

EXHIBIT A-1

Exhibit A

**EXHIBIT A
CHARGE**

The Fact Finder is asked to conduct an investigation into the factual allegations by HKS students Student 1, Student 2, and Student 3 (the three students) underlying their allegations of anti-Israel and anti-Semitic discrimination and harassment in the Spring 1 Module of Professor Marshall Ganz's course "Organizing: People, Power, and Change." (MLD 377, 02/21/23 through 03/05/23).

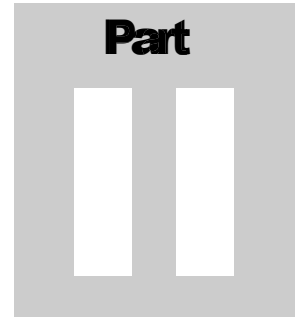
1. Did Professor Ganz require the three students to change their statement of purpose or topic description for their class project. If so, why?
2. Did the three students experience consequences, including harassment, directly or indirectly caused by Professor Ganz, as a result of presenting on their original topic to their small working group, including but not limited to the following allegations:
 - (a) not having their project selected for presentation to the entire class on the last day of the module;
 - (b) the selection of "Palestinian identity" as the topic for a fishbowl session for the entire class;
 - (c) the ensuing expression of anti-Israel remarks by a student within the class, including blaming Israelis for the Palestinians' plight, and her invitation for students and teaching staff to demonstrate Palestinian support by posing for a class picture wearing keffiyehs;
 - (d) Professor Ganz's rejection of the Israeli students' request to respond to the anti-Israel rhetoric and the manner of that request; and
 - (e) any other remarks or conduct on the basis of the three students' Israeli national origin and Jewish identity that limited the ability of the three students to participate fully in the class.

In making any findings in connection with the above allegations, the Fact Finder will take into account any explanations or justifications offered by Professor Ganz.

HKS asks the Fact Finder to investigate and make preliminary findings as to whether the facts as alleged are true. HKS further asks the Factfinder to make preliminary findings as to whether the findings reflect conduct inconsistent with the following HKS policies: HKS Statement on Rights and Responsibilities (the HKS Statement) and the University-wide Statement of Rights and Responsibilities, including the provision in the HKS statement that "All members of the Kennedy School are entitled to work in an environment that is free from threat, harassment, abuse, or discrimination." In making any findings in connection with this evaluation, the Fact Finder will apply a preponderance of the evidence standard. Nothing in those policies shall be construed to abridge academic freedom and inquiry.

HKS will utilize the Factfinder's report to make determinations of any policy violations and actions to take.

Exhibit B



General Policies

Governing the Faculty of Government

Rights and Responsibilities

Kennedy School Statement of Rights and Responsibilities *(August 2005)*

The central functions of an academic community are learning, teaching, research and scholarship. By accepting membership in the university, an individual joins a community ideally characterized by free expression, free inquiry, intellectual honesty, respect for the dignity of others, and openness to constructive change. The rights and responsibilities exercised within the community must be compatible with these qualities. *(From a statement adopted by the President and Fellows of Harvard College, May 2, 1977)*

Students, staff and faculty at the Kennedy School share certain values that inform our work and strengthen our community. We also share, together with the School's administration, the responsibility for ensuring that our institutional culture and individual behaviors reflect these values and responsibilities:

- All members of the community are entitled to respect. All individuals are expected to demonstrate respect, in all their dealings with every other individual at the School, for each person's worth, dignity, and capacity to contribute.
- Diversity is a source of strength for the School and contributes to a positive work environment. Significant efforts to improve and enhance diversity in the workplace and in the classroom will continue on all levels.
- All members of the Kennedy School community are entitled to work in an environment that is free from threat, harassment, abuse, or discrimination.
- Staff and faculty are entitled to a clean, safe, and adequate workspace.

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- All members of the community are entitled to a timely, fair, and meaningful evaluation of their contributions. Students and faculty will be evaluated by standard systems in place. Annual performance evaluations for staff are required and are viewed as a vital tool in the ongoing dialogue between supervisors and staff. The School's administration will regularly review all systems of evaluation.
- All members of the community are entitled to know what is expected of them and to know that other members of the community are equally well informed. Proper training and orientation will be available to all members of the community. Ongoing professional training will be available to further the individual staff member's development and enhance the overall success of the School.
- The School is a professional environment and work should be carried out in a professional manner. Each individual is obliged to minimize the impact of non-professional activities, such as personal phone calls or visitors. It is demeaning to assign fellow members of the community duties unrelated to their jobs. Specifically, staff or students should not be asked to run errands, prepare or deliver food, take on child care duties, or perform other personal services for supervisors or supervisors' family members.
- No student or staff member should be asked by a supervisor to assist in partisan political activity.
- Civil, ongoing communication at all levels contributes to the spirit of a strong community and an effective workplace. In a rapidly changing work environment, consideration should be given to the impact of growth or change on all of the people directly involved, as well as the community at large. The implications of these changes should be discussed openly, with input respectfully solicited from all concerned, within a time frame that allows all comments to be taken seriously and addressed.
- Accountability is essential. The School will maintain and publicize a clear structure to address complaints involving the behavior of staff, students, or faculty. Allegations of improper behavior will be treated seriously and resolved promptly.

Processes for Handling Concerns and Potential Violations

Concerns about violations by faculty:

- If brought by a member of the staff, such complaints shall first be reported to the Director of Human Resources, who shall promptly report the complaint to both the Academic Dean and the Dean.

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- If brought by a student, such complaints shall first be reported to the Dean of Students, who shall promptly report the complaint to both the Academic Dean and the Dean.
- If brought by another member of the faculty, such complaints shall be reported directly to the Academic Dean, who shall promptly report the complaint to the Dean.

In all complaints about violations on the part of the faculty, the Dean, the Academic Dean, the Director of Human Resources, or their designee shall investigate the complaint and take appropriate action according to the procedures of the School and of Harvard University and in accordance with relevant laws. The action taken shall be promptly reported to the person who first received the complaint, who shall promptly inform the complainant of the action taken.

Concerns about violations by staff:

- If brought by a member of the faculty or staff, such complaints shall first be reported to the Director of Human Resources, who shall promptly report the complaint to both the Executive Dean and the Dean.
- If brought by a student, such complaints shall first be reported to the Dean of Students, who in all such cases shall promptly report the complaint to both the Executive Dean and the Dean.

In all complaints about violations on the part of staff, the Dean, the Executive Dean, the Director of Human Resources, or their designee shall investigate the complaint and take appropriate action according to the procedures of the School and of Harvard University and in accordance with relevant laws. The action taken will be promptly reported to the person who first received the complaint, who shall promptly inform the complainant of the action taken.

Concerns about violations by students:

- Concerns shall first be reported to the Dean of Students, who shall, if appropriate, also consult with the Director of Human Resources. Complaints will be dealt with according to the existing procedures for dealing with student misconduct.

In all complaints about violations on the part of students, the action taken will be promptly reported to the person who first received the complaint, who shall promptly inform the complainant of the action taken

Kennedy School Statement on Diversity

The Harvard Kennedy School is committed to advancing the public interest by training enlightened leaders and solving public problems through world class scholarship and active engagement with practitioners and decision makers. This commitment, we believe, includes training our students to lead effectively across lines of difference.

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That mission requires that our faculty, students, and staff be exposed to and understand a broad array of ideas, insights, and cultures. One crucial element involves attracting superlative people from diverse backgrounds and traditions who vary by their race and ethnicity, gender, gender identity, sexual orientation, nationality, religion, physical and mental abilities, political philosophy, and intellectual focus. A second essential ingredient is the creation and maintenance of an atmosphere that welcomes new ideas -- even unpopular and controversial ones -- and encourages an effective and active exchange of views in an environment of mutual respect.

The Kennedy School will work affirmatively to recruit a highly diverse group of students, faculty, and staff. It is committed to increasing the numbers of underrepresented minorities, particularly women and people of color. It will work to ensure that our appointments and selection procedures consciously identify and evaluate a people from underrepresented groups. We will also strive to remove sources of unconscious bias.

The School will also develop a curriculum that deals with issues of diversity and encourages students and faculty to talk openly and effectively about difficult and highly charged issues. The School will provide professional support to faculty on how to teach these issues effectively. It will emphasize the powerful benefit of exchange of ideas. The School will seek to enlist students in efforts to make classrooms and classmates more welcoming of the unique ideas and insights that students from different backgrounds and perspectives bring. And it will seek to correct situations where full and open exchange of ideas has been limited.

One of the Kennedy School's greatest assets is its wealth and breadth of talent in the community. The School is committed to doing everything it can to increase that diversity even further and to take full advantage of the opportunities for training enlightened leaders and solving critical public problems.

Harvard University Statement of Values

(August 2002)

(As included in the Kennedy School Statement of Rights and Responsibilities)

Harvard University aspires to provide education and scholarship of the highest quality to advance the frontiers of knowledge and to prepare individuals for life, work, and leadership. Achieving these aims depends on the efforts of thousands of faculty, students, and staff across the University. Some of us make our contribution by engaging directly in teaching, learning, and research, others of us, by supporting and enabling those core activities in essential ways. Whatever our individual roles, and wherever we work within Harvard, we owe it to one another to uphold certain basic values of the community. These include:

- Respect for the rights, differences, and dignity of others
- Honesty and integrity in all dealings

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- Conscientious pursuit of excellence in one's work
- Accountability for actions and conduct in the workplace

The more we embrace these values in our daily lives, the more we create and sustain an environment of trust, cooperation, lively inquiry, and mutual understanding – and advance a commitment to education and scholarship, which all of us share.

