

LOOKING FOR VERITAS?
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CONSULTING COMP

Harvard's
Endowment
101

BLACK BOX. Harvard's investments are kept purposely opaque. By peeling back the layers of the University's endowment, we can understand its ties to Israeli apartheid.

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PERSPECTIVE

Reflections
from a
Palestinian
First-Year

SOLIDARITY. Being a freshman at Harvard is hard enough without your school bankrolling genocide — yet the community cultivated by students fighting for Palestine provides strength.

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TO THE HAGUE!

Six Alumni
to Watch
Out For

MURDERER'S ROW. Who's the worst person you know? Could they have had your freshman dorm?

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VINEYARD CRIMES

Harvard:
World's
Worst
Landlord

LAND GRABS. From Brazil to California, Harvard exploits people and nature worldwide in pursuit of financial gain.

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Harvard students and Boston community members protest outside of Johnston Gate on Friday, April 25, 2025.

EDITORS' NOTE

To Admitted Pre-Frosh: Welcome to Harvard!

If you are reading this, you are lucky. Each of us here has been chosen, and we come from communities where people would do anything to be where we are now. Arriving on this campus, we each realize, with anxiety and excitement, that the strangers around us will shape us into the people we are meant to be. The transformative opportunity, proximity to power, and abundance of resources offered by Harvard — the richest university in the entire fucking world — are unparalleled. The world is much bigger than Harvard; you know that. But through Harvard, you hold the world in your hands. Then why might it feel like the world is slipping from your grasp? You see this school, maybe soon your school, everywhere in the news. It seems like the

Trump administration is currently doing everything in its power to destroy Harvard, this bizarre, beautiful community you may soon enter into. And then there are those in the pro-Palestine movement. These students, who feel that they are entitled to your time and attention, also seem to want Harvard gone. They're the ones who landed us in this mess in the first place by calling for Harvard to divest from Israel, distracting the University from fighting the good fight against Trump's fascism. Billions are now at stake in critical medical research. Divestment — in this economy? Yes, the world is fucked. Yes, it's fucked that Harvard funds colonialization, exploitation, genocide. But what can you do? What you are is lucky, remember? There are kids across the

globe who would kill to be in your place, at an institution that invests in corporations stealing their land and exploiting their labor. To be here is an extraordinary privilege; to be here is to take part in forming history, to have a chance to steer it in a more just direction. We tell ourselves that we attend this school so that we can "do good" one day, when we graduate — but what about right now? Right now, we have a responsibility to reject the comforts that come at the expense of the world's brutality, of Harvard's complicity, of the more than 60,000 Palestinians killed by Israel since October 7, of the millions of Palestinians in Gaza and the West Bank facing starvation and settler violence. Likewise, we have a responsibility to assert that it is neither acceptable nor inevitable for children

to live and die under bombardment. We know that there must be something we can do to halt the unspeakable violence we consume through our phones — violence which we are all implicated in. At the absolute least, we have a duty to never look away. As you stand here, on Harvard's campus at last, take it all in. So many lucky circumstances have converged in your life to bring you to this moment, to this privileged position. Think. What type of student do you want to be? What type of person? To have gotten here, you must have been many things: gifted, smart, talented. Now we are asking one more thing of you: to be brave. Come this fall, no matter where you will be, we invite you to organize with us. Join the global student movement struggling

for a free Palestine, from the river to the sea. As a group of Harvard students not long ago in your place, we extend this issue to you as an invitation. Start with "So You Got In — Now What?" (pg. 3), our brief guide to the groups of Harvard students who organize to hold our University to account for its many injustices. We offer articles explaining Harvard's endowment and what divestment means, outlining the University's shitty labor practices and steamrolling of sexual assault victims, and exposing its profit-hungry land grabs across the globe. But not everything is so dismal: our writers reflect on finding community as a Palestinian in organizing spaces, on their experiences in HOOP's encampment last spring, and the hopes that animate our struggles for collective liberation.



MUTUAL AID FOR PALESTINIANS

We call on our campus community to engage in acts of material solidarity with Palestinians. Scan this QR code to donate to grassroots organizations rebuilding Gaza, to support Palestinian individuals and families within occupied Palestine. Follow [@hoopmutualaidgaza](#) on Instagram for updates on our sustained campaign.



THE \$53 BILLION QUESTION

Harvard’s Endowment and Financial (In)justice

So, you got into Harvard. Congratulations are pouring in, your family is bragging — news of your acceptance seems to follow you wherever you go. But among the celebrations, you’ve probably heard the murmurs as well. “What about the news about Harvard?” “Didn’t they just lose a ton of federal money?” “What’s going on with those student protests?”

The elephant in the room is, of course, Harvard’s exorbitant endowment. Why can’t the University compensate for federal funding freezes with its immense wealth — and why does it receive so much money in taxpayer dollars in the first place? Such questions beg a deeper, historic analysis of the myriad ways in which Harvard uses its billions to finance genocide, colonization, and dispossession.

What is an endowment?

A college or university endowment fund is its collection of assets, including financial instruments, real estate, and other investments acquired through donations and fundraising, that it uses to support the institution’s activities.

Harvard University’s endowment, valued at **\$53.2 billion** as of fiscal year 2023-24, is the world’s largest such endowment, consisting of donations and investment returns intended to support the university “in perpetuity.” Here at Harvard, perpetual support includes backing global injustices, particularly in Palestine and other colonized lands.

Endowment 101: The Harvard Management Company

Look no further than the history of the name “Harvard” to learn that the University’s main priority has always been its deep pockets. Originally founded as New College in 1636, the University took on its current name in 1638 when John Harvard bequeathed half his estate to the institution, becoming its first benefactor and kickstarting the endowment.

Today, endowment assets largely fall into two main groups: returns on investments and donations. These two categories are not mutually exclusive. Donors often ask for their donations to be earmarked for a specific purpose, such as investment or, more generally, to support the University “in perpetuity” by creating an inexhaustible pot of money that Harvard can supposedly turn to in finan-

cial crisis. Today, 80 percent of Harvard’s endowment is legally earmarked funds. Investment returns make up most of the remaining 20 percent.

Over the centuries, this fund has grown through alumni donations and access to elite and unethical investment vehicles, all strategically managed by the **Harvard Management Company (HMC)**. Founded in 1974 in the wake of student protests against the atrocity of the Vietnam War, HMC grows Harvard’s endowment by managing its investments and shielding it from criticism from Harvard’s student body. HMC’s Board of Directors — appointed by the University President — has a long history of propping up genocidaires and other robber barons.

Currently, one of HMC’s directors is Michael S. Chae. Chae is also the CFO of Blackstone, the world’s largest alternative asset manager which, under Chae’s “leadership,” has invoked UN condemnation for fueling global housing crises through large-scale property acquisitions, rent increases, and aggressive eviction practices. The Blackstone group is also invested in the genocide in Gaza, donating millions of dollars to Israel and continuing to pour hundreds of millions into the occupation’s economy.

