EXERY SIEP



JUSTICE AND MERCY ON AND OFF
WELLESLEY'S CAMPUS
SPRING 2022

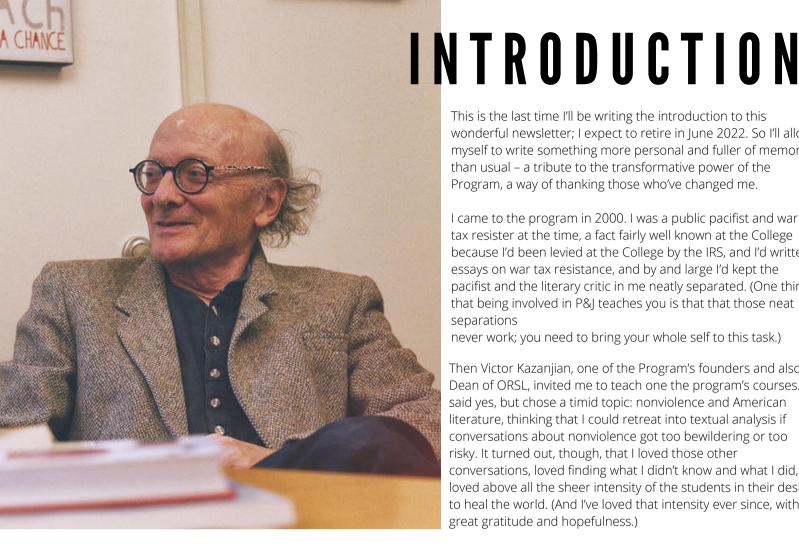
WEHAVEACHOICEWE CAN EMBRACE OU HUMANNESS, WHICH MEANS BRACING OUR BROKE NATURES AND THE COMPASSION REMAINS OUR BEST HOP G. OR CAN UR BROKENNESS ORESWEAR COMPASSIO AS A RESULT OWN HUMANITY

BRYAN STEVENSON
JUST MERCY

WELLESLEY COLLEGE LAND ACKNOWLEDGMENT

WE ACKNOWLEDGE THAT WELLESLEY COLLEGE IS BUILT ON ANCESTRAL AND TRADITIONAL LAND OF THE MASSACHUSETT PEOPLE. WE ALSO RECOGNIZE THAT THE UNITED STATES' REMOVAL, TERMINATION, AND ASSIMILATION POLICIES AND PRACTICES RESULTED IN THE FORCED SETTLEMENT OF INDIGENOUS LANDS AND THE ATTEMPTED ERASURE OF INDIGENOUS CULTURES AND LANGUAGES. WE FURTHER ACKNOWLEDGE THE OPPRESSION, INJUSTICES, AND DISCRIMINATION THAT INDIGENOUS PEOPLE HAVE ENDURED AND THAT THERE IS MUCH WORK TO BE DONE ON THE IMPORTANT JOURNEY TO RECONCILIATION. WE COMMIT TO STRENGTHEN OUR UNDERSTANDING OF THE HISTORY AND CONTEMPORARY LIVES OF INDIGENOUS PEOPLES AND TO STEWARD THIS LAND.

WE FURTHER RECOGNIZE THE MANY INDIGENOUS PEOPLE
LIVING HERE TODAY-INCLUDING THE MASSACHUSETT,
WAMPANOAG, AND NIPMUC NATIONS-WHO HAVE RICH
ANCESTRAL HISTORIES IN WELLESLEY AND ITS SURROUNDING
COMMUNITIES. TODAY, THEIR DESCENDANTS REMIND US THAT
THEY ARE STILL HERE, WHERE THEY MAINTAIN A VITAL AND
VISIBLE PRESENCE. WE HONOR AND RESPECT THE ENDURING
RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN THESE PEOPLES AND THIS LAND, AS
WELL AS THE STRENGTH OF INDIGENOUS CULTURE AND
KNOWLEDGE, THE CONTINUED EXISTENCE OF TRIBAL
SOVEREIGNTY, AND THE PRINCIPLE OF TRIBAL SELFDETERMINATION.