University-Wide Statement on Rights and Responsibilities

On May 2, 1977, the President and Fellows of Harvard College voted that the Statement of Rights and Responsibilities, hitherto adopted on an interim basis, would continue in full force until further order of the Board of Overseers.

The central functions of an academic community are learning, teaching, research and scholarship. By accepting membership in the University, an individual joins a community ideally characterized by free expression, free inquiry, intellectual honesty, respect for the dignity of others, and openness to constructive change. The rights and responsibilities exercised within the community must be compatible with these qualities.

The rights of members of the University are not fundamentally different from those of other members of society. The University, however, has a special autonomy, and reasoned dissent plays a particularly vital part in its existence. All members of the University have the right to press for action on matters of concern by any appropriate means. The University must affirm, assure and protect the rights of its members to organize and join political associations, convene and conduct public meetings, publicly demonstrate and picket in orderly fashion, and advocate and publicize opinion by print, sign, and voice.

The University places special emphasis, as well, upon certain values that are essential to its nature as an academic community. Among these are freedom of speech and academic freedom, freedom from personal force and violence, and freedom of movement. Interference with any of these freedoms must be regarded as a serious violation of the personal rights upon which the community is based. Furthermore, although the administrative process and activities of the University cannot be ends in themselves, such functions are vital to the orderly pursuit of the work of all members of the University. Therefore, interference with members of the University in performance of their normal duties and activities must be regarded as unacceptable obstruction of the essential processes of the University. Theft or willful destruction of property of the University or its members must also be considered an unacceptable violation of the rights of individuals or of the community as a whole.

Moreover, it is the responsibility of all members of the academic community to maintain an atmosphere in which violations of rights are unlikely to occur and to develop processes by which these rights are fully assured. In particular, it is the responsibility of officers of administration and instruction to be alert to the needs of the University community; to give full and fair hearing to reasoned expressions of grievances; and to respond promptly and in good faith to such expressions and to widely-expressed needs

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for change. In making decisions that concern the community as a whole or any part of the community, officers are expected to consult with those affected by the decisions. Failures to meet the responsibilities may be profoundly damaging to the life of the University. Therefore, the University community has the right to establish orderly procedures consistent with imperatives of academic freedom to assess the policies and assure the responsibility of those whose decisions affect the life of the University.

No violation of the rights of members of the University, nor any failure to meet responsibilities, should be interpreted as justifying any violation of the rights of members of the University. All members of the community, students and officers alike, should uphold the rights and responsibilities expressed in this statement if the University is to be characterized by mutual respect and trust.

It is implicit in the language of the Statement on Rights and Responsibilities that intense personal harassment of such a character as to amount to grave disrespect for the dignity of others be regarded as an unacceptable violation of the personal rights on which the University is based.

Policy Regarding Gifts from Students to Faculty

Because of possible perceptions of undue influence, it is not permitted for a faculty member to receive a gift from a student while the student is in the faculty member's class or otherwise involved in an advising or evaluating relationship. In general, the School discourages the giving of gifts between students and faculty. Even if gifts are simply intended as a show of gratitude, faculty should be mindful of the potential for misunderstandings or appearance of impropriety, particularly between people when there is an asymmetry of power. No gift presented by a student to a faculty or staff member may exceed USD \$50.

Conflict of Interest and Conflict of Commitment**Harvard University Statement on Outside Activities of Holders of Academic Appointments**

Adopted by Harvard University on March 7, 2000

Faculty members and other academic appointees at Harvard participate in a wide range of outside activities related to their scholarly interests. Such activities can advance the search for knowledge, bring fresh insights into Harvard classrooms, and further the University's broad interest in serving society. At the same time, the University and its members have long recognized that persons holding academic appointments at Harvard should conduct outside professional pursuits in ways that respect their responsibilities to their home institution. Along with status as a full-time Harvard academic appointee comes the expectation that one's primary professional duties are to Harvard, and that outside professional activities will not conflict with obligations to one's students, to colleagues, and to the University as a whole.

Over the decades this understanding has been reflected in a variety of policy statements, some of them University-wide in application, others specific to individual Faculties. The

Exhibit C

People, Power & Change

A Practicum in Leadership, Organizing and Action

Campaign Design (MLD 377M): February 24-26 & March 3-5

Campaign Leadership (MLD 378): March 20 through April 28

“In democratic countries, knowledge of how to combine is the mother of all other forms of knowledge; on its progress depends that of all the others.” — Alexis de Tocqueville

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Leadership, Organizing and Action Overview

Fulfilling the democratic promise of equity, accountability, and effectiveness requires the participation of an “organized” citizenry able to formulate, articulate, and assert its shared interests. Organizing, in turn, requires leadership: *accepting responsibility for enabling others to achieve shared purpose in the face of uncertainty*. Organizers ask three core questions:

1. Who are my **people**?
2. What is the **change** we need?
3. How can we turn our resources into the **power** we need to achieve that change?

Organizers learn to identify, recruit and develop **leadership**, build **community** with that leadership, and create **power** from resources of that community.

This practicum is being offered in two modules: *Campaign Design (MLD 377)* and *Campaign Leadership (MLD 378)*. During the first module, *Campaign Design (MLD 377)*, students learn the **five organizing practices** of storytelling, relationship building, strategizing, structuring and action as they organize their **leadership team**, decide upon a **shared purpose** and design an organizing **campaign** to achieve that purpose.

During the second module, *Campaign Leadership (MLD 378)*, students learn to lead the campaign they designed: organizing a kick-off, developing leadership, innovating tactics, engaging with power, and winning, losing, and learning. We conclude with reflection and celebration.

MLD378 offers students the opportunity to learn how to lead an organizing campaign, not only plan one. The first module, MLD 377, is a prerequisite for the second module, MLD 378. The second module is optional.

During MLD 377, *Campaign Design*, students participate in an 11 day “courseshop”, bookended by two 2.5 day weekend workshops during the weekends of February 24-26 & March 3-5. Students learn with plenary lectures, small group practice and coaching. Requirements include consistent attendance, active participation, selected readings, a 600 word pre-module paper and a 600 word post-module paper. In the four days between the two weekend workshops this module will require approximately **10 hours of work** (one-to-ones with constituents, team meetings, and meetings with your Teaching Fellow). *Completion of the module will earn a module credit, or 2 class credits.*

In MLD 378, *Campaign Leadership*, students participate in plenary sessions on Tuesdays and in sections on Thursdays, from March 20 to April 28. In plenary, we focus on challenges that arise from running an organizing campaign, gain insights from cases, readings, lecture and discussion. In section, we coach each team’s practice leading their campaign as they meet new challenges and discover new opportunities. *Completion of the module will earn a module credit, or 2 class credits. Students who complete both modules will receive 4 credits.*

You will learn not only “about” these practices. You will learn to practice them experientially coach others in the practice, and receiving coaching yourself. We encourage a “growth mindset” for this practicum: try new things, take some risks, ask new questions.

This practicum is for students interested in learning to create social change through collective action. There are no prerequisites. Students with and without “real world” organizing experience can find the class equally useful. Students with a strong commitment to the community, organization, or values on behalf of which they are working will be most successful. Because it is a course in practice, it requires trying new things, risking failure, and stepping outside one’s comfort zone. As reflective practitioners, students learn through critical reflection on their experience, feedback and coaching. Be certain you are prepared for the emotional, behavioral, and conceptual challenges in which the work of organizing is grounded.

MLD 377: Campaign Design (February 24-26, March 3-5, 2023)

Each participant will be introduced to five basic organizing leadership practices, the pedagogy sequenced as explanation, modeling, practice and debriefing.

1. How to translate values into the motivation for action by learning to tell a **story** of why they were called to lead, a story of their constituency, and a story of an urgent challenge that requires action: self, us, and now.
2. How to build intentional civic **relationships** as the foundation of purposeful collective action.
3. How to **structure** a collaborative **leadership team** with shared purpose, ground rules and clear roles.
4. How to strategize turning the **resources** of one’s constituency into the **power needed** to achieve **clear goals**.
5. How to secure **commitments** required to generate measurable, motivational, and effective **action**.

Course Requirements

1. **Attendance:** Students attend two weekend practicum sessions from February 24-26 and March 3-5, 2023, which will form the majority of the teaching component of Module 1 (MLD377). **Attendance is mandatory for the entire duration.**
2. **Pre-Course Reflection Paper:** To prepare for the class students are required to write a 600 word paper articulating your learning objectives as a learner, your work with your peers, and your understanding of organizing
3. **Pre-Course Reading:** Reading is required to prepare students for learning organizing practice. There are also recommended readings for each session.
4. **One-to-ones with TF:** Students meet one-to-one with their Teaching Fellow for 10 to 15 minutes in the week before the class begins and for 30 minutes between weekend workshops.
5. **One-to-ones with constituency:** To inform their strategy students conduct at least five (5) one-to-one conversations with members of their core organizing constituency in the intervening week between workshops
6. **Group coaching:** During the week between workshops, students will meet for 30-60 minutes with their team and TF to receive coaching on their strategy.

7. **Final Paper:** Students are required to write a 600 word final paper reflecting on their learning with particular reference to their pre-course learning objectives.

Final Grades: Final grades will be based on class attendance (25%), the pre-course reflection paper (20%), the completion of all worksheets during the sessions (15%), and the final paper (40%).

