# IN THE UNITED STATES DISTRICT COURT FOR THE EASTERN DISTRICT OF PENNSYLVANIA

ALLY LANDAU HJSB, HJSC, and

JEWS AT HAVERFORD,

Plaintiffs, : Civil Action No. 2:24-cv-02044 (GAM)

:

v.

THE CORPORATION OF : HAVERFORD COLLEGE, :

:

Defendant. :

AMENDED COMPLAINT

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#### **COMPLAINT**

#### I. INTRODUCTION

# A. Developments Since The Filing Of The Original Complaint In This Action

- The initial Complaint in this case was filed in early May of this year, close to the end of academic year 2023-24 and shortly before the annual graduation ceremony at Haverford College ("Haverford").
- 2. Since that date a series of events have taken place, and statements have been made publicly by Haverford's administrative and student leaders. All reveal a clear decision by Haverford to double down on every policy at issue in this case.
- 3. These events and actions took place at and in the run-up to graduation; during and after the ceremony itself; and as the Haverford community welcomed its new students for academic year 2024-25.
- 4. In addition, new facts have come to light which took place before the original Complaint was filed, which further substantiate Plaintiffs' claims.
- 5. These facts include
  - an explicit admission by Haverford's chief Equity officer that she and the rest of the College's leaderhip know full well that Jews at Haverford are being forced to abandon their commitment to Israel as the price of admission to the Haverford College community, their belief that that is entirely appropriate, and that the College intends to do absolutely nothing about it (see ¶ 23-24 *infra*);
  - disciplinary action against a Jewish and Zionist professor for what the College characterized as inappropriate speech to a student with whom he disagreed, while

the College displayed no interest in punishing a religion professor who has issued multiple obscene public statements denouncing anyone who espouses the Jewish commitment to Israel, announcing with angry righteousness his refusal to speak to any such person —and thus to any of the Plaintiffs—and his announcement that he will never forgive any such person, along with his assurance that he knows their names and will never forget their refusal to agree with him. See ¶¶ 180-193, *infra*.

- 6. Since the filing of this Complaint Haverford's commencement took place, and was conducted as an organized hatefest against the Jewish commitment to Israel, which the College's leadership patiently supported, while making absolutely no effort to recognize the beliefs of Jews who share the commitments of the Plaintiffs, including Plaintiff Ally Landau, who was one of the graduates at his event. See ¶¶ 340-361, *infra*.
- 7. At graduation, awards were issued by the College to two people—a student and a professor—whom the original Complaint in this action had identified as models of antisemitism on the Haverford campus. The student was given an award for engaging int in the antisemitic conduct called out in the original Complaint; and the professor was given an award for embodying Haverford's values, precisely because he has publicly posted his glee and jubilation at the Hamas invasion of Israel and their grotesque atrocities conducted against the ancestral, ethnic and religious believfs and commitments of Plaintiffs'to their Homeland. See ¶¶ 350-361, *infra*.
- 8. Also since the filing of the original Complaint in this action, Haverford has hired another professor who also repeatedly and publicly posted his delight at the slaughter of Jews on October 7, stating they were a "beautiful" sight to wake up to on that day. See *infra*, ¶¶175-178.

- Also since the filing of the original Complaint in this case, Haverford has introduced the new class to its campus and culture.
- 10. This process includes a social media chat group among incoming students that was so profoundly hostile to Jews who are committed to Israel that one student who had been accepted by Haverford and committed to coming instead decided, on the basis of what he experienced in this chat group, to withdraw from the Haverford College before ever arriving on campus. See ¶¶ 362-366, *infra*.
- 11. The process of orienting new students also included events, at which attendance for incoming students was mandatory, at which Israel and Zionism were denounced in lengthy Powerpoint presentations filled with inaccurate and antisemitic statements. See ¶¶ 367-391, *infra*.
- 12. Members of the Jewish community of Haverford students attempted to participate in the preparation of the materials used at these events, and to present to the upper class students who would lead these presentations the view of Jewish students at the College. Their efforts were denounced and cursed at by these other students. The addressees of this presentation by Jewish students were so outraged by the inclusion of a pro-Israel Jewish perspective that they demanded an apology for being forced to hear the Jews' concerns. The College provided the apology. See ¶¶ 369-374, *infra*.

# B. The Factual Background Of the Events At Issue In This Case

13. Throughout most of its nearly 200-year history, Haverford College has been a highly respected institution devoted to providing a liberal arts education to its students.
Haverford has now abandoned that mission in one central respect: by adopting a single unifocal definition of justice, which excludes, and is resolutely hostile to, Jews who are

- committed to Israel's existence as a Jewish state or even insufficiently committed to its elimination.
- of anti-Israel students and faculty. Haverford refuses to tolerate ideas about Israel that are at odds with its new political orthodoxy—in particular, the Jewish people's ethnic, historical, shared ancestral and religious claims to their ancestral homeland in Israel. This intolerance is enforced through shunning of Jewish students committed to the existence of the State of Israel as a Jewish state, and through the lauding and accepting of antisemitic student demands by Haverford's President Wendy Raymond and her administration (the "Administration"). Indeed, President Raymond has allowed to go unanswered the exclusionary demands that pro-Israel students be labeled as racist "genocidaires" and therefore discredited or silenced. *See infra*, ¶¶141, 304, 312.
- 15. Among the results of this intellectual bankruptcy is a college whose senior leadership, as well as at least a small but extremely loud segment of the faculty and the students have resolutely set their face against the ethnic and shared ancestral commitment of the Jewish people—the children of Israel—to the land of Israel. Public expression of this commitment at Haverford College is impossible for students, staff, and even for tenured faculty.
- 16. As a result of Haverford's capture by a fervently antisemitic anti-Israel faction, students and even tenured faculty who engage in public expression of pro-Israel viewpoints are penalized through formal investigations and other disciplinary measures, as well as through informal but pervasive stigmatization, harassment, and bullying campaigns.
- 17. As more fully alleged below at ¶¶ 406-413, the Office of Civil Rights, United States

  Department of Education ("OCR"), has recognized that it is antisemitic, and a violation

of Title VI of the 1964 Civil Rights Act ("Title VI"), for an institution covered by that statute to discriminate against Jewish students on the basis of their ethnic and shared ancestral ties to the land of Israel. Although Haverford accepts federal funds and is therefore subject to the requirements of Title VI, Haverford has engaged in discrimination against, and condoned pervasive hostility towards, pro-Israel Jewish students.

18. Haverford has violated Title VI by failing to protect the rights of Jewish Haverford students to participate fully in college classes, programs, and activities, without fear of harassment if they express beliefs about Israel that are anything less than eliminationist. In this pervasively hostile environment, Jewish students hide their beliefs, as well as their attendance at religious services or even secular events at which support for the existence of Israel is articulated or defended. While Israel-hating students march across the campus chanting quotes from the terrorist group Hamas calling for Israel's destruction—as they have done frequently and without any restraint or interference from the Administration these Jewish students hide in their rooms, feeling unable even to go to class or to engage in any of the other activities that constitute the life of an undergraduate. Jewish students whose native tongue is Hebrew fear to and no longer will speak Hebrew in public on campus. Other Jewish students agonize over how to suppress identifiably Jewish proclivities, gestures, or expressions, lest they be exposed as insufficiently Israel-hating Jews. Nearly all of these Jewish students engage in agitated consideration every day about whether, wherever they are going on Haverford's campus—to class, to the library, to a meal or to meet a friend—they are going to be met with attacks on them and the basic tenets of their religion.

- 19. When these Jewish students, their parents, and concerned Jewish alumni have repeatedly beseeched Haverford College to protect Jewish students' right to live free from harassment—or indeed, their right to live outwardly as Jews at all—Haverford has explicitly refused. Again and again. On the contrary: as more fully alleged below, \$\\$1267-277. Haverford has even invoked the potential for violence by the antisemitic faction on campus as the reason why the Jews should not even publicly speak out against antisemitism.
- 20. The result is a campus on which Jews who don't express hatred for the Jewish state or publicly disavow their connection to it cannot live and learn in peace. Rather than tolerating these embattled community members, Haverford tolerates relentless and directed hostility towards its Jews. While Haverford portrays itself as warm and welcoming to everyone, it has intentionally and perversely abandoned these committed Jews. The Administration has explicitly acknowledged "growing concern about antisemitism on our campus." <a href="https://www.haverford.edu/president/news/more-inclusive-learning-community">https://www.haverford.edu/president/news/more-inclusive-learning-community.</a>
- 21. Yet Haverford has made clear that it will not do anything to remedy the antisemitism that now runs rampant on campus.
- 22. In fact, in one deeply disturbing instance, Haverford Administrators actually said explicitly that they take no responsibility for the safety of Jewish students, and that the Jewish students will need to suffer before being accepted. On January 31, 2024, the affiliate advisors of Hillel and Chabad, representing the Jewish community, met with Haverford Administrators including Provost Linda Strong-Leek, Dean John McKnight, Chief of Staff Jesse Lytle, and Vice President for Institutional Equity and Access Thelalia "Nikki" Young. The meeting took place after these Jewish leaders had

repeatedly requested help from the Administration for their embattled students and had been rebuffed. These leaders finally believe they would hear from Haverford's administrative leadership what plans it had to help protect their Jewish charges. But when the Jewish representatives described the fear and isolation experienced by Jewish students at Haverford, the administrators failed to demonstrate any concern about, or sense of responsibility to address, the hostile environment for Jewish students. The Jewish representatives underscored that, in this climate, Jewish students simply do not feel safe on Haverford's campus. When asked what assurances they could provide to Jewish prospective students and their parents, administrators responded that racial minority students have never felt safe at Haverford, and that Jewish prospective students should not expect to feel safe and should instead prepare to be "brave." To the astonishment of the Jewish leaders and to the horror of others when the experience was recounted, Haverford College leadership would not even permit the centering of the concerns of Jews at Haverford at this meeting and instead pivoted to discussion of the hardship of other minority students, even though the only reason this specific meeting was held was to address the concerns of increasingly embattled Jews at Haverford.

- 23. In April of 2024 Young made even more clear her, and the Haverford's Administration's, complete indifference to any Haverford Jews who are committed to the ongoing existence of Israel or to the hostility of Haverford's environment to any Jews who held such commitments. In fact, Young made clear that Haverford's hostility to this commitment is in fact Haverford policy.
  - 24. In a meeting on the Haverford campus on April 16, 2024, with representatives of the greater Philadelphia Jewish community, Young told the Jewish leaders that historically at Haverford,

- members of the LGBT community had to be closeted to be part of the normative community; members of the Black/Brown community had to be quiet about anti-Black racism to be part of the normative community, and that now Jewish students need to condemn genocide to be part of the normative community.
- 25. As alleged more fully below, Young spoke out at demonstrations on the Haverford campus condemning Israeli "genocide," by which she meant Israel's attempt to prevent recurrences of the Hamas massacre that took place on October 7, 2023. At the April 16, 2024 meeting, Young was thus defining it to be Haverford's policy that, for Jews, the price of being "part of the normative community at Haverford" is that Jewish students must condemn the efforts of the State of Israel to prevent the murder of Jews.
- 26. Despite having agreed to consider several proposed measures to address antisemitism, the Administration has, over three months later, failed to follow up with Jewish representatives or implement any such changes.
- 27. Haverford also applies its policies on free speech discrimination in radically different ways to Jews than it does to any other group. Hate speech about Jews and Israel is permitted to the full extent of the First Amendment, whereas anything that might conceivably be understood as hate speech about any other minority group—as defined by the recipient minority group—is not tolerated, even when such speech would otherwise be protected by the First Amendment.
- 28. Similarly, critical speech about Jews is deemed protected by Haverford if it appears on a private social media page. But speech attacking other minorities is actionable and indeed punished, even when it appears only on private social media.
- 29. Haverford administrators have unapologetically embraced this double standard. In March 2024, an alumnus questioned Dean John McKnight about the abundance of speech

- on Haverford's campus that is virulently hostile to Jews and Israel, asking whether

  Haverford would tolerate such speech directed at LGBTQIA students. Dean McKnight
  responded that the two groups are "not comparable."
- 30. As for Jewish students contending with antisemitic hostility, Haverford has suppressed public expression of their viewpoints. As more fully alleged below, the Administration forced Plaintiff Ally Landau to agree to cancel a planned and preapproved Antisemitism Awareness component to a women's basketball game because, they claimed, it could lead to violent rioting by antisemitic, pro-Palestine students. Ally's proposed component would have consisted solely of a table placed at the entrance to the gym and the handing out of written materials and Blue Square pins that signify #standinguptoantisemitism.

  Other basketball games during Ally's tenure on the women's basketball team have been devoted to raising awareness for gay pride, diabetes awareness, mental health awareness and Black History Month, none of which were deemed controversial, let alone canceled due to a hecklers' veto. But a game dedicated solely to raising awareness about antisemitism—hatred of Jews—, not even of Israel, just Jews qua Jews, was deemed too controversial and warranted cancellation because of how the haters could be expected to behave.
- 31. Students who hold views hostile to Israel and Judaism dominate the instrumentalities of student government at Haverford, including Students' Council and the Honor Council.
- 32. These students deem Jewish students "white" and "powerful," in contrast with Arab,

  Muslim and Palestinian students, who are deemed protected minorities. Because Jews

  are presumed oppressors, according to this logic, they are disentitled to equal protection.

  Title VI unequivocally forbids Haverford from implementing or recognizing such

  discriminatory views as its school policy.

Yet the current Haverford Honor Code adopts a policy, effectively, of mandated discrimination against Jews—who are deemed presumptively white and privileged regardless of their actual pigmentation or economic status—and in favor of other minority groups by committing all students to "rejecting anti-Blackness, recognizing white privilege, challenging structures of whiteness and white comfort, and crediting the work of BIPOC (Black, Indigenous and People of Color) and especially women of color." <a href="http://honorcouncil.haverford.edu/the-code/">http://honorcouncil.haverford.edu/the-code/</a>.

Moreover, the Honor Code emphasizes that this commitment should be put into practice in student's daily lives rather than being "treated passively, as passivity condones white supremacy and the multitude of systems it creates." This is the "honor code" by which tenets Haverford College is run and which, consequently, permeates its environment.

- 33. As more fully alleged below, when confronted by forms of discrimination other than antisemitism, President Raymond and her Administration have not hesitated to take direct official action in the name of the College. But the same authorities have repeatedly taken the position that Jewish students injured by the hostility of their antisemitic classmates and professors should seek redress and protection from such conduct by invoking the provisions and regulatory processes of the Haverford Honor Code which is itself enforced through an Honor Council whose members endorse and embrace those discriminatory policies.
- 34. The College has thus assigned their legal duties and responsibilities for the problem of antisemitic conduct at Haverford to the bodies of students which are a principal source of the problem in the first place.
- 35. This abnegation of responsibility by President Raymond and her Administration

- effectively delegates to antisemitic students, or those indifferent to antisemitism, the College's duty to comply with the law, and in particular, its nondelegable duty to ensure that Haverford fulfills its obligations under Title VI.
- 36. No such effort by the College's Administration to sidestep its own duties under Title VI is permitted by that statute.
- 37. As more fully alleged below, Haverford College has within the last six months, in addition to the issues already raised and in addition to many more:
  - Hosted a weeklong series of events at which the Jewish State was accused of intentionally poisoning Arabs with Covid; at which they showed the movie "Jenin," a film whose producer has acknowledged that it contains false accusations about the conduct of the Israel Defense Forces; and hosted an event at which Israel is described as a country with an explicit policy of maiming Palestinians—rather than killing them—so that Israel can subjugate the Palestinian people.
  - Let stand the accusation, initially made by students, then seen and unremarked upon by President Raymond, that the one Jewish student at Haverford who had the courage to speak up on behalf of the Israelis raped, murdered and tortured on October 7 herself bore personal responsibility for a Palestinian Haverford student shot in Vermont by a person who, it was revealed less than a month after the shooting, was himself anti-Israel and a supporter of Hamas. 

    See infra, ¶ 213.
- 38. As a result of these and countless other discriminatory incidents, policies and practices,Haverford College is a campus that is overtly and persistently hostile towards Jewish

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> See <a href="https://www.sevendaysvt.com/news/driven-by-hate-man-charged-in-burlington-shooting-was-a-volunteer-with-a-troubled-personal-life-39673363">https://www.sevendaysvt.com/news/driven-by-hate-man-charged-in-burlington-shooting-was-a-volunteer-with-a-troubled-personal-life-39673363</a> (noting that "[i]n an October 17 post on X responding to a different article, [the shooter] wrote that "the notion that Hamas is 'evil' for defending their state from occupation is absurd. They are owed a state. Pay up."))

students, faculty and administrative employees who are known or suspected of being supporters of the right of Israel to exist as a Jewish state, or of simply failing to espouse sufficiently antisemitic positions. All opinions denouncing this commitment are accorded full protection as "Free Speech" or the exercise of Academic Freedom.

There is absolutely no reason to believe that the bias manifest everywhere on the Haverford campus will cease without judicial intervention. Even in the week before the filing of the initial Complaint the hate continued: on Thursday, May 9, 2024, emboldened students at Haverford demanded that Haverford boycott a Jewish restaurant owner with whom the college had contracted to supply breakfast for commencement, publicizing an image of his food products dripping blood, simply because he is a native-born Israeli who has had the temerity to support his country's self-defense.



This brazen resurrection of the ages-old blood libel, substituting donuts for matzah and Arabs for Christians, would never have been made publicly if the Administration had taken any action against the long stream of previous antisemitic attacks detailed in this Complaint. The Haverford Administration's resolute refusal to put a stop to this endless parade of hatred will not be remedied unless this Court puts a stop to it.

39. Indeed, since the filing of the initial complaint in this case it has become even clearer that the College's response to this parade of hate was to join it. Specificially with respect to the demand that Haverford College boycott the donut supplier because he supports the Jewish State, Haverford agreed: it declined to serve the donuts at graduation. Having already paid for them, Haverford had possession of the donuts. Haverford made them available for staff to eat at an undisclosed location rather than

provide them at the Commencement breakfast, as originally planned. This was done so as to sate the antisemitic tyrants whose every offensive claim was slavishly absorbed and catered to by the Administration.

- 40. Also since the original Complaint in this case filed, numerous other events, some led by Haverford College leadership, some led by people authorized by the College's leadership, have doubled down again and again on hatred against the Jewish commitment to Israel and so to the religious, ethnic and ancestral identity of the Plaintiffs.
- 41. New personnel have been hired who broadcast that hatred. Existing personnel who trumpet it, and laugh about it, have been awarded. Existing personnel who oppose the hatred have been sanctioned, while professors who obscenely attack the plaintiffs' deeply held religious, ethnic and ancestral commitments have been left entirely free to do so.

New students have been introduced to and indoctrinated in the hate. One admitted student, who had accepted Haverford's offer of admission and who looked forward to coming to Haverford this fall, but who shares the Plaintiffs' religious, ethnic and ancestral commitments, was so revulsed by the antisemitic atmosphere at Haverford that he was driven away. He withdrew his acceptance and chose to attend college elsewhere.

42. Haverford College has actual knowledge of every single one of the above-alleged facts, either because they were informed of them or because they were the ones taking the offending actions. The Administration is deliberately indifferent to the harm these actions have inflicted on the Jews or, worse, actually intends it.

#### II. JURISDICTION AND VENUE

- 43. This Court has subject matter jurisdiction over this controversy under 28 U.S.C. §1331 inasmuch as this Complaint states claims arising under federal law, and pursuant to 28 U.S.C. § 1367, inasmuch as this Complaint states ancillary claims arising under state law.
- 44. Venue lies in this district pursuant to 28 U.S.C. §1391, inasmuch as the Defendant resides in this district and a substantial part of the events or omissions giving rise to the claim occurred in this district.

#### III. PARTIES

- 45. Plaintiff Jews at Haverford, is an unincorporated association consisting of Jewish students and faculty at Haverford College, as well as Haverford alumni and parents of students and alumni, who are Jewish and share a commitment to the existence of Israel as a Jewish state.
- 46. Plaintiff Ally Landau was a senior at Haverford when this action was filed, and a member of Jews at Haverford. Ally graduated in May of 2024. Ally is Jewish and is committed to the existence of Israel as a Jewish state. Ally attendeds Jewish programs and events on and off campus. Ally has was personally been affected by antisemitic demonstrations, by posters throughout the Haverford College campus calling for the destruction of the state of Israel and accusing the state of Israel of committing genocide. Ally has was been forced to change her routine at Haverford to avoid being confronted by blood libels directed at the Jewish people. Ally has was been harassed and insulted by other students and faculty at Haverford College purporting to instruct her on what constitutes the tenets of her religious commitment and claiming that her commitment to Israel has nothing to do with her Judaism. Ally has was been shunned by Haverford

students because she has made known her opinion that Israel has the right to exist as a Jewish state. Ally has repeatedly beseeched President Raymond and her Administration to intervene and ensure that the antisemitic animus pervading Haverford College cease. She and/or her concerns have beenwere repeatedly rebuffed, shunted aside, told she should deal with the matter herself, and/or ignored by Haverford's leadership. Ally has wasbeen targeted by the antisemitic pro-Hamas members of the Haverford College community who blamed her position and assertions of facts regarding the history of the Middle East and the current conflict for the shooting in November 2023 of three Arab Palestinian students. Ally was also pressured by senior Haverford College administrators including Dean John McKnight into canceling a pre-approved Antisemitism Awareness component of a women's basketball game. For Ally, not a single day goes went by when the rampant antisemitism on Haverford's campus is was not at the forefront of her mind.