However, HMC’s directors don’t make decisions alone. They report to the University’s highest governing body, the **Harvard Corporation**. The Corporation wields final authority over endowment growth strategy and much of the rest of the university’s activities, giving them the power to fire staff, end Palestine programming, and shape Harvard’s institutional ethos to protect its wealth.

Currently, billionaire heiress and former U.S. Secretary of Commerce Penny Pritzker holds the unique position of Senior Fellow of the Corporation. Pritzker’s legacy of harm is vast; most notably, she currently serves as a board member for the Microsoft Corporation, which the Boycott, Divestment and Sanctions (BDS) Movement has described as “the most complicit tech company in Israel’s illegal apartheid regime and ongoing genocide against 2.3 million Palestinians in Gaza,” including by providing Israel with AI technology that it uses to target and bomb Palestinian families. Pritzker is also the founder of her own global investment firm, PSP Partners, which

is heavily invested in aerospace defense firms and the military-industrial complex.

The background of Chae, Pritzker, and their countless crimson-stained Harvard colleagues is no accident. Harvard, at its core, believes in the mission of accruing personal capital at the expense of human rights.

A Glimpse Into Harvard’s Endowment Investments

Wondering how Pritzker, Chae, and the rest of HMC handle Harvard’s funds? There’s not much to be said on the topic, as Harvard keeps its endowment portfolio largely hidden, undermining any principles of accountability; as of 2024, only 14 percent of the endowment was visible to the public. Still, the few investments that have come to light indicate a disturbing pattern.

Through SEC filings, we know that Harvard invests in companies enabling the Israeli occupation of Palestine and the genocide in Gaza. As of 2024, this includes at least:

- \$762.8 million invested in **Meta**, which makes up 45 percent of the Harvard Endowment Public Holdings Portfolio. In addition to censoring Palestine speech, the IOF uses data collected from Meta’s WhatsApp to target and kill Palestinians.
- \$22.5 million invested in the aforementioned **Microsoft Inc.**, showing a clear conflict of interest with Pritzker. The BDS Microsoft Company Complicity Profile reveals that the IOF is one of Microsoft’s top customers, and Microsoft Israel frequently contracts with the Israeli prisons that hold Palestinian hostages.
- \$150 million invested in **Booking Holdings Inc.**, which advertises rental properties located in violent, illegal Israeli settlements in the West Bank, encouraging the ongoing dispossession of Palestinians.

While Harvard loves to publicly espouse “institutional neutrality,” and insists that it holds the University’s educational mission first and foremost, its investments are far from neutral. Indeed, Harvard makes material contributions to settler colonial violence, the displacement of an entire people, and the destruction of their educational institutions wholesale.

The harm done by Harvard’s endowment isn’t just international; here at home, Harvard holds significant in-

vestments in fossil fuels, private prisons, and gentrification. With nearly \$10 million invested in Tesla, Harvard is financially backing the Trump and Musk regime as well, despite the theatrical feud that has recently dominated mainstream news.

Of course, this is only a small glimpse into Harvard’s endowment management practices, as not everything is disclosed in SEC filings. Just last year, Harvard Management Company (HMC) consolidated its investment funds and continued to deepen its reliance on private equity and hedge fund strategies — asset classes known for limited transparency. As detailed in the Harvard Endowment Report, Harvard’s use of tax havens further contributes to the opacity of the endowment.

There’s every reason to believe these alarming examples are just the tip of the iceberg.

Endowment Justice: Divestment and Reinvestment

In the context of Palestine, calls for **divestment** — pulling investments from companies complicit in human rights abuses — are part of a broader strategy modeled after the successful movement to end South African apartheid.

Divestment works because it withdraws financial support from companies that profit from human rights abuses, creating public pressure, reputational risk, and economic consequences that can force both internal policy change and the broader collapse of the forces of empire.

Student activists with Harvard Out of Occupied Palestine demand that Harvard disclose its endowment holdings, divest from firms complicit in Israeli occupation, and **reinvest** in efforts to repair harm and be a force for good — which would, in turn, limit the power of Harvard’s private corporation to exercise control over world order.

What’s Next?

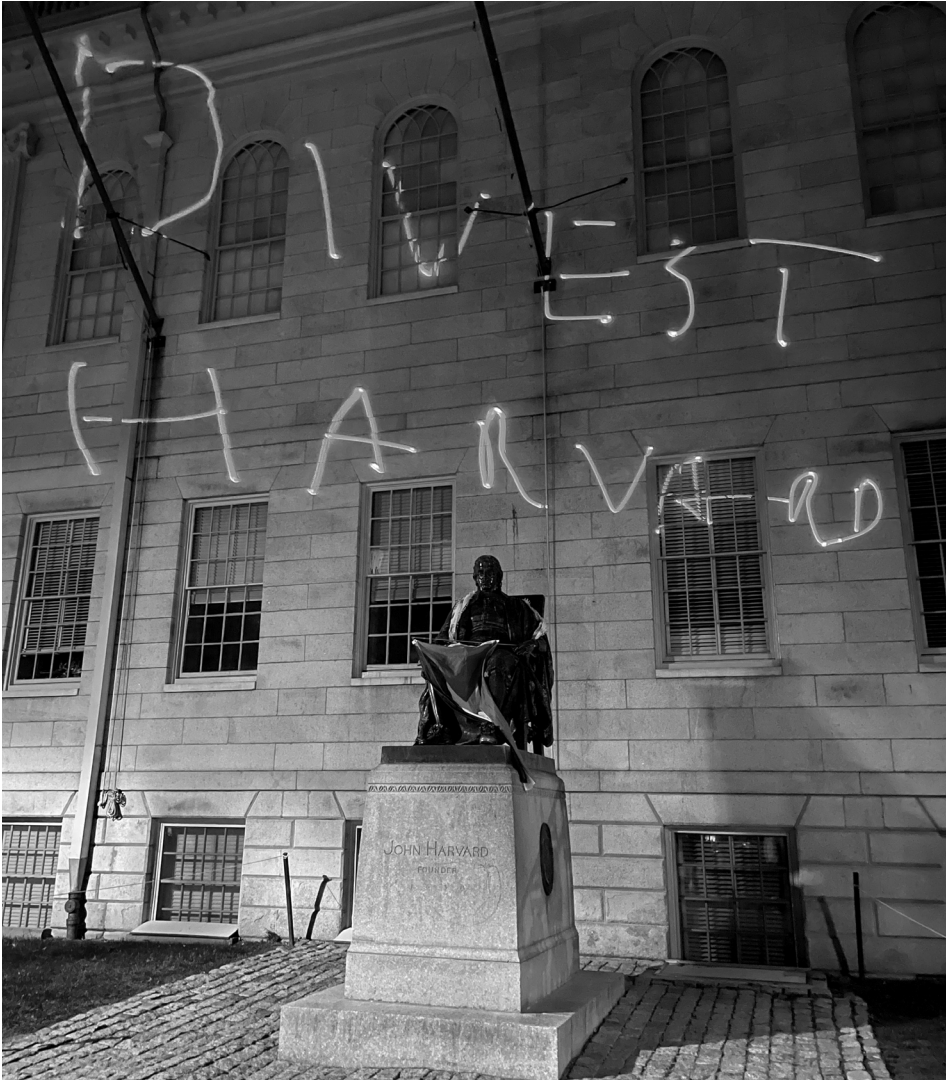
If you’re reading this, chances are you’ve just been accepted to Harvard. Perhaps upon reading this, you are reconsidering coming here. Or perhaps, equipped with the ugly truth about the institution you’re entering, you are asking yourself what role **YOU** will play in upending genocidal systems.