Pre-Course Reflection Paper: Your Learning Objectives: The purpose of writing a pre-course paper is to reflect upon and articulate your learning objectives: Please respond to the following three questions:

- What do you hope to learn about yourself and what are your goals for this practicum?
- What do you hope to learn about your collaborators and peers in this practicum?
- What do you hope to learn about the practice of organizing?

Your pre course reflection paper of no more than 600 words, double-spaced, is due on Wednesday, February 15th, 2023 by 5 pm ET.

Pre-Course Reading List

Students should plan to **read ALL of the required pre-course readings** before the first day of MLD377 on February 24th, 2022. Students should familiarize themselves with the **Practicum Workshop Guide** that will accompany them on their journey.

**Note: Letters to the right of each reading indicate whether the focus is theoretical (T), practical (P), or historical (H).

Required Readings:

- Dweck, Carol. "The Mindset (Chapter 1)", in *Mindset: The New Psychology of Success* (2006), (pp.11-27) (P)
- Ganz, Marshall. "Organizing Notes: What is Organizing?" (2018), (pp. 1-4). (T)
- Ganz, Marshall. "Speaking of Power", *Gettysburg Project*, (2014), pp. 1-5.(T)
- Ganz, Marshall. "Leading Change: Leadership, Organization, and Social Movements", Chapter 19 in *Handbook of Leadership Theory and Practice*, Nohria and Khurana; HBS Press, (2010), (pp. 1-45)(T).
- McAleveey, Jane. "*Table 1.1, Advocacy, Mobilizing, and Organizing*", in *No Short Cuts: Organizing for Power in the New Gilded Age*, (2016), (pp.9-12) (T)
- McKnight, John. "Services are Bad for People", *You're either a Citizen or a Client* (pp.41-44).(T)
- Ganz, Marshall, Kay, Tamara, & Spicer, Jason. "Social Enterprise is Not Social Change" in *Stanford Social Innovation Review*, Spring 2018 (pp. 59-60) (T)
- Reading Guide for the Montgomery Bus Boycott
- Branch, Taylor., "*Chapter 4, First Trombone*" in *Parting the Waters*, (1998), (pp.120-142) (H)
- Branch, Taylor. "*Chapter 5, The Montgomery Bus Boycott*," in *Parting the Waters* (1998), (pp.143 -205). (H)

MLD377 Campaign Design Schedule

PART I: Leadership Team Formation: Shared Purpose

<p><i>Friday, Feb 24, 2023</i> <i>1 pm - 5:30 pm</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Introduction to Organizing ● Coaching as a Leadership Practice 	<p><i>Saturday, Feb 25, 2023</i> <i>9 am - 5:30 pm</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Public Narrative: Story of Self ● Building Shared Relationships 	<p><i>Sunday, February 26, 2023</i> <i>9 am - 5:30 pm</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Structuring Your Leadership Team ● Public Narrative: Story of Us
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PART II: Constituency Building

<p><i>Monday, February 27 - Friday, March 3, 2023 (asynchronous)</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Conducting 1:1s with your Constituency (at least 5 1:1s per team member) ● Reading ● 1:1 Coaching with your Teaching Fellow ● Group Coaching with your Teaching Fellow ● Team Meetings with your Leadership Team
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PART III: Strategizing Campaign: Turning Resources into Power

<p><i>Friday, March 3, 2023</i> <i>1 pm - 5:30 pm</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Consolidation & Accountability ● Introduction to Strategy 	<p><i>Saturday, March 4, 2023</i> <i>9 am - 5:30 pm</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Strategy I ● Strategy II: Tactics & Timeline 	<p><i>Sunday, March 5, 2023</i> <i>9 am - 6:30 pm</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Public Narrative: Story of Now ● Action ● Public Narrative: Linking Discussion, Reflection, Practical Application ● Conclusion & Celebration ● Module 2 preparation (only for Module 2 students)
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Day 1, February 24th, 2023

Introduction to Organizing: People, Power, Change

What are the Core Leadership Practices for Organizing?

We begin our session with an introduction to our approach to leadership, organizing and learning. We will introduce the 5 key organizing practices that the practicum will focus on and the relationship among people, power and change.

Recommended readings:

- *The Bible*, Exodus, Chapter 18 (H)
- King, Dr. Martin Luther, Jr. "*The Drum Major Instinct*," Sermon Delivered at Ebenezer Baptist Church (February 4, 1968), (p.259-67). <http://vimeo.com/77261262> (5:44) (P)
- Burns, James McGregor. "*Chapter 1, The Power of Leadership, "Leadership"* in *Leadership*, (1978), (pp. 9-29) (T)

Coaching as a Leadership Practice

How can I enable others to achieve purpose in the face of uncertainty?

In this session we will learn a simple diagnostic framework and a 5-step process for coaching others in organizing efforts and practice the coaching process through role-plays and reflective discussion.

Recommended readings:

- Hanh, Thich Nhat. "*The Raft is Not the Shore*" in *Thundering Silence: Sutra on Knowing the Better Way to Catch a Snake*, (pp.30-33). 2001 (T)
- Langer, Ellen. "*Mindful Learning*", *Current Directions in Psychological Science*, Vol. 9, Number 6, (December 2000), (pp.220-223). (T)

Day 2, February 25th, 2023

Practicing Public Narrative : Story of Self

Mobilizing Shared Values: Why have I been called (Story of Self)

Crafting a complete public narrative is a way to connect three core elements of leadership practice: story (why we must act now, heart), strategy (how we can act now, head), and action (what we must do to act now, hands). In this session we will learn why public narrative is an essential leadership skill, how public narrative works (values, emotion and story structure), and how to tell your public narrative.

Recommended Readings:

- Ganz, Marshall. “*Organizing Notes: What Is Public Narrative?*” (2018), (pp. 41-58). (P)
- Videos of Michelle Obama and Hillary Clinton, Democratic National Convention, July 2016, 10:39 (P)
- Croft, James. “*6.12 Seconds*” (2010). (5:16) (P)
- Beydoun, Amal. “*Story of Self*” (2012). (1:56) (P)
- Story of Self: Vivek Murthy, Gold Foundation Golden Thread Gala, 2016. (4:33) (P)
- Resistance School. “*Dos and Don'ts of Public Narrative: How to Coach Public Narrative Lesson 1*” (2017). (8:19) (P)

Building Shared Relationships

We will learn how to build relationships to develop leadership, community and power. We will practice building intentional relationships through the skill of one-to-one organizing conversations. In answering why we build relationships we will understand the distinction between organizing and mobilizing and learn to identify common values, interests and resources amongst the team.

Recommended Readings:

- Ganz, Marshall. “*Organizing Notes: Relationships*”, (2018), (pp. 59-73). (P)
- Simmons, Ian. “*On One-to-Ones*,” in *The Next Steps of Organizing: Putting Theory into Action*, Sociology Seminar, (1998), (pp. 12-15) (1998). (P)

Day 3, February 26th, 2022

Structuring Your Leadership Team

In this session, we will articulate our purpose, norms and team roles. This session will help develop an understanding of the core practices of successful leadership teams, and practice those skills by developing a shared purpose, clarifying team roles and responsibilities, and creating norms and practices of coordination.

Recommended Readings:

- Ganz, Marshall. “*Organizing Notes: Structuring Leadership Teams*” (2019), (pp. 74-87).
- Freeman, Jo. “*The Tyranny of Structurelessness*,” in *Berkeley Journal of Sociology*, (1970), (pp.1-8). (P)
- Hackman, Richard; Wageman, Ruth. “*A Theory of Team Coaching*”, *Academy of Management Review*, Vol. 30, No 2 (Apr. 2005), (pp. 269 – 287). (T)

Practicing Public Narrative: Story of Us

Continuing the practice of crafting our public narrative, in this session we will learn how to tell the story of our community in a way that reflects shared values, hopes, and experiences.

Recommended readings:

- Alexander Haslam, Stephen D. Reicher, and Michael J. Platow, “*Crafting a Sense of Us: Leaders as entrepreneurs of identity*” *Chapter 6* in *The New Psychology of Leadership: Identity, Influence and Power* (New York: Psychology Press, 2011), (pp 137-164). [27 pages] (T)

- Brown, Jacquinette. "Jacquinette's Story: Linked Public Narrative" (2014). (P)

Constituency Engagement Week, Monday, February 27 - Friday, March 3, 2023

Constituency 1:1s

By the end of the first weekend workshop, students have formed leadership teams and identified a core constituency whom they will organize. During the week of February 27th, each student will have at least 5 1:1s with their constituents to gain input and ideas for their strategy work during the second workshop weekend. They also strategize with their team and receive coaching from their Teaching Fellow (approximately 10 hours total). The organizing craft is a relational one so this week provides a crucial opportunity to begin building public relationships with the people you hope to organize.

Day 4, March 3, 2023 & Day 5, March 4, 2023

Strategizing: Turning Resources into Power - People, Power & Change

Strategy is how we turn what we have (resources) into what we need (power) to get what we want (change). In this first session on strategy we will learn an actor-centered approach to strategizing and begin to devise a strategy for a community organizing project. Tactics are the activities through which a theory of change can be made real. In the second session on strategy we will decide on the tactics that can help you achieve your strategic goal and put those tactics on a campaign timeline culminating in a peak.

