anti-Defamation League's report card.

- **The Committee on Ways and Means**: Investigated tax-exempt organizations and antisemitism across the country to hold bad actors accountable and ensure that tax-exempt organizations, including universities, are not abusing our nation's tax code to support illegal activity or operate outside of tax-exempt purposes.

These robust, multi-faceted investigations have culminated in actionable findings and recommendations to safeguard Jewish Americans and uphold America's commitment to religious freedom and safety. House Republicans remain steadfast in their commitment to addressing this fateful moment with moral clarity and decisive action, ensuring that Jewish Americans can live safely and freely in the United States of America. In the 119th Congress, we look forward to continuing to shine a light wherever antisemitism rears its ugly head.

III. The Committee on Education and the Workforce

A. Overview of the Investigation

Over the past year, the House Committee on Education and the Workforce ("Committee"), led by Chairwoman Virginia Foxx, conducted an intensive investigation into antisemitism in postsecondary education. The Committee's investigation has been unprecedented in depth and scope, sending requests for documents and information to universities across the country and collecting nearly half a million pages of documents. For the first time in its 157-year history, the Committee issued subpoenas to universities for their failure to satisfy the Committee's demands. Chairwoman Foxx and the Committee held six hearings and a student roundtable on campus antisemitism. The Committee issued numerous reports and released documents that revealed extensive evidence of universities' apparent unwillingness to fulfill their legal obligations under Title VI of the *Civil Rights Act* ("Title VI") and their overwhelming failure to address the explosion of antisemitic conduct on their campuses.

Relevant Federal Laws

Title VI: Title VI prohibits recipients of federal funds ("recipients") from discriminating on the basis of race, color, or national origin.[1] Approximately 5,600 colleges and universities receive federal funds, including in the form of student aid under Title IV of the *Higher Education Act*, and therefore are subject to Title VI.[2] Since 2004, the Department of Education's Office for Civil Rights ("OCR") has repeatedly affirmed that discrimination against religious groups is prohibited by Title VI when it is based on an individual's actual or perceived shared ancestry or ethnic characteristics, or on an individual's citizenship or residency in a country with a dominant religion or distinct religious identity.[3]

Recipients may be found in violation of Title VI under disparate treatment claims (when a recipient treats students differently based on race, color, or national origin) and under hostile environment claims.[4] The Department of Education's OCR defines a hostile environment as "unwelcome conduct based on race, color, or national origin that, based on the totality of circumstances, is subjectively and objectively offensive and is so severe or pervasive that it

---

[1] Civil Rights Act of 1964 § 601.
[2] *Number of postsecondary institutions in the United States that award federal student aid*, NATIONAL CENTER FOR EDUCATION STATISTICS, https://nces.ed.gov/ipeds/TrendGenerator/app/answer/1/1.
[3] U.S. DEP'T OF ED. OFF. OF C.R., KNOW YOUR RIGHTS: TITLE VI AND RELIGION (2017), https://www2.ed.gov/about/offices/list/ocr/docs/know-rights-201701-religious-disc.pdf; U.S. DEP'T OF ED. OFF. OF C.R., FACT SHEET: PROTECTING STUDENTS FROM DISCRIMINATION BASED ON SHARED ANCESTRY OR ETHNIC CHARACTERISTICS (2023), https://www2.ed.gov/about/offices/list/ocr/docs/ocr-factsheet-shared-ancestry-202301.pdf.
[4] ABIGAIL A. GRABER, CONG. RSCH. SERV., LSB11129, RELIGIOUS DISCRIMINATION AT SCHOOL: APPLICATION OF TITLE VI OF THE CIVIL RIGHTS ACT OF 1964 (2024).

limits or denies a person's ability to participate in or benefit from a school's education program or activity."[5]

Notably, the commission of a discriminatory act on a recipient's campus does not by itself amount to a Title VI violation. A Title VI violation occurs when a recipient has allowed, permitted, or created a hostile environment that targets someone based on race, color, or national origin.[6] Whether any particular incident amounts to a Title VI violation depends on the specific facts of the incident and any related incidents on campus and the university's response.[7]

The Clery Act: The *Jeanne Clery Disclosure of Campus Security Policy and Campus Crime Statistics Act* ("Clery Act") requires all institutions that receive Title IV funding to establish and publish various campus security policies, submit an annual crime report of campus crime statistics, and publish accurate and prompt reporting of all crimes to the campus police and appropriate law enforcement agencies.[8] The Clery Act provides for additional reporting when victims of certain crimes are selected on the basis of certain characteristics – including religion, national origin, and ethnicity.[9] This means that institutions must count crimes such as assault, intimidation, or vandalism when the victim is intentionally selected because of his or her perceived religion or national origin, such as when Jewish students are targeted.