Harvard’s \$53 billion endowment is more than just a bank account. From its inception in a colonial institution, it has been a source of overreaching imperial power, and for decades stu-

dents have fought to hold it to account. From apartheid in South Africa in the 1980s, to fossil fuels, to the prison industrial complex, Harvard’s endowment has always funded violence, but students have always risen up against it. Today’s struggle for Palestinian liberation is the latest in a long line of movements demanding that Harvard stop bankrolling violence and exploitation.

These campaigns work. When students organize, build coalitions, and stay persistent, they expose the hypocrisy between Harvard’s public values and its private investments. Divestment matters not just because it withdraws money from harmful industries, but because it sends a message that we refuse to accept the imperial industry that Harvard calls “education” and a “transformative experience.”

If you choose Harvard, come knowing that your tuition is a small fraction of what runs this place. The real engine is the endowment. But you do not have to take the existence of this immoral financial institution as given. Whether you decide to protest on campus or choose not to come here at all, your dissenting voice matters. Institutions don’t change on their own.



A projection above the John Harvard statue during the Gaza solidarity encampment.

FIRST-YEAR EXPERIENCE

I am a Palestinian Student at Harvard. I Find Strength in Solidarity.

This article was written by a first-year Palestinian student at Harvard College.

The hardest part of starting college in the U.S. as a Palestinian coming from the Arab world was the culture shock. It didn't matter that I was born here in Cambridge, or that I had attended international boarding school in Europe for two years prior to Harvard; life in the U.S. is fundamentally different from anything I'd experienced before. Adapting to culture shock is all the more difficult when here, the condemnation of Israel's ongoing genocide in Gaza — something I had taken for granted back home — is labeled as “controversial.”

I experienced anti-Arab, anti-Palestinian, and Islamophobic rhetoric firsthand countless times at boarding school, such as the time I was told by an Israeli classmate that the world would be better if “you guys” gave up the fight for independence and self-determination. But even at my boarding school, hatred directed at me or my community was mitigated by the

knowledge that any bigoted speech would prompt the community to jump to the defense of the person being wronged.

And so, in October 2024 — after one year of Israel's accelerated genocide — I was stunned when a group of Zionist students, faculty, and staff harassed me and my peers, who were managing an art installation set up by the Harvard Undergraduate Palestine Solidarity Committee to mourn the tens of thousands of Palestinians who Israel had killed in the last year.

Until last fall's installation, I was somewhat active in the PSC, but hadn't engaged much with other members. Naturally, I was stunned — for the second time in one day — when a PSC organizer whom I had never spoken to before immediately jumped to my defense.

Sure, it was the bare minimum — hateful language should be condemned, regardless of its target. But the lack of hesitation on the organizer's part to protect

an unknown first-year stuck with me. From that moment on, I came to realize that the PSC creates solidarity in difficult times, even when my other peers refuse to understand my community's struggle. When I was at a low point, surrounded by strangers spitting bigotry at me, I found care, kindness, and warmth in the PSC.

You don't have to be an activist or organizer to join the PSC, nor do you have to be outspoken about your political opinions. The most crucial function of the PSC is to create a community for those who are committed to Palestine. It is this very community which has empowered me to be proud of my Arab and Palestinian identities, led me to friends who would do anything for me, and granted me the space and platform to fight for my people in ways that prioritize my safety and wellbeing.

Join the PSC, and let us empower you to be proud of who you are and what you believe in. Maybe you'll make some friends along the way too.



Protestors at the Gaza Solidarity Encampment hold up their student IDs.

So You Got In — Now What? Making the most of your time at Harvard

These student organizations are united in the struggle against Harvard's investments in the oppressive, neo-liberal status quo. Join them in calling for divestment from the weapons manufacturing and fossil fuel industries, fighting for ethnic studies and labor and workers' rights, and advancing gender and racial justice on campus.

Harvard Out of Occupied Palestine (HOOP) Coalition

The HOOP Coalition is a group of students and student workers committed to Palestinian liberation. HOOP follows in the tradition of students who stood up to western imperialism in Vietnam and Iraq, rallied against apartheid in South Africa, fought for Black liberation in the United States, and built national living wage campaigns for workers on campuses across the country. HOOP understands that all movements for freedom and justice, past and present, are interconnected.

@harvardoop

Harvard Undergraduate Palestine Solidarity Committee (PSC)

The PSC is committed to supporting the Palestinian struggle for self-determination, justice, and equality through raising awareness, advocacy, and non-violent resistance. The PSC is simultaneously an affinity space for Palestinian students as well as a site of institutional advocacy within the campus community.

@harvardundergradpsc

Jews for Palestine (J4P)

J4P is a collective of anti-Zionist Jewish students and allies building Jewish community beyond Zionism. J4P recognizes that Jewish safety and liberation is inextricably intertwined with Palestinian safety and liberation, and it rejects the weaponization of antisemitism to justify other forms of bigotry. J4P's organizing is informed by the memory of Jewish persecution, expulsion, and genocide — it refuses to allow the perpetuation of mirrored violence toward Palestinians.

@harvj4p

African and African American Resistance Organization (AFRO)

AFRO was initially founded in 1967 as a pan-Africanist organization, and successfully lobbied for the creation of an African and African-American Studies department at Harvard. While the original AFRO was the “Association of African and African American Students,” the organization was re-established in 2023 as the African and African American Resistance Organization. Following a swatting attack on a dorm of Black students in Leverett House, AFRO demanded the complete demilitarization of the Harvard University Police Department and organized for Black liberation. Since then, AFRO has taken up fights to abolish legacy admissions and seek reparations for Harvard's legacy of slavery. AFRO stands in unwavering solidarity with the struggle for Palestinian liberation.

@harvafro

Student Labor Action Movement (SLAM)

SLAM serves as the campus voice for Harvard undergraduate students in solidarity with workers at Harvard, in Boston and Cambridge, and beyond. For decades, SLAM has collaborated closely with campus unions — dining hall workers, custodial staff, graduate students, and more — to bring attention to their demands and mobilize the Harvard community to take action. SLAM organizers spearheaded the successful 2001 Living Wage Campaign, helped found a union for undergraduate workers (HUWU), plans know your rights trainings for non-citizen workers, and fight to end time caps for non-tenure track faculty.