Recommended reading:

- Ganz, Marshall. "Organizing Notes: Notes on Strategy", (2018), (pp. 102-113). (P)
- Ganz, Marshall. "Organizing Notes: Notes on Tactics, Charts, Questions" (2021) (P)
- The New Tactics in Human Rights Organization makes a very useful website of both online and offline tactical ideas available at <https://www.newtactics.org/toolkit/strategy-toolkit> (P)
- Swarthmore College "The Global Nonviolent Action Database" - <https://nvdatabase.swarthmore.edu> (P)

Day 6, March 5, 2023

Practicing Public Narrative: Story of Now

Now we know why you've been called to your mission. We also know who the "us" is that you will call on to join you in that mission. A story of now articulates the urgent choice faced by that "us" that requires action: a challenging vision of what will happen if they do not act, a hopeful vision of what could be if they do act, and a call to choose commitment to the action required. In this session you will learn how to tell an urgent story of now and how to coach others in telling an effective story of now.

Mobilizing Action

Organizers mobilize and deploy resources to take action by securing commitments from others and generating motivation by participating in action. In this session we will learn how to commit people to joining you in action and learn to design action that will motivate people to recommit to do more.

Recommended reading:

- Ganz, Marshall. “*Organizing Notes: Notes on Action*”, Charts and Questions, (202). (pp. 88-101)
- Hackman, Richard. “*Designing Work for Individuals and for Groups*”, adapted from J.R. Hackman, Work Design in J.R. Hackman & J.L. Suttle (Eds.) *Improving Life at work: Behavioral science approaches to organizational change*. Santa Monica: Goodyear Publishing Company, (1977). (pp. 242-255). (P)

Practicing Public Narrative: Linking Self, Us, Now

In this concluding session we will learn how to bring our values, strategy and action together.

Recommended Reading:

- Maung Nyeu, “Linked Narrative”, Public Narrative MLD 355 Class 2013 (P)

Final Paper (Required, Graded)

The purpose of the final paper is to give you an opportunity to critically evaluate your experience of your team’s work together, the learning framework used in the course, and what you learned about yourself as a reflective practitioner.

Organize your paper in response to the following questions:

- What did you learn about yourself as an organizer, a team member, and a leader?
- What did you learn about each other (your team members and peers) in the practicum?
- What did you learn about the practice of organizing?

Your final paper for MLD 377 of no more than 600 words, double-spaced, will be due on Sunday, March 12th, 2023 by 5 pm ET.

End of MODULE #1

NOTE: Although continuation in MLD 378, Campaign Leadership, is not required, we do strongly recommend building on your work in MLD377 to put it fully into action in MLD 378. There are two weeks between the end of MLD 377 and beginning of MLD 378: one week of classes and one week of spring break. MLD 378 begins upon return to class on March 20, 2023.

MODULE #2

MLD 378: Campaign Leadership (March 20-April 29, 2023)

During MLD 378, Campaign Leadership, students learn to lead the campaign they designed in the first module. As former President Dwight Eisenhower is quoted as having said upon launching the 1944 D-Day assault on Normandy Beaches, “Plans Are Worthless, But Planning Is Everything.” In other words the work of aligning perspectives, creating systems, identifying critical logistics, and conceiving a plausible hypothesis of how things “could” go enables the formation of coherent structures of leadership, practice, adaptations, and learning - but it is not predictive. It is only when the “rubber hits the road” that the adaptation to reality, the unexpected, the opportunities, and the set back begins. In this way campaign design, like strategy, is a verb, not a noun, that it is in the action - and reaction - that the most critical leadership skills are learned.

In this module, students learn to practice leadership as part of a leadership team that will carry out an organizing campaign. *An “organizing campaign” requires recruiting members of a constituency to join in achieving a clear outcome in pursuit of a shared purpose by the end of the semester.* This should require an average of **8 hours per week** in addition to class work although it varies from week to week.

Students now put the five core leadership practices to work by building public relationships; turning values into a capacity for agency through public narrative; turning resources into power by strategizing; turning intentions into effective action; and structuring organization to develop leadership, engage constituents, and achieve goals. Students learn to coach others and receive coaching. Students also learn to distinguish “mobilizing” from “organizing” and why it takes organizing to make mobilizing count. Campaign leadership is scaffolded in 6 phases, each of which, as in MLD 377, builds on the prior phase: kick-off, leadership development, tactical innovation, engaging with power, and winning, losing and learning.

Students may find that they can use their organizing project to advance work that they are already doing on campus or in the community.

Course Requirements

1. **Attendance:** Class meets for 1 hour and 15 minutes, twice a week for 6 weeks. Students use a conceptual framework to integrate lectures and readings with critical reflection on their experience of their project. The sessions alternate between discussion of concepts, cases and analysis of projects. You are required to attend all classes and take an active part in discussions.
2. **Course Reading:** Reading is required to prepare students for learning these organizing practices. There are also recommended optional readings.
3. **Reflection Papers:** Beginning in the second week of class, **one student from each team on a rotation will work with their teammates to author that week’s reflection paper** of no more than 500 words, double spaced, 12 pt. font, 1” margins, in which they analyze their experience of their organizing project and their team’s progress to date. Each week we pose questions to stimulate reflection. Papers are due each Wednesday at 12:00-midnight.
4. **Final Paper:** 7. At the end of the module on Friday May 5th, each student will submit a 1,500 word paper reflecting on what they learned about themselves as learners, what they learned about working with their teammates, and of what they learned about organizing. Students are evaluated not on whether their project is a “success,” but on their demonstrated ability to analyze what happened, how and why.

5. **Final Grades** are based on class participation (40%), weekly reflection (20%), and final paper (40%).

MLD378 Campaign Leadership Schedule

Week 1: Organizing Your Kick-off: Commitment, Campaign, Action. March 21st and 23rd, 2023

We begin this week by regrouping as teams, revising our kick-off plans, and planning how we're going to get people to show up...and for what. The organizing notes - and the cases - offer examples of how campaign design, turnout and metrics can harmonize - or not!

Note: *This week, sections will take place on Tuesday and the lecture on Thursday.*

Kicking off your Campaign: Action

Required Readings:

- Organizing Notes on Campaigns.
- Organizing Notes on Action.
- Case: McKenna, Han: Chapter 6, Using Metrics to Get to Scale (pp 3-29) (26) (H)

Week 2 Developing Your Leadership: Getting to Scale. March 28th and 30th, 2023

We develop our second tier of leadership as we turn out people for our kick-off and after. The organizing notes describe how this can work, and we look at two very diverse cases of leadership development to scale: the "6 Minute" community organizing campaign in Amman, Jordan, and the 2007-8 Obama campaign. This week, we will also revisit team structure. Note, by the end of this week, all kick-offs should be completed.

Leadership Development: Getting to Scale

Required Readings:

- *Organizing Notes on Leadership Development (structure) (4800 words) edit.*
- *Case: 6 minutes campaign (H)*
- *McKenna Han: Chapter 5, Creating a Structure to Share Responsibility (pp.130 – 152).(22) (edit) (H)*

Week 3: Innovating Strategic Tactics: Building Momentum. April 4th and 6th 2023

As our campaign unfolds, we evaluate the effectiveness of our tactics, their timeliness, and adaptations. The organizing notes discuss how tactics can work - or not. Alinsky's greatest strength was his tactical imagination, shared here. Our two cases illustrate the creative role that tactics can play in the Harvard Living Wage Campaign (2001), and in the Farmworker Movement (1965 -81).

Tactics, Strategy, Action

Required Readings:

- Ganz, Marshall. Organizing Notes: "Notes on Tactics, Charts, Questions. (2021). (P)
- Saul Alinsky, Rules for Radicals , Tactics, (1989), (pp. 126-136, 148-155, 158-161). (P)
- Case: The Living Wage Debate Comes to Harvard (A) (10 pages) and (B) (18 pages); HKS (2002). (H)
- Case: Jacques Levy, Cesar Chavez: Autobiography of La Causa ; "Boycott Grapes" (pp.263-271), (H)

- “The Miracle of the Fast”, (pp. 272-293); Book IV, Book V, “Victory in the Vineyards,” Chapters 6-14, (2007), (pp.294-325). (H)

Optional Further Reading

- Kim Bobo, Organizing for Social Change, Chapter 5, “A Guide to Tactics,” (1991), (pp.34-41), (P)
- Chapter 7, “Designing Actions,” Organizing for Social Change, (1991), (pp.48-53) (P)
- Micah Sifry “From Textathons To Black Joy: How Color Of Change Is Re-imagining Organizing,” Civicist Oct. 25, 2019 (9 pages) (P)

Week 4: Engaging with Power: Challenging, Bargaining, Settling. April 11th and 13th, 2023

When you begin to get traction, you’ll need to figure out how to manage the power you are developing: with respect to yourselves, your constituency, and your opponents. One case shows how a DC community organization learns to deal with drug dealers and the police. The second case shows how we can use bargaining to build power and how we can build power to strengthen our bargaining.

Power, Bargaining, Settling

Required Readings:

- Case: Jane McAlvey, Chapter 4 “Round One” in Raising Expectations (and Raising Hell): My Decade Fighting for the Labor Movement, Verso, 2012, p. 110-141. (H)
- Case: Orange Hats of Fairlawn

Week 5: Reaching Your Peak: Winning, Losing, Learning. April 18th and 20th, 2023

How can we come out of a campaign stronger whether we win or lose, without pretending that a loss is really a win, or that a win can be built up going forward if it is to remain a win. The organizing notes discuss these apparent paradoxes and the case reflects on the interpretation of an outcome that it takes to make a win a win.