47. Plaintiff HJSB is currently a senior at Haverford and a member of Jews at Haverford. HJSB is Jewish and is committed to the existence of Israel as a Jewish state. In the immediate aftermath of October 7, as she watched the violent hostility to Israel unfold on Haverford's campus, HJSB initially remained in her room and then fled campus to her parents' home, unable to function as a student at Haverford because she found herself surrounded by fellow students who she had thought were her friends, but who were initially indifferent to, and then actually celebrating, the murder of Jews. HJSB attends Jewish programs and events on and off campus and has lost friends and been shunned because of this attendance, with other Haverford students telling HJSB that she should not support a Zionist entity on campus. HJSB has personally been affected by antisemitic demonstrations, by antisemitic posters which have flooded the Haverford College

campus, including flyers on every library table and by huge banners on central points of the campus which call for the destruction of the state of Israel and accuse the state of Israel of committing genocide. HJSB has been forced to change her routine at Haverford in order to avoid being confronted by blood libels directed at the Jewish people. HJSB has agonized over how she can "refute her Jewishness just enough so I don't have a target on my back." HJSB felt very intimidated voting at the Spring Plenary on the ceasefire resolution, especially because the votes were public and Palestinian flags were being waved everywhere. HJSB did not vote for the ceasefire resolution which exposed HJSB to hatred from those who think anyone supporting the right of Israel to exist are "f\*cking Zionists" and "genocide supporters." In advance of the vote, HJSB was asked repeatedly—in front of others, many of whom responded to her with hostility when she refused to do so—to sign the petition in support of the ceasefire resolution, which was intimidating and created a great deal of anxiety. The hostile environment for HJSB is something she thinks about every single day since October 7. That concern is on her mind whenever she leaves her dorm room and is especially acute in classes, where she fears that she might say something out loud that indicates she has any affiliation towards or sympathy for Israel which would immediately brand her as someone who supports "genocide" by other students and faculty alike.

48. Plaintiff HJSC is currently a Jewish Haverford student and a member of Jews at Haverford. HJSC is committed to the existence of Israel as a Jewish state. HJSC attends Jewish programs and events on and off campus and has lost friends and been shunned because of this attendance. HJSC has personally been affected by antisemitic demonstrations, by posters throughout the Haverford College campus calling for the

destruction of the state of Israel and accusing the state of Israel of committing genocide.

HJSC has been forced to change her routine at Haverford in order to avoid being confronted by blood libels directed at the Jewish people. HJSC has been repeatedly insulted by other students and faculty at Haverford College purporting to instruct her on what constitutes the tenets of her religious commitment and claiming that her commitment to Israel has nothing to do with her Judaism. HJSC knows that when Russia invaded Ukraine, no one at Haverford doubted who was the aggressor and who was the victim and Ukrainian students were supported, which is a dramatic difference from the way Jewish Haverford students were treated in the wake of the October 7 Hamas attack. HJSC has been devastated by the sudden and sustained proliferation of Haverford students wearing head and shoulder coverings in a manner like that worn by Hamas terrorists in order to show support for Hamas and to intimidate Jewish students. HJSC believes that not only are Jews not being heard on Haverford's campus, but that instead they are being told—she is being told—"you don't belong here." HJSC has heard Haverford students say that "Jews exaggerate the Holocaust," and that "Jews are white and privileged," as a justification for the constant displays of Jew hatred at Haverford. HJSC has been shunned by numerous Haverford students because HJSC has made known her opinion that Israel has the right to exist as a Jewish state. Student HJSD was a senior at Haverford College during the 2023-2024 academic year. HJSD graduated from Haverford on May 18, 2024. HJSD is committed to the existence of the state of Israel as a Jewish state. HJSD attended Jewish programs and events on and off campus. HJSD was personally affected by antisemitic demonstrations, by posters

throughout the Haverford College campus calling for the destruction of the state of Israel

- and accusing the state of Israel of committing genocide. HJSD was forced to change his routine at Haverford in order
- 49. To avoid being confronted by blood libels directed at the Jewish people. HJSD felt continually bombarded and harassed by the multitude of emails he received from the Students Council haranguing him with calls for a ceasefire in the Middle East and demands that he attend various meetings about voting for a ceasefire. HJSD feared that had he allowed other Haverford College students know that he believes in the right of Israel to exist, they would have shunned him, as he'd seen happen to other Jewish Haverford students.
- 50. Student HJSE is currently a Jewish Haverford College student and a member of Jews at Haverford. HJSE is committed to the existence of Israel as a Jewish state. HJSE attends Jewish programs and events on and off campus and has lost friends and been shunned because of this attendance. HJSE has personally been affected by antisemitic demonstrations, by posters throughout the Haverford College campus calling for the destruction of the state of Israel and accusing the state of Israel of committing genocide. HJSE has been repeatedly insulted by other students and faculty at Haverford College purporting to instruct her and other Jews on what constitutes the tenets of her religious commitment and claiming that her commitment to Israel has nothing to do with her Judaism. HJSE has been shunned by numerous Haverford students because HJSE has made known her opinion that Israel has the right to exist as a Jewish state. HJSE was told by President Wendy Raymond that an event put on by anti-Israel Haverford students which claimed Israel was "weaponizing" Covid against Palestinians was not antisemitic. HJSE was in a group of Jewish Haverford students who asked President Raymond what

she thought of the picture a Haverford professor publicly posted and wildly applauded of a bulldozer smashing through a barrier from Gaza into Israel so that the driver and others could murder, mutilate, and rape Israelis. President Raymond's response was that the post "could be perceived in many ways," and when pressed about what *she* perceived, President Raymond responded to the Jewish students that she "heard people breaking free from their chains." Student HJSE was aghast and felt utterly abandoned when she heard Haverford College's President Wendy Raymond make these statements and also claim that there were peaceful people from Gaza who crossed over into Israel through the destroyed fence on October 7.

### IV. FACTS

- 51. As more fully alleged below, the Administration of Haverford College, through the action and inaction of President Wendy Raymond, Dean John McKnight, Vice President for Institutional Equity and Access Nikki Young, and Jesse Lytle, Chief of Staff to the Haverford College President, some members of the faculty, and others, have been deliberately indifferent to, allowed, and indeed fostered and encouraged, the creation of a severe and pervasive hostile antisemitic environment on Haverford's campus.
- 52. Many Jewish students at Haverford have been subject to antisemitic intimidation and harassment, and as a result, they fear for their personal and community safety. This hostile environment interferes with the ability of Jewish students to participate in and benefit from the services, activities or educational opportunities offered by the College and for which they paid.
- 53. Many Jewish students wonder how they can adequately refute or hide their Judaism just enough so they don't have a target on their back. Jewish students know that saying

anything about the Middle East that is not aggressively pro-Palestinian, and antisemitic, will paint them as "Zionists" and therefore amendable to shunning and hatred. Were a student at Haverford to express an opinion in support of Israel to anyone other than a carefully selected group of pre-vetted friends, that student would be accused of being a "f\*cking Zionist" and then be blacklisted by a great many other students.

- 54. To date, the Administration has taken no effective action to: (i) address the environment of antisemitic intimidation and harassment; (ii) hold the perpetrators of antisemitic intimidation accountable for their actions; or (iii) prevent further acts of intimidation from occurring. Instead, the Administration has remained resolutely and deliberately indifferent to, encouraged, tolerated, not adequately addressed, or ignored the creation of this severe and pervasive antisemitic environment. In contrast to its emphatic rejection of racist, sexist or speech in derogation of other groups, Haverford's President Wendy Raymond has repeatedly proclaimed that speech attacking or intimidating Jews will not meet with discipline of any kind but will, at best, be addressed with efforts for "restorative justice"—and then not provided even that.
- 55. Haverford's deliberate indifference and clearly unreasonable response to anti-Jewish harassment, and its discriminatory application of its policies to exclude Jewish students from their protections, has created an environment in which antisemitic activity has flourished, and if not immediately addressed, will continue to flourish.

# A. Zionism is a Religious Belief and a Commitment of Shared Ancestry and Ethnic Identity which is Sincerely Held by Plaintiffs and by Members of Jews at Haverford

- 56. Haverford has defended its conduct, both in public and in this litigation, by asserting that the Plaintiffs' commitment to Israel and to Zionism is nothing more than a "political view," which is not entitled to any legal protection. See Haverford's Memorandum in Support of its Motion to Dismiss at, *e.g.*, 10.
- 57. This claim is false. In fact, Zionism is a central religious tenet of Judaism; a religious belief, and source of ethnic and national identity sincerely held by each of the individual Plaintiffs and by all members of the Jews at Haverford unincorporated association.
- 58. The Jewish people are just that a people, and not merely a religion. As a result, Jewish identity, both ethnic and ancestral, has absorbed this principle, and as a result the commitment to Israel as a Jewish state is an element of the ethnic and ancestral identity of the plaintiffs in this case and of a great many other Jews throughout the world., whether they are religiously observant or not.
- 59. Whether these things are true for the Plaintiffs, and for any other Jew in the world, is not for Haverford College to decide. It is for each Plaintiff, and for every Jew, to decide for himself or herself.
- 60. Haverford College would not dare to decide the content of the ethnic or ancestral identity of any other group of people on its campus.
- 61. But by announcing, in this case and to the public, that Haverford feels entirely free to define the content of Jewish identity, Haverford makes clear that it treats Jews differently than, and worse than, it treats any other people. By denying Jews the right to define for themselves what constitutes the elements of their religious, ethnic and ancestral identity, Haverford manifests clear antisemitism.
- 62. There is a wide variety of views among the world's Jews today, and among the Jewish people throughout history, about how, when, and at whose instance Zionist ideas are to be implemented. And there is no single expression of Zionism upon which all Jews agree. Plaintiffs are not asking this Court to adjudicate the truth of these beliefs. Plaintiffs are seeking only recognition and

- enforcement of the black letter principle that their own sincerely held religious beliefs are entitled to protection under Haverford's own self-imposed anti-discrimination principles, and that their ancestral and ethnic commitments and identity are entitled to protection under the statutory provisions invoked in this case.
- 63. There is virtually no proposition of Jewish belief upon which all Jews agree, and the Jewish canon has never had an officially adopted creed setting forth the essence of Jewish belief or any mechanism for the creation of such a creed. But that does not diminish the sincerity of the commitment of Jews to the religious, ethnic and ancestral principles to which they do adhere; and a great many Jews, including Plaintiffs, are sincerely committed to Zionism. It also does not in any way diminish the role that Zionism, and identification with the State of Israel, plays in Jewish ethnic and cultural identity.
- 64. The principle of Zionism is expressed throughout the books composing the Jewish religious canon, which canon has been in place for well over a thousand years; throughout the calendar of Jewish holidays; and throughout a multitude of Jewish practice, and customs all of which are sources of, and displays of, the Plaintiffs' religious beliefs and ethnic and national identity.
- 65. It is through these sources that, thousands of years ago, the principle of Zionism became, and that it now remains, a religious belief, and a source of ethnic and national identity held by Plaintiffs and millions of other Jews in the world today. Because it animates practices that Jews follow, the songs they sing, the things they wear, and even the foods that Jews eat, Zionism is also a central component of Jewish ethnic identity. And because it undergirds the establishment, defense and continued existence of the State of Israel, Zionism is also a source of Israeli national identity.
- 66. The canonical Jewish texts express and teach the concept of the return of the Jewish people to the land of Israel and their establishment of a state subject to Jewish sovereignty.
- 67. The principle of Zionism is expressed in, among a great many other places, the following places in the canonical Jewish texts. The following paragraphs identify these sources. They are set out here not in any way because Plaintiffs allege, or are asking this Court to find, that the statements

- in these canonical texts are true. These texts are set out here to show how deeply embedded the commitment to Israel is in Jewish history, in Jewish identity, in Jewish customs and in Jewish life.
- 68. The Torah—the books of Genesis, Exodus, Leviticus, Numbers and Deuteronomy, the Five Books of Moses which comprise the first part of the Jewish bible—is the account of the coming into existence of the Jewish people; of God's promise to them of the land of Israel as an eternal inheritance; and of God's fulfillment of that promise.
- 69. For that reason, the Torah in multiple places states and restates God's promise, first to Abraham and then to his descendants Isaac and Jacob, that their descendants—the Children of Israel—will inherit the land of Israel. The Torah in multiple places defines with precision, using landmarks and locations identifiable today, the boundaries of that land. And the Torah ends, in Chapter 34 of Deuteronomy, with the Jewish people having left Egypt and poised at the border of the land of Israel, about to enter it and take possession of it.
- 70. The books of the Prophets, which comprise the second of the three sections of the Jewish bible, and which appear in the Jewish bible after the Torah, describe the establishment by the Jewish people, with God's assistance, of their sovereignty over the land of Israel; of the establishment of a monarchy of the line of King David under the direct command of God; and the construction of a Temple in Jerusalem which is to be the center of Jewish religious worship.
- 71. These books also describe the first of two instances when the Jewish people lost sovereignty over the land of Israel, and the immediate and religious quality of this political and military loss namely, the destruction of the Temple in Jerusalem which was the center of Jewish worship. This destruction is an indisputable fact of history, and occurred in the year 586 before the Common Era (BCE), at the hands of the Babylonian Empire.
- 72. This loss of Jewish sovereignty was both a political and a religious event: in addition to ending Jewish political control over the territory of Israel, it also constituted the destruction and loss of the centralized place of the Jewish worship of God and so the Jews' loss of the ability to relate in that most direct way to God. It is a central flexion point in Judaism, referred to and mourned from that day to this.

- 73. These events are the subject of the book of Lamentations (in Hebrew the biblical book of Eicha) which appears in the third section of the Jewish bible, denominated as Writings.
- 74. It is an indisputable fact of history that the Jews regained limited sovereignty over the land of Israel approximately 70 years after they first lost it. These events are described in the biblical accounts in the books of Ezra and Nehemia, and in parts of the books of Chronicles, all of which also appear in the Writings. This historical fact is confirmed in secular historical, archeological and anthropological scholarship.
- 75. Of the 150 poems which comprise the book of Psalms, which also appears in the Writings, dozens focus on the city of Jerusalem —as a city, a political entity, and not merely as a place of worship —the enormity of its loss and the importance of its rebuilding so that the Jewish nation can be reconstituted.
- 76. The Mishna and the Talmud, which comprise the Oral Law of the Jewish canon, are filled with references to the return of the Jewish people to Zion. That body of law was committed to writing to ensure that it would not be lost, so that the Jewish people could continue to be governed by Jewish law while they endured the loss of Jewish sovereignty over the land of Israel and so that they could recreate their Jewish institutions in the future when they regained sovereignty over the land of Israel.
- 77. That body of law regulates all of Jewish life, and includes not only the details of the conduct of Jewish ritual in the Temple, but the law governing the establishment and operation of Jewish courts, Jewish civil and criminal law, the law governing the business of agriculture in the land of Israel (which is different from the Jewish law governing agriculture outside of the land of Israel) and even the procedure for expanding the amount of land in Jerusalem committed to holy ritual purposes (B. Shevuous 14a).
- 78. Many, although not all, of the Jewish people exiled to Babylonia in 586 BCE returned to the land of Israel when such return was permitted to them 70 years later by Cyrus the Great, following his defeat of the Babylonians. Those Jews who did return then rebuilt their Temple in the same place

- in Jerusalem where the first one had been, which is the same place where the ruins of the Temple are located today.
- 79. The Jews who remained in Babylon retained their identity as Jews; while a Jewish Temple stood in Jerusalem, these Jews participated in Jewish worship at that Temple, complying with their duty under Jewish law to travel to Jerusalem from wherever they were in order to ascend to the Temple for specified religious observances each year and to pay certain taxes mandated by Jewish law.
- 80. These Babylonian Jews are the ancestors of the Jewish communities which remained in Iran and Iraq until Israel's re-establishment in 1948.
- 81. Though it was challenged, the Jews strove to retain sovereignty over the land of Israel from the time of their permitted return from Babylon until some years after the Roman Empire defeated the Jews in war in the year 70 of the Common Era.
- 82. At the time of the Roman conquest, many, though by no means all, of the surviving Jewish residents of the land of Israel were exiled to Rome. Their exile and enslavement is also an indisputable fact of history and is depicted on the Arch of Titus in Rome. Titus built that monument when he was accorded a triumph upon his victorious return to Rome from the land of Israel, which, along with what is now Southern Syria, the Romans had denominated as Palestine, a geographic notation unconnected to any distinct set of people then in existence. On that Arch, which still stands in Rome today, there appear the images and artifacts of Jewish worship and identity, including the Menorah—which is now one of the symbols of Israel—which the conquering Romans carted away after sacking the Jewish Temple, eliminating both Jewish sovereignty over the land of Israel and the central place of the Jewish worship of God.
- 83. A large community of Jews resided in Rome continuously from these events until most were murdered in the Holocaust between 1941 and 1945.
- 84. Thus it may not be a religious belief that Pharoah's final solution—the murder of all Jewish male newborns, as described in the first chapter of the Book of Exodus—would be followed by Rome's, followed by forced conversion at the edge of a scimitar and then Crusades, Inquisitions, pogroms and then a conference at Evian followed by another at Wansee; but it is the psalmist's

- prayer, in Psalm 147, which asks of God: "rebuild Jerusalem, oh Lord, that the oppressed of Israel may enter." That prayer is recited every single day of the year by observant Jews.
- 85. The contents of the Jewish bible were fixed in the first two centuries of the Common Era, as set forth in, among other places, the Tractate Bava Basra of the Babylonian Talmud at 14b-15a, which was itself written after the Roman exile had begun. After the Jewish bible was closed, new expressions of Jewish ideas, including the Jewish commitment to the return to Zion, continued to be formulated, in the books and practices that were developed by the Jews as they lived in exile that is, largely (though never entirely) outside of the land of Israel which was barred to them for so long, yet remained a central focus and shared and ardent longing for millennia.
- 86. Jews, religious and secular, observant and non-observant, have many times over the two thousand years the second Exile, repeatedly attempted to return to the land of Israel, to establish homes and communities there, and to re-establish sovereignty there.
- 87. At no time was this effort an effort to uproot Palestinian sovereignty in that place, because at no time in the history of the world has there been a Palestinian state in that place or anywhere else.
- 88. The post-biblical Jewish canon's teachings about the land of Israel and the return of the Jews to Zion following the Roman exile are an essential component of the Jewish prayer book and of Jewish prayer.
- 89. Ritual Jewish prayer is recited facing Jerusalem.
- 90. The return to Zion of the Jewish people, and of God's presence on earth in Jerusalem, is referenced multiple times in daily Jewish prayer, which is recited three times each day by observant Jews; in the prayers Jews recite when they atone for sins; in their grace after every meal; and in the words Jews use to comfort a Jewish mourner, who is, according to centuries-old custom, to be told "May the Omnipresent comfort you among the mourners for Zion and Jerusalem."
- 91. A plea for the Jewish return to the land of Israel is the last phrase recited at the traditional Jewish Passover Seder—the single most widely observed Jewish ritual among Jews today throughout the

- world—which ends with the proclamation that the Seder should be observed "next year in Jerusalem!"
- 92. The importance of Jewish sovereignty in the land of Israel is an essential teaching of the Jewish calendar, which prescribes holidays and fast days.
- 93. The holiday of Hannukah is a celebration of the restoration of Jewish sovereignty over the land of Israel and over Jerusalem, and the opportunity that sovereignty allowed for the Jews to again worship God as they were required to do by Jewish law, in their Temple in Jerusalem.
- 94. The holiday of Tu b'Shvat celebrates the date upon which crops in Israel begin their growing cycle.
- 95. The holiday of Purim is about the precariousness of Jewish existence and of the ability of Jews to worship freely, without sovereignty. The book describing this holiday, the Scroll of Esther, begins by noting that the Jews were living outside the land of Israel, and were subjects of a non-Jewish king, because they had been exiled from the land of Israel by the Babylonians. Although Purim is a joyful holiday, the words of that book describing this exile are chanted in the mournful tune that is otherwise used only on the Ninth of Av, the day (see infra ¶ 98) on which the Jews mourn the destruction of Jerusalem and the loss of Jewish sovereignty over the land of Israel.
- 96. The holiday of Passover is a celebration of the beginning of Jewish nationhood and of the Jews' march out of Egyptian slavery and toward the land of Israel.
- 97. The holiday of Shavuout is, among other things, a holiday marking the connection between Jewish sovereignty over the land of Israel and the Jews' duty to support the priests who presided over religious worship at the Jewish Temple in Jerusalem.
- 98. The Ninth day of the month of Av (Tisha B'av) is the date on the Jewish calendar that marks the destruction of both the First and the Second Temples, the exile of the Jewish people from their home, and the loss of Jewish independence and freedom of worship which were the product of Jewish sovereignty over the land of Israel and the city of Jerusalem. It is a day of mourning in which a full 25 hour fast is observed. The biblical book of Lamentations is read in synagogue while listeners sit as mourners on the floor.

- 99. The liturgy of the most solemn day of the Jewish calendar, Yom Kippur, is defined by the order of service followed by the High Priest at the Temple in Jerusalem when the Jewish Temple was in existence. All Jews who pray on this day recall that ancient service; the more traditional among them ask God to reinstate it, in exactly the same place.
- 100. The prayer space at the Western Wall in Jerusalem is located today where it is because that point was, until the Jewish state regained Jerusalem in 1967, the closest freely accessible point (freely accessible to Jews, that is) to the place at the Jewish Temple where the High Priest performed that service.
- 101. Every time Jews read from the Torah in Synagogue, and when they annually celebrate their completion of the reading of the Torah and the commencement of another cycle of that reading, the siddur teaches them to sing: "for out of Zion will come Torah, and the word of God from Jerusalem."
- 102. The Jewish calendar sets six annual fast days, four of which are explicitly focused on mourning the destruction of the Temple in Zion, and the loss of Jewish sovereignty in the land of Israel, which make it impossible for Jews to worship God as they had been commanded. Every Jewish wedding ceremony ends with the breaking of a glass, as a reminder that even in such a moment of great happiness, all Jews must remember Jerusalem and mourn its destruction.
- 103. Each year, Jews around the world, observant and non-observant, celebrate Israel's Independence Day, marching in parades on that day, eating Israeli foods, and celebrating the re-establishment of Jewish sovereignty in the land of Israel.

## B. The History of Antisemitism at Haverford

104. Haverford College has long struggled with antisemitism. In the 1930s, Haverford had a quota on the number (three) of students who could be Jewish in each class year.