B. Findings

(1) Universities Failed to Stop Antisemitism on Their Campuses, Likely Violating Title VI

The Committee found that numerous universities failed to stop antisemitism on their campuses, likely violating Title VI. Specifically, Columbia University explicitly acknowledged that its campus became a hostile environment in violation of Title VI. In addition, evidence suggests Title VI violations at other universities including the University of California, Los Angeles ("UCLA"), and Harvard.

- **Columbia University:** Columbia stands out for its egregious failure to combat antisemitism on its campus, despite its president acknowledging that the University was in violation of its Title VI obligations. On April 29, 2024, Columbia's then-President Minouche Shafik publicly stated that an encampment established on April 17, and related incidents "create[ed] a hostile environment in violation of Title VI, especially around our gates, that is unsafe for everyone."[10] This statement came after an April 21, Committee letter to the University

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[5] Catherine E. Lhamon, *Dear Colleague Letter: Protecting Students from Discrimination, such as Harassment, Based on Race, Color, or National Origin, Including Shared Ancestry or Ethnic Characteristics*, U.S. DEP'T OF ED., (May 7, 2024), https://www.ed.gov/sites/ed/files/about/offices/list/ocr/letters/colleague-202405-shared-ancestry.pdf.
[6] U.S. DEP'T OF ED. OFF. OF C.R., DEAR COLLEAGUE LETTER: PROTECTING STUDENTS FROM DISCRIMINATION, SUCH AS HARASSMENT, BASED ON RACE, COLOR, OR NATIONAL ORIGIN, INCLUDING SHARED ANCESTRY OR ETHNIC CHARACTERISTICS (2024), https://www.ed.gov/sites/ed/files/about/offices/list/ocr/letters/colleague-202405-shared-ancestry.pdfhttps://www2.ed.gov/about/offices/list/ocr/docs/ocr-factsheet-shared-ancestry-202301.pdf.
[7] *Id.*
[8] Jeanne Clery Disclosure of Campus Security Policy and Campus Crime Statistics Act, 20 U.S.C. § 1092(f) (2024).
[9] Clery Act § 1092(f)(1)(F)(ii).
[10] Statement from Columbia Univ. President Minouche Shafik, Columbia Univ. (Apr. 29, 2024), https://president.columbia.edu/news/statement-columbia-university-president-minouche-shafik-4-29.

documenting numerous disturbing incidents at and around the encampment, and warning that Columbia was in "major breach" of its Title VI obligations.[11] Yet, Columbia's leadership failed to restore order to the campus until May 1, after a group of students and others criminally took over a campus building, Hamilton Hall.[12]

- These were not isolated incidents. Rather, they were part of an extensive pattern of Columbia's failures to enforce University rules to address antisemitic conduct. In a disturbing August 2024 report, Columbia's presidentially appointed Task Force on Antisemitism detailed an atmosphere of pervasive civil rights violations at the University.[13] The Task Force wrote,"[Jewish students] consider the University bound by duty and by law to ensure students are able to learn and live in a neutral environment in which discrimination is not tolerated, without fear for their safety" but "[w]hat we heard makes clear that hundreds of Jewish and Israeli students did not have this experience at Columbia University in the academic year 2023-2024."[14] The Task Force found Israeli students were frequently targeted on the basis of their national origin in violation of federal antidiscrimination law, explaining that "hatred toward Israelis has reached alarming levels on campus" and that "Israeli students found the pervasive hostility made it difficult to access necessary services, such as healthcare."[15] The Task Force also found "[v]isibly observant [Jewish] students, like ones who wear traditional head coverings, have been frequently met with extreme hostility."[16]

- **UCLA:** UCLA allowed the creation of a hostile environment for Jewish students that appears to have violated Title VI.[17] UCLA administrators failed to heed recommendations by university police to identify outside agitators and remove nonstudents from the encampment, even as it fortified and expanded to include antisemitic checkpoints that denied Jewish

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[11] Letter from Virginia Foxx, Chairwoman, H. Comm. on Ed. & the Workforce, to Columbia Univ. (Apr. 21, 2024), https://edworkforce.house.gov/uploadedfiles/4-21-24_columbia_april_letter.pdf.