This is the last time I'll be writing the introduction to this wonderful newsletter; I expect to retire in June 2022. So I'll allow myself to write something more personal and fuller of memory than usual – a tribute to the transformative power of the Program, a way of thanking those who've changed me.

I came to the program in 2000. I was a public pacifist and war tax resister at the time, a fact fairly well known at the College because I'd been levied at the College by the IRS, and I'd written essays on war tax resistance, and by and large I'd kept the pacifist and the literary critic in me neatly separated. (One thing that being involved in P&J teaches you is that that those neat separations

never work; you need to bring your whole self to this task.)

Then Victor Kazanjian, one of the Program's founders and also Dean of ORSL, invited me to teach one the program's courses. I said yes, but chose a timid topic: nonviolence and American literature, thinking that I could retreat into textual analysis if conversations about nonviolence got too bewildering or too risky. It turned out, though, that I loved those other conversations, loved finding what I didn't know and what I did, loved above all the sheer intensity of the students in their desire to heal the world. (And I've loved that intensity ever since, with great gratitude and hopefulness.)

I was, that is, hooked. All honor to Victor for having a better sense of me than I did myself, for knowing where to cast his line, for changing my life. But I wasn't, alas, competent. I knew so little of the history and politics of my own tradition, still less about more general questions of peace

and justice. I felt a passionate desire to know more, but saw no clear way towards that goal.

Then Victor invited me to co-teach a course on Gandhi and his traditions, in India, and I said yes, and there I was, talking all day long about Gandhi and his challenges for us and ours for him, talking with the students, talking with Victor, above all talking with Craig Murphy, like me

about to retire this year, and good heavens, how the program and the College will miss him! Craig and I would go running in the morning, especially during our days in Varanasi, and I would ask him questions about political theory, wanting to learn, but also thinking that if he talked and I listened I could match his pace. To my delight but not to my surprise, Craig was generous in sharing his astonishing knowledge, and in good enough shape to keep an even pace while explaining the subtleties of Buddhist political science. I had occasions to learn later; but these ambulatory seminars were maybe the best teaching I ever got. (When I later had a chance to co-teach the Program's introductory course with Craig, it was in the happiest way a continuation of that seminar.)

I'll end with a different kind of gratitude. I'll miss P&J when I retire; but I won't feel that my retirement, or even Craig's retirement, is a threat to the Program. The two faculty now teaching in it, Catia Confortini and Nadya Hajj, are flat-out terrific, and it is their work, over the last ten years, first Catia's and now Catia's and Nadya's together, that has made the program more present, more edgy, more demanding, more exhilarating. My particular thanks to Catia for the mindblowing opportunity to co-teach three courses with her on nonviolent direct action, my general thanks to them both for what they've done, and for what they're about to do. Zol zayn mitn grestn mazl, may all that they do be attended with the greatest possible good fortune.



The Class of 1950 Emily Greene Balch Scholarship

Olivia Feldman (She/They)
Class of 2022
History & Religion Double Major

With the generosity of the Peace & Justice Studies Program and the Class of 1950, I was able to pursue working with Justice 4 Housing, a very new non-profit organization founded and run by formerly incarcerated women. This organization focuses on ending housing discrimination and homelessness that results from being incarcerated and CORI background checks. Essentially, our mission is to decriminalize housing. Our model works off the housing first model. Housing first is a crucial concept; without an address, you cannot get a government-issued ID. You cannot open a bank account without an address. If you don't have a bank account, you can't get a job. And on and on, the cycle continues, setting anyone who was incarcerated up to fail and be put back into the prison system. Prisons are profitable, and it's seen that helping people is not. We have many direct programs working on getting vouchers from the public housing authorities; we also do CORI sealing, fight evictions, and work on legislation. We have two bills in committee currently at the Massachusetts State Legislature. It has been such an incredible experience and a really formative one. I learned so much about housing policy and the prison industrial complex.

I worked largely doing communications work where I was working to tell the stories of people who have been forced into homelessness by the public housing authorities. I am grateful to have taken on a role that established our media presence, worked on getting people to community action events, and worked with journalists.