<a href="https://haver.blog/2021/05/21/exploring-the-stories-not-told/">https://haver.blog/2021/05/21/exploring-the-stories-not-told/</a>. Haverford College had no other quota or limitation on the religious, racial, or ethnic makeup of its student body.

Even at a time when de jure segregation and discrimination against Black Americans were a widespread and indeed legal form of bigotry, Haverford viewed only the presence of Jews on its campus and in its student body as a threat justifying the imposition of a numerical quota.

- 105. The College's continuous struggle with antisemitism has manifested itself over time. In 2020 during what has become known as the "student strike," numerous student organizations signed on to a petition to show support for the antiracism objectives of the student strike. But when a Jewish student group attempted to sign the petition, the group was forbidden to do so by the student strike leaders who told the Jewish students "get the f\*ck off the document," and that the Jewish students should "f\*cking choke."
- 106. The pro-Israel Jewish student group accorded this treatment was the only student organization that was not allowed to sign the petition.
- 107. Also in 2020, a Chabad-affiliated student group asked to join an ethnic affinity group at Haverford College, which was open to all ethnic groups. It was refused.
- 108. This expression of antisemitism is a glaring example of a violation of Haverford's own internal antidiscrimination regulations. Yet it was a matter of complete indifference to President Raymond and the others in her Administration.
- 109. Similarly, during the current academic year, a Jewish student attended a meeting at which select students and administration members reviewed Haverford student applicants to work with the College's Office of Admissions to provide tours of the Haverford campus. That student was present when other students rejected the request of more than one student applicant for the job of tour guide on the ground that the applicants "are Zionists."
- 110. Two Haverford College administration employees were present and witnessed this.

- 111. No one said anything to challenge this decision by the students. Those Jewish students' applications were rejected.
- 112. Haverford's official tolerance, that is, either its official endorsement or, at best mere refusal to intervene in, acts of antisemitism stands in stark contrast to its response to any other form of discrimination against any other minority group.
  - C. Haverford has Frequently Publicly Judged and VigorouslyCondemned Discrimination Against Groups Other Than Jews and This Practice Defines the Culture of Haverford College
- 113. Haverford has a long and proud history of issuing statements condemning violence against minorities even when it occurs off campus, and even far away from the College's campus. This practice has helped to define the culture of Haverford College.
- 114. A collection of some such statements, issued officially by individual departments at Haverford after one such incident, appears <a href="here">here</a>.
- 115. The statements linked above in ¶114 and many others like them, were issued by fourteen different academic departments at Haverford, and pledged solidarity with minority students because one or more members of a minority group had been killed. The departments unilaterally took numerous official steps in response to such events, including adjustments in the academic schedule to allow students to grieve and to recover, and even raising money in support of a charity focused on this issue.
- 116. As just one example, here are the steps announced in 2020 by just one academic department at Haverford in response to the death, at the hands of the Philadelphia Police, of a Black Philadelphia man with no relationship to Haverford:
  - a. All classes (synchronous and asynchronous) will be canceled until further notice

- b. Students participating in the strike will not be subjected to any grade or attendance penalties
- c. We remain available to meet with students who are interested in continuing work on their theses
- d. we likewise support those who decide to suspend thesis work until the end of the strike
- e. If the strike ends and classes resume in the coming weeks, each professor will touch base in class and consult with students about how to continue forward and finish the remainder of the semester
- f. We will be postponing upcoming events planned with the college
- g. We will be holding a town hall on Monday, November 2nd at 11:00 a.m. EST to create space in the coming week for BIPOC and First Gen anthropology students who would like to reflect, talk together, and strategize
- h. We will send the student demand letter and mutual aid links to our
   networks and organize within the department and College to respond and engage
   BIPOC student demands
- i. We encourage members of the anthropology community to support students through the mutual aid mechanism: Venmo@hcstrikefund Learn more on Instagram @bicomutualaid
- j. If there are specific organizing endeavors on which we can collaborate, please let us know and <a href="https://digitalcollections.tricolib.brynmawr.edu/\_flysystem/fedora/2023-02/Departmental\_strike\_statements.pdf">https://digitalcollections.tricolib.brynmawr.edu/\_flysystem/fedora/2023-02/Departmental\_strike\_statements.pdf</a>

- D. Haverford has Repeatedly and Categorically Refused to Condemn Hamas's Atrocities or any Terrorist Acts Directed Against Jews or Israelis and this Refusal Has Informed and Directed the Treatment of Haverford Jewish Students by Administration, Faculty and Other Students
- 117. Haverford College has repeatedly, officially, refused to condemn Hamas for the atrocities it committed against Jews on October 7, 2023, even though the impact of those atrocities on Jewish students at Haverford was surely as brutal as the impact on students of color when a Black man was killed by the Philadelphia police. Haverford College made no public statement condemning the brutal violence committed by Hamas on October 7, when over a thousand Jews were murdered, mutilated, burned alive and raped to death, when hundreds were taken hostage, all in explicit and proudly announced violation of international law, videotaped by the perpetrators themselves, so there could be no doubt as to whether these atrocities occurred, or who committed them.
- 118. Instead, Haverford Dean McKnight issued a public statement on October 9. That statement took no moral stance on Hamas's actions. Haverford College instead compared the butchery of Jews in Israel by a known terrorist group committed to eradicating the Jewish State and slaughtering all the Jews within it to a "hurricane" or other natural disaster—thereby completely ignoring, and refusing to take a position on, the gross immorality of what was done, by Hamas terrorists in less than two days to these hundreds of Jews. When a Jewish student leader complained, Dean McKnight responded that "I got emails from all different individuals; I can't make everyone happy."
- 119. After another representative of the Jewish community at Haverford explained the pain being experienced by Jewish students as a direct result of the College's silence in the face

of the mass murder of Jews on October 7, Dean McKnight ultimately issued a private statement in an email to that individual and asked that the message be forwarded to students. In other words, Jews who happened to be known to this Jewish leader would receive secondhand a message from Dean McKnight, but no one else on campus would know that the Dean exhibited even a *de minimus* regard for the pain of Jewish Haverford College students, and any students in pain who were not forwarded the message would never receive a note of concern.

- 120. No "accommodations" were offered to any Haverford student as a result of the orgy of violence directed at Jews on October 7. No funds were raised by any faculty department or administrative personnel for the relief of the victims of that violence, or for the many thousands of Jews who were left homeless because Hamas had burned their houses—many with the family members, including infants and the elderly, inside—schools, synagogues, and entire towns to the ground.
  - E. Haverford Maintains a Series of Policies on Discrimination, on Expression, on Conduct Relating to Social Media and on the Posting of Posters, but these Policies are not Applied to Jews in the Same Way That They are Applied to, and About, any Other Group
- 121. Haverford College maintains a comprehensive policy barring discrimination against any member of the College community on the basis of a series of characteristics, including race, religion, ethnicity, ancestry and national origin: Its Non-discrimination Statement avers:

Haverford College is committed to providing an employment and educational environment free from all forms of unlawful discrimination because of race, color, sex/gender (including pregnancy, childbirth, related conditions, and lactation), religion, age, national origin, ancestry, citizenship, disability, status as a medical marijuana cardholder, genetic information, gender identity or expression, sexual orientation, current

or past membership or service in the U.S. Armed Forces or a state military unit, or any other characteristic protected by law.

https://www.haverford.edu/student-life/community-guidelines/policies

122. Haverford also maintains a policy on Expressive Freedom and Responsibility. That policy provides:

Haverford College has consistently and actively affirmed all students' rights to free inquiry, assembly, and expression in the broad context of its educational mission. These rights include the right to expression of dissent through peaceful protest.

https://www.haverford.edu/sites/default/files/Office/Deans/Expressive-Freedom-and-Responsibility-Policy.pdf.

123. The Haverford College Faculty Handbook (Section III, Subsection C) states:

Haverford College holds that open-minded and free inquiry is essential to a student's educational development. Thus, the College recognizes the right of all students to engage in discussion, to exchange thought and opinion, and to speak or write freely on any subject. [...] Finally, the College reaffirms the freedom of assembly as an essential part of the process of discussion, inquiry, and advocacy. [...] The freedom to learn, to inquire, to speak, to organize, and to act with conviction is held by Haverford College to be a cornerstone of education in a free society.

124. Haverford College also subscribes to the American Association of University Professors'
1970 "Statement on Freedom and Responsibility," which states, in part:
"Membership in the academic community imposes on students...an obligation to respect the dignity of others, to acknowledge their right to express differing opinions, and to foster and defend intellectual honesty, freedom of inquiry and instruction, and free expression.... The expression of dissent and the attempt to produce change, therefore, may not be carried out in ways that injure individuals or damage institutional facilities or disrupt the classes of one's teachers or

colleagues. Speakers on campus must not only be protected from violence, but

also be given an opportunity to be heard. Those who seek to call attention to grievances must not do so in ways that significantly impede the functions of the institution."

# https://www.aaup.org/file/freedom-and-responsibility.pdf.

These stated rights and responsibilities, which are consistent with principles articulated in the Honor Code, must be respected by members of the student community at all times. These policies, however, are not applied to Jewish students, or those who support the right of Israel to exist as a Jewish state.

### 1. Speech Codes for me but not for Thee

125. During the 2020 Plenary conducted under a modified procedure because of Covid, students adopted amendments to the Honor Code that earned Haverford a "red light" rating by FIRE, a civil liberties organization. Currently Haverford is near the bottom of FIRE's rating of college campuses for free speech: it is ranked 208 out of 248—in the bottom twenty percent of ranked American campuses.

https://www.thefire.org/research-learn/2024-college-free-speech-rankings

126. In 2023 Haverford earned a "red light" rating for free speech.

https://www.thefire.org/research-learn/spotlight-speech-codes-2023

Such a rating is driven by policies on harassment and bullying policies that ban even protected speech—policies, which, as further alleged below, Haverford has and which Haverford enforces in a discriminatory manner.

127. As one Haverford student has explained:

Students at Haverford have faced intimidation, bullying, and harassment for expressing dissenting views or holding views that differ from the majority—or

even a plurality—of the campus community. These incidents have included students incurring removal from extracurricular activities and threats to their physical safety, articles blacklisted from being published in school newspapers, and questions disallowed from being asked to visiting speakers. Such happenings have stifled the open exchange of ideas and hindered the growth and learning of the community. https://www.thefire.org/news/sounding-fire-alarm-haverford-college

128. As a practical matter, at least for students, the speech code in force at Haverford is imposed by the Honor Code. Rather than understanding that community members should begin with a presumption of equality and mutual respect, the current social code instead begins with the assumption that all people are divided into "marginalized" and "privileged" people.

# https://honorcouncil.haverford.edu/the-code/.

- 129. Marginalized people are effectively exempt from the Social Code: "Therefore, as a community, we recognize that this open dialogue is not always possible, and that the safety of marginalized students should be paramount. Thus, the Code requires discussion that is active, inclusive, responsible, and safe for all students given the omnipresent variables of power and privilege and the imbalances they create." *Id*.
- 130. Marginalized people are presumptively believed: "We recognize that for parties harmed by acts of discrimination, microaggression, and harassment as defined below, their experiences of harm should not be silenced on the basis of the confronted party's discomfort. Reckoning with privilege is a difficult process, and discomfort is a necessary element that cannot and should not be avoided." *Id*.
- 131. Remarkably, having the wrong political belief is defined to be a code violation: "We also

recognize that a person's political opinions are necessarily intertwined with their values and outlook, and thus influence their practices, which may violate the Honor Code. As such, students must be respectful of community standards when expressing political opinions. As the Social Honor Code applies to all of our interactions at Haverford, engagement in political discourse falls within its jurisdiction, and political beliefs may not be used to excuse behavior that violates the Code. If we find that our political beliefs perpetuate discrimination, we are obligated to re-evaluate them as we would any of our beliefs that perpetuate discrimination." *Id*.

- 132. The long-held confrontation requirement under the code is now optional: "Upon encountering actions, values, or words that we find to be lacking trust, concern, and/or respect and that are thus degrading to ourselves and to others, we may initiate dialogue."

  But even if a dialogue is initiated, that doesn't mean it's a dialogue between equals; the current Code has already decided who is right and who should shut up, because a "privileged" person cannot be correct: "In these dialogues, confronted students weaponizing the Code's expectation of respect in order to silence and/or invalidate the experiences of harmed parties—including invalidating experiences of harm by claiming discrimination against a privileged identity (e.g., claims of reverse-racism) or refusing to reflect on their actions—is a violation of the Code." *Id*.
- 133. In the sorting required by these rules between powerful/bad and powerless/good groups,

  Jews and Israel have come out at Haverford on the wrong side: Jews and Israel are

  deemed powerful and bad and speech by them or supportive of them must therefore yield
  to speech about powerless and good people, which categories include Palestinians, Arabs,
  and Muslims.

- 134. The result of these facially distorted rules is that at Haverford, even maliciously false speech about Israel and Zionism is governed by the widest possible level of protection, and so is accorded the full protection guaranteed under the First Amendment—a degree of protection afforded to ugly speech about no other minority group at Haverford.
- 135. It is not only the students but even the faculty and administration who are governed by, or at least follow and apply, these distorted rules. As a result, as more fully alleged below, speech which explicitly applauded Hamas's genocidal murder of Jews on October 7 was praised and rewarded by Haverford's President Raymond. Haverford has also fully protected the obscenity-laden denunciations of Judaism, and even full-throated glorification and celebration of the mass murder of Jews on October 7, by some faculty members, whereas the celebration of the murder of any other minority would, quite rightly, be met with outrage, and punishment, by Haverford College.
- 136. Thus, a categorical blood libel—that Jews intentionally spread disease to kill innocent Palestinians—was recently spread at Haverford and defended by Haverford's spokesperson as protected and even valued speech:

Haverford supports its community members' rights to expressive freedom, including around political matters. The ability to challenge ideas and understand conflicting views is foundational to our academic mission. We also expect that even the most well-intentioned individuals will make mistakes in these arenas, and even—and especially—in those moments, we aim to provide learning opportunities that will lead to greater empathy, mutual understanding, and constructive citizenship in a world that is struggling to reach peaceful solutions to conflict," said [Christopher] Mills [on behalf of the Haverford administration].

 $\underline{https://delawarevalleyjournal.com/haverford-college-students-hold-anti-israel-event/}$ 

137. This disparity represents overt discrimination by Haverford College against Haverford's Jews who believe that Israel has a right to exist as a Jewish State, in clear violation of

- Title VI of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 and in clear violation of Haverford's own antidiscrimination policies.
- 138. Similarly, Haverford has attributed great significance to off-campus speech that is racist or bigoted when such speech is directed to non-Jewish minority groups. For example, Haverford revoked its offer of admission to a student who had not yet even matriculated at the College because Haverford learned that the student's social media included bigoted postings attacking Black people and gay people.

https://haverfordclerk.com/haverford-rescinds-admission-for-student-who-posted-racist-and-homophobic-material/.

- 139. But Haverford had an entirely different approach when a march to Bryn Mawr College took place on January 26, 2024, on Lancaster Avenue in Haverford during which Haverford College students and others shouted calls for the elimination of Israel and other antisemitic messages. When Dean McKnight was later asked by an alumnus why Haverford did nothing to condemn these antisemitic messages when they clearly would be sanctioned if lodged against, for example, LGBTQIA individuals, he had two answers:
  - a. it was off campus and therefor covered by the right to free speech; and
  - b. derogatory speech about LGBTQIA people cannot be compared with speech derogatory of Jews or calling for the slaughter of Israelis. In other words, hateful comments directed at gay people are obviously wrong and bad, while such comments directed at Jews are less so, or not wrong at all, and in any event fully protected by the First Amendment. And though the First Amendment does not apply at Haverford College, which is a private institution, Dean McKnight made clear that Haverford's policy for hateful

speech about Jews is governed by this broad protective principle.

- 140. Haverford similarly ignored the distinction between on-campus and off-campus speech when it initiated an investigation of a tenured Professor, Barak Mendelsohn, on the basis of social media posts he made on his personal Twitter/X page. Mendelsohn, who is Jewish and Israeli, was accused by students of various violations of Haverford's speech code in personal tweets, which simply set out Mendelsohn's view on the relationship between attacks on Zionism and attacks on the Jewish people and his disagreement with those whose views differed and who cast him and the Jewish State as the only wrongdoers. The fact that the post was not on a Haverford website, or made through the Haverford email system, and that indeed it had absolutely no official connection to Haverford College other than the fact that Mendelsohn teaches there, was of no moment: the post set forth views that were supportive of Israel, and of Zionism as a Jewish movement and against those who reflexively reject those views. That was enough to place it within the jurisdiction of Haverford's speech monitors.
- insulting them by calling them "racist genocidaires." This statement has been left unchallenged on the grounds that such statements are protected as free speech and by academic freedom because they constitute the speaker's own private expression of his views. The same is true for the statement by another Haverford professor, Gina Velasco, who posted on her Facebook page, "F\*ck Israel" and "F\*ck Zionism," and who changed her profile picture on Facebook to blame Israel for committing a massacre—just five days after the October 7 Hamas atrocities committed against Israelis and well before the Israel Defense Forces had begun a concerted response to those attacks.



142. Haverford also permits those promoting outdoor antisemitic rallies on campus to wear and to insist that attendants wear masks. That insistence is clearly only about evading recognition and responsibility for their actions and not for health reasons. To suggest that these "required masks" are to protect against Covid, one need only observe that those same students and student groups drop the mask "need" for every other kind of event, inside or outside. And ever since the waning of the Covid pandemic, masks are not required, recommended, or even mentioned for any other public gathering at Haverford College. Thus, although it is clear that students are wearing masks only to conceal their

- identity so they can threaten and intimidate with impunity, Haverford has taken no steps to ensure accountability by forbidding the wearing of masks at these antisemitic events for those who have not credibly made any claims of special medical needs.
- 143. Indeed, the wearing of masks at protest events flies against a central and widely heralded Haverford policy that aggrieved Haverford students should (politely) confront the alleged offender so that a thoughtful and peaceful resolution can be reached. When students shouting wildly antisemitic chants and slogans are masked, face-to-face dialogue becomes impossible. And yet the Administration has done nothing to intervene in this situation, even though its vaunted Haverford peaceful and restorative justice framework cannot work without such intervention.

# 2. Haverford Social Media Policy

- 144. Haverford College has a social media policy, which provides:
  - a. Don't post or allow comments that contain hate speech
  - b. Don't post information or comments that would be offensive or in poor taste
  - Don't post copyrighted, questionably legal content, direct attacks on individuals
    or groups, or libelous statements
  - d. Don't use College-related social media channels to share your personal opinions or positions on controversial issues that impact the College community—keep in mind that you're acting on behalf of the College on an official Haverford social account. If, as individuals or as a group, administrators wish to assert opinions on controversial topics, that should be done from personal pages and not official department/office/team/organization pages that bear the Haverford name and logo.

https://www.haverford.edu/sites/default/files/Office/Communications/Haverford-College-Social-Media-Policy-2024.pdf

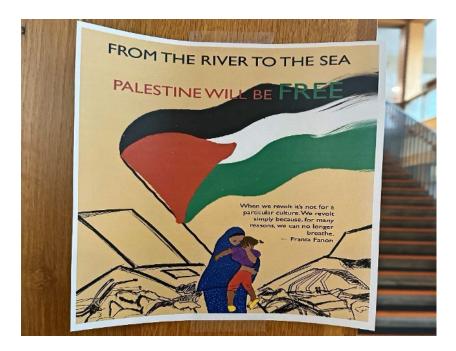
145. These instructions are systematically violated on a recurring basis by students who have attacked Jewish students at Haverford who support Israel or who attend religious services, and the institutions at which such services are held, and the people, students and non-students, who help to operate such institutions. Yet Haverford has taken no action to enforce its social media policy to protest Jewish students from these attacks.

## 3. Haverford Poster Policy

146. Haverford College Policy, bars anonymous persons from hanging posters. It provides:

The posters and other small notices must contain the name of the sponsor(s). An e-mail address where the sponsor can be reached should also appear on the notice. <a href="https://www.haverford.edu/student-engagement-leadership/campus-communication-and-advertising">https://www.haverford.edu/student-engagement-leadership/campus-communication-and-advertising</a>

147. The Administration has repeatedly taken no action, despite express requests that enforce this policy, when anonymous student groups hung posters throughout the campus, calling for a revolution that would culminate in Palestine stretching "from the River to the sea."



- 148. In violation of the College's policy on posters, the posters did not identify the person or entity responsible for the poster.
- 149. The phrase "from the River to the sea" is a quote from the Hamas Charter calling for the destruction of the State of Israel.
- 150. Quoting the Hamas Charter is exactly as antisemitic as hanging a Confederate flag is racist. Both are symbols of movements devoted exclusively to the subjugation of a specific, victimized, group.
- 151. Indeed, Khaled Mashaal, one of the co-founders and the former head of Hamas has clearly stated that the meaning of "from the River to the Sea" is the elimination of Israel as a Jewish state. "Especially after October 7<sup>th</sup>, there's a renewal of the dream and hope: Palestine from the river to the sea, from the north to the south."

  <a href="https://www.instagram.com/lizzysavetsky/reel/C2ZyQ\_8uBFv/">https://www.instagram.com/lizzysavetsky/reel/C2ZyQ\_8uBFv/</a>
- 152. When Haverford College defends the right of its students and faculty to trumpet this phrase and to put up posters with this phrase, they are supporting "the dream and the

- hope" created for Hamas by October 7<sup>th</sup>. That is what Jews at Haverford understand when they see this phrase, and they understand it for good reason: because it's what the speaker of this phrase says he means when he says it.
- 153. The White House has recently recognized that quoting Hamas is an attack on Jews *as*\*\*Jews: "echoing the rhetoric of terrorist organizations, especially in the wake of the worst massacre committed against the Jewish people since the Holocaust, is despicable."