[12] Kenneth Granger, et. al, *Violent pro-terror rioters shouting 'Intifada!' smash their way into Columbia University academic building in latest campus chaos*, NY POST (Apr. 30, 2024), https://nypost.com/2024/04/30/us-news/columbia-university-protesters-take-over-hamilton-hall/.

[13] Task Force on Antisemitism, *Columbia University Student Experiences of Antisemitism and Recommendations For Promoting Shared Values And Inclusion* (Aug. 2024), https://president.columbia.edu/sites/default/files/content/Announcements/Report-2-Task-Force-on-Antisemitism.pdf.

[14] *Id.* at 36-37.

[15] Task Force on Antisemitism, *Columbia University Student Experiences of Antisemitism and Recommendations For Promoting Shared Values And Inclusion*, 28-29 (Aug. 2024), https://president.columbia.edu/sites/default/files/content/Announcements/Report-2-Task-Force-on-Antisemitism.pdf.

[16] Task Force on Antisemitism, *Columbia University Student Experiences of Antisemitism and Recommendations For Promoting Shared Values And Inclusion*, 13 (Aug. 2024), https://president.columbia.edu/sites/default/files/content/Announcements/Report-2-Task-Force-on-Antisemitism.pdf.

[17] Though the Committee views the evidence as substantiating a Title VI violation, neither OCR nor a court, both of which have authority to find a violation has occurred, have yet done so.

students access to central parts of campus.[18] Only after an outbreak of mob violence did the University take the overdue step of clearing the encampment.[19]

The U.S. District Court for the Central District of California found[20] that "Jewish students were excluded from portions of the UCLA campus because they refused to denounce their faith" and issued a preliminary injunction ordering the school to ensure Jewish students have access to the same resources as other students.[21]

- **Harvard University:** Harvard drew national attention for pervasive antisemitic misconduct, including the assault of an Israeli student, classroom disruptions, and a building occupation, but its leaders ignored their own advisors' recommendations to address the problem.[22] In the aftermath of the post-October 7th explosion of antisemitic hate, then-President Claudine Gay formed an Antisemitism Advisory Group ("AAG") to help "develop a robust strategy for confronting antisemitism on campus."[23] It found antisemitism to be a major problem at Harvard, noting significant harassment of Jewish students and pervasive ostracization of Israeli students.[24] AAG members became frustrated by Harvard's leaders' inaction, prompting five of its eight members to threaten to resign.[25]

  In December 2023, the AAG presented Harvard's leaders with a set of significant recommendations to combat antisemitism at the University including enforcing "zero tolerance" for classroom disruptions; countering antisemitic speech; reviewing the academic rigor of classes and programs with antisemitic content; and reviewing Harvard's Office for

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[18] UCLA Police Message Thread (Apr. 25, 2024, 4:25 AM) (on file with Comm.); Email from UCLA Bruin Alert (Apr. 26, 2024, 12:26 PM) (on file with Comm.); Katherine Mangan, *Federal Judge Blasts UCLA for Allowing Encampment Protesters to Block Jewish Students*, THE CHRONICLE OF HIGHER ED. (Aug. 14, 2024) https://www.chronicle.com/article/federal-judge-blasts-ucla-for-allowing-encampment-protesters-to-block-jewish-students.

[19] UCPD Leadership Text Messages (May 1, 2024) (on file with Comm.); Letter from Assemb. Rick Chavez Zbur to Hon. Catherine E. Lhamon, Asst. Sec. U.S. Dept. of Ed. (Apr. 30, 2024), https://a51.asmdc.org/press-releases/20240430-assemblymember-zbur-requests-investigation-potential-violations-title-vi.