I feel as though something vital to getting grants, donations, and volunteers is to put forward the humanity of what we are doing. I think intentional storytelling is really important for people to empathize and understand why we are doing our work and why we need their help. We are an incredibly small organization with barely any funding, and all our funding goes to our programs. Something very important to me was having the opportunity to work in a non-profit that felt very community-based, and we delivered a lot of successful results in getting our clients housed and stopping evictions.

I did not feel as though I have in the past worked at non-profits, where it felt like a lot of work was to raise money that wasn't going to direct services, and the higher-ups make a massive salary, and that we weren't doing anything tangible. At Justice 4 Housing, we're run by a formerly incarcerated woman herself who saw the hurt in her community and used her experience with the justice system to help others find housing. It doesn't feel like being a part of the non-profit industrial complex. I am very lucky to have been able to stay on after this summer and continue to do the work that I have found a passion in, and it is all thanks to you all at the Peace & Justice Studies department. If you would like to get involved, you can find all of our information at justice4housing.org or our social media; all platforms are @justice4housing. Thank you all; I am so grateful!



The Class of 1950 Emily Greene Balch Scholarship

Sumaiyea Uddin (She/Her) Class of 2024

For the past summer, I was fortunate enough to have had the opportunity to research state and organizational approaches to injury prevention. I interviewed several states that were part of the 2015-2021 CDC Core State Violence and Injury Prevention Program (CORE SVIPP). Through these interviews, I was better able to understand the states' and country's roles in preventing injury. Locally, I interviewed representatives from the Department of Health in Massachusetts and Rhode Island. Extending further, I interviewed representatives from Illinois, Oregon, and Montana. After gathering recordings and notes of these interviews, I wrote up an approximately 30 page "assessment" detailing my findings, which included the largest challenge being funding. Though I interviewed several states, I worked for Wisconsin and thus this report was then shared with Wisconsin officials.

A few days a week I would attend a class with medical students on injury, giving me insight on a simple of the medical profession and the opportunities that exist for medical students. I was able to view live panel discussions by those in the medical field or related fields.

I greatly enjoyed my internship and stayed longer than expected. My team was supportive, encouraging, and prompt. Through this internship, I learned many things. Firstly, the people you work with definitely shapes how excited you are for work. Second, the medical profession includes a lot more than the typical "doctor" idea (but doctors definitely do work in the injury field). Lastly, there are often intersections of your passion and other fields that should be explored. Prior to this internship, I was certain that I wouldn't be interested in anything medical related. However, after this internship, I am realizing that the medical field intersects strongly with my passions and though I am not considering going to medical school (or who knows??), I know there are a lot of connections I could make in the future with hospitals, doctors, and surgeons.



The Kathleen Dandy Gladstone ('50) Scholarship in Climate Crisis Solutions

Sophia Pechaty (she/her)
Class of 2022
Peace and Justice Studies Major
Global Portuguese Studies Minor

About a year and a half ago, I started working with the North Star Chapter of the Sierra Club (the oldest grassroots environmental organization in the US) in my home state of MN. For most of that time, I've been a volunteer leader on the Stop Line 3 campaign team.

Line 3 is a pipeline carrying tar sands, one of the dirtiest types of oil. Line 3 is owned and operated by a Canadian corporation called Enbridge Energy, the company responsible for the Kalamazoo River oil spill. Enbridge has marketed this pipeline as a replacement project, because there's an existing Line 3 that has been in the ground since the '60s. (Enbridge's old Line 3 actually caused the largest inland oil spill in US history, which took place in MN when the old Line 3 spilled 1.7 million gallons.) Line 3 crosses more than 200 bodies of water, including 2 crossings of the Mississippi River headwaters and through the watershed of Lake Superior; an oil spill here would be disastrous for the clean water of millions. Construction of Line 3 is also a direct violation of treaties between the US government and the Anishinaabe people, which guarantees them the right to fish, hunt, gather, and hold ceremony on this land. According to the US constitution, treaties are the "supreme law of the land", which means they should take priority when they come into conflict with other laws or legal agreements. That construction of Line 3 began against the protests of the Anishinaabe people who live here is completely unconstitutional, and a disgraceful continuation of a history of displacement and genocide