  \*https://www.whitehouse.gov/briefing-room/press-briefings/2024/04/23/press-gaggle-by-deputy-press-secretary-andrew-bates-and-national-security-communications-advisor-john-kirby-en-route-tampa-fl/.
- And on November 21, 2023, the United States House of Representatives passed H.Res. 883, a Congressional Resolution "[e]xpressing the sense of the House of Representatives that the slogan, 'from the river to the sea, Palestine will be free' is antisemitic and its use must be condemned." <a href="https://www.congress.gov/bill/118th-congress/house-resolution/883">https://www.congress.gov/bill/118th-congress/house-resolution/883</a>. The House declared that "the slogan 'from the river to the sea, Palestine will be free' is an antisemitic call to arms with the goal of the eradication of the State of Israel, which is located between the Jordan River and the Mediterranean Sea," and that "the slogan seeks to deny Jewish people the right to self-determination and calls for the removal of the Jewish people from their ancestral homeland."

https://www.congress.gov/bill/118th-congress/house-resolution/883/text.

The House recognized that "Hamas, the Palestinian Islamic Jihad, Hezbollah, and other terrorist organizations and their sympathizers have used and continue to use this slogan as a rallying cry for action to destroy Israel and exterminate the Jewish people." *Id.* The

House specifically recognized that "this rallying cry can promote violence against the State of Israel and the Jewish community globally." *Id*.

Resolution 883 declared it "the sense of the House of Representatives that

- a. the slogan, "from the river to the sea, Palestine will be free," is outrightly antisemitic and must be strongly condemned;
- b. this slogan is divisive and does a disservice to Israelis, Palestinians, and all those in the region who seek peace;
- c. this slogan rejects calls for peace, stability, and safety in the region;
- d. this slogan perpetuates hatred against the State of Israel and the Jewish people; and
- e. anyone who calls for the eradication of Israel and the Jewish people are antisemitic and must always be condemned. *Id*.
- 155. Haverford College would not for a moment tolerate a student hanging a Confederate flag on campus and would recognize that doing so promotes intolerable racism.
- 156. Although hanging a Confederate flag is protected by the First Amendment—just as many racist statements are protected speech—that fact would not stop Haverford College from preventing the display of Confederate insignia or nooses or any other visual depictions that have become associated with anti-Black animus.
- 157. When a Confederate flag was hung at Bryn Mawr College, Haverford College students joined *en masse* in demonstrations that forced the removal of the flag and the issuance of an apology by the students who had displayed it. <a href="https://haverfordclerk.com/at-bryn-mawr-demonstration-tri-co-community-stands-against-racism/">https://haverfordclerk.com/at-bryn-mawr-demonstration-tri-co-community-stands-against-racism/</a>

- 158. In fact, Haverford has refused to send its athletic teams to train in a state because the Confederate flag was on display *somewhere* in that state, though not at the location where the team would have been. <a href="https://www.haverford.edu/college-communications/news/haverford-students-take-action">https://www.haverford.edu/college-communications/news/haverford-students-take-action</a>
- 159. While Haverford tolerates the presence of many dozen antisemitic posters put up in violation of its policies, Haverford also tolerates the destruction and removal of posters advertising Jewish community events even when they have nothing to do with Israel.
- 160. Thus, for example, on March 29 and 31, two different events for the Jewish community took place on the Haverford campus: a Shabbat dinner and a discussion of Jewish identity. Posters were put up on campus advertising the events.
- 161. Many of the posters were torn down almost immediately. When a Jewish leader and several Jewish students complained to the Haverford Administration and asked that this be investigated and the perpetrators be held to account, the response was that the investigation was "inconclusive," and that there was nothing that Haverford could do, but that in all likelihood "the wind had blown down the posters" (including, apparently, those posted indoors and those with four corners of the poster remaining affixed with adhesive and only the middle content was ripped away).
- 162. No member of the Haverford Administration publicly acknowledged the intentional destruction of the posters and condemned this blatantly antisemitic act. Instead, President Raymond issued a public statement on April 9 stating that, *if* there had been a "a targeted removal of any of these materials on the basis of their promotion of Jewish activities," that "would be a clear case of antisemitism."

https://www.haverford.edu/president/news/more-inclusive-learning-community.

163. In fact, just days prior, on April 5, 2024, a Haverford student had posted on his pseudonymous Twitter/X page an obscenity-laced statement that he was one of the students who tore down the posters for the two events: "i be tearing down chabad posters and eating them like f\*ckin fruit rollups."



164. As far as Plaintiffs are aware, this Haverford student, whose identity—Harrison

Lennertz—was and is known to Haverford College, has received no punishment or even
been notified that the hateful actions he celebrated engaging in are being investigated as a

violation of Haverford policies and "a clear case of antisemitism." He remains on

campus, having been photographed as recently as April 14, protesting against the

showing on campus of a documentary, Supernova, which describes and depicts the

horrors committed by Hamas against Israelis who were attending a music and dance festival in southern Israel on October 7, 2023.

#### F. Haverford Since October 7

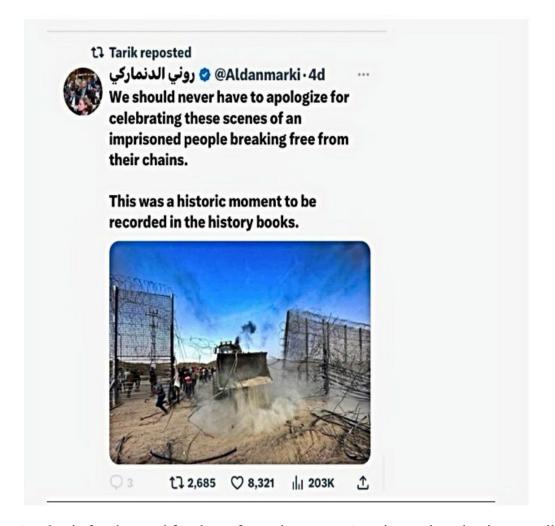
- 165. Haverford's response to the Hamas massacre in Israel on October 7, 2023, must be assessed against this historical backdrop of antisemitism and the Administration's refusal to address it, as well as the College's deeply sympathetic response to other minorities when violence is threatened against them—solicitude which Haverford's Jews had every right to expect would be extended to them as well in their hour of pain. But it was not.
- 166. In response to Hamas' unprovoked attack, murder, mutilation, and rape—including death by rape—and kidnapping of innocent Israelis, the Administration did not condemn Hamas even though a great many other attacks on people from other ethnic groups had been the subject of official Haverford College condemnation.
- 167. Rather, on Monday, Oct. 9th (two days after the genocidal antisemitic Hamas terrorist attack on Israel), Dean McKnight and Vice President Nikki Young sent an e-mail on behalf of the Administration to the Haverford student body which compared natural disasters (i.e., earthquakes, hurricanes, and wildfires) to the "outbreak of war in Israel and Gaza," with no mention of the truth of what occurred on Oct. 7<sup>th</sup>, a heinous act of antisemitic terrorism committed by the Hamas terrorist group (as designated by the U.S. and other governments).
- 168. Haverford's equating these atrocities to a natural disaster—for which no human being is responsible, and for which no moral judgment is therefore appropriate or even possible—

constituted Haverford's refusal to morally condemn the mass murder of Jews. President Raymond approved this email in advance and the Administration has never retracted it.

169. On or about October 11<sup>th</sup>, Haverford College Professor Tarik Aougab expressed jubilation and support for the genocidal terrorists who slaughtered hundreds of innocent Jews with a post on Twitter/X stating, "Let your rage drive your unequivocal and firm support for the Palestinian resistance."



170. Professor Aougab also reposted a "tweet" which says "[w]e should never have to apologize for celebrating these scenes of an imprisoned people breaking free from their chains. This was a historic moment to be recorded in the history books." The "tweet" included a picture of Hamas terrorists in bulldozers breaking through the fence at the Israel/Gaza border on their way to commit their deprayed acts of antisemitic genocide.



- 171. Academic freedom and freedom of speech are core American values, but just as yelling out "Fire!" in a crowded movie theater exceeds those protections, glorifying and telling others to glorify hideous torture, mutilations, and slaughter of innocents requires a corrective response—especially given that Haverford College responded decisively and with punitive consequences to negative social media posts about other minority groups which stopped short of calling for or glorifying grotesque murders by terrorists.
- 172. Speech encouraging or praising the mass slaughter of any other minority group would never be tolerated on Haverford's campus. Anyone engaging in such speech, including tenured faculty, would be disciplined or even summarily removed.

173. Any doubt whatsoever about Professor Aougab's propensity for supporting terrorism and Jew hatred is removed by the fact that he is active in the Just Mathematics Collective, an antisemitic group that glorifies terrorism and hunts and maps Jews.



- 174. The antisemitic nature of the Mapping Project, with which Professor Aougab is associated, is so clear that the project has been disavowed even by the leadership of the Movement for Boycott, Divestment and Sanctions against Israel.

  <a href="https://www.timesofisrael.com/bds-movement-disavows-boston-project-mapping-jewish-groups/">https://www.timesofisrael.com/bds-movement-disavows-boston-project-mapping-jewish-groups/</a>
- 175. In the late Spring of 2024 Haverford announced that had hired yet another professor who publicly gloried in the murder of Jews on October 7, 2023: Christopher R. Rogers, hired as a Visiting Assistant Professor at the College's Writing Center.
- 176. Rogers, like Aougab, publicly posted his praise for Hamas's atrocities, tweeting that on October 7 there were "beautiful sights to wake up to this morning"





Solidarity with Palest ... · 10/7/23 beautiful sights to wake up to this morning

10/7/23 · يونس | Younis Tirawi 👽

Palestinian bulldozers are demolishing the smarttechnology barrier at the Gaza border.



Q 8

**1** 60

**(7)** 148

1 7.5K

- 177. The same thing that was true of Aougab's posts is true of Rogers's: any Haverford professor, or student, or staff member posting that he or she found the murder of any other group a "beautiful sight" would be instantly removed from the Haverford community. But Rogers's publication of his joy at the murder of Jews was found to be completely unobjectionable.
- The fact that Haverford announced the hiring of Rogers shortly after the original Complaint in this case was filed is yet another instance of the College's announcement to the Plaintiffs, and to the other Jews at Haverford committed to Israel, that the College simply does not care at all about whether such Jews experience the College as a hostile learning environment.
- 179. Since the filing of the original Complaint in this case, Plaintiffs have learned that the disparity between the College's treatment of statements about Jews and their beliefs, is manifest also in the College's treatment of statements by a Professor supportive of Jews and Israel as compared with statements by a professor who is disgusted with both.
- 180. Haverford sanctioned an Israeli Jewish professor, Barak Mendelsohn, for telling a Haverford student she should be more respectful of people who disagree with her and that she should learn more about Israel and Zionism before attacking people who are committed to either.
- 181. Haverford has no difficulty, however, allowing its professors to issue abusive, obscene denunciations of Zionism, and of any person—which means every Haverford student—who is a Zionist.
- 182. Thus Haverford has no interest in censoring public postings from Guantian Ha, a professor at Haverford, in which he stated:



Guangtian Ha @sula... · 8/15/24 ···· Which is why the only way to deal with zionists is to stop talking to them and refuse to let them waste your time. Liberal zionists in particular. And I learned a new term, 'reluctant Zionist', and I guess there were plenty of reluctant Nazis, too. Perhaps majority of them were.

Miriam Posner · 8/15/24
I used to think people like this just needed to encounter counterarguments —like maybe the first chapter of an introductory historiography te...



#### And



And



Guangtian Ha @sula... · 8/19/24 ··· By this point matter is no longer just ceasefire. The state of Israel must be dismantled and the society de-Nazified. Arms embargo, sanction, boycott, attack Zionism on all fronts. Zionism is Nazism, it is fascism. Zionists are racists.

♣ Hamza Yusuf @H...·8/19/24 A ceasefire was needed in October. When Israel had already made Gaza a place where no human can exist, exactly as promised....

183. Ha also announced of people in "my little world," i.e. Haverford, who are silent on this genocide or even tacitly support it," which includes all Plaintiffs in this case and all members of Jews at Haverford, that "I know their names and I know their faces. Never forgive. No reconciliation."



Guangtian Ha @sulaymangt · 1d .... I will forever remember who in my little world are silent on this genocide or even tacitly support it, with whatever excuse they have managed to convince themselves of, and I will never forgive them. I know their names and I know their faces. Never forgive. No reconciliation.

184. Ha is a professor of religion (!) who publicly posted this about the religious belief to which all of the Plaintiffs are committed:



Guangtian Ha @sulaymangt · 4d ··· Zionism is fundamentally a modern racist ideology that has next to nothing to do with Judaism as an ancient religion.

- 185. Although he is an associate professor of religion at Haverford College and presumes to speak on the subject including about the content of Judaism, Ha is completely ignorant about Jewish texts, Jewish history, Jewish culture, Jewish belief, and Jewish thought.
- 186. Haverford has seen no reason to say anything about any of these posts, which intentionally insult and demean each of the Plaintiffs and all members of Jews at Haverford, even though Haverford has clothed Ha with the authority to speak as an expert *about religion*, including the religion of the Plaintiffs and members of Jews at Haverford.
- 187. This obvious bias in the enforcement of Haverford's disciplinary code provisions is itself a function of efforts by students and others to suppress any speech on campus in support of Israel or Zionism.
- 188. Haverford's protesters publicly stated their intention to be "in solidarity with" similar protests at Columbia, and indeed, the Customs presentation itself stated as much.
- 189. The effort to use college disciplinary rules to suppress views that the protesters disagree with was clearly explained by imam Tom Facchione, who headlined a Zoom teach-in advertised by Columbia's Students for Justice in Palestine, and <u>said this about Jewish professor Shai Davidai</u>, a Columbia professor who has been hounded for his criticism of genocidal anti-Semitism:
  - "If there's one professor, like that Shai Davidai guy, how do we get him in trouble? What are the ways in which his professorship is sort of tenuous, or maybe in jeopardy, or at what point will it be in jeopardy? How do we create a situation in which he's in jeopardy? In a particular situation that might have more impact and it might silence—this is what the Zionists do—that might silence 100 other professors. If you're able to take out somebody like that, and make an example of them, it might shut up 100 more.... What's our biggest threat here? What's our biggest opportunity? Which domino, if we knock it over, is going to knock 20 dominoes over?"
- 190. The Javertesque pursuit of Professor Mendelsohn, while Professor Ha is left untouched for obscene, hateful and ignorant attacks on Jewish beliefs and commitments, is exactly the strategy invoked by SJP's imam. And it is on display at Haverford College, and has been on display there since at least the beginning of the 2023-24 academic year.

- 191. The result is exactly what Imam Facchione proposes: to "shut up 100 more" people when just one is gotten "in trouble."
- 192. Although the Haverford College administration has frequently called out injustice inflicted on other minority groups; it had nothing public to say about the moral quality of Hamas's massacre of Jews. Thus, on October 12th, President Wendy Raymond spoke impartially about the "certainty of more devastation to come for Israelis and Palestinians alike" without stating the truth that the Hamas terrorist attack was the actual commencement of war by Hamas (the governing authority in Gaza) against Israel.
- 193. This is the equivalent of speaking neutrally about a "struggle" between George Floyd and the police who murdered him, or the many other instances of police violence against people of color which Haverford has repeatedly and public condemned. For the Jews, Haverford displayed careful neutrality about depraved, intentional violence done to Jews that Haverford has never displayed for attacks on any other minority group.

# G. Ally's Teach-In

- 194. The statements and omissions of the Administration's Oct. 9th and Oct. 12th communications made it clear to Haverford students and faculty what was already clear from the Administration's inaction during the 2020 student strike: that antisemitism is and would continue to be tolerated (and as later observed, even praised and therefore encouraged) without fear of response by the Administration or consequences for those who engage in antisemitic speech and conduct.
- 195. In response, on the evening of October 12<sup>th</sup>, Ally Landau requested that President Raymond issue a communication to the Haverford student body condemning antisemitism and the Hamas terror attacks.

- 196. President Raymond refused to publicly condemn Hamas, and indeed, since October 7, she has continued to fail to condemn Hamas. When, during an earlier conversation, Ally's father, Jeffrey Landau, asked why she refused to condemn Hamas, President Raymond told him that she "didn't think she had to tell people what Hamas is."
- 197. Ally was stunned and outraged by President Raymond's refusal to explain what actually happened on October 7. Ally stated that she would explain this herself to the College community, and President Raymond assented. And so, the college student was left to be the responsible grown-up, given the abdication of that role by Haverford College's President Raymond.
- 198. By refusing to take any steps to address antisemitism on Haverford's campus herself, and instead condoning Ally's brave determination to do it on her own, Haverford College's President Raymond was effectively attempting to assign to Ally President Raymond's own statutory duty to ensure that Haverford College not be a hostile environment for Jewish students. This attempted assignment is a wholecloth failure by President Raymond to fulfill the entirely *non*delegable duty imposed upon this and all college presidents by Title VI of the Civil Rights Act of 1964.
- 199. Ally therefore prepared her own presentation to deliver to the student body. This presentation took place on November 1, 2023. Before Ally walked into the room scheduled for her presentation, several students from the avowedly and wildly anti-Israel organization known as Students for Justice in Palestine ("SJP") hung posters proclaiming various Hamas slogans, such as "From the River to the Sea Palestine Will Be Free."
- 200. Once Ally entered the room to set up for her presentation, the SJP students hung similar posters around the outer door to the room, signaling to Jewish students who planned to

- attend that they would encounter intimidation and harassment inside. And indeed, nearly if not all Jewish students who arrived to hear Ally speak turned away and didn't enter the room because of the hostile posters.
- 201. Not a single member of the College administration attended Ally's presentation during which she was attacked and interrupted throughout by the hostile students present. A friendly staff member who was present later told Ally's parents that she had been concerned for Ally's safety.
- 202. Haverford Student advocacy for Hamas's program has continued and even intensified as the 2024-25 academic year has begun. At the beginning of this academic year an organization previously known as BiCo Students for Peace has as of September of 2024 changed its name to Students for the Liberation of Palestine and announced that their organization is committed to "the liberation of Palestine through the complete dismantling of the apartheid settler colonial state of Israel, by all means necessary."
- 203. The phrase "by all means necessary" is an explicit call for the legitimization of physical violence, including the tactics deployed by Hamas on October 7, 2023. Ther is thus as of September, 2024 a student organization at Haverford calling for the murder of all Jewish Israelis who do not submit to the "dismantling" of their country.
- Haverford College has failed to remove this organization from its campus or to seek in any way to mitigate the evil of its call for the murder of Jews and, as far as Plaintiffs are aware, have taken no steps to remove it. Needless to say, any organization calling for the murder of any other minority group, and probably even an organization calling for the murder of white males, would not be permitted to operate freely, with that mission statement and public commitment, on Haverford's campus. Calling for the murder of of any ethnic, religious or national group would, it should be obvious,

violate Haverford's own antidiscrimination principles, as well as federal law, and presumably also the Quaker commitment to a healthy and mutually respectful community. Calling for the murder of Jews, however, is deemed by Haverford College to be unobjectionable.

# H. A Student is Shot in Vermont by a Hamas Supporter, The Jews at Haverford are Blamed and Haverford's President Does Nothing

- 205. On November 25, 2023, a Haverford student, Kinnan Abdalhamid, was shot and injured in Vermont, while walking along with two other young men. All three young men come from the Middle East, are native speakers of Arabic, and at least two were wearing keffiyahs at the time of the shooting.<sup>22</sup>
- 206. Abhalhamid and his companions were assumed to have been victims of anti-Arab and anti-Muslim hatred.
- 207. Haverford College's response to the shooting was immediate, intense, and broad. A statement was issued by President Raymond on Sunday, November 26, 2023, condemning the crime. <a href="https://www.haverford.edu/president/news/haverford-student-hospitalized-following-shooting-vermont">https://www.haverford.edu/president/news/haverford-student-hospitalized-following-shooting-vermont</a>.
- 208. The next day the President issued another, much longer statement, identifying the crime as a hate crime and denouncing it as such, and making available extensive resources for counseling and emotional support. <a href="https://www.haverford.edu/college-communications/news/caring-one-another-following-weekend-violence">https://www.haverford.edu/college-communications/news/caring-one-another-following-weekend-violence</a>.
- 209. A student vigil was held on November 27, 2023, held in response to the shooting of

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> The keffiyah is a black and white checkered scarf adopted by Yasser Arafat when Arafat was head of the Palestine Liberation Organization, which engaged in violent resistance against the Jewish State.

Keffiyahs are now frequently worn by supporters of such resistance.

Abhalhamid and his companions. Haverford's Nikki Young to attend, and participate enthusiastically in, this vigil, stands in stark contrast to the complete absence of any Haverford College administrators from Ally's teach-in presentation. Leaders of the Haverford Jewish community and pro-Israel students also attended this vigil in solidarity with the injured student and the Haverford Muslim community. Nonetheless, at the vigil, Vice President Young expressed sympathy for Palestinians struggling against what she recklessly termed a "genocide committed" by Israel. This was apparently in reference to the casualties incurred in urban combat in the Gaza Strip—even though those casualty numbers (even those claimed by Hamas) are at a level commonly encountered when Western militaries constrained by international law have engaged in urban combat with Islamist fighters who routinely violate the law of war by erasing the fundamental law of war distinction between combatant and noncombatant.

- 210. After Vice President Young's hostile comments, Jewish students and leaders left the vigil and later filed bias reports against Young and notified other members of the Administration, but no action was taken. Vice President Young is the person who oversees and has ultimate control over all bias reports.
- Ally, as a vocal and proud Jewish leader, exemplified the Jewish presence at Haverford College in large part because she led the teach-in presentation referenced above at ¶¶ 193-203. Because she spoke out in support of Israel's right to exist as a Jewish state, pro-Israel students—and Ally in particular—were later explicitly charged with personal responsibility for the attack on Abhalhamid in a Vermont town.
- The person who shot Abhalhamid was a supporter of Hamas and had posted on his social media attacking Israel's right to exist and to defend itself. By December 6, 2023, it was

publicly reported that Jason Eason, the accused shooter, had posted messages on social media attacking Israel and supporting Hamas:

"In an October 17 post on X responding to a different article, Eaton wrote that "the notion that Hamas is 'evil' for defending their state from occupation is absurd. They are owed a state. Pay up."

https://www.sevendaysvt.com/news/driven-by-hate-man-charged-in-burlington-shooting-was-a-volunteer-with-a-troubled-personal-life-39673363.