[20] The court's grant of a preliminary injunction was based on the undisputed facts underlying the plaintiffs' free exercise claims and did not adjudicate the Title VI or other claims asserted by the plaintiffs.

[21] Order for Preliminary Injunction, *Frankel v. Regents*, No. 2:24-cv-04702-MCS-PD (C.D. Cal., Aug. 13, 2024). The order states at 15, "Defendants are prohibited from knowingly allowing or facilitating the exclusion of Jewish students from ordinarily available portions of UCLA's programs, activities, and campus areas, whether as a result of a de-escalation strategy or otherwise."

[22] H. Comm. on Education and the Workforce, Investigative Update: *The Antisemitism Advisory Group and Harvard's Response: Clarity and Inaction* (May 15, 2024), https://edworkforce.house.gov/uploadedfiles/5.15.24_harvard_committee_report_final.pdf.

[23] Claudine Gay, Combating Antisemitism, Harvard Univ. (Nov. 9, 2023), https://www.harvard.edu/president/news-gay/2023/combating-antisemitism/; The group's members included former Harvard Law School Dean Martha Minow, visiting scholar Rabbi David Wolpe, writer and Harvard alumna Dara Horn, Government professor Eric Nelson, Divinity School professor Kevin Madigan, Harvard Board of Overseers member Geraldine Acuña-Sunshine, Harvard College Dean of Students Thomas Dunne, and a Jewish undergraduate.

[24] Investigative Update, *supra* note 21.

[25] Dara Horn, Transcribed Interview before the H. Comm. on Ed. & the Workforce, 38-39 (Mar. 18, 2024) (on file with Comm.); Letter from Antisemitism Advisory Grp. members to Claudine Gay, President, Harv. Univ. (Nov. 5, 2023) (on file with Comm.), at 1.

Equity, Diversity, Inclusion, and Belonging's inadequacy in addressing antisemitism.[26] Harvard's leaders, however, failed to implement these and disbanded the AAG at the end of the fall 2023 semester,[27] and replaced it with a new Antisemitism Task Force in January 2024.[28] Rather than implement the AAG's recommendations, the Task Force took months to release a weaker, less detailed set of preliminary recommendations in June 2024, which drew criticism from Harvard's Jewish community.[29]

(2) Students who established unlawful antisemitic encampments—which violated university polices and created unsafe, hostile environments—were granted shocking concessions.

In the spring of 2024, there was a wave of unlawful antisemitic encampments established on campuses throughout the country. These encampments frequently generated substantial harassment – and in some cases physical assaults – of Jewish students, created hostile environments, and disrupted campus operations. In a dereliction of their responsibilities, many school officials failed to clear these encampments in a timely manner, often negotiating with encampment participants, and in some cases appeasing them with appalling concessions. Two of the most notable cases are Northwestern, the first school to capitulate to its encampment; and Columbia, the first school where an encampment was established, and where the University's fecklessness led to the criminal takeover of a campus building. In both cases, the universities' shocking efforts to appease students went farther than the public was led to believe.

- **Northwestern University:** Northwestern reached a shameful agreement appeasing its encampment after President Michael Schill chose radical anti-Israel faculty members Jessica Winegar and Nour Kteily to negotiate on the school's behalf with the antisemitic encampment.[30] The negotiators abused their positions to support encampment organizers, with Kteily writing that he aimed to "get some amazing wins" for them.[31] Northwestern's Provost Kathleen Hagerty endorsed this approach, affirming Kteily after he advised students on how to pressure trustees on advancing divestment.[32] Hagerty also supported Kteily's recommendation that Northwestern boycott Sabra hummus due to it being perceived as an

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[26] Antisemitism Advisory Grp., *Potential Statement of Goals and Steps to Address Antisemitism Issues* (Dec. 18, 2023) (on file with Comm.).

[27] Andrew Bernard, *Harvard propped up Jew-hatred advisory group 'for show,' House committee report concludes*, JEWISH NEWS SYNDICATE (May 16, 2024), https://www.jns.org/harvard-propped-up-jew-hatred-advisory-group-for-show-house-committee-report-concludes/.