I was honored to receive the Kathleen Dandy Gladstone ('50) Scholarship this past summer, which allowed me to continue my work on the Stop Line 3 team. This work has evolved a lot since I started with the Sierra Club. Over the last year and a half, I've organized and managed tech for events like press releases, phone banks, and fundraisers. I put together a couple pieces for different Sierra Club publications, as well as managing our social media. I attended hearings at the MN State Court of Appeals. Since last spring, I've also taken on the role of our team's Communications Liaison. And although my work was almost completely virtual because of the pandemic, I did get to do a couple more hands-on things like delivering lawn signs around the cities and painting banners for an art drive for the frontlines. We really emphasized support of the Indigenous-led frontline resistance camps that developed along the construction route. We pushed for people to send money and supplies and really urged everyone who was able to come to northern MN in person. I was even able to be on a few state- and national-level planning teams for protests that drew thousands of people from all over the country to northern MN, the State Capitol, and Washington, D. C.

Sadly, construction of Line 3 was completed at the end of September, and the pipeline officially became operational on October 1. As a general rule, once oil is flowing through a pipeline, there's not much you can do to shut it down (as we've seen with DAPL and Line 5 in Michigan). Even if a permit is revoked, a line is ruled unconstitutional, or an elected official orders the pipeline to be shut down, this might not actually have any impact. A company will continue to pump oil through a pipe because there's simply no accountability.

So, what does this mean for our work? Our first next step is to let people grieve, hold space for people to process, and keep going. We still have lawsuits standing in courts, which if won will set a much better legal precedent for water protectors to use in future movements. We're continuing to stand with our Indigenous partners and respond to their lead and what their needs are going to be in the coming months. We're also preparing for a lot of legal work. Since construction began in December, about 1,000 people have been arrested protesting Line 3. The fight isn't over for these people; they're now facing legal processes that are going to take a lot of time, energy, and money. The community that was built over the last few years fighting this pipeline isn't going anywhere.



How Can Germany's Holocaust Reparations Help Americans Approach A Cultural Atonement for Slavery and Racial Injustice?

Eleanor Mallett

157 years have passed since the legal abolition of slavery in the United States, but the repercussions of institutional racism still reverberate through our legal system to this day. A striking racial wealth gap prevails in our country with the average white family owning eight times the wealth of a typical Black family (Bhutta). Racial disparities extend across health and education: Black women experience maternal mortality at a rate three times higher than white women, and they have undergone decades of forced sterilization without public apology or repayment (CDC). Black families have also been prevented from accumulating generational wealth because of the urban redlining policies of the 1930s and exclusionary laws like the 1944 G.I. Bill. On top of the structural violence of the American legal system, physical violence faced by Black communities - from KKK lynching during Reconstruction to present day mass incarceration and police brutality - is a constant barrier to the safety, dignity, and economic opportunity of Black Americans. The time has come to pursue a national acknowledgement and project of cultural atonement for institutional racism in the United States of America, and if we do not do it now, then future racial injustices are inevitable.

This is not a new conversation or the result of recent social organizing efforts – talks of slavery reparations date back to 1863, the year of emancipation. President Abraham Lincoln's original promise stated famously that each freedman should be allotted "40 acres and a mule". This promise was struck down, however, by President Andrew Jackson during reconstruction shortly after it was instated. Surprisingly, the government was also considering paying out war reparations not to the formerly enslaved, but to southern landowners. Lincoln was a strong proponent for a reparations bill that would compensate Southern slaveholders \$400,000,000 in total for the anticipated loss of their slave labor. As W.E.B. DuBois remarked, "Lincoln was impressed by the loss of capital invested in slaves, but curiously never seemed seriously to consider the correlative loss of wage and opportunity of slave workers, the tangible results of whose exploitation had gone into the planters' pockets for two centuries" (Boxill).