- 213. Nonetheless, because Ally had publicly stated the pro-Israel position at a campus event and in a campus-wide email, her fellow Haverfordians claimed in a Grievances Document they shared with the entire Haverford College community, that pro-Israel students and Ally in particular bore personal responsibility for the shooting of their fellow Haverford College student. Worse: Haverford's President Wendy Raymond, to whom the document containing this unfounded accusation against Ally was formally presented by its authors, has never publicly done or said anything suggesting she disagreed with the accusation, that it lacked a factual basis, or that the accusation was a violation of any rule governing speech at Haverford College.
- 214. Rather than trying to make peace among her divided student body by calling their attention to the fact that the shooting of Abdalhamid was indeed a tragedy, but that he was not targeted because of his race or religion, President Raymond has consistently ignored this fact. Instead, the College has continued to focus on the racial aspects of a horrible and hateful crime, and Abdalhamid is presented as the object of anti-Muslim, anti-Arab and anti-Palestinian hatred when in fact it is clear from the shooter's own words that these were not his motivations.
- 215. Among the forms of support offered in the wake of Abhalhamid's shooting was what Haverford's President explicitly denominated as "Islamic Grief Counseling" as well as

separate, apparently non-Islamic, psychological counseling, and various other forms of emotional support—including the vigil held regarding the incident referenced above at ¶214, as well as numerous other meetings between the College's students and its senior Administration, and the President's own action to "reach out today with my heart and soul full of care, love and support for our beloved Palestinian, Muslim and Arab students."

- 216. No "Jewish" or "Israeli" grief counseling was offered by Haverford College in the wake of the mass slaughter of Jews perpetrated by Hamas on October 7, even though several Haverford students had relatives who were either killed or taken hostage, or whose families lived within the area attacked, and even though many Jewish and Israeli students were both stunned and left desolate by that attack on their co-religionists and fellow countrymen.
- 217. Haverford's President did not on October 8—nor has she since then—reach[ed] out" with her "heart and soul full of care, love and support for our beloved" Jewish and Israeli students and faculty.
- 218. Rather, when Jewish students have approached Raymond about problems they were experiencing right there *on Haverford's campus*—rather than in Vermont—from the hostility of, and attacks by, their fellow Haverford students and Haverford faculty, President Raymond has instructed the Jewish students to seek relief exclusively from the student body—i.e. from the very people and institutions which were inflicting the harm the Jews were seeking to mitigate.
- 219. Thus, for example, on December 12, 2023, a Jewish parent wrote to Haverford's President, forwarding an email from her son—a Haverford student—who described the

- sense of "betrayal" he felt by his peers, the isolation and demonization he felt as a Jew and a supporter of Israel.
- 220. President Raymond's response offered absolutely nothing in the way of care, love, attention, or any interest in having the adults who run Haverford College provide relief of any kind to Haverford's Jews. Instead, Raymond instructed: "Given your son's experience, if he feels that he experienced activity counter to the Code, I would encourage him to consider whether he wishes to use the Code's various processes as a pathway toward reconciliation." In other words, President Raymond thought it reasonable to and did so instruct Jewish Haverford students to ask the people who had themselves violated the Honor Code to judge themselves and their political allies and friends as the one source of relief for the aggrieved Jewish students.

# I. Plenary at Haverford

- 221. At Haverford, the annual student Plenary plays a pivotal and sacrosanct role in social and academic life at the College. It is the event in which the Student Body gathers to, among other things, discuss and vote to ratify the Honor Code. It is the time when all Haverford students are asked to gather as a community. It should be a safe space.
- 222. Haverford's public statements about Plenary, such as this one

  <a href="https://www.instagram.com/reel/C5Tz6rYJw\_d/?igsh=ZXowMXBrMDJzdmtw">https://www.instagram.com/reel/C5Tz6rYJw\_d/?igsh=ZXowMXBrMDJzdmtw</a> portray

  Plenary as a communal event at which all members of the Haverford community come together respectfully to share ideas and speak convivially with one another. Plenary holds a hallowed position for Haverford students and alumni, one for which reverence regarding the procedural requirements loom larger in memory than do most of the substantive actions taken at individual Plenaries, and the fact of Plenary, if not each

- individual one that took place during students' years on campus, remain as a central memory for Haverford alumni.
- 223. The reality is that the two regularly-scheduled and one emergency Plenary held at Haverford College during the 2023-24 academic year have been hate fests with a monomaniacal focus on one issue: Demands that the State of Israel be forbidden to exercise self-defense in the wake of the most grotesque attacks on Jews since the Holocaust, against an enemy that insists it will continue to inflict the same kind of massacres against the Jewish State "again and again" until Israel ceases to exist as a Jewish state. Indeed, the Spring Plenary was scheduled for the Jewish holiday of Purim (a holiday in which the Jews of the world's then-largest empire survived a planned genocide only because the emperor gave them permission to defend themselves). Jewish students asked if it could be moved. They were refused.
- Currently at Haverford College and particularly at its Plenaries, any student who does not publicly trumpet his or her hatred for that State automatically becomes not only a pariah but is targeted as a "f\*cking Zionist" against whom no slander or assault is sufficiently bad. As a result, the majority of Jewish students at Haverford during this past academic year experienced Plenary as a rally for enemies of their people and for them personally, at which the glorification and advancement of that enmity was the central topic of discussion. In fact, HJSD, a member of the unincorporated association Jews at Haverford, decided to cut himself off from the essential Haverford experience altogether and did not attend a single Plenary during the 2023-2024 academic year because the emotional toll would be too great.

#### J. Fall Plenary 2023

- 225. The Haverford College Fall Plenary took place on November 5, 2023, less than a month after the Hamas massacre in southern Israel. When the Student Council sent an email to the Student Body notifying the student community of the time and date of Plenary, it also gratuitously affirmed their support for students aligned with the SJP Plenary Agenda, and thus against the Jewish students who did not agree with that organization's antisemitic vendetta. This created an environment of intimidation and harassment at Plenary for Jewish students.
- 226. On information and belief, students planning the first Plenary of the year secretly coordinated with members so that SJP could present a wildly biased account of the armed conflict just then unfolding between Israel and Hamas, vociferously condemning Israel, mischaracterizing Israel's efforts at self-defense and demanding that Israel immediately cease its effort to defeat Hamas: a ceasefire was the only "humane" action to be supported. Anything other than support for a full and immediate ceasefire, Haverford students were told then, and told repeatedly thereafter, meant support for genocide.
- 227. The demand for a cease-fire was thus nothing more or less than a demand for immunity for the Hamas murderers who had committed the atrocities of October 7.
- 228. The basis for alleging that the SJP students and the Students Council leadership had arranged in advance to surreptitiously prepare for a one-sided discussion of the Middle East conflict is that while there was nothing in the official and public Plenary information to indicate in advance of the Fall Plenary that there would be any discussion of the Middle East, somehow the SJP students knew this would be a part of Plenary, and for this reason many members of that group signed up in advance to speak during the public comments segment of Plenary, and that the SJP members also arrived at the Fall Plenary

with a Powerpoint presentation laying out their antisemitic vitriol, which Plenary was equipped for and ready to present and did present.

- 229. Amongst the anti-Israel, pro-Palestinian statements made by SJP members at the Fall Plenary, E.S. said:
  - "The Israeli government is committing genocide against the people of Gaza";
  - "we've seen an extreme escalation of the ongoing apartheid Israel has imposed on Palestinians for the past 75 years."

#### A.K. proclaimed:

- "Anti-Zionism is the opposition of an oppressive government that has occupied Palestine for the past 75 years. They have taken our rights, they have pitted us against each other and made us hate each other. Being an antizionist does not mean that you are anti semitic. It's very important to not tie anti zionism to antisemitism. When they are tied together, studies have shown that antisemitism has increased worldwide. This is because people start to think that the linking of Jewish people to a Jewish state means that all Jewish people support Israel. That is not the message we are trying to send as SJP. Anyone experiencing antisemitism should speak to someone in power";
- "Next I want to talk about the phrase "from the river of the sea, Palestine will be free". This is not an anti semitic phrase. .... many zionist organizations are trying to tie antisemitism to anti zionism. Opposing an oppressive government is not anti semitic";

#### M.Y.B. said:

- "By now we've all seen the horrific scenes coming from Gaza. Hospitals, bakeries, schools, refugee camps, northern Gaza all left in ruin. I unequivocally denounce this massacre. But let me be clear: When I denounce the Israeli government, I speak only about the people in positions of power.... I will always denounce antisemitism and fascism where I see it.
- But what I see in Gaza is the cruel collective punishment placed onto the Palestinians who for decades have been upended from their homes and forcibly displaced .... We see a coordinated effort by the corporate establishment to paint the entire pro-Palestine movement as broadly antisemitic. I won't hold back my punches when I say this is no different to those who chant 'THE GREAT REPLACEMENT" upon any semblance of anti-racism. It's this weaponization of identity politics that boils my blood."

https://docs.google.com/document/d/1kpa757cTV6qFk6uoQ0IfPCoF2cCw3mHxfQp6UseX5Is/edit#heading=h.d90o8tmi9dji

- 230. BiCo SJP (Haverford college Bryn Mawr college are parties to a consortium which allows students at either school to take classes, eat, live, and participate fully at the other college.) also announced their demands on Haverford College at the Fall Plenary. Those demands included transparency about all financial investments in Israel; divestment from Israeli academic institutions; cutting ties with Birthright; pressuring Senator John Fetterman and Representative Mary Jo Scanlon to support a ceasefire; paying for a speaker series or art installation on the campus to educate the community, about Gaza and the provision of both "academic leniency and material support for Palestinian students with family impacted by the war and who are experiencing collective trauma."
- 231. Haverford's Jewish community was blindsided by the one-sided and mistruth-laden diatribe about the unfolding conflict in the Middle East. Several knowledgeable Jewish students sought the opportunity to speak against the wild claims and misinformation presented by the anti-Israel students. The SJP students spoke beyond their allotted time and the Students' Council leadership decided that the time for public comment had ended before a single Jewish anti-ceasefire student was permitted to speak. The reason given for silencing the Jewish students was that they, unlike the SJP pro-Hamas, pro-ceasefire students, had not signed up in advance to speak.
- 232. After importuning by a Jewish student, Dean John McKnight sent a text to the Students Council leadership suggesting that they reconsider and allow the Jewish students to speak, but this note was ignored, and the Administration made no further efforts to ensure that the public comments section offered a balance of opinions and information on one of the most controversial and explosive topics circuiting the globe. President Wendy

- Raymond was present throughout the event, witnessed the decision to bar the Jews from speaking, and did nothing.
- 233. The demoralized Jewish students were aghast that the Students' Council leadership had acted to deny them the opportunity to speak, and had seemed to conspire with the antisemitic, pro-Hamas students to sneak in a heavily fraught topic to Plenary without giving fair notice to Haverford's Jewish community which they knew would be opposed to a one-sided harangue about the Middle East conflict. But they were even more dismayed that the leadership of their college's Administration had allowed the hallowed tradition of Plenary to be hijacked for such a wildly political and antisemitic action, without doing any more than sending a note, and sitting quietly when the note was ignored.
- 234. President Wendy Raymond and Dean McKnight were present for the entire Plenary session. They witnessed the orchestrated ceasefire discussion; witnessed the SJP students speaking beyond their allotted time without being effectively stopped; witnessed the Jewish students who opposed the tenor and content of the discussion being barred from speaking at all. As it turned out, Dean McKnight's flaccid attempt to intervene via a text sent to the Students' Council leadership, while Plenary was being conducted, was—not surprisingly—not even seen by the Council leadership until Plenary had concluded.
- 235. But what College President Raymond did was worse than nothing: when the Plenary concluded, President Raymond publicly praised it as a "great success."



- 236. The rules governing Plenary were also violated in that the purpose of Plenary is for students to debate and decide issues relating to how the college is run. It is not designed as a referendum on political issues that have no impact on governance of the College.

  This is most clear in that Plenary has no jurisdiction for holding referenda on issues bearing on the religious commitments of some Haverford students—and thus becoming a forum for the denunciation of those commitments.
- 237. Yet that is exactly what occurred at all of the Plenaries during the 2023-2024 academic year.

### K. Email Plea on Behalf of Silenced Jewish Students

- 238. In response to being silenced at Plenary and in the face of the Administration's inaction and President Raymond's praise for the blatant acts of harassment and intimidation of Jewish students, on November 8, 2024, Ally sent a letter "In the name of many concerned Jewish students at Haverford and Bryn Mawr" to the entire Haverford community using Haverford's all-college email system. Ally did so on behalf of the many concerned Jewish students because they were so fearful of having their own names attached to anything that branded them as supportive of the Jewish State. That letter is attached hereto as Exhibit A.
- 239. Ally not only had express permission from Dean McKnight to use the all-college email system for this purpose, but it was Dean McKnight himself who pressed "send" to transport Ally's letter on behalf of Haverford's silenced Jewish students to the entire Haverford community.
- 240. That letter was an effort to respond to the SJP's otherwise unanswered attack on the Jewish State at Plenary, and it defended Israel's right to exist and to its self-determination and self-defense.
- 241. Even this effort was turned against the Jewish members of the Haverford community when Ally was publicly pilloried by students for daring to use the College's all-campus email service.
- 242. Emboldened by the Administration's inaction, on or about November 27, 2023, antisemitic students at Haverford College published what is entitled the "Haverford Grievances Document," which was an antisemitic screed shared with the entire Haverford community. The document is attached hereto as Exhibit B.

- 243. This Grievances Document included two direct attacks on Ally Landau, which purported to be based on Ally's own email to the Haverford community—a message which threatened no-one and attacked no-one. The existence of the attacks on Ally in this mass communication by antisemitic students was known to the Administration, which nonetheless failed to take action to protect Ally. Ultimately, a worried member of the Haverford Community contacted Ally's parents, Jeff and Michele Landau, on November 30, and informed them of the potential danger to Ally created by the appearance of her name in the Grievances Document.
- 244. The Haverford Grievances Document laid blame on Haverford College and specifically on one of its students who was identified by name—Ally Landau—for the Arab students being shot in Vermont over the 2023 Thanksgiving vacation.
- 245. In response to this accusation, Michele and Jeff Landau called President Raymond's office to find out what Haverford would do to protect their daughter. The Landaus made this call in shock over the display of utter indifference by the Administration to the wellbeing of a Jewish student. It is inconceivable that Haverford's response would have been as phlegmatic if a similar accusation had been made against a student from a different minority group. The fact that the College failed even to notify the Landaus about the threat posed to their daughter's safety is itself an outrage.
- 246. When the Landaus spoke with President Raymond, they insisted that the college president take action to protect their daughter. During this conversation, President Raymond refused to identify any action she would take on Ally's behalf, and initially refused to take any at all. The only thing the Haverford College president grudgingly

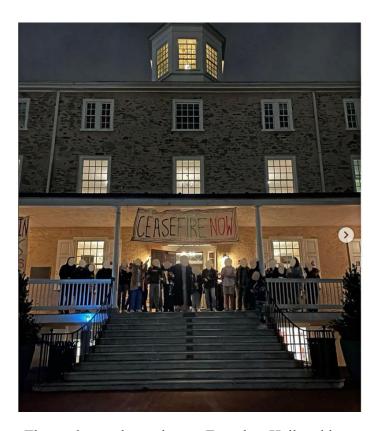
- agreed to do was that she and her Administration would attempt to remove Ally's name from the circulating Google Doc version of the Grievances Document.
- 247. President Raymond specifically warned the Landaus that she would only engage in dialogue with those individuals responsible for the document—she clearly knew who they were—but repeatedly asserted that Haverford College believes in "restorative justice" and not "punitive action." At least one member of the College Administration acknowledged that the Grievances Document contained "elements . . . reasonably read as anti-semitic." Notwithstanding this, Haverford's President Raymond not only thanked the writers of the Grievances Document for engaging with her and the College Administration, but she also praised the Grievances Document intself as "dialogue" that Raymond found "open, honest thoughtful and constructive." See Wendy Raymond letter of December 3, 2023, to "student writers, Maria and Jorge," attached hereto as Exhibit C.
- 248. President Raymond's letter responded carefully and respectfully to each topic in the Grievances Document, promising responses within 24 hours as well as a series of meetings, scheduled within a day or two, as the students had demanded, to discuss each Grievance topic. President Raymond's letter to the students who wrote the document said nothing about antisemitism or falsely accusing a fellow student, and indeed nothing negative at all about any aspect of the Grievances Document.
- 249. The one action taken by the Haverford Administration to protect Ally after she had been denounced as an accessory to attempted murder of a well-known student from a favored minority group, is that Ally's name was ultimately removed from one version of the online Grievances Document—and this action was taken only after Ally's parents insisted repeatedly that this be done. The identification by name of Ally Landau still

- remains in the PDF version of the Grievances Document which had already been distributed by Haverford students to most of the College's student body. No correction was ever demanded by the Administration, much less issued.
- 250. The Administration made no statement, campus-wide or otherwise, to correct, or to mitigate the effect, of the initial communication, or even to suggest that Ally in fact bore no responsibility for the attack on her fellow student.
- 251. After the Landaus had remonstrated with President Raymond, she spoke with Ally. But the only thing President Raymond was willing to offer was the feeble suggestion that Ally might want to avail herself of the College's mental health counseling services. Ally found the suggestion that she was in need of mental health services, rather than that her fellow students were in need of discipline, to be profoundly insulting.
- 252. The Grievances Document states explicitly that its authors view *any* speech supporting Israel's right to exist as a Jewish state as an attack on Palestinian students, or those who support such students, and that such speech cannot be tolerated on Haverford's campus.
- 253. President Raymond proffered absolutely no criticism for any part of the document, including its demand that Haverford not permit or facilitate the expression of any view about Israel with which the document's antisemitic authors disagree.
- 254. Rather than condemning this accusation, President Raymond claimed that Ally's statement that SJP members had "hijack[ed]" the Plenary was morally equivalent to SJP's calls for the extermination of the Jewish State: "From the River to the Sea."
- 255. As alleged, supra ¶148, "From the River to the Sea" is a call for the destruction of the State of Israel and the genocide of the Jewish people. President Raymond did not explain why "hijacking" is a term that has any racial connotation, or why it suggests the same

- level of racial vituperation as does a phrase that calls for the elimination of the Jewish state and all the Jews within it.
- 256. Hijacking a meeting refers to one group taking control and dominating a meeting (which is what occurred at the Plenary meeting) and is not a discriminatory phrase. Comparing these two phrases and deeming them equivalent is blatantly antisemitic, but more importantly, it sent a clear message from the Administration to the student body that it will do more than tolerate, it will sanitize hate speech—but only when it is antisemitic.
- 257. In her enthusiasm to lavish praise on the authors of the Grievances Document, President Raymond had no interest in calming the antisemitic Haverford students who believed that the shooting was caused by support for Israel, or by supporters of Israel such as Ally Landau and her fellow Jewish students at Haverford. As a result, she said nothing publicly to suggest that Ally was not responsible for this violence.

#### L. The Sit-In at Founders Hall

On December 5, 2023, Haverford students occupied the space surrounding, and took over the Founders Hall building for more than a week. Founders Hall is the main administrative office on the Haverford College campus. It is located on the main quadrangle, is adjacent to the library, and is on the path to Haverford's dining hall. In other words, it is centrally located on campus, and is a site which almost all students have to pass through nearly every day.



- 259. The students who took over Founders Hall and its surroundings hung banners outside the building, and daily conducted antisemitic chants that were intended to, and had the effect of, intimidating and harassing Jewish students. Jewish students were forced to endure this harassment on a daily basis. Their only alternatives were to take lengthy detours around the middle of campus, hide in their dormitory rooms, or flee campus.
- 260. Mathematics professor Tarik Aougab was invited to, and did, present a public talk at Founders Hall during the Sit-in, charging that Israel's creation was an exercise in white supremacy and charging the Jewish state with genocide and apartheid. Because Founders Hall is at the center of the campus, Jewish students were daily forced to listen to declamations such as this, as well as to chants quoting from the Hamas Charter, and derisive comments about Jews and the Jewish state, as they traversed the campus on their way to and from classes or meals.

- 261. Such daily attacks transformed the educational experience of the Jewish students and made their presence on campus a source of dread, which could be endured only at the price of constant public denunciation of their ethnic, religious and ancestral commitments by students and faculty.
- 262. President Raymond publicly commended the antisemitic activities of the "Sit-in." She praised the Sit-in itself as "a recent example of peaceful protest," and promised that Haverford College would take "no punitive action" against the participating students..
- 263. President Raymond publicly issued this praise even though she acknowledged explicitly to the Landaus that the Sit-in violated multiple Haverford rules. When Mr. Landau challenged her on how she could allow conduct in clear violation of the College's rules and which—by the way—was incredibly disruptive and painful to Haverford's Jewish students, President Raymond answered that she feared that if she took action to stop it, even worse behavior by the students would result.
- 264. President Raymond's entire satisfaction with the Sit-in continued until the students—
  outraged that a week of protest had not forced the College to submit to their demands that
  they direct Israel to agree to a ceasefire and that Haverford College divests itself entirely
  from Israel—placed stuffed garbage bags mimicking body bags outside President
  Raymond's office. That, for Haverford's Administration, was a step too far.
- 265. Dean McKnight ultimately put an end to the Sit-in, which he decided had created a "hostile work environment" because the staff of the College felt threatened by the students' continued presence in the building (which has no classrooms) and by their use of mock body bags to protest what they claimed were the deaths caused by the Israel

- Defense Forces action in Gaza. <a href="https://haverfordclerk.com/opinion-with-regards-to-protest-administration-has-failed-haverford/">https://haverfordclerk.com/opinion-with-regards-to-protest-administration-has-failed-haverford/</a>
- 266. Here yet again Haverford demonstrated its complete indifference to hostility directed at Jewish students. When protest activity upset Haverford staff, the administration denounced it as creating a "hostile work environment" and they put a stop to it. When the same conduct, by the same "protesters" had the same impact on Haverford's Jews, it was blessed as protected expressive activity, and the Jews' suffering was of no consequence.