Required Readings:

- Organizing Notes: Winning, Losing and Learning.
- Case: Serbia on the Move

Week 6: Conclusion/celebration. April 25th and 27th, 2023

This week, we hear what we have learned, the questions we continue to ask, and the appreciation we share for each other in having made this journey together. What have we learned about ourselves as observers, organizers or learners? What have we learned about organizing? How well did we meet goals we set at the beginning of the campaign? How can we use what we are learning to strengthen our work in the world? Some readings focus on the individual (micro) questions, and others focus on the structural questions (macro) as we learn how they can interface through organizing (meso).

Note: *this week, sections will take place on Tuesday, and the final lecture on Thursday.*

Required Readings:

Note: Heifetz and Langer offer reflections on what it means to be a mindful practitioner. Reyes and I comment on the challenges facing civil society if democratic government is to work. Skocpol argues for the need for greater participation. Isquith argues the role of neoliberal policy in generating the challenge

to democracy we now face. Hobbs argues the insufficiency of market based approaches to social change. Bock-Hughes makes a very thoughtful critique of the Sanders Campaign. Wortham discusses the new wave of African American organizing sparked by the murder of George Floyd. McAlevey argues a critical role for the labor movement. Chenoweth shares her vision of nonviolent struggle. And Warren argues that democracy is a grassroots project.

- Ronald Heifetz, *Leadership Without Easy Answers*, Chapter 11, "The Personal Challenge," (1994), (pp.250-276). (P)
- Ellen Langer, *Mindfulness*, Chapter 8, "Mindfulness on the Job," (2014), (pp.133-148). (P)
- Arrow Marshall Ganz Reyes, Art. III. "Reclaiming Civil Society", SSIR, 2020. (pp.6-9) (P)
- Theda Skocpol, *Diminished Democracy: From Membership to Management in American Civic Life*, Chapter 7, "Reinventing American Civic Democracy" (2003), (pp.254-293). (H)
- Eias Isquith, "Neoliberalism Poisons Everything: How Free Market Mania Threatens Education and Democracy: Wendy Brown's Undoing the Demos", Salon, June 15, 2015. (H)
- Michael Hobbs, "The Myth of the Ethical Shopper", Huffington Post, July 15, 2015. Volume 31, Issue 3 (pp. 69 - 84) (P)
- Tristan Bock-Hughes, "The Bernie Sanders Campaign Should Have Gone Further" Jacobin, June 23, 2020. (H)
- Jenna Wortham, "How a New Wave of Black Activists Changed the Conversation" *The New York Times*, August 25, 2020 (H)
- D.D. Guttenplan, "The Labor Movement Must Learn These Lessons from the Election: An interview with Jane McAlevey," *The Nation*, February 7, 2017. <https://www.thenation.com/article/labor-movement-must-learn/> (P)
- Dorian Warren, "Growing the Grassroots," *Democracy*, Summer 2019 (T)
- Erica Chenoweth, "The Future of Nonviolent Resistance," *Journal of Democracy*, July 2020, Volume 31, Issue 3 (pp. 69 - 84) (T)

Your final paper of no more than 1,500 words, double-spaced, will be due on Sunday, May 7th, 2023 by 5 pm ET.

Exhibit D

Marshall Ganz

Appointment

Rita E. Hauser Senior Lecturer in Leadership, Organizing, and Civil Society

MLD-377M

"In democratic countries, knowledge of how to combine is the mother of all other forms of knowledge; on its progress depends that of all the others," de Tocqueville observed. Fulfilling the democratic promise of equality, accountability and inclusion requires the participation of an "organized" citizenry that can articulate and assert its shared interests effectively. We can practice democracy by organizing others to confront major public challenges by enabling muted voices to be heard, values to be translated into action, and political will to be mobilized.

Leadership in organizing requires accepting responsibility to enable others to achieve shared purpose in the face of uncertainty. Organizers ask three questions: who are my people, what is our challenge, and how can we turn resources we have into the power we need to meet that challenge. In this module students learn to work as leadership teams to reach out to constituents to design an organizing campaign. Students learn as reflective practitioners of leadership of their campaign: building relationships committed to common purpose; turning values into motivated action through narrative; strategizing to turn resources into the power to achieve outcomes; taking effective action; and structuring leadership collaboratively.

NOTE: In Spring 2023, MLD-377 will be offered as a two-week practicum during the Spring 1 Module, with in-person instruction limited to two intensive workshops on the weekends (February 24-26 and March 3-5). The course will have a maximum enrollment of 63 students, including cross-registered students. Interested students should complete the Student Commitment Form [to be posted Fall 2022]. See Course requirements below for more details about the structure of and participation requirements for this module course.

Course requirements include:

- **Attendance:** Students will attend two weekend practicum sessions, or workshops, [February 24-26; March 3-5], the core "classroom" component of this class. Workshops will begin on Friday afternoon and continue in full day sessions on Saturday and Sunday. Attendance is required for all sessions.
- **Coaching and Team Meetings:** Students meet one-to-one with their small group coach for 10 to 15 minutes in the week before the practicum and in their team for 30 minutes three times over the course of the week in between the two practicum sessions.
- **Readings:** Pre-practicum readings are required, and additional readings are recommended for each session. A case will be assigned for reading between Workshop #1 and Workshop #2.

- Reflection Paper: Students are required to write a 600 word pre-practicum introductory worksheet.
- Final Paper: Students are required to write a 600 word final paper reflecting on their practical, conceptual, and individual learning.

Registration for this course has two required steps:

- 1. Complete this [Student Commitment Form](#) as soon as possible.*
- 2. Follow the regular steps for class registration on [my.harvard](#).*

Also offered by the Graduate School of Education as A-612M.

Exhibit E

Wexner Israel Fellowship

The Wexner Foundation generously supports up to ten outstanding government and public service professionals from Israel annually as they pursue a one-year Mid-Career Master's Degree in Public Administration from Harvard Kennedy School with the goal of providing Israel's next generation of public leaders with superlative training.

At Harvard Kennedy School's Center for Public Leadership, fellows find a rich environment that is conducive to reflection and dialogue about Israel's policy challenges and the diverse leadership strategies that could address those challenges. Upon completing their degree, fellows return to Israel with an advanced understanding of public management and leadership development, thus enhancing the quality of democracy and the institutional vitality of Israel's public sector. Wexner Israel Fellows commit themselves to at least three years of continued service in the Israeli public sector following the completion of the program. Fellows will join the Wexner Israel Fellowship Alumni community of more than 500 members and the larger alumni community of the Wexner Foundation.

Program Manager: [Elisha Gechter](#)



"In my work at the intersection of central government, local government, and the non-profit sector, I have learned that there is no shortage of good people in the public system. Many men and women wake up each morning and try to change our reality. I know them. However, they cannot do it alone. I am committed to creating bridges over these barriers and to being the interpreter between organizational and sectoral cultures."

-Guy Avrutzky, MC-MPA '20

Application

Program Information

WHAT WE OFFER

Financial Support toward a master's degree program at Harvard Kennedy School

A comprehensive co-curricular to augment your leadership development

A network of exceptional peers and mentors who will enhance your ability to impact the communities you serve

THE AWARD

Recipients of the Wexner Israel Fellowship will receive a scholarship for full tuition, fees, and expenses, plus a living stipend.

ELIGIBILITY

The fellowship is open to mid-career leaders in Israel's public sector who are admitted master's degree program students at Harvard Kennedy School. Wexner Israel Fellows commit themselves to at least three years of continued service in the Israeli public sector following the completion of the program.

Applicants will be considered based on their leadership potential and commitment to public service in Israel. Successful candidates will also demonstrate excellent academic credentials. Fellowship award decisions will be primarily merit-based but with a consideration for financial need as determined by the HKS Student Financial Aid Services.

FELLOWSHIP EXPERIENCE

Fellows will participate in a proven, yearlong co-curricular program designed by Harvard Kennedy School's Center for Public Leadership. This not-for-credit program is intended to inspire, provide concrete opportunities for leadership skills-building, and connect fellows with an interdisciplinary network of peers and mentors that will last a lifetime through weekly seminars and institutes devoted to the exploration of professional and personal development. The fellowship co-curricular program includes weekly sessions, an annual retreat, workshops, and experiential learning grounded in discussions with visionary leaders whose work will help fellows create greater impact in public service when they return to Israel.

The Fellows will create a vibrant network of students and alumni committed to advancing knowledge, collaborating on solutions to pressing problems affecting marginalized communities, and

building leadership capacity in their communities, their nation, and the world. Fellows will also join the Wexner Israel Fellowship Alumni community of more than 500 members and the larger alumni community of The Wexner Foundation.

Note: Before submitting your application, we expect that you have thoroughly reviewed all pertinent information related to the Wexner Israel Fellowship, including but not limited to: program requirements, eligibility information, and the background and purpose of the fellowship. Being a CPL fellow carries with it certain responsibilities including maintenance of good academic standing as required by your degree program; attendance at all fellowship programming for the entire duration of the fellowship; leading program sessions and service activities including a field experience trip; and responsible conduct in representing CPL and Harvard University. Please visit our [Fellows FAQs](#) page for more information.

Commitment to Nondiscrimination: As a matter of commitment, policy, and law, Harvard Kennedy School does not discriminate on the basis of gender, gender identity, color, race, age, sexual orientation, religion, national or ethnic origin, political beliefs, intellectual focus, disability, or veteran status. The School strongly believes diversity enhances the value of all its activities, from research and teaching to degree programs and public events. The School encourages applications from candidates who are interested in careers in public service and acknowledges a special responsibility to train effective leaders in public policy and management.