@harvardslam

Harvard Undergraduate Workers Union (HUWU)

HUWU was founded in 2023 as a labor union representing the more than 500 student workers who

make cafés, libraries, and DEI offices around campus run. HUWU gives non-academic student workers a voice in fighting for higher wages, transparent hiring and firing practices, better schedules, and protections against workplace discrimination.

@harvarduwu

Fossil Fuel Divest Harvard (FFDH)

FFDH is a movement of students and community members who have been fighting for climate justice at Harvard for over a decade. In 2021 — after a decade of FFDH organizing, including a week-long hunger strike in 2014 and mass takeover of the field at the Harvard-Yale football game in 2019 — Harvard finally committed to divest its endowment from the fossil fuel industry. FFDH's work is far from over, and it has now set its sights on pushing the University to cut all ties with companies that profit off of fossil fuels.

@divestharvard

Harvard Ethnic Studies Coalition (HESC)

HESC is a group of students, faculty, and organizers seeking to establish an ethnic studies department at Harvard College. While Harvard trumpets its commitment to diversity, equity, and inclusion, it consistently refuses popular calls to institutionalize ethnic studies. HESC demands that Harvard take the interests, lives, and stories of its diverse community seriously, not just in its public statements but in its material actions.

@harvardesc

Harvxrd Feminist Coalition

The Harvxrd Feminist Coalition is an undergraduate-led feminist organization dedicated to advancing gender justice on campus through the elimination of sexual violence, expanded access to reproductive healthcare, greater investment in Studies of Women, Gender, and Sexuality (WGS), and more.

@harvxrdfeminists

NIGHTMARE BLUNT ROTATION

Six Alums to Watch Out For



Henry A. Kissinger '50 slips through the floor as the gates to Hell open beneath him.

Harvard's alumni count among their number Academy Award winners, Nobel laureates, and presidents galore ... but some alumni have had a less positive impact on the world after departing the Yard. Read on to learn more about the alumni you should REALLY watch out for.

Henry A. Kissinger '50

War crimes, genocide, racism — you name it, he's done it. *Time* Magazine's 1972 Person of the Year and Harvard triple-graduate Henry Kissinger was a true renaissance man, equally comfortable propping up oppressive regimes abroad and enabling corruption at home. Besides being Richard Nixon's point man for the Vietnam War and the illegal invasion of Cambodia

that killed hundreds of thousands of civilians, Kissinger also directed genocides and death squads in Bangladesh, East Timor, and much of Latin America and southern Africa. Few people in human history have had as much blood on their hands as Kissinger — according to one biographer, nearly three million people's worth. However, his 400-page tome of a senior thesis is the reason why most departments at Harvard have word limits on their theses, so that's something, I guess. Thanks, Henry! If you want to commemorate him, feel free to attend a lecture by Jake Sullivan, one of the architects of the genocide in Gaza and the inaugural Kissinger Professor of the Practice of Statecraft and World Order.

Harvard truly is a place of unbroken tradition.

Napalm '42

Napalm is one of Harvard's longest-lived and best-traveled alums: since its invention in a secret lab on Oxford Street in 1942, this flammable gel-like weapon has been used to kill hundreds of thousands and injure many more in Korea, Zimbabwe, Syria, and most infamously in Vietnam. Wherever America wants to kill and maim, Harvard's finest drops from the skies. Napalm does more than just inflict brutal burns, cause the loss of limbs, and leave lifelong scars; it also destroys the environment wherever it is dropped and leaves dangerous chemicals that last for

generations, causing cancer and congenital diseases for decades. Napalm has been used to defend apartheid, bolster colonialism, and of course, enforce Israel's occupation of Palestine.

Lawrence H. Summers

When you pull up Larry Summers's personal website, the website icon is the Harvard shield, almost like it's his personal coat of arms. In a sense, it is: when this former Chief Economist of the World Bank and Secretary of the Treasury was president of Harvard, he acted like he owned the place, and he still thinks he does. According to Larry, women are simply unsuited to technical education, and Black professors are an embarrassment to the university. This, of course, makes him the ideal person to call Harvard out for antisemitism in the past year. Do not let his annoying relationship to Harvard distract you from the rest of his career: in an infamous memo published under his name in 1991, he said that the World Bank should be "encouraging MORE migration of the dirty industries to [Least Developed Countries]," and that "the economic logic behind dumping a load of toxic waste in the lowest wage country is impeccable and we should face up to that." Ask him about that in his economics class.

Bill A. Ackman '88

Alums, usually, are supposed to *help* you find a career. Ever have one try to get you fired? As protest erupted on Harvard's campus in response to the genocide in Gaza, billionaire hedge fund manager Bill Ackman did that and more. According to him, everyone who stands up to the university and to Israel should be named, shamed, and doxxed, so that he never has to experience the indignity of hiring anyone on the right side of history. Since then, he's been using his considerable resources to work with the Israeli government to suppress dissent against the genocide in Gaza, up to and including asking New York City Mayor Eric Adams to break up Columbia University's encampment by force. Don't try to network with *him* anytime soon.

Héctor A. Gramajo

Hang around the Kennedy School long enough and you'll hear the rumor that the Mid-Career Master's program is full of spies. Few hid their past lives worse than Héctor A. Gramajo, a Guatemalan general who oversaw the American-sponsored genocidal campaign against the Maya in his country, which murdered an estimated 70,000 people and destroyed hundreds of villages. His aca-

demetic career at Cambridge was remarkably successful: Gramajo managed to pull off the coveted HKS double-degree program, graduating with both a Masters in Public Administration and papers served for human rights violations. However, shortly after his return to Guatemala, he was stung to death by a swarm of killer bees, in perhaps the only objective evidence to date that God exists. Checkmate, atheists.

Elise M. Stefanik '06

As advocates of a "transformative liberal arts education" never fail to remind us, the purpose of this education is not to teach us what to think, but rather how to think for ourselves. Clearly something went wrong with former Harvard Institute of Politics vice president and current US Representative for New York Elise Stefanik. As one of Trump's best toadies in Congress, she is responsible for leading the legislative charge against immigrants and trans people, besides being vocally in favor of repression of student speech. What's more, she helped defund UNRWA, the UN agency that provides services to Palestinian refugees throughout the Middle East. While critical thought remains a ways away, Stefanik is doing a wonderful job serving as a fascist mouthpiece!

Not Zionist Enough

The rise and fall of Claudine Gay

It has now been 15 months since Claudine Gay, Harvard's second woman and first Black president, was forced to resign. That's more than twice as long as her presidential tenure, the shortest in University history.

The campaign against Gay was two-pronged. She was not only targeted and ultimately removed because she was a Black woman, but also because of what she could not deliver: the total elimination of pro-Palestine organizing on campus. Gay was made into a necessary casualty in a Zionist attack — led by conservative actors and enabled by mass media — which conflates criticism of Israel with antisemitism and seeks to silence all calls for Palestinian liberation.

Ultimately, Gay was both a victim and perpetrator of a campaign forged by the interconnected tyrannies of Zionism, anti-Palestinian hate, anti-Black racism, and white supremacy.