### M. Cancelation of the Antisemitism Awareness Event

- 267. Ally Landau sought and obtained permission from Vice President Nikki Young in November 2023 to dedicate a home women's basketball game to Antisemitism Awareness.
- 268. The College has dedicated games to a a variety of causes, including a game to promote awareness about diabetes.
- After speaking with Vice President Young, Ally met with the Assistant Director of Athletics Jason Rash to look at the athletic calendar. Rash told Ally that February 6, 2024, was available, and the Antisemitism Awareness Game was scheduled for that date. Approximately a month before the game was to take place, Ally reached out to all concerned to confirm everything was set. She was not told at that time that there was any problem with the concept of the game or its intended execution.
- 270. But less than a week before the game was to take place, Ally was summoned to a meeting with Dean John McKnight and the Athletic Director Danielle Lynch. When Ally arrived

- at the meeting, she was shocked to hear from these College Administrators that there was a problem.
- 271. The problem, Ally was told, was that an Antisemitism Awareness basketball game might prove too antagonistic to the pro-Palestinian students on campus. Ally was told by Dean McKnight that the College might not be able to control the anticipated mob of antisemites from storming the basketball court and refusing to leave. Were that to happen, Ally was informed, the Haverford women's basketball team would have to forfeit the game, as required by the NCAA rules. Ally was shocked when she heard this.
- 272. Ally understood that the college leadership was telling her that the team's loss would be entirely her fault and it would be selfish of her to cost her teammates a win. Ally Landau is a strong and proud young woman, but it is impossible to ignore the power imbalance in that meeting—high level College administrators bearing down on one student, and not one of them offering what any reasonable campus official should have promised: that *of course* the college would ensure the presence of sufficient security to ensure that a brute mob would not cost the Haverford team a loss. The game went on, but there was no mention of Antisemitism Awareness.
- 273. Dean McKnight, President Raymond and Chief of Staff Jesse Lytle subsequently claimed to complaining parents and alumni that Ally Landau decided on her own to cancel the Antisemitism Awareness component of the game, and that Dean McKnight had offered to support the team if she chose to go forward with it. This is a lie.
- 274. Mr. Jeffrey Landau, Ally's father, spoke to Dean McKnight on February 6, 2024, and asked him why the Antisemitism Awareness component of the game had been canceled.

  Dean McKnight told Mr. Landau that Ally never had approval for the event. Mr. Landau

responded that this was incorrect, and that Vice President Young had not only granted approval, but that the Antisemitism Awareness game had been approved for the February 6 date. Dean McKnight then said that Haverford Vice President Young had given only "general approval." When Mr. Landau asked Dean McKnight "what is the difference between 'general approval' and 'approval,'" the Dean did not respond.

- 275. Mr. Landau told Dean McKnight that it was clear to him that the Dean had pressured Ally to cancel the event. Dean McKnight answered that "maybe the pressure was coming from you [Jeff Landau] and the Chabad Rabbi"—a title he pronounced with clear disdain. Mr. Landau instructed Dean McKnight to cease conversations with his daughter. Dean McKnight answered: "as Dean of the College I can talk to any student whenever I want to."
- 276. It is unimaginable that this exchange, culminating with this clear display of contempt, would have taken place between any Haverford College administrator and the parent of any student from any minority group other than Jews.
- 277. When Mr. Landau asked Dean McKnight what he and President Raymond were going to do to protect Jewish students from ongoing abuse, McKnight's only answer was that [Mr. Landau] had "no idea how much heartache [McKnight] endured for allowing the Jewish students to use the all-campus server to send their email after the Fall Plenary."

  Haverford College Dean McKnight considered himself the suffering victim.

## N. Emergency Plenary

278. In the second use of the Plenary system to intimidate Jewish supporters of Israel at Haverford, a second, "emergency" Plenary was held, devoted entirely to efforts to adopt a

- resolution condemning Israel for fighting against Hamas, and demanding that Israel cease doing so immediately.
- 279. This emergency Plenary was convened, and conducted, in a series of clear violations of the Haverford rules governing Plenaries and the rules the students had themselves put in place for the governance of Plenary proceedings.
- 280. No effort was made by any member of the Haverford College administration to enforce those rules, to ensure that the Plenary would be conducted in compliance with them.
- 281. The Haverford Constitution mandates the physical presence in the same room at Plenary of a quorum of students, with carefully defined relaxations of that requirement for students with disabilities or those with claustrophobia. The rules specify that if a quorum is lost the meeting must be suspended or ended. Rule 4..02(g)(i).
- 282. The rules further provide that, simultaneously with the requirement that a quorum be physically present, only students who are physically present may vote. Rule 402(g)(iv).
- 283. In clear violation of this rule the Emergency Plenary was held over four days, starting on February 29 and ending on March 3, during which voting took place during three of the days.
- 284. Indeed, in an email exchange on March 4, 2024, between Ally Landau and Jorge Paz Reyes & Maria Reyes Pacheco, Students' Council Co-Presidents, the latter two admitted that the Plenary rules had not been followed.
- 285. In fact, the violations were so obvious that the co-Presidents knew about them before Ally called them to their attention: "To be frank," they began their admission to Ally, we "were expecting this email." They then continued for over a dozen paragraphs to admit/explain away their acknowledged rule violations.

- 286. These rules were modified solely because the leaders of Students Council hoped to use them to cause the adoption of a resolution calling for Israel to immediately cease its war against Hamas, before Hamas is defeated.
- 287. Haverford's Administration was put on notice of these violations no later than February 25, 2024, by a letter to President Raymond from Haverford alumnus Bryan C. Hathorn. That letter is attached hereto as Exhibit D. It, and its warnings, were completely ignored by Haverford College.
- 288. In clear violation of Plenary rules, the voting deadline was extended in an attempt to reach quorum. However, the resolution did not pass as quorum was not reached due to the refusal of Jewish students to participate.
- At a staff meeting later in March 2024, President Raymond and Dean McKnight effusively praised the efforts of the Students' Council to get the resolution passed. Dean McKnight pointed out that the resolution did not pass due to the lack of quorum, and also stated that they did not know the views of the students who did not participate since they did not vote. Dean McKnight made this statement despite the fact that Ally had explicitly told him, in a meeting with others present including VP Young, that many Jewish students opposed the antisemitic nature of the resolution and were deliberately not participating so that quorum would not be reached. Dean McKnight was clearly disappointed that the Jewish student leaders chose this strategy. During her comments at the meeting, President Raymond indicated that if the resolution had passed, she would have signed it.

290. A staff member (uncomfortable speaking in an open setting) submitted an anonymous question asking if President Raymond meant to say that she would sign it, and President Raymond answered "Yes."

## O. Spring Plenary

- 291. After the failure of the Ceasefire Resolution at the Emergency Plenary, a plan was devised to re-present the same resolution at the Spring Plenary. Students Council representatives stated that they needed to "focus on getting ... signatures" for the represented resolution. As with the prior resolution for the emergency plenary, there was significant bullying and harassment to obtain signatures.
- 292. The path into the building where this Plenary took place was lined with Palestinian flags.

  A student stood at the entrance and offered every person who entered a Palestinian flag, thus forcing entrants to either accept the flag or to be seen publicly refusing it –something that would lead to attacks, shunning and worse.



293. The Spring Plenary was conducted, and ultimately the resolution was passed. However, Jewish students experiencing bullying and intense pressure. In the wake of Plenary, on April 9, 2024, the President of the College wrote to the community to highlight that students—particularly Jewish students—"have felt fearful, silenced, or a protective need to self-censor." Indeed, numerous students felt pressured into voting "for" the resolution against their conscience because votes were required to be public.

# P. Haverford's President Appears at a Jewish Event and Insults the Jews

- 294. On March 31, 2024, President Wendy Raymond attended an event, called "How do you Jew," hosted by a Jewish student group, at which numerous students shared their accounts of how they live their lives as Jews. Several Jewish Haverford community members spoke about their experiences as Jews on, and following, October 7.
- 295. At this event, President Raymond was asked what statement would, in her mind, qualify as antisemitic. She answered that a "blood libel" would meet that definition.
- 296. At the conclusion of presentations at this event, President Raymond was asked by several student attendees whether the post by Tarik Auogab, referenced above at ¶169, qualified as antisemitic. President Raymond answered that his statement "could be perceived in many ways." Asked how she perceived it, she answered "I hear people breaking free from their chains." In other words, President Wendy Raymond had completely imbibed and embraced the wildly antisemitic, vile glorification of the murderous rampage and unimaginable mass rapes of Israeli women that Haverford's Professor Aougab praised following October 7. President Raymond then proceeded to tell

these Jewish students that there were peaceful people from Gaza who invaded Israel with Hamas on October 7. This was another lie, and it was told to Jewish Haverford students by the president of their college at an event at which these students revealed the pain and torment they had been experiencing on their college campus since October 7. The magnitude of this insult cannot be overstated.

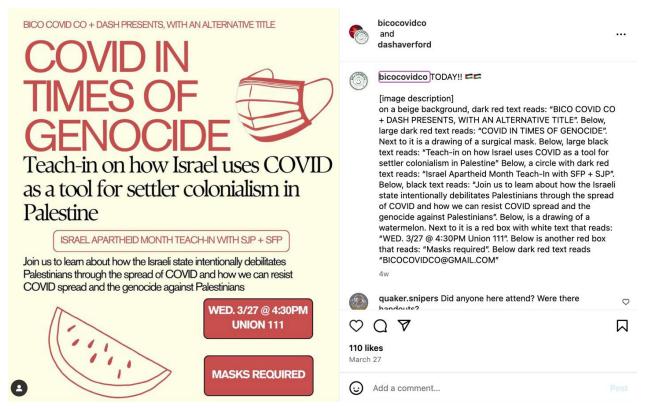
- Q. Haverford Students and Faculty use the Podia Granted them by Haverford College to Libel Israel, Zionism, and Anyone Who Supports Israel or Zionism
- 297. During the week of March 25 28, Haverford students presented a series of wildly antisemitic lectures and other events.



298. On March 27, students presented the conspiracy theory that the state of Israel has intentionally infected the residents of Gaza with Covid. They hosted an event titled "Mass Death on all Fronts: Israel's weaponization of Covid against Palestinians." This claim, for which no respectable evidence exists, has exactly the same intellectual or

evidentiary merit as the medieval blood libels that sought to hold the Jews responsible for the spread of the bubonic plague, or for claims that Jews murder Christian children so they can use their blood to make matzah for Passover. Such wild and false accusations, and false demonization of an entire people, have led in the past, in places like Eastern Europe and elsewhere, to violence against Jews in the form of pogroms. The same kind of blood libels have ratcheted up the kind of mob mentality and mob violence being witnessed on college campuses today.

- 299. Spreading any of these absurd and fact-free accusations against the Jewish state is antisemitic. Such claims have absolutely no place on the campus of an institution that claims to provide a serious education to thoughtful people. Even by President Raymond's definition, see *supra* at ¶294, such an accusation is antisemitic.
- 300. When confronted with the obvious antisemitism of this event, Dean McKnight suggested to the Weaponization of Covid's promoters that they change the name of the event, but he saw no need to change the substance of what was to be said there.



301. At another of these antisemitic events, the claim was presented that it is the official policy of the State of Israel to attempt to maim Palestinians in order to subjugate them. The title of this event, held on March 25, was "No Disability Justice Without a Free Palestine."



Again, there is no evidence that such an evil scheme exists. People who claim to be academics, governed by academic standards of evidence for the evaluation of truth claims, cannot possibly advance such obviously antisemitic conspiracy theories, which have the same intellectual merit as the Protocols of the Elders of Zion. Yet Haverford College, which claims to be a serious academic institution, did nothing to prevent the propagation, by its own faculty, of such hateful mendacity.

As alleged above at ¶168-173, Professor Aougab, who is a professor of Mathematics at Haverford, has used his podium as a teacher to glorify Hamas's murder of Jews on October 7, and to insist that the people who carried out these murders be left armed and in control of the Gaza Strip.

- 303. In February, Prof. Auogab distributed the standards that had to be met before he would agree to write a letter of recommendation for any of his Haverford students. Along with what he required students to have or do, he also explained what he would not do. He wrote that he would not provide any recommendations for students seeking to study either in Israel or about anything related to Judaism. Had any professors laid out such conditions for writing recommendations that barred any other religion or tenet of any other religion, that professor would be under disciplinary review immediately and removed promptly thereafter.
- 304. Prof. Auogab referred to Jewish Haverford students who oppose his antisemitic views and support the State of Israel as "racist genocidaires.".... No Jewish student who is committed to Israel in any way could possibly expect to be treated as anything other than a criminal by this professor.
- 305. Prof. Auogab continues to be employed by Haverford College and continues to teach Haverford students.
- 306. On November 26, 2023, Haverford College professor Gina Velasco posted

  (<a href="https://www.facebook.com/mr.peabodycat">https://www.facebook.com/mr.peabodycat</a>) a message which included the expressions

  "F\*ck Israel" and "F\*ck Zionism." She remains an associate professor at Haverford, and

  Director of Gender and Sexuality Studies.
- 307. The Students for Justice in Palestine Instagram account attached the Statement from Haverford College Faculty for Justice in Palestine ("FJP") that references the "Israeli state's genocidal violence against Gaza," when in fact Hamas committed—and proclaimed it was committing and promised to continue to commit antisemitic genocidal

- terrorist attacks against Israel, and Hamas which initiated a war against the Jewish state. FJP's statement is clearly antisemitic.
- 308. As alleged *supra* at ¶208, Vice President Nikki Young spoke at a vigil after the three Palestinian college students were shot in Vermont. She publicly accused Israel of committing genocide, thereby implying that there was some connection between Israel and the shooting of those Palestinian students.
- 309. Other educational institutions have taken actions against faculty members using antisemitic rhetoric, but the Administration of Haverford College has taken no action against these faculty members, even though these faculty members are clearly teaching students to adopt hate-filled antisemitic views, and despite the effect such statements and actions by those teachers have on their Jewish students who are, like every other college student in America, entitled to an educational environment free of harassment and bullying.

### R. The "Fords' Forum"

- 310. In response to the large volume of complaints from Jewish students, parents, and alumni, President Raymond and Board Chair Beever initiated a new "Fords Forum: Virtual Event Series." There was no acknowledgement that there was a need to affirmatively address the antisemitism problem, and the forum was described as a "candid discussion of the most relevant issues facing our Haverford community." But all parties knew that the Forum was a response to the ongoing complaints of antisemitism.
- Although it was advertised as an "open dialogue," only the Haverford Administration was allowed to speak at the March 2024 Forum. All other "participants" could only submit a single question in advance, with a limited number of words, and the

Administration decided which questions to answer. President Raymond's Chief of Staff
Jesse Lytle served as the moderator for the forum, and he acknowledged, after being
prodded by the audience, that many of the questions posed related to frustration with the
antisemitism statements and actions by staff members—clearly referring to Professor
Auogab and other members of the Faculty for Justice in Palestine.

- In response, Chair Beever repeatedly referred to his days as a student at Haverford in the early 1970s. He pointed out that he took a class with a political science professor who held certain views on the Vietnam War with which he did not necessarily agree. The analogy and messaging was quite clear. Since Chair Beever had to take a class with a professor with political views which differed from his own, Jewish students should not object to taking classes with professors who express blatantly antisemitic hate speech, who denounce the students themselves as "racist genocidaires," announce that their view of the students' religious commitments is "F\*ck Zionism," and who refuse to assist in Jewish students' education if they wish to pursue it at an institution in a country to which the professor is hostile, or wish to pursue studies about their own religion.
- 313. The most Chair Beever was willing to say was that "some behavior is not Haverfordian," and that "campus climate" was a concern. He also repeatedly stated that he knew he was not going to make "you" (presumably referring to Jewish parents and alumni on the call) happy, and he was not even trying to do so. His refusal to condemn the antisemitic rhetoric of Haverford staff members and students could not have been clearer.
- 314. Chief of Staff Lytle asked President Raymond how she would respond to the "question" posed at the Congressional hearings by Representative Elise Stefanik to the presidents of Harvard, Penn, and MIT. The question, of course, is does calling for the genocide of Jews

- violate your school's rules on bullying and harassment? President Raymond responded that "genocide is unacceptable," deliberately evading the intent of the question.
- 315. Several references were made during this forum to the Haverford Honor Code, concerns about its "inconsistent use," and the Administration's insistence that Jewish students should utilize the Code as the sole tool for remedying the problems they face. The Confrontation section of the Honor Code states that "Confrontation, in the Haverford sense, refers to initiating a dialogue with a community member about a potential violation of the Honor Code with the goal of reaching a common understanding by means of respectful communication."
- 316. The effect of this policy is that students encountering antisemitism from their fellow students must use this mechanism, and not expect the Administration to do anything to address the matter. Several students who have explicitly brought complaints of antisemitic behavior have heard this response from President Raymond, despite the fact that the Honor Code also says that "Harmed parties are not required to confront their peers."

## S. Screening of Supernova: the Music Festival Massacre

317. On April 14, Haverford's Political Science Department, under the leadership of Professor Barak Mendelsohn—who, as alleged above at ¶139, was under investigation by Haverford College for public statements made on his personal social media page in support of Zionism and the state of Israel—and other individual offices within Haverford College, presented a film about the October 7, 2023 Nova Festival Massacre—the slaughter, by Hamas, of hundreds of young Israelis while they were attending a concert

- celebrating peace. The Nova documentary event was open to the public, though all those who wished to attend were required to register in advance.
- Signs and banners were prohibited at this event—thus demonstrating that, when it wished to do so, Haverford College knew that it was empowered to limit the time, place and manner of speech so as to prevent the disruption of other speech. So far as is known to Plaintiffs, this is the sole instance in which Haverford College has ever deployed time, place and manner limitations to protect the speech of any person or entity that is in any way supportive of Israel, Zionism, or Jews. The fact that this protection was announced regarding this, and only this, instance may be attributable to the fact that members of the public, and not just Haverford students, were invited to the screening.
- 319. While posters were absent, protestors objecting to the screening of the film carried signs and stood in formation, forcing all those who came to see the documentary to walk through a phalanx of protestors displaying the same hateful rhetoric that appeared on the posters that the College had banned.
- 320. Haverford's chorus of antisemitic students protested the showing of the film. Needless to say, no such protests against an event mourning the murder of George Floyd or a member of any other minority group would have been tolerated at Haverford College.
- 321. One of the protesters who carried a sign, in violation of Haverford's stated policy, was

  Harrison Lennertz, the same student who posted an obscenity-laced boast that he had torn
  down posters for a Jewish event. His presence at the screening and his brazen violation of
  the ban on signs at the documentary screening reveals that Lennertz either received no
  discipline or counseling from the College—although students and alumni informed the

Administration of the post and the student's identity—or that the violation he boasted that he committed was understood to be of no consequence.



- 322. After the documentary screening ended, the Haverford protesters demanded an apology from President Raymond for her having the temerity to invite "Zionists" to campus.
- Numerous Jewish students at Haverford *are* Zionists. One of these students wrote to President Raymond asking why students were allowed to demand an apology for her inviting people who shared this student's beliefs to the College's campus—and why Raymond did not respond to this demand by explaining to the students who had issued it that they had an obligation, under Haverford's policies, to engage respectfully with their Zionist fellow students. In fact, of course, Raymond did nothing of the kind, as Haverford's policies requiring respectful dialogue and engagement do not apply to Jews in the same way that they apply to all other students, even all other minorities.
- 324. Thus, even after having been asked to do so, President Raymond did not rebuke the students who demanded this "apology," and neither did she take any steps to explain to these students why their issuance of this demand was wrong, given that some of their

fellow-students shared the belief these students were so categorically denouncing—and demanding that the belief be banished from campus. Neither did President Raymond answer the Jewish student's question.

## T. The Encampments

325. In the weeks immediately prior to the filing of this Complaint, Haverford's campus, like that of a number of other college and university campuses across the United States, was taken over by encampments of students, and other, non-students, who occupied buildings or college greens and stated their intention to remain in place until various "demands" were met by the respective institutions at which the encampments were taking place.

https://docs.google.com/document/d/18JA1Fi7SeVNvjdL2R97miuh-7mhyXNS3C4jLK4HUdJs/edit

- 326. Haverford's encampment which consisted of tents, banners, and the declaration of a "Liberated Zone," was identified by Haverford student leaders as being conducted "in solidarity with" the one at Columbia University.
- Like many other encampments set up on college campuses around the country—all, on information and belief, choreographed together—Columbia's encampment was characterized by aggressively hostile behavior and explicitly antisemitic verbal attacks, including the chanting of phrases such as "Death to the Jews"; "Long live Hamas;" and "Globalize the Intifada"; as well as "Yehudim, Yehudim" [i.e., "Jews, Jews]," "all you do is colonize," "Go back to Poland" and "go back to Europe."

 $\underline{https://www.nytimes.com/2024/04/21/nyregion/columbia-protests-antisemitism.html}$ 

328. The Haverford encampment itself featured posters quoting Hamas to advocate for the destruction of the Jewish state, and chants such as "long live the Intifadah" and those calling for the destruction of the State of Israel.