Exhibit F



The goal of the Document:

Describing the needed macro-actions in the Israeli education system as part of the wider context of the Kumzitz to build a movement with a new Israeli story

Goal of the Kumzitz:

To ensure the resilience of Israel as the State of the Jewish People based on equality for all its citizens, substantive democracy, and economic sustainability, in accordance with the scroll of independence.

Kumzitz theory of change:

Building a social movement by taking large-scale actions that influence the core of Israeli society. By implementing these actions, one can create a new Israeli story of partnership, trust, and substantive democracy that is more about values than procedures.

It is possible that this movement could eventually have a formal political representation that could carry out its vision from within the government.

Until that day, we will build the necessary infrastructures for that strategic civic movement and will lead our first turnover in the educational system.

Goal:

A revolution in the Israeli education system in order for it to become the appropriate foundation to train the future generation to deal with the challenges of the 21st century.

The educational system must create the conditions for Israel to continue and evolve as a "Start-up nation" and/or "light unto the nations." As such, it must educate our youth for a life of tolerance, empathy, responsibility, and actions by Jewish and democratic values. It needs to close the gaps of opportunities between the different sectors and periphery and center.

Principles of action:

- 1) We believe that in today's reality, a substantial influence on the system must be external to the system. The internal forces within the existing system do not allow to pivot and reconstruct it as needed. The main assumption for this document is that we need to build power that is not limited by the current reality and, through that power, to push on the formal system to change dramatically.

- 2) **The core of the educational system needs to be one** - To all Israeli citizens. The educational system must give equal fundamentals without exceptions in both subjects that allow us to continue and develop our financial system and, even more so, in subjects that develop Israeli identity.
Above these subjects, each sector will be free to express its priorities as long as it does not contradict what's in the base layer of our education.



3) **Status of the educational personnel** - Like every system, the quality of the system depends directly on the quality of personnel. We believe the education system is the single most important system in the state and hold our future directly and substantially. As such, the quality of the personnel there should be the very best people. To allow this to happen, the status of teachers must change both in their appearance in public eyes and terms of compensation. This view stands in accord with Jewish values throughout generations and is needed to be expressed in real life.

4) **Autonomy** - Once the right people are in the system, we need to allow them maximum autonomy - pedagogy-wise and financially-wise.

The educational system needs creativity to train future generations to deal with future challenges. Devoted education people with a real arsenal of tools at their disposal, alongside an engaged and committed community of parents, would be able to lead for years an excellent educational system.

The state involvement should be limited to certain things like

- Budget institutions according to KPIs.
- Mentor institutions that do not stand in the KPIs.
- Minimum benchmark of education for all Israeli students.
- Challenging the system in a systematic way to push toward creativity, innovation, and development.
- High benchmark for educational staff and creating conditions to bring the best personnel into the system.

The How:

1) **Taking over the teachers' unions** - the teachers' unions that exist today are a major obstacle to the development of the system. The power in their hands, and especially the use of it, has been proven to be a failure over the years.

Their interests stand in total opposition to the construction of a quality education system and are mainly devoted to the retention of many people who should leave the system, excessive use of power, and its leverage in directions that do not serve the system as a whole but only specific individuals. These organizations block any attempt by one or another minister of education - regardless of their party or political position - to carry out a reform - whatever it may be.

These are organizations without an iota of transparency (Ottoman associations) that paint a false picture of protecting the weak while, in practice, they serve a very certain stratum that is extorting the state.

These organizations need to be fundamentally changed and even shut down.

Estimated budget - 50 million NIS.



- 2) **Building an alternative to the teachers' unions** - As a follow-up to the above, we do understand that there is a real need to preserve quality teachers in the system and create incentives that will attract the best people into the system. To realize our vision for quality staffing of the education system, we will establish a new transparent organization that takes care over time and rebuild the symbolic wealth of those who care to educate the future generations of Israel.

Estimated budget - 25 million NIS.

- 3) **Community of parents** -The involvement of parents in the education system as of today is marginal, and in places where it exists, it is often harmful. In our view, the parents are the main stakeholders of the education system, and we must completely change the perception from a minimalist view in which the parents “outsource” the children's education and their expectation from the education system is to be a babysitter at most, to a reality in which the parents are central partners in leading and building the education system - both in determining the contents, the quality of teachers, budget requirements, the status of teachers, etc.

The community of parents should be both online and offline and represent all sectors and social classes in Israel. The movement will function as a strong and uncompromising lever on national priorities regardless of which party is in power. The education system includes EVERYONE; hence, there is an opportunity to tell a new Israeli story that divides the social pie in a completely different way.

Building this community is a central part of the overall plan and will form the basis for the overall movement that reorganizes Israeli society and builds the founding narrative through joint action and not through talking about what should be done.

Estimated budget - 150 million NIS.

- 4) **Building a team of education experts** (Israeli and international) to create a detailed work plan that includes a full pedagogical and moral concept to implement all the principles of action indicated in this document.

The goal of the team is to both create the baseline for innovative content that effectively prepares the future generation to face the 21st-century challenges (proper and moral use of technology, climate, dealing with uncertainty, etc.) and also to produce the right prestige that will enable the harnessing of stakeholders from all camps.

The team will engage in the construction of a detailed work plan to take over the education system. They will learn all the reforms that have been written, learning from their success/failures and synchronizing them with current research from around the world in order to offer a new educational vision for the Israeli education system.



We understand that our relative strength lies in laying down a bold and innovative vision for the education system, but we recognize the need to go down to the details and bring the best from the worlds of education to paint in great detail how the Israeli education system should and could look like to produce the infrastructure required to fulfill the Komzitz vision for the future State of Israel.

Estimated budget - 20 million NIS.

- 5) **A quality alternative** - For many people, the current system does not provide an answer. However, given that there is no other solution, they are forced to continue sending their children to the existing institutions.

Various pioneering movements offer alternative education, mostly private and therefore accessible to very small parts of the population. However, wherever a subsidized alternative framework has been opened, there is an excess demand of hundreds of percent. That is, the establishment of a subsidized alternative system will allow us to gain enormous power by providing excellent educational services - wherever we choose to operate. Essentially, we can establish a shadow system that will show the broad public in the country what public education in the State of Israel can look like - given the right leadership. And that's exactly what we mean to do.

Estimated budget - 1 billion NIS.

- 6) **Deep involvement in the high school's educational networks and youth movements**

- The education networks currently operate in high school age and are mainly budgeted by the state and do not take sufficient responsibility for significant moral education - regardless of the dictates of the Ministry of Education. We understand that with significant capital, we can quickly and significantly influence hundreds of thousands of high school students and youth movement participants in Israel on issues that we define as significant.

Since the operation of the secondary and elementary schools also depends on the municipality as well as the network, deep partnerships must also be created with the authorities in Israel as a future source of power. Hence, investments should also be made in the municipalities to help them write an educational program that introduces the system of values that we wish to assimilate.

Estimated budget- 1 billion.

- 7) **Broad political coalition** - our activities here are not related at all to any political party but to the survival and prosperity of the State of Israel - for all its residents. We intend to do focused political work on all 120 Knesset members in order to create the coalition required for a real revolution in the Israeli education system - anyone who sees the good of the country in their eyes should support and promote such a revolution. It is understood that the ability to promote such a coalition is deeply



rooted in the involvement of the parents, who play a critical role in the success of the entire plan.

Estimated budget - 20 million NIS.

- 8) **Content and communication** - in the modern era, communication must be a part of any grand move. We intend to establish an extensive communications infrastructure that will promote and support this plan and, above all, harness public opinion and parents to engage and understand that we have no privilege but to demand an excellent education system on a global scale.

It should be noted that the communicational infrastructure that will be established will serve all of the change efforts that we plan to lead over the years and is not focused solely on the education system. That is, it is not a campaign but a significant infrastructure organization.

Estimated budget - 100 million NIS.

- 9) **Abolishing the tenures** - there are many weights on the Israeli education system that do not allow it to progress. A significant part of the ability to move forward lies in the ability to free the system from the weights weighing it down, most of which exist because of political constraints. We intend to build a plan that will oblige the state to end the saga of tenures in the education system to allow a much more effective budget utilization and the introduction of new and high-quality personnel.

Estimated budget - T.B.D.

- 10) **A new education law** - the final action of the entire move described here will be a fundamental change of the outdated education law so that the principles written here will be established and fully budgeted for by the government. The law should not be anachronistic and rolled over from generation to generation but should be examined frequently as appropriate for a strategic system that develops and is crucial for the future of the country. This is a long-term move, and it seems that the realization of this clause can only happen after the completion of the full move of the Komzitz to seize the power positions of the government. However, it is important for us to draw the future and long-term intentions today.

Sequence of activities:

- 1) Raising initial capital to expand operations - Seed
- 2) Beginning activity on sections 1-4 + 8.
- 3) Raising significant capital to implement the operations themselves.
- 4) Execution of actions in a multidimensional and parallel way. Sections 5-7.

Background

One of the most important and complex questions that the Zionist enterprise has grappled with from its inception to the present day is: What did we come to do in the Land of Israel? Did we become a nation of chosen people, with a specific mission, or did we become a nation just as ordinary as any other?