Indeed, Gay's presidency revealed just how deep Zionism runs at Harvard. While serving as president, she maintained Harvard's investments in Israel, publicly condemned pro-Palestine rhetoric as antisemitic, and led the charge against campus organizing. Yet even this level of repression was not enough to save Gay when the white supremacist political establishment deemed her expendable. Her resignation was largely a result of an offensive orchestrated by the far-right, spearheaded by propagandist Christopher F. Rufo and hedge fund billionaire Harvard donor Bill A. Ackman '88.

As a Black woman in a position of power, Gay faced outsized scrutiny from the start. Gay herself knew the presidential post would not be easy. Just days before she assumed office, the Supreme Court struck down race-based affirmative action. Three months later, in the wake of October 7, the Harvard Undergraduate Pal-

estine Solidarity Committee released a statement contextualizing the violence of the day within the ongoing Nakba, Israel's decades-long occupation, dispossession, and expulsion of Palestinians.

The backlash was swift and brutal. Members of the over 30 student organizations which co-signed the statement were doxxed, their names and faces blasted across the internet and paraded on a billboard truck which drove around Harvard Square slandering them as "Harvard's Leading Antisemites." Some even faced death threats.

After Gay released University-wide statements on the "war in the Middle East," she faced significant public controversy of her own, coming under fire for not condemning October 7 and the PSC's subsequent statement with sufficient force or expediency. Under increasing pressure, Gay released further statements disavowing dissenting stu-

dents, condemning Hamas, and labelling "from the river to the sea, Palestine will be free" as antisemitic.

At no point during her tenure did Gay offer support to the doxxed students, many of whom continue to feel the reverberations of their public defamation today. At no point did Gay take steps to address Harvard's rampant Islamophobia, anti-Arab hate, and anti-Palestinian racism with the same determination as she did antisemitism. At no point did she speak with Palestinian and pro-Palestine students or engage with their affinity spaces. At no point did she offer a single word of condemnation against Israel's ongoing genocide in Gaza.

In December 2023, Gay — alongside the heads of the University of Pennsylvania and the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, both women too — were summoned for a congressional committee hearing. Representative Elise M. Stefanik '06 (R-N.Y.) battered

the presidential panel with questions: Does calling for the genocide of Jews violate codes of conduct against bullying and harassment?

Gay responded that it "can be, depending on the context," spurring calls for her resignation in the House of Representatives, which quickly launched a federal investigation into allegations of antisemitism at Harvard. On Jan. 2, 2024, after her disastrous appearance before Congress and mounting allegations of plagiarism, Gay was forced out.

Since Gay's resignation, Harvard has adopted a stance of "institutional neutrality" — a deceptive phrase which allows Harvard to maintain a Zionist status quo — and Gay's successor, President Alan M. Garber '76, has carried on Gay's repressive crusade. Since Gay's resignation, the suppression of pro-Palestine speech has reached new heights. Students who participated in pro-Palestine protests and

last spring's Gaza Solidarity Encampment faced unprecedented disciplinary sanctions. Garber has since doubled down on his commitment prosecuting pro-Palestine speech, adopting the International Holocaust Remembrance Alliance's definition of antisemitism, which conflates certain criticisms of Israel with hate speech.

In the public eye, Gay is remembered as a victim of right-wing misogynoir. But her students will also remember the repressive campaign she waged against free speech and the Palestinian and pro-Palestine community. If nothing else, Gay's case reveals that no amount of appeasement will satisfy those determined to silence all calls for Palestinian liberation. So long as the word "Palestine" continues to be uttered on Harvard's campus, critics will attempt to threaten and punish the University at every level, from the president to the student.

WHAT WERE YOU WEARING?

We Keep Us Safe When Harvard Won't

This article was written by a student at Harvard College.

In a few months' time, you and your peers will pack up and move to Harvard or another university of your choice. For all of us, the transition is complicated: we bring our bags and boxes along with a host of anxieties. We worry about finding our people, passing our classes, and adjusting to a strange, faraway place. And for those of us in vulnerable bodies, we pack another anxiety with us. Will we be safe from sexual violence in college?

More than half of sexual assaults on college campuses occur between August and November. In the first few months following move-in, especially as first-years, we shove ourselves into uncomfortable social situations in order to meet new people. In the back of our heads, we grapple with the mounting anxiety that we will become that statistic — that we will be harassed, groped, or raped, and our experience as students and humans will be indelibly marred.

As women, femmes, and trans and nonbinary people, the numbers are not on our side, and here

at Harvard, neither is the administration. Less than three months after arriving at Harvard, I was sexually assaulted by another first-year in a public venue, where several other bystanders witnessed him assault two other first-year students as well. Like all other first-years at Harvard, I had completed the mandatory sexual assault training modules, so with the support of others by my side, I did what the University told me to do: I initiated a Title IX complaint.

Like so many other survivors of sexual assault at Harvard, I wanted some semblance of restorative justice. Instead, I left with the sense that Harvard had punished me for demanding accountability. For more than a year, my complaint was booted around by Harvard's Title IX committee, the Office for Gender Equity, and third-party legal representation. I was trapped in a cycle of endless, hours-long Zoom calls with lawyers where I was forced to restate evidence I had already produced months prior and was faced with repeated iterations of the same

questions, each essentially amounting to "Just *how* sure are you that you were sexually assaulted?" Harvard's "painstaking, fact-finding mission" reached its lowest point when one of their lawyers asked me if I could hold my hand up to the Zoom screen and imitate what my assaulter's hand looked like when he groped me.

The year I spent trapped in this cycle was *supposed* to determine if the perpetrator would face the Administrative Board, which adjudicates student disciplinary cases. But I had no faith that this day would come, nor that Harvard would yield a verdict that could justify the dozens more hours I would have to spend testifying in front of the Ad Board. Enraged at the University and ashamed for wasting my own time, I threw in the towel and ended the Title IX process myself.

This whole time, I knew that I was not alone, not least because I knew the two other students who suffered assaults by the same male student that night. By design, the federal Title IX process exists to isolate survivors by preventing them

from filing joint complaints against a shared perpetrator. But if anything, it was a comfort to know I was not alone and to know that the others, though they did not want to file their own complaints, wholeheartedly supported me every step of the way.

Not even a semester after I ended the Title IX proceedings, I was one of over 30 students disciplined by the Ad Board in for my alleged "participation" in Harvard Out of Occupied Palestine's encampment, which stood for twenty days to demand that Harvard disclose and divest from its investments in Israel's genocide of Palestinians. Instead of engaging with these demands, Harvard expedited its disciplinary procedures to punish pro-Palestine speech, in a way it had never done in response to past student movements.

For many student protestors, the only "evidence" the University brought against us was the allegation that we had "participated" in the encampment over a random smattering of dates, and a single image: a sign hanging from the gates forbidding

"erecting structures" like tents. Whereas its investigation of my sexual assault dragged out for more than a year, Harvard snapped to action to punish me and other student protestors within mere days, completely ignoring the "due process" the University swears it cares so much about.