- 329. The Haverford encampment barred access to Founders Hall, which Haverford College describes as "the centerpiece of its campus." <a href="https://www.haverford.edu/libraries/news/many-faces-founders-hall">https://www.haverford.edu/libraries/news/many-faces-founders-hall</a> The demonstrators were present, imposing this blockage, for at least three days, remaining on the campus 24 hours a day during that period.
- 330. Approximately 60-80 students who were part of the encampment also gathered at the Haverford dining hall before, during and after a meeting of the College's Board of Managers. During that meeting the students screamed continuously at the Board of Managers that the Jewish homeland was an evil presence on the planet and action should be taken to dismantle it.
- 331. Haverford's Jewish students had to witness and endure this outrage while concluding their academic semester and preparing for final exams.
- hostility manifested by these activities—though of course, if such hostility had been displayed in chants directed at any minority group other than Jews, the response of the Administration would have been swift and clear, removing and punishing the students displaying such hostility and disrespect. Haverford's tent city then decamped to Merion Green at its sister school Bryn Mawr College, where it continues to this day, the volume and vituperation steadily increasing. Upon information and belief, Haverford College students and faculty have been and are continuing to participate in the Bicollege encampment.
- 333. In the Spring, Ally noted that Vice President Young had declared May to be Asian American/Pacific Islander Month—a month dedicated to honoring Asian American and

Pacific Islanders. Ally wrote to Vice President Young and informed her that May is also Jewish American Heritage Month and requested that Young make a similar announcement about this as well. Young never responded to this request.

- U. Haverford's Leadership has Resolutely Refused to Change Direction on Campus Antisemitism Even After Jewish Students, Parents, Alumni, and Faculty, as well as Organizations Representing the Local Jewish Community Repeatedly Called this Problem to the Attention of President Raymond and Other Haverford Administration Leaders
- 334. Since the Administration's completely unsympathetic initial response to Hamas's October 7 attack on Jews and the Jewish state, and in the wake of growing public awareness about the unending series of attacks on Jews at Haverford, numerous Jewish alumni, students, parents, and faculty have repeatedly approached President Raymond and informed her:
  - a. Jewish students are afraid to reveal that
    - i. they support Israel's right to exist as a Jewish state;
    - ii. they attend programs and events at Jewish spaces on and off campus;
    - iii. they have been on a Birthright trip to Israel or intend to go;
    - iv. they speak Hebrew.
  - b. These fears are well-grounded and shared by essentially all Jewish students who believe the State of Israel has a right to exist as a Jewish state or who are affiliated with any organization that protects Jews who hold this belief.
  - c. These fears are caused by relentless social media, face-to-face and other attacks, from their fellow Haverford students and from faculty.
  - d. President Raymond has simultaneously taken the positions that:

- e. The College doesn't know the extent of these problems and can't address these problems because Jewish students aren't reporting them. (In fact, however, the claim that Jewish students are not reporting bias incidents is false.)
- f. The reality is that Jewish students are submitting reports, as they had been directed to do by the administration, both directly to President Raymond via email, and through a "bias and harassment form" which is completed online.
- g. Jewish students are "self-censoring" (President Raymond's term);
- h. Jewish students should deal with these attacks by reporting them to the Honor Council which is a student-run body—thereby directing the Jewish students to seek relief from antisemitism from their antisemitic classmates;
- i. Haverford is being charged with antisemitism only because a small number of Jews are fomenting ill will against the College. For example, an email from Jesse Lytle, chief of staff to President Raymond, to Jewish leaders at Haverford, attached hereto as Exhibit E, conveys Mr. Lytle's contentions that
  - i. This small number of Jews includes the leaders of Hillel and Chabad on the Haverford campus—the only two organizations whose mission is to provide places for worship and safe assembly for Haverford's Jewish students.
  - ii. The small number of Jews fomenting ill will also include the leadership of Jewish Federation of Greater Philadelphia, which is a non-denominational umbrella organization representing the entire Jewish community of Southeastern Pennsylvania.

- iii. The effort of these leaders to cause Haverford to address its antisemitism problem by communicating with the Jewish and non-Jewish community "prompts the question of intent." Mr. Lytle's email did not explain what "question of intent" is "prompt[ed]" by the efforts of the Jewish community to defend their constituency.
- 335. Jewish students at Haverford are acutely aware that, solely because of their Jewish identities, Haverford views and treats them as second-class citizens in the Haverford community, undeserving of the protections that Haverford affords non-Jewish students. Because of Haverford's persistent refusals to comply with its obligations to expunge discrimination and harassment, Jewish students are deprived of the benefits that non-Jewish students enjoy, including, but not limited to, the ability to fully participate in the educational opportunities for which they enrolled at Haverford College; physical protection; emotional support; a sense of inclusion and belonging; participation in educational, extracurricular, and College-sanctioned social activities; the ability to freely express their religious, ethnic and ancestral identity in class, written coursework, and on campus; and their right to express their support for and attachment to Israel, their ancestral homeland, where many have friends and family.
- 336. Jewish students at Haverford justifiably fear the harassment, discrimination, and intimidation they face, on any given day, from professors and Haverford leadership—who are supposed to teach and guide them—and from their fellow students, all of whom are required to treat them with respect and dignity pursuant to Haverford's policies. As a result of the Administration's deliberate indifference to its hostile educational environment, Jewish students are often unable to focus, study, or perform their course

- work to the best of their ability, thereby severely impairing their ability to take full advantage of their Haverford education.
- 337. Jewish faculty members have indicated that they feel they could be putting their jobs at risk if they confront President Raymond or other Administration leadership on the topic of rampant antisemitism.
- 338. Haverford's deliberate indifference to, and indeed enabling of, antisemitism on campus constitutes an egregious violation of Title VI of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 which can only be remedied with institution-wide, far-reaching, and concrete remedial measures to address the severe and pervasive antisemitic environment on Haverford and allow Jewish students to take full advantage of their Haverford education.
- All Jews at Haverford who share a commitment to the existence of Israel as a Jewish state have this experience every day, at the hands of not just one immature and bigoted teaching assistant, but at the hands of far too many of their classmates, of tenured faculty members, and apparently the administrative leadership of the College.

## V. Haverford College Supports The Transformation Of Its 2024 Graduation Ceremony Into Yet Another Anti-Israel Hatefest

- 340. At the College's commencement ceremony on May 18, 2024, administrators and faculty marched into the building a number of whom proudly displayed Palestinian flags along with their Haverford academic regalia.
- 341. A substantial number of graduating students chanted and held up signs at many points throughout the ceremony repeating Hamas talking points, calling for the abolition of the State of Israel, and denouncing the Jewish state's defense of it citizens as genocide. No effort was made by Haverford College to prevent the graduating seniors from inserting their attacks on the Jewish state, or on the Jewish Haverford students committed to Israel, into all aspects of the ceremony.

- The only time there was an interruption of this charade was when Dean McKnight, after allowing a period of noisy disruption of the Quaker Moment of Silence which President Raymond announced, then called to have the troublemakers removed. But only those troublemakers. And only the ones who interrupted President Raymond's called-for Moment of Silence.
- 342. A significant number of the graduating class rose to the podium to accept their degree carrying Palestine flags and banners denouncing Israel and calling for its destruction.
- 343. President Raymond and the other College administrators conducting the graduation ceremony politely paused the ceremony for each such student, granting the student time to unfurl and display his or banner, before continuing to call the next student to receive his or he degree.
- 344. In addition, a substantial fraction of the graduating class—approximately 30%—ascend the podium to receive their degree with a Palestinian flag in their hands. A carefully choreographed ballet then ensued for each such student: the student presented the Palestinian flag to college president Wendy Raymond, who handed the flag to Dean John McKnight (upon information and belief), and then Raymond presented the student with his or her diploma.
- 345. The Palestinian flag had been waved on the Haverford campus throughout the academic year then just ended by hundreds of students who used it to advocate for the elimination of the Jewish state; to espouse wild lies about Israel such as the claim that the Jewish state intentionally murdered Arabs by infecting them with deadly disease; to celebrate the murder of over a thousand Jews on October 7; and to call for more such murders.
- 346. Each of the Jews at Haverford who are committed to Israel, including each of the Plaintiffs and the members of the Jews at Haverford unincorporated association whose experiences are set forth in this Complaint, felt, with great justification, that that flag therefore represented a threat to their personal well-being and to the safety of the Jewish state and the Jewish people, with whom these Jews shared ancestry, religion, culture, and with whom they identified.

- 347. If a student had ascended the podium with a Confederate flag, or with the symbol of any political movement with which she disagreed, Raymond would not have cheerfully and politely accepted it. But the fact that, in the eyes of the committed Jews who were attending the ceremony, the Palestinian flag represented a threat to them was of absolutely no moment or interest to Raymond.
- 348. Neither Raymond nor any other member of the Haverford administration made any effort to address the feelings or fears of the Jewish students and their families attending the graduation.
- 349. Haverford Used the graduation to make awards insulting the Plaintiffs in this Ccase and all other Jews at Haverford committed to Israel.
- 350. The graduation program, which was prepared and distributed by Haverford College, included two awards which made it crystal clear to Haverford's pro-Israel students and their families that their safety and comfort mattered so little that the two named Haverford perpetrators of hostility towards Jews—pro-Israel and simply Jewish alike—in their Complaint, were granted awards.

  One was to a student, for "mak[ing] the greatest contribution to on-campus performing arts."
- 351. The other was to a faculty member, for "upohold[ing] the qualities intrinsic to a Haverford education.".
- 352. Both awards were given to people who had been named in the plaintiff's original Complaint in this matter, and the awarding of these two people was intended as a direct insult to the Plaintiffs in this case and the Jewish community at Haverford.
- 353. The Performing Arts award was given to Harrison Lennertz, who was identified in the original Complaint in this matter as the Haverford student who mocked the concerns of Jews at Haverford who complained about the fact that posters announcing a Jewish event on campus had been torn down. Lennertz had responded to these complaints by posting on his social media page the claim that "i be tearing down Chabad posters and eating them like f\*ckin fruit rollups."

- 354. The grant to Lennertz of this award was intended by Haverford as a mockery of the Jews' concern and of their embrace of and support for Lennertz's actions in their Complaint in this case.
- 355. The identity of the recipient of this award was chosen by Haverford students, but—like all student action—it was subject to being overruled by Haverford's President or other members of the administration if any believed its grant would be improper for any reason.
- 356. The award was, without question, a calculated insult directed at the Jews who filed the Complaint in this action. This insult was delivered with the knowledge and consent of the Haverford College administration, including President Wendy Raymond.
- 357. A second insult to Jews award was given, this one to a professor for "uphold[ing] the qualities intrinsic to a Haverford education," to Tarik Aougab.
- 358. Aougab is also identified in the original Complaint in this action, because, among other things, he
  - Issued social media posts immediately after October 7 celebrating the rapes, murders and burning alive of over one thousand Jews by Hamas on that date;
  - He has denounced every Jew who is committed to the existence of the state of Israel as a Jewish state as an advocate for, and supporter of, genocide;
  - He has supported "The Mapping Project," which threatens Jewish community organization.
- 359. The grant to Aougab of the Faculty award was intended by Haverford as a mockery of the Jews' concerns about his full-throated advocacy for the vicious murder and torture of Jews.
- 360. The identity of the recipient of this award was chosen by Haverford students, but—like all student action—it was subject to being overruled by Haverford's President and administration if they believed its grant would be improper for any reason.
- 361. The award was, without question, a calculated insult directed at the Jews who filed the Complaint in this action. This insult was delivered with the knowledge and consent of the Haverford College administration, including President Wendy Raymond.

# W. Antisemitism At Haverford Drives A Jewish Student Away Even Before The Year Begins

- 362. Haverford maintains a chat group for students who have been offered, and accepted admission.
- 363. One Jewish pro-Israel student who had been accepted at Haverford this Spring, and who had accepted Haverford's offer of admission, participated in the group and found so much hostility to his beliefs and identity that he changed his mind, withdrew from Haverford before the year even started, and has decided to pursue his education elsewhere.
- 364. This student explained the decision as follows, writing to the only Professor on campus who the student knew would be capable of understanding or interested in helping:

Professor Mendelsohn,

I hope you are doing well. I'm so sorry about being absent I'm currently in Israel and have been here the whole summer volunteering at an organization called Achim L'Chaim (Brothers for Life) that helps with the rehabilitation of injured IDF soldiers and helping them get their lives back together.

This is a very tough decision for me as I truly though [sic] Haverford would be the place for me to thrive academically and socially. I thought that everything would pass over the summer and I'd be able to fight the last parts of anti-semitism on campus when I got to Haverford but it doesn't seem that way. I've connected with a good amount of people through social media that would be in my Haverford class had several issues.

First off, I've had some great conversations with other students but when they hear that I went to a Jewish Day School and am a Jew, I get asked almost immediately if I support Israel and if I'm a Zionist, I either get blocked or ridiculed by other Haverford students who I barely even know. Additionally I'm on multiple Haverford class of 2028 group chats where we go meet each other and ask questions and various individuals have just been sending posts and threads about how Israeli Jews are colonizers and murders — I replied back asking them to create a new group chat or something where they can voice their opinions on this stuff but it would be better to not have this stuff sent on a new admitted student group chat as this is not the place to do that as well as the fact that these posts are making me uncomfortable. Several people asked me to explain why these posts make me uncomfortable and I explained myself to only then be told hurtful things that I'm a supporter of genocide, that they are glad I feel uncomfortable, that I'm brainwashed, and that I don't belong at Haverford if I support Israel. Other instances where new students just post anti-zionist stuff on their accounts just didn't help with the over all feeling that I'm not going to be safe, respected, or accepted into the Haverford community.

Secondly, I see all of the SJP, JVP, and faculty justice for Palestine posting how proud they are about what happened at graduation and even summer reading lists to prepare Haverford students for the

"free Palestine" movement in the fall. And although these posts are bothering the part that really got me is that these accounts are encouraging these books and articles to the new Haverford students to join and integrate in the Haverford community. And not just are these accounts posting this stuff, new Haverford admits are commenting on the posts that they can't wait to join the movement next year and talking in chats about reading these "summer reading lists" to join the movement and the Haverford community.

Finally, I fear that the administration doesn't care. I haven't heard any communication addressing the anti-semitism on campus. And what specifically bothered me was an email sent by President Raymond at the end of the year about her hopes for next year where she addresses certain things she wants the community to work on and nowhere in that email was there anything about the rampant anti-semitism and intimidation at Haverford. Her communication as well as the whole administration's communications seem to act like there is no issue making me feel like they don't care about Jewish students and what they're experiencing.

All in all between the social media interactions with the new students, the promotion of "reading lists" to get accepted into the Haverford community, and the lack of any sort of communication regarding anti-semitism at Haverford makes me think I'm not wanted, won't be accepted, and will have to spend all of my energy fighting with no support or backing.

I'm really sorry because I truly wanted to attend Haverford, but I'm scared that I'm not going to learn and I'm not going to be safe. It sounds crazy but I feel safer in Israel in a war zone that is about to be attacked by Iran and its proxies then I do in America and I fear that this feeling will be what I feel like everyday at Haverford — scared to be a Jew in what was supposed to be my second home. I want you to know that this was one of the hardest decisions I've had to make and that you being at Haverford and being able to talk to you and be in your classes was one of the only, if not the only thing that led me to keep considering staying in Haverford. I really regret that I won't be able to learn from you, take your classes, and discuss various topics with you because I truly admire your work. Thank you,

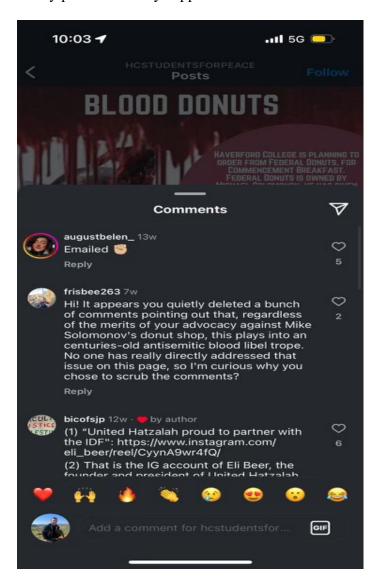
(Redacted)

#### 365. The student who withdrew before the year even began also reported

that the dean called me after my email was passed along to him and he asked me to send him the evidence that I had to then be taken a look at by the honor council which is composed of the student government — the same students that promote the pro Palestine stuff and used intimidation tactics when students were voting on the ceasefire resolution

Those were the people that were going to look into the case and when I questioned that he said they also have a bias council that I could appeal to that is composed of professors but I don't know how professors are chosen for that and if he wouldn't tell me if the professors were the ones that signed off on that pro Palestine letter

366. In the chat group for incoming students, posts in any way supportive of Israel or even supportive of any person or entity supportive of Israel were deleted:



## X. Haverford's Orientation Process for Incoming Students Orients Them To Be Antisemitic and Hostile to Plaintiffs and All Jews Who Are CommittedTo Israel and Zionism

- 367. "Customs" is the name Haverford College ascribes to its orientation program for incoming students.
- 368. A series of presentations were made at Customs this Fall, including a lengthy one regarding political activity on campus. These presentations are led by upper class Haverford students, who themselves participate in an orientation process to prepare them to make these presentations and to lead Customs.
- 369. Students who identify as Jewish, and who are committed to Zionism and the existence of the State of Israel as a Jewish state, approached the Haverford administration official responsible for Customs and asked to be permitted to make a presentation to the students who would lead Customs about the views of these students relating to events on campus touching on Israel during the 2023-2024 academic year, including student demonstrations and other issues, many of which were the subject of the original complaint in this action.
- 370. These Jewish students were afforded such an opportunity, and they presented several slides that set forth their views, and a request that their views be conveyed as part of the Customs presentations.
- 371. These slides explained how these Jewish students felt about Israel and Zionism, about Israel's war against Hamas, and about the atmosphere at Haverford for people who hold such commitments.
- 372. This presentation was met with anger and disgust by the student Customs leaders to whom it was made during their prepatory meeting. One student who viewed it was so outraged at having to

- hear these opinions that when it ended the student asked out loud, "what the actual F\*ck was that?" about the presentation.
- 373. The students to whom the presentation was made were so angry at having been forced to listen to it that they demanded an apology from Haverford College for being subjected to this presentation.
- 374. Haverford apologized.
- 375. The slides and related notes that were actually presented at Customs by the Customs student leaders were not disclosed to concerned Jewish students until just days before the presentation; instead, Customs organizers maintained total editorial control and accepted only limited edits from these students. This process tokenized pro-Israel Jewish voices by placing an asterisk next to any of their thoughts and concerns that were conveyed during the Customs presentation, and denying them a speaking role or other meaningful opportunity to present their views without being re-contextualized into obscurity.
- 376. The slideshow itself, attached hereto as Exhibit F, claims as its purpose "[c]entering understanding and receptivity when approaching difficult conversations, especially with diverse perspectives" (Slide 3) and expresses that, as a community, the Haverford student body must "honor disagreement and seek to engage in dialogue so that we may better understand one another" (Slide 4). But it then presumes to tell students that any request to limit activism to prevent disruption of other life activities is "called tone policing" and "respectability politics," which stem from privilege and "power structures like white supremacy" (Slide 8 and Notes).
- 377. The presentation recites Haverford policy that "peaceful protest does not violate college policies" (Slide 8) without defining peaceful protest or acknowledging the threatening, violent protests that intimidated Jewish students in the previous semester.
- 378. The organizers claim to be "aiming for the most impartial and objective recreation of true events" (Slide 13).

- 379. Yet the presentation purports to define the beginning of problems in the last year with "Israel's declaration of war on Gaza" (Slide 25) even though
  - Israel did not declare war on Gaza; Israel's stated enemy is Hamas.
  - Israel's attack on Hamas took place only after Hamas, and thousands of its supporters, invaded Israel on October 7, 2023, and slaughtered 1200 people, torturing, mutilating, raping and burning people to death, and taking hundreds of hostages into Gaza. Suggesting that the conflict only began when Israel responded to this attack is beyond false—it is obscene, because it entirely erases these atrocities. It is the equivalent of Holocaust denial.
  - Hamas has publicly declared its plan to destroy Israel and that "the land of Palestine is an Islamic Waqf consecrated for future Moslem generations until Judgement Day." Hamas Charter of 1988, Article 11. https://avalon.law.yale.edu/20th\_century/hamas.asp
  - Since taking power in 2006-7, Hamas has pursued its publicly announced program to destroy Israel and replace it with an Islamic government.
- 380. The presentation's lack of objectivity is also manifest in its assertion that it is racist to deny that Palestinians are "an Indigenous people with a collective identity, belonging, and rights in relation to occupied and historic Palestine" (Slide 14), while omitting any recognition that it is Antisemitic to deny the Jewish people's historic, ancestral, and religious ties to the land of Israel, despite a specific request for that content by a Jewish student.
- 381. In Slide 15, a customs person specifically directs students to a linked document, created by a Palestinian student to "address[] common misconceptions regarding Palestinians and Pro-Palestinian views." In fact, the document, attached hereto as Exhibit G, seeks to do much more than that, offering readers "a deck full of aces, enabling you to effectively address and challenge any Zionist talking points." The linked document is a poorly researched, sloppily written, and thoroughly one-sided compilation that purports to tell the history of Israel and Palestine in 67

pages and pauses to mention the Holocaust just once in passing. Its author claims, unironically, that "Western Jews have historically been the primary recipients of protection and safety, which prompts critical reflection on the dire situations faced by others." The document goes on to compare Israel to Nazi Germany, arguing that "[t]he push for an ethnostate, especially when mirrored against the backdrop of nonexistent archaeological evidence for an ancient Israelite state, further complicates the historical narrative used to justify modern territorial claims. History offers a stark lesson on ethno-nationalist states, with the most extreme manifestation in Nazi Germany."