The founding fathers of the modern State of Israel tried to answer these questions and formulated the Declaration of Independence which expresses the utopian vision for the State: "The State of Israel... will be based on freedom, justice and peace as envisaged by the prophets of Israel". These words, set in the heart of the Declaration, express the Zionist Jewish perception that the state is not only a political and existential solution, and not even only the realization of a natural right to sovereignty and a homeland; these words frame the realization of a vision for the creation of an exemplary society.

The Declaration of Independence, signed on the day the state was declared, embodies the connection between the thousand-year-old Jewish history in the Land of Israel, and the deep commitment to an "essential democracy" (Not a mere procedure but a set of values). We therefore chose the Declaration as the compass to be our guide.

Since the Declaration's signing large rifts have emerged between the vision of the founding fathers, and the actual execution. These gaps have become so great over the years that they pose an existential threat to the country and its future.

Threatening Trends

Since its establishment, Israel has become the home for Jews from all over the world. Jewish people flocked to Israel to build a new life, many of whom arrived without anything. Despite security and economic crises that have plagued the country since inception and despite the many, unprecedented waves of immigration, Israel has become a world leader in R&D, security and agriculture, and is a spearhead of the global high-tech industry.

This growth, stemming from the huge void of the holocaust through the declaration and building of a state, created a country of creativity that draws venture capital in unprecedented amounts in relation to the country's size and population.

The standard of living in Israel today for approximately half of the population is higher than ever, and Israelis admit that despite everything, they're generally happier than most other nations of the world.

The vision of establishing a home for the Jewish nation - has been fulfilled.

However, the country that quickly caught up with other leading countries in the world during its first decades of existence has changed its national priorities over the past few decades. This shift has brought worrying trends that nowadays threaten the existence of the State of Israel within a few decades.

Israel's past achievements are based on educational infrastructure and on human resources that are eroding.

The conditions that fortified Israeli democracy until now and created social, cultural, and economic growth engines based on diversity, pluralism, science, and technology will not necessarily exist going forward:

1. **Lack of economic participation:** In the not-too-distant past, the Arab and ultra-orthodox communities were minorities in Israeli society. This demographic has changed and their representation among the adult population in Israel has grown significantly; However, the numbers among the juvenile population paint a dramatic picture for Israel's future. The fact that these large segments of society do not actively participate in the economy creates a situation where 50% of the population's income is lower than the income tax threshold.

As a result, 92% of the country's income tax intake comes from a mere 20% of the population (increasing from 83% in 2000). The segment of society that carries the tax burden, as well as the burden of military reserve duty, is made up mainly of liberally minded citizens.

The situation in which a small percentage of the population supports a larger and growing percentage is not sustainable.

2. **Deterioration of student achievements and a failing education system that creates social gaps:** Approximately half of all the children in Israel today receive a third-world education, and they belong to the fastest growing segments of the population. Most of the ultra-orthodox (Charedi), Arab and large portions of children from the country's geographical periphery do not receive an education that will provide them with the tools and skills enabling them to integrate into an advanced and global labor market.

This point is a fatal blow to Israel's ability to maintain its status and to be counted among the developed economies of the world in the long run, while maintaining its relative advantage in the security field based on human capital and technological advantage.

3. **Weakening of Israeli Democracy:** Israel lacks meaningful education for democracy among broad segments of the population. There is also a lack of internal consensus on the essence of Israeli democracy and Israel's identity as a liberal democracy. This creates a reality of "losing the light-house" with terrible implications such as politics of identities that divide and polarize society and diminishing importance of substance of ideology for a superficial shallow culture. This is a real threat on our ability to manage the state.

The essence of ideology became inferior to the personal question about a specific leader (Bibi) and both right and left ideologies, seem to be irrelevant in how we vote. Some examples to it are:

- Political parties who don't bother even having a written agenda
- No coherence in financial, social and safety views

Our view is simple – Democracy is a promise for full equality of rights, alongside full participation and what is needed to hold the Israeli state.

4. **Governing structure:** The ability to influence and change the state's direction from within the governing system is extremely limited, given the problematic governing structure and politics based on identity. This is expressed in the fact that there is no ability to have real impact on substantive issues in which broad national consensus and vision is required by taking the national interest into consideration and not limiting to a sectoral perspective. In recent years, we have witnessed complex and unstable political coalitions and a waning level of trust among citizens of Israel in political institutions as their operational

outputs are at an unprecedented low.

It is important to note that citizens' distrust in government institutions is also taking place at the global level. Radicalization of the discourse in many western nations is observed, as are the strengthening of worrisome trends shaping art, postmodernity, etc. This challenge invites a new and comprehensive perspective on the role of countries at the present time.

On the one hand, we are no longer a state in the start-up stage that can work on intuition and gamble everything. On the other, our institutions as for today are not functioning as in a developed state. We are basically stuck for a few decades in a transition stage between the start-up that did amazingly well and the established corporate that we need to become to ensure long-term sustainability. Needless to say, we do not want to lose the creativity, courage and agility that brought us up to this day, but we must also stabilize institutions that will allow to actually rule rather than being blackmailed by several small parties with a relative strength that is much larger than their part of population.

Another angle to look at this problem would be the faith of the public. All over the world the lost of faith in the governmental systems diminishes the ability to lead significant changes. In Israel, the parliament structure accelerates this phenomenon by allowing political blackmail and access power to radical parties and by this, undermining the government as a whole.

5. **deterioration in solidarity and feeling of belongingness to the values and vision** – The Zionist movement was created from a real need to protect Jews – as a community and as individuals. Today, after years of creating infrastructures and stabilization, the sense of urgency faded away and there are changes in the values and priorities of the liberal public. Ignoring the Threatening Trends implications, the deterioration in solidarity and lack of leadership create a narrative of loss of collective power, apathy and doubt in the desire and ability to keep the state as they believe it should be.

One expression to this is the 'brain drain' and depletion of leading economic forces: Israel's growth engines were, and still are, high quality human capital. However, young people who belong to this group lose hope, their sense of belonging, and seek the service of society and the state. In practice, a growing share of the educated population – especially those who studied at leading academic institutions and have specialized in the areas that are most important for ensuring Israel's continued economic growth – are leaving Israel in droves.

6. **Weakening of the connection between diaspora Jewry and the State of Israel:** In the diaspora, empathy for the State of Israel is waning, particularly among north American Jewry. Jews in the diaspora no longer identify with the State of Israel for various reasons (religious radicalization, presence in occupied territories) and Israel is viewed less and less as a source of pride, and a country for which they have a sense of belonging.

This emotional distancing carries long-term implications for the national security of the State of Israel. The willingness of Jewish leadership in the diaspora to influence support from the United States diplomatically and economically is declining. As are direct economic support and investment in Israel. The security of the Jewish people, the identity of Israel as the Jewish nation-state and the internal resilience and cohesion of

Jewish communities across the United States have also weakened considerably.

7. **The borders of the State of Israel and presence in the territories:** The State of Israel is a state without agreed-upon borders. This is not a technical detail, but rather a substantial event that in many respects is also responsible for the all the challenges noted above. The state's presence in the occupied territories creates a destructive reality due to:
- Endless resources being invested beyond the Green Line instead of developing the country's future.
 - The presence of the people's army in a controversial situation to say the least that leaves deep scars on current Israeli society and generates broad polarization.
 - Distortion of democracy and the law to justify the state's actions in the territories.
 - The loss of a unifying story for the Jewish people in general and for Israeli society in particular.
 - A failed political system that is unable to function.

All of these separately and certainly cumulatively, pose a real danger to the continued existence of the State of Israel as a substantive democracy, as a thriving economy, and as a “light unto the nations”.

Exhibit G

Subject: Re: FW: Request

Date: Tuesday, April 25, 2023 at 2:56:58 PM Eastern Daylight Time

From: Student 2

To: Allyson Kurker

request to register in the course:

Dear Professor Ganz,

Following our conversation again today and building on our meeting a few days ago, I wish to once again emphasize my commitment to working toward a new narrative for Israel and the sense of urgency I feel to do so. I believe that there would be no better forum than your class to develop my initial concept and learn how to make it a reality.

I came to HKS with the intent of figuring out the best way to promote a more inclusive, respectful, and peaceful Israel for all its citizens and neighbors. Sadly, the situation back home is becoming more dire. As we spoke, I have been working with another classmate (Student 1) on building a campaign that will lead to deeply needed change in Israel. At the core of the campaign is the goal of bringing together a diverse set of leaders, representing the various groups in Israel, to build a new shared narrative, one that will promote democratic values of freedom, safety and prosperity for all.

An opportunity to participate in your course would allow me to hone the skills I need to be successful in sparking a social movement in Israel – building the initial group of changemakers, identifying and setting the goals of change that we seek, and building the campaign to execute our vision. Thank you very much for your consideration -- I hope to have the opportunity to learn from you.

Warmly,
Student 2

Exhibit H



Purpose Statement

1 message

Marshall Ganz <marshallganz@me.com>

Thu, Mar 2, 2023 at 01:28 To:

Students 1, 2, and 3

Cc: Dan Grandone <grandone8@gmail.com>, Teaching fellow

Dear Students 1, 2, and 3 ,

Thank you so for the opportunity last Monday to discuss the purpose of your organizing project: who are your "people", what is your goal and how can they turn resources they have into the power they need to achieve that goal.

You have described your purpose as: organizing a growing majority of Israelis, that act in harmony, building on a shared ethos of Israel as a liberal-Jewish-democracy, being a cultural, economic and security lighthouse.