After that postbellum repayment project failed, slavery reparations were barely discussed in the presidential office until Rep. John Coyers introduced H.R. 40, the Commission to Study and Develop Reparation Proposals for African-Americans Act in 1989. H.R. 40 would establish the first ever commission to "examine slavery and discrimination in the colonies and the United States from 1619 to the present and recommend appropriate remedies" (117th Congress). This legislation has been introduced in every Congress since 1989, but never made it past a committee vote until 2021.

The government's unwillingness to discuss slavery's impact on modern American life has been further evidenced by recent state votes to outlaw Critical Race Theory in public school curricula. Progress has come to a standstill with a growing majority of states refusing to engage with conversations of racial justice and healing. In this critical moment it is useful to look at successful projects of truth and reconciliation in other countries in order to model our path ahead. My research investigates the link between post-Holocaust Germany and post-slavery America with the hope that I can reveal a framework for how nations can make redress with populations against whom they have committed human rights violations. I do not attempt to argue the case for reparations in this article, nor do I pursue any kind of comparison between the Holocaust and slavery, for they are two uniquely barbaric events. Rather, I explore the experiences and arguments that shape our national understanding of reparations. With a global perspective, hopefully Americans will see hope and value in reparations for the sake of long-term prosperity.

Allow us to learn from the thorough work that Germany has done to recuperate their persecuted Jewish population. Germany began discussions of reparations to Holocaust victims the very year that they lost World War II. Israeli leaders David Ben-Gurion and Chaim Weizmann immediately pressured German Chancellor Konrad Adenauer to pay 3 billion German marks in reparations to Israel between 1953 and 1967. Germany also paid 450 million German marks to the World Jewish Congress, an international federation of organizations to support the Jewish diaspora. By 1956, the German state was supplying 87.5% of Israel's state revenue. Reparations funds fueled the development of the young country of Israel, allowing them to invest in foreign oil and build railways, mines, and an electrical grid. Germany continues to pay the Jewish Claims Conference in installments: in 2013 they paid out 1 billion for the home care of all elderly Holocaust survivors, and during the global outbreak of COVID-19 they paid \$662 million in relief aid to the 240,000 survivors with the most financial need (Jewish Virtual Museum).

Germany's reparations efforts extended beyond money and into the realms of law, education, and architecture. In 1949 the German Constitution was amended – as well as the penal and criminal codes – to outlaw the use of hate speech and symbols that incite violence. To this day the Constitution guarantees asylum to political refugees and all people fleeing war, and free German citizenship is offered to anybody who can prove their relation to a Holocaust victim. The era of the Nazi regime is taught extensively in schools as a core, formative element of Germany's national history. Nazis have no physical memorials, those are saved for the nine million victims whose monuments are spread all across the continent (Wenar). The German government has committed itself to never forgetting the Holocaust. Why can't America do the same?

The main argument that politicians use to discredit reparations is that too many years have passed since slavery for financial recompense to be a logical response to contemporary racism. Polling shows that a majority of Americans oppose cash payments as a redress for slavery, however, surveys of German voters showed the same public opinion after the Holocaust. Post- war Germany was still defensive and riddled with antisemitism. It took direct government action to begin the process of acknowledgement, healing, and antiracist education. Through the discussions that H.R.40 would facilitate, we may never decide that the disbursement of reparations checks are feasible. What is more important, however, is that this committee has the potential to publicly confront the violent colonizer heritage of the United States – something we have long been afraid to do because it would threaten the international fortitude of white supremacy.

As Ta-Nehisi Coates writes, "An America that asks what it owes its most vulnerable citizens is improved and humane. An America that looks away is ignoring not just the sins of the past but the sins of the present and the certain sins of the future (Coates). As Germany has done for victims of the Holocaust, we must face our failures as a nation in order to move on. This multifold project of reparations will include legal reform, improvements in education, architectural memorialization, and eventually financial compensation. Through the course of our self-scrutiny, perhaps we will finally become the Land of the Free that the founders envisioned.