[28] Harvard was heavily criticized for selecting historian Derek Penslar to co-chair the Task Force which replaced the AAG, considering Penslar calling reports of antisemitism at Harvard "exaggerated" and signing a letter calling Israel a "regime of apartheid." *See* Jon Levine, *Chair of Harvard's new antisemitism task force accused of antisemitism*, NEW YORK POST (Jan. 20, 2024), https://nypost.com/2024/01/20/news/chair-of-harvards-new-task-force-accused-of-antisemitism/.

[29] Haley Cohen, *Harvard Jewish leaders, alumni disappointed by antisemitism task force recommendations*, JEWISH INSIDER (Jun. 27, 2024), https://jewishinsider.com/2024/06/harvard-task-force-antisemitism-jewish-leaders-alumni/

[30] STAFF OF H. COMM. ON ED. & THE WORKFORCE, 118TH CONG., ANTISEMITISM ON COLLEGE CAMPUSES EXPOSED 9-18 (Comm. Print 2024).

[31] Text Message from Nour Kteily, Professor of Mgmt. and Org., Nw. Univ. Kellog Sch. Of. Mgmt., to Wendy Pearlman, Professor of Pol. Sci., Nw. Univ. Weinberg Coll. Arts & Sci. (Apr. 26, 2024, 7:45 PM) (on file with Comm.).

[32] Text Message from Kathleen Hagerty, Provost, Nw. Univ., to Nour Kteily, Professor of Mgmt. and Org., Nw. Univ. Kellog Sch. Of Mgmt. (Apr. 26, 2024, 12:49 AM UTC-5) (on file with Comm.).

Israeli product.[33] The final agreement contains an apparent mechanism for implementing such a boycott through a provision for students to provide input on dining services and vendors.

President Schill also appears to have misled Congress in his testimony before the Committee regarding whether the University entertained encampment organizers' demands to hire an anti-Zionist rabbi. Specifically, President Schill categorically denied that he would ever hire someone on such a basis, but documents produced to the Committee reveal President Schill actively entertained the request while expressing sensitivity to the optics of his actions.[34] Further, language in the final agreement contains a mechanism for facilitating such a hire, [35] and encampment organizers stated they would "be able to pick a new rabbi" as a result of the agreement.[36] At best, President Schill's testimony lacked candor and is unbecoming of a university president; at worst Schill's testimony was false and met the criteria of a federal crime.

- **Columbia University:** Despite Columbia offering more significant concessions than it publicly acknowledged, efforts to appease encampment organizers did not result in an agreement.[37] Columbia offered to have the University body responsible for considering divestment requests and making recommendations to the Board of Trustees review proposals to divest from companies with criteria that would open the door for anti-Israel activists to pursue spurious claims against companies with ties to Israel or that are involved in defense manufacturing. Columbia also offered amnesty for some encampment members, to create a University fund to invest in projects in Gaza and the West Bank and to provide scholarships for students with ties to Gaza and the West Bank.[38] Even after negotiations broke down,

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[33] Text Message from Nour Kteily, Professor of Mgmt. and Org., Nw. U. Kellog Sch. Of Mgmt., to Kathleen Hagerty, Provost, Nw. U (Apr. 27, 2024, 3:18 AM) (on file with Comm.); Sabra is a U.S.-based company jointly owned by PepsiCo and the Israeli company Strauss Group.

[34] Text Messages from Michael H. Schill, President, Nw. Univ., to Susan Davis, Vice President of Student Aff., Nw. Univ. (Apr. 27, 2024) (on file with Comm.); Memorandum on Northwestern University's Three Ideals (Apr. 28, 2024) (on file with Comm.)

[35] Agreement on Deering Meadow, Northwestern Univ. (Apr. 29, 2024), https://www northwestern.edu/leadership-notes/2024/agreement-on-deering-meadow.pdf (The final language states: "The University will engage students in a process dedicated to ensuring additional support for Jewish and Muslim students within Student Affairs/Religious & Spiritual Life.").

[36] Live: Pro-Palestinian demonstrators continue to push for divestment on Deering Meadow following agreement, THE DAILY N.W. (Apr. 25, 2024), https://dailynorthwestern.com/2024/04/25/campus/live-pro-palestinian-student-activists-set-up-encampment-on-deering-meadow/.