Unfortunately, for pedagogical reasons, this statement of "purpose" is not acceptable going forward. My priority is the learning of the 116 students formed into 27 leadership teams, all with their own purposes, who signed up for the opportunity to begin learning the practice of organizing over the next few days and, for many, beyond. The claim that Israel is a "liberal Jewish democracy" - without debating its merits - almost immediately introduced a highly controversial claim that produced an emotional reaction that began disrupting the learning opportunity for our students. In another context, debating this claim could no doubt be a fruitful learning opportunity, but that is not the learning for which our students signed up.

Please revise your purpose statement as appropriate so as to facilitate everyone's learning of organizing, including your own. Please submit your revised statement by Thursday, March 2, at 6:00 PM.

Thank you very much. I look forward to the opportunity to continue learning together. Marshall



Purpose Statement

1 message

Student 1

Thu, Mar 2, 2023 at 08:50 To:

marshall ganz <marshallganz@me.com>

Cc: Students 2, and 3, Dan Grandone, and teaching fellow

Students 2, and 3, Dan Grandone, and teaching fellow

Dear professor,

We didn't have time yet to meet and discuss your email, but I still don't quite understand what you are asking us to change?

What exactly is the root of the problem in our current purpose and what would you like it to be in order for us to keep the subject?

Many thanks,

Student 1

[Quoted text hidden]



Re: Purpose Statement

1 message

Student 1

Thu, Mar 2, 2023 at 13:42 To:

marshall ganz <marshallganz@me.com>

Cc: Students 2, and 3, Dan Grandone, and teaching fellow

Dear Professor,

We're meeting with Dan at 15:30 and are meeting between ourselves at 15:00 to discuss between ourselves.

Please kindly clarify what What exactly is the root of the problem in our current purpose and what would you like it to be in order for us to keep the subject?

We want to arrive the meeting well prepared. Many

thanks,

Student 1

[Quoted text hidden]



Re: Purpose Statement

1 message

Marshall Ganz <marshallganz@me.com>

Thu, Mar 2, 2023 at 13:53 To:

Student 1

Cc: Students 2, and 3, Dan Grandone, and teaching fellow

Hi

Student 1,

Thanks for reaching out. Please take a careful look at what I've written. I tried to be as clear as possible. It will be good for your team to have a conversation with Dan as well.

Marshall



Re: Purpose Statement

1 message

Student 1

Thu, Mar 2, 2023 at 14:06 To:

marshall ganz <marshallganz@me.com>

Cc: Students 2, and 3, Dan Grandone, and teaching fellow

I did read.

But I can't understand what would you like our purpose to be in order for us to keep the subject? As we all agree the subject is important.



Re: Purpose Statement

1 message

Student 1

Thu, Mar 2, 2023 at 14:26 To:

marshall ganz <marshallganz@me.com>

Cc: Students 2, and 3, Dan Grandone, and teaching fellow

Dan and teaching fellow,

Of course, you're also welcome to offer a solution for my question so our 15:00 preparation meeting would be efficient and fruitful.

Asking again:

Please kindly clarify what What exactly is the root of the problem in our current purpose and what would you like it to be in order for us to keep the subject (which I assume we all agree on - but perhaps this is a false assumption).

Best,

Student 1

[Quoted text hidden]



Re: Purpose Statement

1 message

Student 2

Thu, Mar 2, 2023 at 17:02 To:

Student 2, Dan Grandone, Student 3, teaching fellow, Marshall Ganz, Student 1

Hello Professor Ganz,

Our team just concluded a meeting with Dan. We discussed the great progress we are making and the deep insights we have gathered from interview and our long team meetings.

Following the emails below, and as discussed with Dan (and as we understood also related from him to you), we are still waiting for your further clarification of the issues you find in our project purpose.

Best,
Student 2



From: **Marshall Ganz** <marshallganz@me.com>

Date: Thu, 2 Mar 2023 at 17:42

Subject: Re: Purpose Statement

To: Student 2

CC: Student 2, Dan Grandone, Student 3, teaching fellow, Student 1

Hi!

I just concluded office hours.

To be as direct as I can be the fact is that many people enrolled in the class term “Jewish democracy” deeply offensive because it limits membership in a political community to those who share a specific ethno-religious identity - whereas democracy is based on the equal worth of each person, regardless of race, ethnicity, and religion. The claim to democracy can be particularly offensive when one people has been dominating now 5 million other people whom it denies any political voice since 1967.

I’m happy to discuss the question, host a debate of the question, etc. But I cannot permit it to claim the very limited time and space in a class in which 116 students are enrolled to learn to practice organizing. Please find a way to describe your organizing project in terms that are respectful of others in the class.

Thank you.

Marshall

denies another people whom it holds in with no political voice

which is to members of a specific ethnoreligious identity.

membership in a specific ethno-religious identity.

[Quoted text hidden]



Purpose Statement

1 message

Student 3

Thu, Mar 2, 2023 at 22:52 To:

Ganz, Marshall <marshall_ganz@hks.harvard.edu>, marshall ganz <marshallganz@me.com>

Cc: Students 1 and 2

Dear

professor Ganz,

We received your email telling us that you will not permit us to present our work, on promoting Israel as a Liberal-Jewish- Democracy, and we must ask you to reconsider.

This project is important to us, and we were excited to have the chance to present our ideas to you and the class. Your course offers students a unique and valuable opportunity to develop organizing strategies based on their stories of self, of us and of now. We want only to have the same opportunity.

As you know, Israel identifies as a Jewish and democratic state and, for many Israelis like us, the idea of Jewish democracy is not just an idea. It is deeply woven within our identities as Israelis and as Jews. It is a part of who we are as a people.

There are many nation-states in the global community that embrace one particular identity- whether it be ethnicity, nationality, linguistics or religion over others- while attempting to retain democratic liberal core tenets.

<https://www.pewresearch.org/religion/2017/10/03/many-countries-favor-specific-religions-officially-or-unofficially/>

Many Countries Favor Specific Religions, Officially or Unofficially

Islam is the most common state religion, but many governments give privileges to Christianity. With that said, Israel does not have a national religion unlike the seven European countries that do.

In any event, academic freedom is not served by silencing ideas – or people from unpopular countries -- simply because some students may be uncomfortable with them. This is a class that is focused on teaching individuals how to mobilize and organize individuals around ideas in order to create cohesive movements that can impact a society on multiple levels. The description we developed is not disrespectful or harmful to any student and the words we use are found in Israel's Declaration of Independence.

If students wanted to organize their purpose around the movement such as Black Lives Matter which privileges a particular minority community, would you find it to be problematic because it potentially excludes other community identities that also face discrimination and persecution who don't identify as Black?

We enter into this workshop with curiosity, humility, and integrity. We are deeply disappointed with your response toward our project, which we believe is of the utmost importance given the current political realities in Israel. We find your decision to be demeaning to us. It sends the unmistakable message that as Jewish Israelis we must forego opportunities available to all the other students in the class. And not only this class—as you acknowledged, you have never told students in any class that they could not present their work, for any reason.

In this spirit, we repeat the following purpose for our project, on which we have devoted so much time and effort:

Our purpose is to focus on organizing a growing majority of Israelis, that act in harmony, building on a shared ethos of Israel as a liberal-Jewish-democracy, being a cultural, economic and security lighthouse.

This is the purpose that we plan to work on and present this weekend, as proud Jewish Israelis, in your class.

Thank you,

Students 1, 2, and 3



Re: Purpose Statement

1 message

Marshall Ganz <marshallganz@me.com>

Fri, Mar 3, 2023 at 00:07 To:

Student 3

Cc: Ganz, Marshall <marshall_ganz@hks.harvard.edu>, Student 2, Student 1, Dan Grandone, teaching fellow

Dear Students 1, 2, and 3,

It's unfortunate that you are choosing to ignore the provocative nature of your claims - not about your own identity, but about the identity of others who do not share your unique ethno-religious identity. As such they are consigned to the status permanent ascriptive ethnic minorities, many of whom have no political rights at all. Religious identities with few exceptions include a wide range of racial or ethnic communities.

The challenge here is about others, not yourselves. We asked you to step up and accept responsibility for joining us in sustaining an affirming, inclusive, tolerant, generous and peaceful learning environment - our first priority. We invited you to remain full participants in the class and benefit with your classmates from the learning without unnecessarily provocative behavior. Dan, in particular, offered you multiple ways to fulfill class requirements with full respect for everyone's learning. That you choose not to do so is, of course, your choice, as is your responsibility for the consequences.

Marshall



Re: Purpose Statement

1 message

Student 1

Fri, Mar 3, 2023 at 08:11 To:

marshall ganz <marshallganz@me.com>

Cc: Students 2 and 3, Marshall Ganz, Dan Grandone, teaching fellow

Dear

Marshall,

Could you please clarify?

Are you saying that we may not present on our original topic? Is the reason because you believe the topic of Judaism as an ethno-religion and a discussion of Jewish self-determination is too "provacative"?

Also, why do you prefer others students emotions, and not considering our feelings?

When you say there will be consequences, are you referring to academic consequences or some other consequences? Please kindly

clarify as the meaning of what you mean by "consequences" is very vague.

Best,

Student 1



Re: Purpose Statement

1 message

Marshall Ganz <marshallganz@me.com>

Fri, Mar 3, 2023 at 12:35 To:

Student 1

Cc: Students 2 and 3, Dan Grandone, teaching fellow

Hi

Student 1,

With respect to consequences I can only speak to fulfillment of course requirements. You may also want to consider how responsive others may be to your approach.

Marshall