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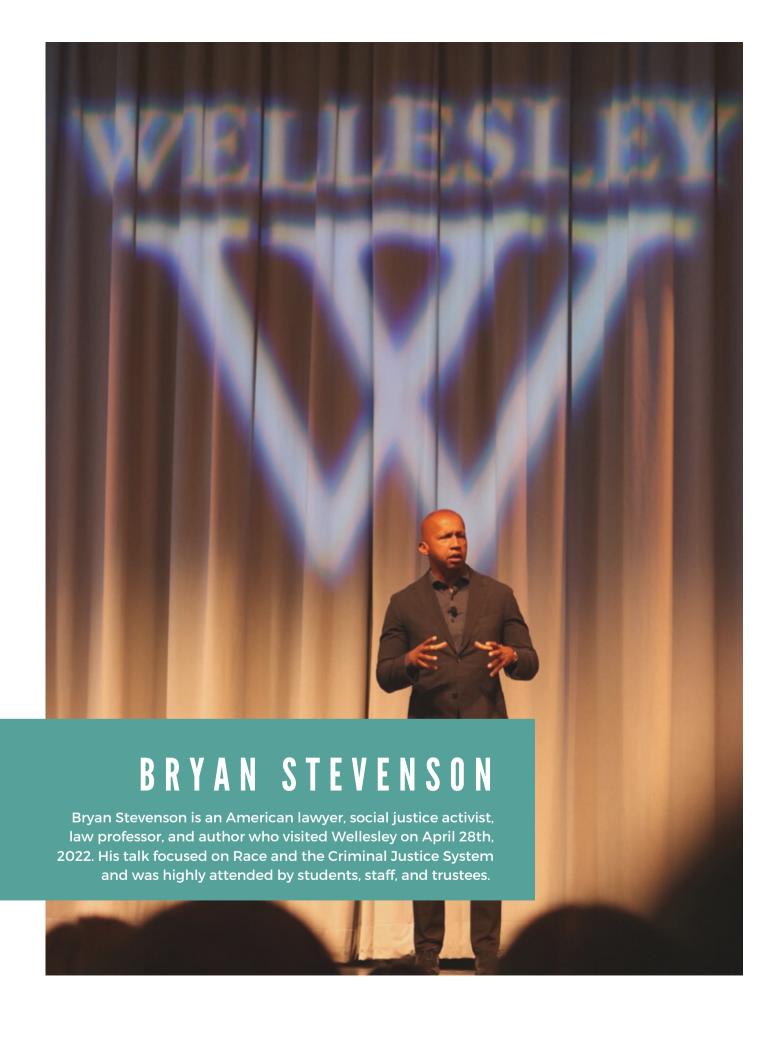
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ON VIOLENCE, REDEMPTION, AND MERCY

BY RASHA OBYAT WELLESLEY '24

When I was growing up in the Middle East, I dreamed of 'the freedom country'. This was a land, called the United States, that represented every image of opportunity I had ever known. In 'the freedom country' of my imagination, the arbitrary societal limitations that I felt all around me would fall away, like oversized novelty handcuffs, and I would step into a life where I could be myself, with few or no ceilings on who I could be, how far I could rise, and how much I could grow. The reality of my experiences here in this great country has truly shown that, in many ways, this dream of freedom is a reality, and I am grateful for what our nation has offered me. Yet four years ago, exiting the plane into 'the freedom country', I knew little of the history and present reality of racism in our fair land. I did not know about slavery, its depravities, and its long aftermath, including the trail of racial laws and living consequences that the civil rights movement, now and in the past, has striven to address.

Just Mercy catalogs the struggles and successes of a Harvard-educated African-American lawyer fighting for the rights of death row inmates in 1980s Alabama. The book is non-fiction, and most of the people he advocated for are African American and marginalized. Reading Just Mercy, I learned about death row, the war on drugs, the dismal logic of McCleskey v. Kemp and other cases, anti-miscegenation laws, and the long road from Reconstruction through Jim Crow. I read and learned with trepidation and horror. There are many injustices in the region I am from. But nothing that I learned or experienced quite compares to the perversity of slavery, lynching, and extreme, hateful racial suppression.