[37] In her April 29 public statement on the negotiations' failure, then-President Shafik offered a sanitized and incomplete description of the University's offers. For example, Shafik omitted that the University had proposed specific forms of divestment for consideration by ACSRI, offered amnesty for conduct violators, and offered scholarships for students with ties to Gaza and the West Bank. *See* Statement from Columbia Univ, President Minouche Shafik, Columbia Univ. (Apr. 29, 2024), https://president.columbia.edu/news/statement-columbia-university-president-minouche-shafik-4-29.

[38] Student Demands and Possible Columbia Univ. Responses (Apr. 22, 2024) (on file with Comm.).

Columbia continued to appease the radical encampment when then-President Shafik promised to "explore pursuing" the encampment's demands.[39]

This mentality appears to be shared by Columbia's current leadership. In September 2024, Columbia's Interim President Katrina Armstrong shamefully apologized to students arrested for the takeover of Hamilton Hall and for participating in the encampment.[40]

(3) So-Called University Leaders Intentionally Declined to Support Jewish Communities on Campus

The Committee found that so-called university leaders deliberately chose to withhold support from Jewish communities on campus, demonstrating a refusal to address the hostile environments at their institutions. On many campuses numerous antisemitic students, faculty, and staff openly supported Hamas' terrorism and engaged in harassment and intimidation of Jewish communities.[41] Jewish students, faculty, and staff often felt abandoned by administrators' passive and muted responses to the explosion of antisemitic hate on campus. The Committee's investigation found that these failures to act were not mere oversights but intentional decisions.

- **Harvard Administrators Deliberately Chose Not to Condemn Hamas in Their Widely Criticized October 9th Statement**: Harvard was widely criticized when its October 9th statement on the October 7th attack failed to condemn Hamas.[42] The statement was issued by then-President Gay, current President (then-Provost) Alan Garber, and the deans of Harvard's various schools. The Committee's investigation revealed that this group of Harvard's top administrators made deliberate decisions to remove draft language that denounced Hamas' terrorism, acknowledged the impact of the taking of hostages upon the Harvard community, and called Hamas' attack "violent," while insisting on including

[39] Statement from Columbia Univ, President Minouche Shafik, Columbia Univ. (Apr. 29, 2024), https://president.columbia.edu/news/statement-columbia-university-president-minouche-shafik-4-29.
[40] Esha Karam, Shea Vance, & Sarah Huddleston, *'I'm really sorry': Armstrong apologizes to those 'hurt' by NYPD sweeps*, COLUMBIA SPECTATOR (Sept. 19, 2024), https://www.columbiaspectator.com/news/2024/09/19/im-really-sorry-armstrong-apologizes-to-those-hurt-by-nypd-sweeps/.
[41] *See*: J. Sellers Hill, *Harvard Student Groups Face Intense Backlash for Statement Calling Israel 'Entirely Responsible' for Hamas Attack*, HARVARD CRIMSON (Oct. 10, 2023), https://www.thecrimson.com/article/2023/10/10/psc-statement-backlash; Haley Cohen, *Columbia University, Barnard College silent after faculty letter calls Hamas terrorist attack a legitimate 'military action'*, JEWISH INSIDER (Oct. 31, 2023), https://jewishinsider.com/2023/10/colombia-university-barnard-college-faculty-letter-hamas-terror-attack-israel; Emily Scolnick, *Pro-Palestinian student activists denounce Penn, call Oct. 7 Hamas attacks 'a necessary step'*, Daily Pennsylvanian (Oct. 16, 2024), https://www.thedp.com/article/2024/10/penn-philadelphia-students-for-justice-in-palestine-statement; Sharon Otterman, *Pro-Palestinian Group at Columbia Now Backs 'Armed Resistance' by Hamas*, NY TIMES (OCT. 9, 2024), https://www.nytimes.com/2024/10/09/nyregion/columbia-pro-palestinian-group-hamas.html.
[42] Miles J. Herszenhorn, *Harvard Affiliates, Politicians Slam University Leaders Over Late, 'Word Salad' Statement on War in Israel*, HARVARD CRIMSON (Oct. 10, 2023), https://www.thecrimson.com/article/2023/10/10/harvard-statement-criticized.