Campus safety is and has always been a political issue. When Harvard's own students and workers come forward against the perpetrators — of sexual harassment and assault, racism, ableism, gender-based discrimination, and other forms of harm — we become the problem. We are the threat to Harvard's image, to the prestige of their tenured white male professors, and the profit they reap from rapey rich kids whose parents donate buildings.

Over the last two years, Harvard sat idly by as its own students' faces and names were plastered on doxxing trucks that drove around Harvard Square. Harvard said nothing about "civil discourse" as a professor's wife tailed two students wearing keffiyehs and hurled racial

slurs at them. Harvard said nothing about "campus safety" when its own students faced violent threats online, or were harassed by counterprotestors, or when a former Israeli prime minister "joked," at a talk at the Business School, that all pro-Palestine student protestors should be handed exploding papers.

Harvard's attacks on pro-Palestine speech, action, and academic programming reveal that Harvard is more than willing to put its own students in harm's way, if it believes doing so will protect its image. All the while, as the University offers unequivocal support for a genocide that has murdered more than 60,000 Palestinians to date.

We are faced with the bitter lesson that Harvard's administration does not care about a single one of us. No matter how much you love the institution, it will never love you back. But we never learn this bitter lesson alone. Instead, it is fuel for our solidarity and our organizing — if the University will not keep us safe, then *we will*.

HOT LABOR SUMMER, BABY

What is Organized Labor and Why Does it Matter?

More than 80 percent of students at Harvard work campus jobs to support themselves. If you become one of them this fall, then depending on your job, you may be represented by a **labor union**, an organization of workers that negotiates with the University to win better working conditions and bolster worker power.

Even if you don't end up working a union job, labor will be an unavoidable part of your Harvard experience. Why is that? And why should you, a student uncommitted to this University, care? Harvard's deans and administrators describe "the University" as a gauzy, mythic institution of higher education, the best in the world, which "produces knowledge" and "educates tomorrow's leaders," all as if by magic. This is a nice story but ultimately a fake one. *The University is all of the people who work for it:* whose labor makes our classes possible, keeps us clean and housed and fed,

and allows us to obtain a comprehensive education.

Unions allow the people whose labor keeps Harvard running *to have a say in how Harvard is run*, and particularly how its workers are treated. If you're represented by a union, working conditions are determined by a **contract**, a legal document that can increase your wages, determine your benefits, and design protections from workplace discrimination and harassment. Without one of these contracts, for instance, Harvard doesn't legally have to pay its workers more than minimum wage or give them any health insurance. The non-tenure track faculty who may teach the bulk of your classes; the student course assistants who grade your coursework and host office hours; and the students who keep campus libraries, cafés, and DEI offices running; all of them are currently in the process of negotiating new contracts with the University.

Any protections that Harvard deigns to give to work-

ers in these positions from here on out will be a prize hard-won by the difficult labor of union organizing. Our rights in the workplace do not exist because of the kindness of Harvard University, but because of the collective power of its workers.

These workers, thousands of them, represent many crucial parts of the University's core function. Because Harvard is a bad boss with a lot of money, it stalls and distracts when its workers — students and non-students alike — ask for better working conditions in contract negotiations. Just this semester, for instance, Harvard refused to end "time caps," its practice of forcing non-tenure track faculty to leave their jobs after only three to eight years regardless of performance; called the police on the graduate student union when they tried to bring workers to the bargaining table to talk about their experiences; and refused to give library, café, and DEI student workers recourse

against workplace harassment.

Union contracts provide one of the few legal protections that we may have against ICE deporting students. Workers also have the power to shut the University down by going on strike — as, for instance, Harvard University Dining Service workers did for 22 days in 2016, when Harvard chose to serve frozen food to its students for three weeks instead of paying dining workers a livable wage. In solidarity with striking workers, around 500 Harvard students organized a walkout of their classes, and over 100 students and other supporters staged a sit-in of the building where HUDS's negotiations with Harvard were held. Under mounting pressure and just two days later, HUDS workers won a contract that achieved "every goal, without exception."

If you're interested in helping Harvard's workers fight for fair labor conditions, you can check out the **Student Labor Action**

Movement — for more on them, check out @harvardslam on Instagram or email harvardslam@gmail.com for info on how to get involved in the fall. Below is a list of some of the unions that represent Harvard workers. Some have been around for decades; others have existed for less than a year. That means that if you end up working a job not listed here, *you* could still unionize your own workplace!

Harvard Undergraduate Workers Union (HUWU) represents 500 student workers in libraries, cafés, and DEI offices.

Harvard Graduate Students Union (HGSU) represents 5,000 student teaching and research assistants across the University.

Harvard Academic Workers (HAW) represents 3,000 non-tenure track faculty, including postdocs, lecturers, instructors, and teaching assistants.

Harvard Union of Clerical and Technical Workers (HUCTW) represents 5,000 staff members working in offices, libraries, museums, houses, and labs.

32BJ Service Employees International Union (32BJ SEIU) represents 1,000 custodians and security guards across campuses.

UNITE HERE Local 26 (Local 26) represents 750 dining service workers at Harvard's dining halls and other dining spaces.