- 382. Drafters of the presentation's stance in opposition to Israel because it is an "ethnostate" do not seem to have noticed that they are demanding a *judenrein* state exclusively for, or at least dominated by, either Palestinian Arabs or, as Hamas explicitly demands in its 1988 Charter, Islam.
- 383. The presentation described the shooting of a Haverford student and two others as anti-Palestinian violence, (Slide 19) as if this were an uncontroverted fact, when the shooter has publicly stated his support for Hamas and opposition to Israel. See ¶ 37fn1, above.
- 384. Throughout, the document describes the foundation of Israel as a genocidal, racist, colonialist project hellbent on the annihilation of "indigenous people," denies Jewish sovereignty in Israel before the Roman Diaspora, and disputes any legitimate or enduring connection between European Jews and the land of Israel. Despite a Jewish student's specific request that this document be removed from the presentation because it "is harmful to any Jew who supports Israel's right to exist," the document remained linked in the presentation and was specifically marketed to incoming students. That's a far cry from the mantra of "honor disagreement and seek to engage in dialogue so that we may better understand one another."
- 385. Most callously, the document minimizes the brutality of October 7, questioning the confirmed testimonials and forensic evidence of systematic sexual assault and barbaric violence. For

example, the author questions whether babies were indeed found beheaded, claiming that "the evidence from these sources tell a different story," without acknowledging that the linked source in fact confirms that "victims of the Hamas attack were executed, bound and burned alive, and others were found decapitated – many of whom were babies." Similarly, the author admits only that "there are various unaffiliated eyewitness reports that suggest the possibility of Hamas committing acts of sexual violence against Israeli civilians" without acknowledging the overwhelming evidence of systematic sexual violence. Most pathetically, the document suggests that concern for victims of sexual violence on October 7 and the morality of holding the perpetrators responsible is somehow patriarchical: "Those who adhere to patriarchal ideologies may interpret sexual violence inflicted upon the women of their group as a collective degradation, which amplifies their own feelings of fear and humiliation and fuels a desire for retaliation, further entrenching them in patriarchal thinking."

- 386. When it comes to antisemitism (Slide 17), there are no notes for presenters and no linked documents presenting the pro-Israel perspective. Indeed, all the photos of student activism (Slides 18 & 19) are from pro-Palestinian protests and vigils, with the exception of one Chabad vigil after October 7.
- 387. In the presentation's lengthy discussion of the ceasefire resolution, it omits mention of the actual terms of the ceasefire proposal, which equated "the taking of at least 250 hostages" from southern Israel with "the apprehension of an additional 5000 Palestinian civilians" who were suspected of aiding and abetting Hamas terrorism.
- 388. Haverford administrators were put on notice of all of the above and, rather than taking action, avoided doing anything based on various pretexts. They claimed that the presentation was reserved to customs organizers' discretion based on the principle of "student agency" (without explaining how that principle justified denying agency to Jewish students), that administrators'

involvement would only make the situation worse (without accounting for the warnings administrators themselves ignored that they should get ahead of this issue months ago), and that Jewish campus leaders were themselves engaged in "activism" based on allegations against the deans in the lawsuit, such that it was appropriate to couch all sides' claims in reciprocal and morally equivalent terms (failing to recognize that the group behind the presentation was entirely one-sided and refused to cede speaking time to concerned Jewish students).

- 389. In sum, this Customs presentation was nothing more than a springboard for an antisemitic hatefest that no self-respecting college should bless with its imprimatur, let alone force incoming students to sit through. Such mass indoctrination under the tutelage of SJP and JVP acolytes can, and will, only further entrench the prevalent culture of bullying and harassment on campus, emboldening students to regurgitate antisemitic canards under the guise of student activism. Jewish students and leaders responding to these events with fear, worry, and disappointment are not "activists" or "counter-protestors"; they are simply attempting to survive as Jews in a climate that is deeply hostile to their very existence.
- 390. Alone among minority groups, Jews at Haverford are expected to stand up for themselves with a target placed on their backs and no allies to be found. The college's passive toleration of this glaring double standard under the guise of "student agency" and "equity" is a disgrace to liberal education and everything it once stood for—but no longer does at Haverford.
- 391. The obvious hostility of the presentation to Jews who are Zionists and committed to Israel is revealed in an email from such a student, sent shortly after the Customs presentation:

Hi professor Mendelsohn,

I'm XXXX and I'm a freshman at Haverford. I just wanted to thank you for the activism and speaking you've done towards the Zionist cause. As a Jew, I'm frequently witnessing anti-Zionist rhetoric gain considerable support. I am a bit nervous and uncomfortable sometimes, but it's not ruining my experience, I'm doing great, and I'm meeting a lot of nice people at a wonderful college.

- I had written the previous paragraph two nights ago as a draft, unsure about whether it was appropriate or necessary to send. After the mandatory "Student Activism" session with my customs group, I have more to add.
- The Student Activism session was entirely about the reaction to the Israel Palestine conflict. My customs leaders distorted many facts with an obvious bias towards the Palestinian viewpoint. It seemed to be mainly due to the biased presentation they had been given, but possibly also due to systemic Anti-Zionism that had spread to them or less likely, their own prejudice. I felt incredibly uncomfortable and unsure about whether to speak out, given the obvious ostracization I might face. I found a handful of misconceptions this presentation promoted.
- The presenters talked about the Vermont shooting as a targeted attack on Palestinian students, while law enforcement actually hasn't found a clear motive. The presentation mentioned call-outs of Wendy Raymond for not calling it a hate crime.
- One of the presenters said Israel attacked Hamas first, when the conflict had actually arisen because Hamas launched a surprise attack on Israel.
- The presentation included disclaimers that not all Jews support the Israeli government and initiative without disclaimers that not all Palestinians support their terrorist organization (Hamas), whose main mission is Anti-Zionism
- The presentation and presenters talked about protestors on Haverford's and Barnard's campuses being suppressed and protestors on Columbia's campus being suppressed much worse. I found "suppression" to be a horribly inaccurate term, as Haverford protestors have not been expelled or punished even close to enough for their childish and harmful blockades. Additionally, the Columbia students who shut down most of campus and were significantly more physically disruptive, were given many warnings, and most who were expelled, should've faced more criminal penalties.
- The presenters mentioned Students For Justice in Palestine, an organization that clearly isn't neutral, as a place to learn more about the conflict.
- Afterwards, I talked to my customs team who had presented. Obviously, they made an effort to listen to me, kindly offered me support, and said they'd talk to the higher ups within it. I appreciated their listening but the damage had been done. It was quite obvious that any freshman who previously didn't have an opinion on Israel will now be swept onto the side of the Palestinians. For the next four years, unless I transfer, the supermajority of my classmates will stand against the homeland of my ancestors.
- Since 3:30 PM, this abomination of a presentation has been the primary topic on my mind. I am not an expert on this issue and this report I gave may not be fully accurate, and presentations may obviously vary by customs group. I know that during the school year, my primary focus should be on academics, not on grievance.

Best regards and great respect, XXXXX

- Y. The Flood On The Haverford Campus Of Material, Events And Protests Advocating For The Destruction Of The Jewish State And Justifying The Rape And Murder Of Israel's Jewish Citizens, And The Attacks On, Silencing, Shunning And Boycotting Of Anyone Who Disagrees, Makes Haverford College A Hostile Learning Environment For Plaintiffs And Other Jews Committed To Israel And Zionism
- 392. Educational psychology teaches that, when Jews are attacked anywhere in the world because they are Jews, Jews around the world experience that attack as an attack, or a threat to, them personally. When such an attack on Jews is claimed to be a moral act on the ground that the victims are Jews living in the Jewish homeland—as if that were a justification for the attack—that attack is experienced by Jews around the world as an attack on, and a threat to, them and their identity.
- 393. Repeating this justification for attacks on Jews constitutes harassment of Jews as Jews, and therefore harassment of Jews on the basis of their religion, and their ethnic and ancestral identity.

  It also constitutes harassment of Israelis on the basis of their nationality.
- 394. The flood of material on the Haverford campus making these assertions, and the denunciation, silencing and boycotting of anyone who disagrees —by tenured and untenured professors, and by senior administrators, creates a hostile learning environment for Jewish and for Israeli students, which makes it impossible for Jews or Israelis to fully benefit from the educational experience provided by Haverford College.
- 395. This is so because Identity-based stress or trauma stems from direct or indirect behavior or messaging that communicates hatred, vitriol, delegitimization, disaffirmation, or dehumanization towards individuals who share a social identity or have shared ancestry. Bias, microaggression, or discrimination aimed at individuals within a group causes exponentialized identity-based stress to

- that group Stevenson, H. C. (2014). *Promoting Racial Literacy in Schools: Differences that Make a Difference*. Teachers College Press. .
- 396. Vicarious identity-based trauma affects people within a marginalized or vilified social identity group who see others in their group being singled out, mistreated, punished, or subjected to stressful identity-based encounters. This can engender a sense of helplessness to intervene given asymmetrical power relations. When symbolic violence occurs or is depicted, or advocated for in classrooms or schools, it can traumatize students within the same group as those against whom such symbolic violence occurs or is depicted, when the students in the classrooms are unable to respond to their own or someone else's benefit during discriminatory acts or mistreatment. *Id.*
- 397. Structural conditions in schools, colleges, and classrooms that exacerbate identity-based trauma include ignoring identity-based trauma happening to students by not attending to bias, microaggressions, or discrimination. Yip, T., Cham, H., Wang, Y., & Xie, M. (2022). Applying stress and coping models to ethnic/racial identity, discrimination, and adjustment among diverse adolescents. *Developmental psychology*, *58*(1), 176–192. <a href="https://doi.org/10.1037/dev0001283">https://doi.org/10.1037/dev0001283</a>
- 398. This constitutes vicarious identity-based trauma as Jewish students see systems fail them and other Jewish students, and see whistle blowers and victims of antisemitism being pathologized, mistreated, misjudged, or blamed for trying to address their own or other students' identity-based trauma exactly as Plaintiff Ally Landau was on the Haverford campus, and as were the Jewish students who attempted to convey to leaders of Customs the impact on Jewish students of Haverford's hostility to Israel and Zionism. Victim blaming is a form of identity-based trauma and antisemitism; it is deleterious to student experience and outcomes Berman S. L, Montgomery M. J., Ratner K. (2020). Trauma and identity: A reciprocal relationship? *Journal of Adolesc*. Feb;79:275-278. doi: 10.1016/j.adolescence.2020.01.018. Epub 2020 Feb 6. PMID: 32036171.

- 399. A sense of belonging—the subjective feeling of deep connection with social groups, physical places, and individual and collective experiences—is a fundamental human need that predicts numerous mental, physical, social, economic, and behavioural outcomes. There is general agreement that belonging is a fundamental human need that all people seek to satisfy Maslow, A. H. (1943). A Theory of Human Motivation. *Psychological Review*, 50, 370-396. <a href="http://dx.doi.org/10.1037/h0054346">http://dx.doi.org/10.1037/h0054346</a>.
- 400. Identity-based trauma and stress negatively impact cognitive ability and development, social emotional development, academic development, and overall experience of education, and their affiliation with the professors and other peers. Schools, classrooms, teachers, and leaders can retraumatize students by ignoring or minimizing identity-based trauma happening with their peers in person or on social media. When students try to have agency and advocate for themselves, they are re-traumatized by places that question them, don't believe them, blame them, etc. (Anderson, R. E., & Stevenson, H. C. (2019). Recasting racial stress and trauma: Theorizing the healing potential of racial socialization in families. American Psychologist, 74(1), 63–75. https://doi.org/10.1037/amp0000392; Yip, et al., 2022).
- 401. A traumatizing educational environment is a hostile learning environment, always. A hostile or traumatizing environment/school culture is one in which students feel disaffirmed or blamed for mistreatment aimed at them based on their social identity group or where they are held to a double standard of what constitutes a protection-worthy social identity. In these conditions, students in a targeted identity group such as Jewish students during academic year 2023-2024 have been treated with essentializing and deficitizing behaviors based on unchecked (and in some cases unconscious) teacher/leader bias, which discriminates against Jewish students based on assumptions about their Jewish shared ancestry, belief in Israel, Judaism, or Zionism (Bacha, C., Einhorn, S., & Lieberman, S. (2021). 'If you prick me, do I not bleed?': Antisemitism, racism and

group analysis —some thoughts. Group Analysis, 54(3), 388-401.

https://doi.org/10.1177/0533316421996111; Berman S. L, Montgomery M. J., Ratner K. (2020).

Trauma and identity: A reciprocal relationship? *Journal of Adolesc.* Feb;79:275-278. doi:

10.1016/j.adolescence.2020.01.018. Epub 2020 Feb 6. PMID: 32036171.

- 402. For Jewish students post-October 7th, antisemitism has become the cudgel of identity-based trauma at the hands of peers and justified by leaders given their own unconscious antisemitism—a perception of Jewish people expressed as hatred, vitriol, delegitimization, or dehumanization that uses tropes of conspiracy and control to justify demonizing, stereotyping, degrading, or harming Jews individually or collectively (Bacha, et al., 2021).
- 403. A hostile classroom/school environment negates Jewish students' sense of psychological safety in who they are and in experiencing 'unconditional positive regard' (Maslow, 1943) in their identity, which includes the centrality of their ancestral homeland, Israel. This unchecked cultural and religious bias/violation constitutes a traumatizing educational environment and culture for Jewish students that impacts their ability to feel safe enough to learn; it harms their sense of identity, both on campus and in the world. These institutional conditions create a hostile learning environment for Jewish students who are treated as "colonizers" even as they are clearly being actively marginalized (Berman, et al., 2020).

### COUNT I TITLE VI OF THE CIVIL RIGHTS ACT OF 1964 42 U.S.C. § 2000d et seq.

- 404. Plaintiff incorporates by reference the allegations set forth in the preceding paragraphs.
- 405. Defendant receives financial assistance from the U.S. Department of Education and is therefore subject to suit under Title VI of the Civil Rights Act of 1964.
- 406. Discrimination against Jews is prohibited under Title VI of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, as reflected in the written policies of the Department of Education's Office for Civil Rights ("OCR"). See e.g., U.S. Dep't of Educ., OCR Dear Colleague Letter: Addressing Discrimination Against Jewish Students (May 25, 2023), https://www2.ed.gov/about/offices/list/ocr/docs/antisemitismdcl. pdf; U.S. Dep't of Educ., OCR-000127, Questions and Answers on Executive Order 13,899 (Jan. 19, 2021), https://www2.ed.gov/about/offices/list/ocr/docs/qa-titleix-anti-semitism- 20210119.pdf; U.S. Dep't of Educ., OCR-00107, Dear Colleague Letter: Combatting Discrimination Against Jewish Students (2017), https://www2.ed.gov/about/offices/list/ocr/docs/jewishfactsheet-201701.pdf; Letter from Thomas Perez, Asst. Att. Gen., Civ. Rts. Div., U.S. Dep't of Justice to Russlyn Ali, Asst. Sec'y for Civ. Rts., OCR, U.S. Dep't of Educ. Re: Title VI and Coverage of Religiously Identifiable Groups (Sept. 8, 2010), https://www.justice.gov/sites/default/files/crt/legacy/2011/05/04/090810 AAG Perez Letter to Ed OCR Title%20VI and Religiously Identifiable Groups.pdf; U.S. Dep't of Educ., OCR Dear Colleague Letter: Religious Discrimination (Sept. 23, 2004), https://www2.ed.gov/about/offices/list/ocr/religious-rights2004.html.
- 407. Attacks on students committed to Zionism is recognized by the OCR as antisemitic.

- 408. Thus, for example, even before the dramatic surge in on-campus attacks on Jews committed to Israel that followed Hamas's October 7, 2023 attack, OCR found the presence of "antisemitic harassment" at the University of Vermont ("UVM") when a single teaching assistant stated publicly
  - a. "its [sic] good and funny" "for me, a TA, to not give Zionists credit for participation" and to give the students for whom she was a teaching assistant "-5 points for going on birthright," "-10 points for posting a pic with a tank in the Golan heights," and "-2 point just cuz I hate u r vibe in general"
  - b. "why do so many Zionists work for the writing center[?]"
  - c. "I get a the indelible [sic] surge [sic] t cyber bully" when receiving "posts from UVM Zionist Instagram accounts";
  - d. "serotonin rush of bullying Zionists on the public domain"
  - e. "Both sides discourse," and the statement "my family livs in tel aviv" should be "politically unthinkable, worthy of private and public condemnation, [and] likened to historical and contemporary segregationist movements."

#### Exhibit F.

409. At UVM students affected by this one teaching assistant's crude antisemitism produced submitted

statements [in which] Jewish students shared with him such as: a Jewish student "was upset [and] feared for her safety" as a result of vulgar social media posts; another Jewish student felt scare and unsafe due to residence hall neighbors who were "all posting very antisemitic posts on their social media accounts" and had been physically aggressive in the past"; another Jewish student was "strongly

considering transferring to a campus that is safe for Jewish students because of the [se] incidents"; another Jewish student was "frustrated, scared and upset with the things their friends were posting on social media" and "felt alone and targeted for her . . . identity" and another Jewish student who "is Israeli" had begun to "fear to share where her family is from."

#### Exhibit F at 11.

- 410. OCR found that these statements by one teaching assistant on a campus with over 11,500 students constituted UVM's illegally treating "individuals differently on the basis of national origin in the context of an educational program or activity."
- 411. OCR found that proof of these facts would constitute a demonstration that UVM had "allowed a hostile environment for some Jewish students to persist at the University."
- 412. On November 7, 2023, OCR issued a new Dear Colleague Letter, reminding schools that receive federal financial assistance that they have a

responsibility to address discrimination against Jewish, Muslim, Sikh, Hindu, Christian, and Buddhist students, or those of another religious group, when the discrimination involves racial, ethnic, or ancestral slurs or stereotypes; when the discrimination is based on a student's skin color, physical features, or style of dress that reflects both ethnic and religious traditions; and when the discrimination is based on where a student came from or is perceived to have come from....

Harassing conduct can be verbal or physical and need not be directed at a particular individual.

- U.S. Dep't of Educ., OCR Dear Colleague Letter: Shared Ancestry or Ethnic Characteristics (Nov. 7, 2023), <a href="https://www2.ed.gov/about/offices/list/ocr/letters/colleague-202311-discrimination-harassment-shared-ancestry.pdf">https://www2.ed.gov/about/offices/list/ocr/letters/colleague-202311-discrimination-harassment-shared-ancestry.pdf</a>.
- 413. OCR further explains that "the following type of harassment creates a hostile environment: unwelcome conduct based on shared ancestry or ethnic characteristics that, based on the totality of circumstances, is subjectively and objectively offensive and is so severe or pervasive that it limits or denies a person's ability to participate in or benefit from the recipient's education program or activity." *Id.* And it repeats its longstanding admonition that "[s]chools must take immediate and effective action to respond to harassment that creates a hostile environment." *Id.*
- 414. Defendant's discriminatory application of its nondiscrimination policy and willful failure to enforce its nondiscrimination policy discriminates against Jews by:
- 415. Defendants' discriminatory application of its policy and failure to enforce its nondiscrimination policy has created an environment that is hostile towards Jews, including the Jewish students who are members of the Plaintiff association.
- 416. The hostility towards Jewish members of the Haverford community is severe enough that it interferes with these students' ability to participate in the programs and activities of the school.
- 417. As described in the allegations above, these students cannot fully participate in the intellectual life on the Haverford campus because in expressing their opinions, they run a very high risk of retaliatory targeting, and therefore expend tremendous energy suppressing their views. That energy is not expended by others who are therefore

unimpaired in focusing their full attention on their education and on expressing themselves in the course of their education.

## COUNT II BREACH OF CONTRACT

- 418. Plaintiff incorporates by reference the allegations set forth in the preceding paragraphs.
- 419. Defendants' policies governing discrimination, the scope of expressive freedom on campus, the posting of posters, and the use of social media are official, governing policies of Haverford College which form terms of the contract binding the College and each of its enrolled students.
- 420. Defendant has breached its contract with Plaintiffs by failing to apply these policies to Plaintiffs, and to speech and conduct relating to Plaintiffs, in the same way that such policies are applied to all other students at Haverford College.
- 421. Defendant has failed to apply these policies to and on behalf of the Plaintiffs in the same way that it applies them to other students because the Plaintiffs are Jews.
- 422. As a proximate result of the aforesaid breaches, plaintiff suffered damages.
- 423. All conditions precedent for a breach of contract claim have been met.

#### PRAYER FOR RELIEF

WHEREFORE, Plaintiffs respectfully pray that this Court order the following relief:

- 424. A writ of mandate permanently requiring Defendant to enforce all of its Policies, including those on discrimination, on expressive freedom, on the posting of posters, and on the use of social media, on an even-handed basis, ensuring that Jewish members of the Haverford community are protected, with respect to their physical safety and otherwise, from discrimination on the basis of their Jewish identity, including those for whom Zionism is an integral part of that identity.
- An injunction preliminarily and permanently mandating that Defendant take action to end the hostile environment on campus by (i) communicating to the entire Haverford community that Haverford will condemn, investigate, and punish any conduct that harasses members of the Jewish community, or others, on the basis of their religion, and ethnic or ancestral background; (ii) providing education about antisemitism which includes the hostile treatment of Jews who believe in the centrality of Israel to Judaism, by, amongst other ways, conducting mandatory training for students, administrators, staff and faculty; (iii) instituting strict review and approval of policies to ensure that the administration does not conduct, or finance, programs that deny equal protection to Jewish members of the Haverford community including those for whom Zionism is an integral part of their identity; and (iv) disciplinary measures—including the termination of, deans, administrators, professors, and other employees responsible for antisemitic discrimination and abuse—whether because they engage in it or permit it.
- 426. A declaratory judgment that the failure by Defendant to enforce its policies to protect

  Jewish members of the Haverford community has violated Plaintiff's rights under (i)

Title VI of the 1964 Civil Rights Act, 42 U.S.C. § 2000d et seq., and (ii) Plaintiffs' rights pursuant to their contract with Haverford College.

- 427. The appointment of a Special Master to oversee and enforce Haverford's compliance with Title VI for a period of five years after the entry of judgment in this matter.
- 428. Compensatory, consequential, and punitive damages in amounts to be determined at trial.
- 429. Plaintiff's reasonable attorneys' fees pursuant to 42 U.S.C. § 1988.
- 430. Any other relief which this Court may deem just and proper.

DATED: September 9, 2024 Respectfully submitted,

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