language expressing equivalence between Hamas' attack and the limited Israeli military operations in Gaza that had taken place at the time.[43]

- **Harvard's Then-President Gay and Then-Provost Garber Asked Harvard Corporation Senior Fellow Penny Pritzker Not to Call the Slogan "From The River To The Sea" Antisemitic:** The eliminationist antisemitic slogan, "From the River to the Sea," which calls for Israel to be wiped off the map and replaced with a Palestinian state, has been a hallmark of antisemitic activism at Harvard and other schools. Gay and Garber both objected to Harvard Corporation Senior Fellow Penny Pritzker calling the phrase antisemitic hate speech.[44] Gay asked Pritzker not to characterize the slogan as such, because Gay was concerned doing so would raise the question of whether Harvard would take disciplinary action.[45] Notably, Gay did not cite free speech principles as a reason for not taking disciplinary action as she had asserted in other venues, but rather, "contestation about what constitutes antisemitic speech."[46] Gay's response to Pritzker thus appears to substantiate criticisms that Harvard has treated antisemitic chants differently than other forms of hate.

- **Columbia University Failed to Correct False Narratives of a "Chemical Attack" Used to Vilify Jewish Students but Imposed Disproportionate Discipline on Jewish Students Involved:** Columbia University administrators allowed a false narrative that Jewish students had perpetrated a "chemical attack" at an anti-Israel rally to persist for months despite knowing it was false and that the students involved had merely sprayed novelty "fart sprays."[47] In an apparent case of disparate treatment, the Jewish students responsible were given excessive year-and-a-half long suspensions, substantially longer than any suspension for antisemitic conduct violations.[48] Columbia failed to correct the record despite requests from the Jewish community, even as anti-Israel students used the false narrative of a "chemical attack" purportedly involving military-grade "skunk spray" to demonize Jewish students and call for excluding Israelis.[49] Columbia finally acknowledged that the incident was not a "chemical attack" in August 2024, pursuant to a settlement with one of the Jewish

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[43] E-mail from Claudine Gay, President, Harvard Univ. to Penny Pritzker, Senior Fellow, Harvard Corp. (Oct. 22, 2023, 11:24 AM) (on file with Comm.); E-mail from Claudine Gay, President, Harvard Univ. to Penny Pritzker, Senior Fellow, Harvard Corp. (Oct. 22, 2023, 10:46 PM) (on file with Comm.).

[44] E-mail from Penny Pritzker, Senior Fellow, Harvard Corp., to Claudine Gay, President, Harvard Univ. (Oct. 22, 2023, 8:59 AM) (on file with Comm.).

[45] E-mail from Claudine Gay, President, Harvard Univ. to Penny Pritzker, Senior Fellow, Harvard Corp. (Oct. 22, 2023, 10:46 PM) (on file with Comm.).

[46] E-mail from Claudine Gay, President, Harvard Univ. to Penny Pritzker, Senior Fellow, Harvard Corp. (Oct. 22, 2023, 10:46 PM) (on file with Comm.).

[47] STAFF OF H. COMM. ON ED. & THE WORKFORCE, 118TH CONG., ANTISEMITISM ON COLLEGE CAMPUSES EXPOSED 48-56 (Comm. Print 2024); Disciplinary Record, Columbia Univ. (Feb. 23, 2024) (on file with Comm.).

[48] Columbia failed to impose meaningful discipline for numerous serious antisemitic conduct offenses. *See* ANTISEMITISM ON COLLEGE CAMPUSES EXPOSED at 59-64; Confidential Settlement Agreement (Aug. 29, 2024) (on file with Comm.)

[49] ANTISEMITISM ON COLLEGE CAMPUSES EXPOSED at 48-56; Aneeta Bhole, *Antisemitic poster of skunk with Star of David plastered across Columbia University: 'Villainizes Jewish and Israeli students'*, NEW YORK POST (Feb. 6, 2024), https://nypost.com/2024/02/06/metro/antisemitic-skunk-poster-plastered-across-columbia/.