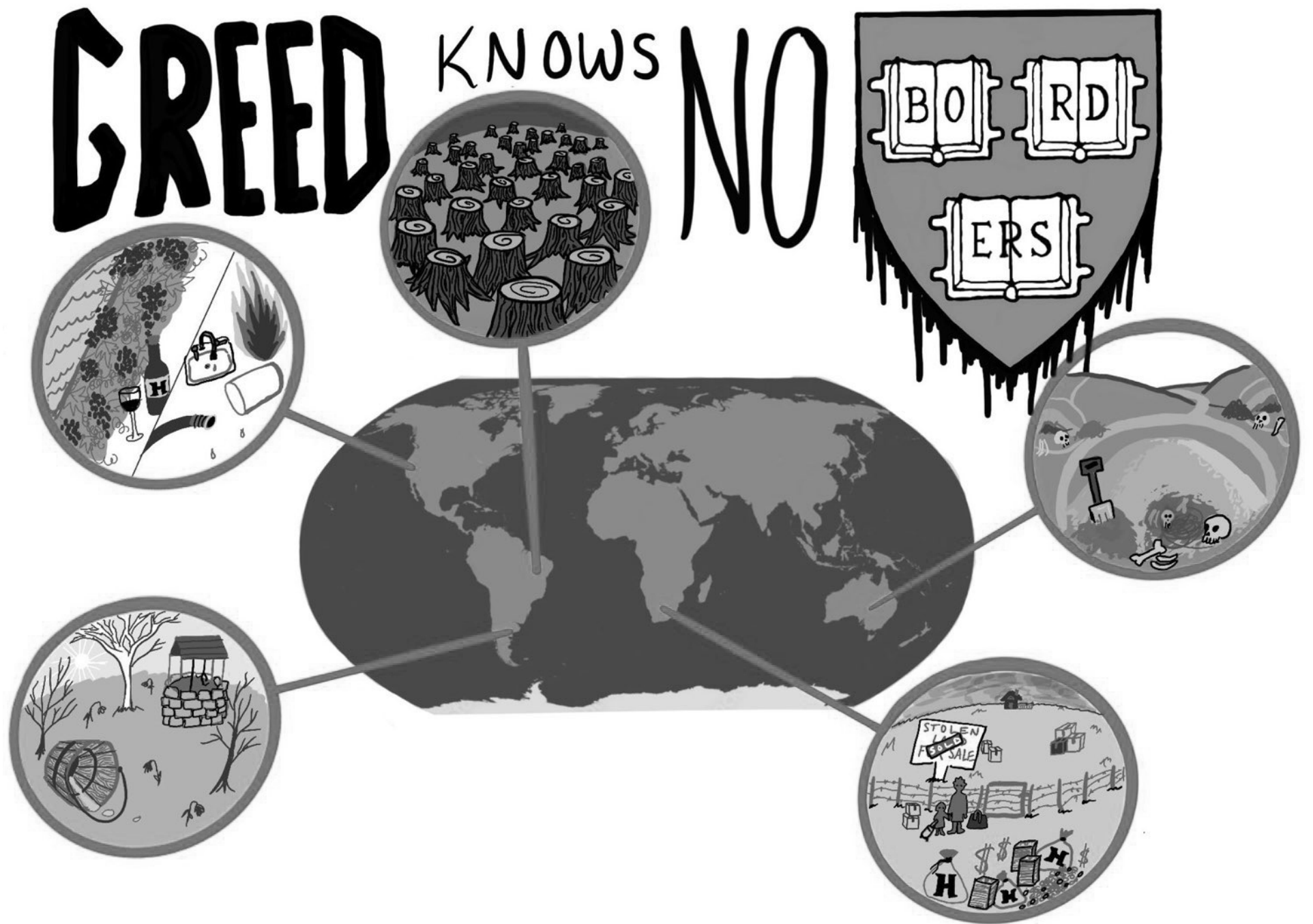
Fabrication Workers United (FWU) represents 100 student workers at the Graduate School of Design's Fabrication Lab.

Harvard University Police Association (HUPA) is not a real union :/ Police unions shield officers from accountability for their harassment, surveillance, and brutalizing of Black and brown community members, making us all less safe as a result. Oink oink.

GLOBAL EMPIRE

From Cerrado, Brazil to Cuyama, California

Harvard's dirty investments and global land grabs



If the Harvard Management Company is managing anything, it is the University's complicity — in the form of a \$53.2 billion endowment. Day in and day out, HMC works to shield Harvard's investments from public scrutiny, especially its land holdings.

In recent years, HMC has acquired and commodified land all over the world in pursuit of endless profit. As of 2018, the University had invested nearly \$1 billion in buying up farmland around the world. As one of the world's largest investors in farmland, Harvard's massive, far-reaching agribusiness model infiltrates local farming communities and drains the environmental resources they rely upon.

Harvard's known acquisitions span the United States, Brazil, Uruguay, Romania, Russia, Ukraine, South Africa, Australia, and New Zealand. Much of the investment structure is shrouded in secondary companies, subsidiaries in Delaware or the Cayman Islands with

hard-to-trace names. These land acquisitions have provoked land conflict, polluted with industrial-grade fertilizers, robbed communities of their livelihoods, and killed local farmers and their families.

Harvard's holdings are concentrated in Brazil, specifically the Cerrado region, which holds five percent of the world's biodiversity. In recent years, Harvard has deforested Cerrado and significantly expanded plantation agriculture, driving the destruction of Brazil's vital natural regions. On top of ecological concerns, no matter what Harvard may pretend, land is never conveniently empty. Cerrado is home to nearly 80 Indigenous ethnic groups who have no protection against corporate land grabbing.

The Granflor group, a Brazilian business partner of a Harvard-owned subsidiary, illegally and violently displaced local families from public land. According to a Brazilian court in October 2020, Harvard and TIAA, a

pension manager utilized by Harvard, illegally acquired around 500,000 acres of Brazilian public land. These two investors are the largest foreign buyers of farmland in the country, and they have deforested thousands of hectares. The people in the Cerrado have no food security; many are forced to emigrate to escape starvation, or to attempt to work at company farms which instead puts them in debt.

Harvard's reach has caused land conflict and dispossession around the world. Between 2008 and 2016, Harvard transferred over \$70 million to a South African subsidiary, RussellStone, to acquire farm properties in the country, working against local post-apartheid fights to redistribute farmland to dispossessed Black workers. Managers of farms restricted the land use rights of families in the area, including rights for cattle to graze and for families to access burial sites. After public backlash, Harvard reportedly directed Russell Stone to sell farm-

land on which people were already living, but Harvard continues to manage large-scale farmlands in the country.

In Australia, the Aboriginal Land Council has accused Harvard of destroying and excavating Aboriginal cultural sites on property it is developing. Although the Harvard Management Company refuted these claims, independent organizations have found at least six Aboriginal occupational and burial mounds harmed in the process. Ninety percent of such Aboriginal mounds have been found to contain burial sites. In Argentina, Harvard's timber plantations have made water inaccessible for residents, in a region where the lack of running water forces them to depend completely on groundwater. The mass deforestation associated with many of Harvard's projects worldwide leaves residents unable to plant their own crops, instead forcing them to depend on an unstable employment cycle in which

Harvard's plantations hire seasonal workers.

Nearer to home, Harvard spent around \$100 million throughout the 2010s buying up lands on California's central coast, particularly in the Cuyama Valley, historically semi-arid rangeland. Harvard then planned a new vineyard, the largest in the valley, and built a wide irrigation system to serve it, drawing out groundwater from the already water-stressed region. The project has depleted groundwater basins in the region, and in 2023, after a Harvard subsidiary looked to install three large reservoirs for the vineyard, local farmers shared grievances with their county's planning commission and eventually won out against the proposed developments. To this day, Harvard continues to invest in its vineyards, demonstrating a patent lack of concern for the region and its environment.

It is no coincidence that many of the communities most affected by Harvard's agribusiness investments

are Indigenous or otherwise marginalized. From Indigenous people in Brazil and Australia to farmworkers in South Africa, Harvard has shown that as long as doing so is profitable enough, it is more than willing to brutalize and dispossess those that have been rendered powerless by colonialism and capitalism. This ruthlessness extends, of course, to Palestine, as we have seen throughout Israel's accelerated genocide in Gaza.

The demands for disclosure of Harvard's endowment holdings include, among many other things, transparency around its agribusiness investments. These ventures are not exceptions, but rather a portion of a larger-scale investment strategy that sees global inequalities as opportunities for profit, undoubtedly impacting far more lives and communities than are presently known. The fight for Harvard's divestment from Israel is intertwined with fights for land justice around the world.

ONWARD

Dispatches from the Gaza Solidarity Encampment, One Year Later

Last spring's Gaza Solidarity Encampment in Harvard Yard was established with three demands: that Harvard 1) disclose any and all investments — both institutional and financial — in Israel, its ongoing genocide in Gaza, and its occupation of Palestine; 2) divest from all such investments, and reinvest resources in Palestinian academic initiatives, communities, and culture; and 3) drop all charges against students for their organizing and activism, and commit to ending the weaponization of disciplinary policy.

Below is a collection of testimonials, written last May, from students who participated in the encampment. Many of them lived, ate, and danced in the Yard for the entirety of the encampment's 20-day lifespan — and faced the University's unprecedented discipline firsthand. At the behest of the Harvard Corporation — the University's unelected top governing body — and Harvard President Alan M. Garber '76, five student participants were suspended for at least one year, 13 seniors had their degrees withheld, and 60 more students were placed on probation.

The Gaza Solidarity Encampment was met with such a crackdown for no reason other than the cause it stood for; the sanctions its participants faced exemplify Harvard's longstanding Palestine exception to free speech and commitment to supporting Israeli genocide. Participants in similar past encampments and occupations in Harvard Yard, most of a larger scale and longer duration, did not receive anywhere near the same degree of discipline. At Harvard, protests are allowed — championed, even — so long as they are not held in solidarity with Palestine. A year out, we remember the Gaza Solidarity Encampment not to commemorate a movement from the comfort of distance, but to reaffirm our commitment to our siblings in Palestine and the necessity of continuing to organize until Palestine is free, and to assert that the student movement for Palestine lives on.

I. The Gaza Solidarity Encampment was built to take up enough physical, visual, and spiritual space in the Yard as needed to continuously remind community members of Harvard's perpetuation of genocide. It was a necessary exposure of how comfortable and skilled the administration had become at neglecting its duty as expressed in the University-Wide Statement on Rights and Responsibilities to listen to and address the deep concerns of students, and its basic humane duty to condemn and divest from genocide.

I always joked at camp that only this cause could convince me to sleep outdoors. But for all the light complaining I tossed around, I feel gifted to have been a part of such a beautiful community. From renaming buildings to honoring martyrs to crowding around maqluba to learning Sudanese dances to rallying outside Garber's house, every moment was transformative. Even when I was sleep-deprived or on sprinkler duty, I could find a shoulder to lean on and a life to learn about. When the administration suspended

protestors, we found ways to protect each other. Our camp, sustained by acts of love and service, was able to bloom as a voice for Palestine, in spite of the disproportionate effort Garber and administrators put into demonizing our human rights campaign and attempt to exercise free speech. Even as its proclaimed champion attempts to murder it, veritas prevails.

II. On April 27, the third day of the Gaza Solidarity Encampment, we heard drumming from outside Johnston Gate. It was a group of Indig-

enous women and elders, singing and beating drums. One of our comrades had helped to coordinate their travels; some of them had come to Cambridge from as far as Chumash land, in southern California, to see us and urge us on. We were all singing, some of us cried — we held hands through the gate, exchanged prayers and well wishes. One of the elders implored us to stay steadfast in our commitment to divestment and a free Palestine. "They won't listen to us," she said, "they've never listened to us. You are Harvard students, think of the privilege you have. Maybe they will listen to you." In that moment I felt an emotion that I've only ever felt a few times, usually at protests — an overwhelming, twinned awareness of history and duty. The history of colonialism that links the suffering of Indigenous people in America with the suffering of Palestinians; my duty, as a guest on Native land, as a student at an institution that bankrolls genocide, to be angry, to shout, to protest, never to get complacent, never to get numb.

III. I was constantly switching scales from the wider purpose (protesting Harvard's complicity in genocide) to the details

(wondering how to get dinner for dozens of campers each night). Higher education often abstracts the tangible into issues of theory or language; within the encampment, we went the other direction. We turned our outrage and our commitment to justice into a breathing space.

IV. Harvard loves to locate affinity spaces underground. The Hindu prayer space that I attend is a small windowless room with no ventilation in the basement of Canaday Hall. This decision is indicative of the respect Harvard deems us worthy of. As it tries to hide us from sight, the administration tries to keep us at the margins of decision making, allowing unelected billionaires to proceed with policy. The camp allowed us agency. Every time I heard the sunset call to prayer resound through Harvard Yard, I enjoyed the fact that now, we conveyed a very simple message: we refuse to be below ground again.

V. Following freshman move-out on May 12, only campers, the proctors, the administration, the Harvard University Police Department, and Securitas remained in the Yard. We slept with headlights from

police shining down at our tents; in the mornings, we exited tents to police officers following our morning routines; we saw administrators record our belongings and photograph us for disciplinary proceedings.

The narrative always casts the end as peaceful. But it was anything but peaceful — there were shouts of urgency to alarm campers of dean presence, waves of panic as we rushed to throw on keffiyehs, masks, sunglasses, the constant tightness in our chests as we waited for suspension announcements to upend our lives. The imposition of arbitrary rules and punishments, without precedent or due process. Dean Hopi Hoekstra commended the ending as one "without police action." But the police were heavily involved — not to make arrests but to intimidate us through constant and invasive monitoring, to instill fear and weaken our resolve.

VI. Despite intimidation, the camp provided a sense of community: through art builds, gardens, healthy meals, and a library of texts, we "kept us safe." Campus safety was best represented by the medical and mental health table, frequently attended by at least one fellow camper. I never felt so seen and heard by another student; it made me realize how lacking the University is in true student support.

Watching the camp dismantled, I felt a sense of loss. I am a first-generation immigrant and Ph.D. candidate, and for five years I believed the sense of alienation I felt at Harvard was just imposter syndrome — until now. Alienation isn't an emotion. It's caused by lack of attention to community maintenance, and, more importantly, a commitment to propagating cognitive dissonance that refuses to let the campus core value — veritas — be put into practice.

VII. On campus, I felt disempowered simply due to holding a political opinion that counters that of those that lead the University. I am motivated to protest injustice by my roots and by my familial ties to Indian colonial liberation. This personal closeness to colonialism informs my social engagement, political commitments, and academic thought, and it also provides me with a lens of care: I do not go one day without worrying about reports from Gaza. What separates us from our sisters and brothers in Gaza is luck.



HARVARD
YOU CAN BE
ZIONIST
AN
ANTI-
SEMIT

WE REPLIED
CUT TIES TO
ISRAEL'S
GENOCIDE

STUDENT
INTIFADA
LIVES!

NET OF 11

The image shows a large, open book or ledger with handwritten entries in Arabic script. The pages are filled with dense, cursive handwriting. The book is resting on a surface, and the lighting is somewhat dim, highlighting the texture of the paper and the ink of the writing. The text is written in a traditional Arabic style, with many words and phrases that are difficult to decipher due to the cursive nature of the script. The book appears to be a record or a ledger of some kind, with multiple columns and rows of text. The handwriting is consistent throughout, suggesting it was written by a single person or a team of scribes. The overall appearance is that of an old, well-used document.