Soon after I arrived in the US, while walking down a public street, a man approached me, got my attention, and started passionately sharing his views about how terrible he believed my religion is, and he told me to get out of his country. All he knew, all he saw, was my hijab. It was a very nice floral pattern, with blue roses on a nude pink background, and I thought it went great with my outfit, though the man seemed to disagree. He seemed to believe my flowers were some sort of attack on him, and he thought I belonged elsewhere than in America. For a long time, I didn't understand why this person was so aggressive when he didn't know me at all.

CONTINUED

One of the prominent cases in the book is the death row penalty conviction of disabled veteran Herbert Richardson. In the period following September 11th, 2001, prosecutors successfully argued, in part, that Richardson was "associated with black Muslims from New York City" (77), in order to push for harsher punishment in his case. It slowly dawned on me that in some small way, my experience with the angry gentleman on the street was related to the histories Stevenson describes, even though I want to clarify very strongly that what I experienced is nothing compared to the inmates imprisoned without parole, whom Just Mercy talks about.

In some way, I felt a connection to the true story of Stevenson's advocacy for Walter McMillian. I regularly volunteered in my home country to support those who were victims of cruelty and injustice. It resonated so deeply with me, when he said that what we need is mercy, and more people to stand between sinners and harsh punishment, as per the biblical parable. More stone-catchers, not stone-throwers. Through faith, family and friends, I try to work to lift up those around me, large or small. What inspired me most was that Stevenson refused to allow the harassment, even of powerful state officials, to deter him from successfully advocating for those caught in the system.

Now that I am here, in this land, assimilating to the new ways of living in a new culture, Stevenson illuminated to me the real obstacles that blazing a trail, fighting for justice, and never giving up one's principles can force one to encounter and overcome. I am inspired by his perseverance and the light he brings to the world. But I also realize that he was incredibly smart about it.

Professor Confortini has helped our class understand that all of Stevenson's actions, as described in the book, are examples of dynamic peace and a non-violent approach to creating more justice. He confronted power on behalf of poor people and powerless incarcerated people and their families, but he did not do so through violence. He mobilized them, giving voice to those nobody else was hearing. He shows that hard work, perseverance, education, personal empowerment, and caring about our fellow human beings, can be in the end some of the most effective methods and tools to enact the betterment of human rights for all.

And that is what I and we are, after all, here to do at Wellesley. To empower ourselves, ennoble and enrich one another's minds and perspectives, and abilities. And not only in order so that we can go on vacation to the Cayman Islands. Education, as I see it, is personal empowerment - and empowerment is worthwhile through what it allows us to do for ourselves and for others. It takes determination to start on the road and continue it, as Stevenson does. No matter the struggles we may face.

Congratulations!

Majors & Minors











Alex Swerdloff

Asia Korkmaz

Eleanor Mallet

Erin Villaronga Mulligan

Faith Angelina Hernandez



Grace Jackson



Habiba Choudhury



Nia Goodridge



Sophia Pechaty



Charlotte Diamand



Lizette Ortega

Dear P&J majors and minors, each and every one of you:

So you and I have something special in common this year, namely, we're leaving the College, you by way of graduation and I by way of retirement. We are, that is, both entering the world. Not the "real" world - the world of the College is as real as any other. But the broader world surely, and a world that's not an intentional community like Wellesley - more chaotic, more diverse, full of overt and structural violence. (I'm not meaning to sentimentalize Wellesley, to sanctify it, but it is in some important ways striving to be governed by justice.) That world needs you - all your energies and ideas and passions and skills, all that you have learned to do here, all the emotional openness that you have developed here. You may find that in that larger world, there is more resistance than you have encountered here to those energies and ideas. I know from having taught many of you, and heard stories of many of you, that this resistance will be a stimulus for you, an incitement to persistence and action. I wish you luck – everyone, however skilled and dedicated - needs that. I wish you the revolutionary virtue of patience. I wish you the capacity, now and then, to turn away from the world and cultivate the self. And I hope that as you live your lives, you'll feel free to contact those who've taught and mentored you in this extraordinary program me among them, retired as I'll be come this June.

In gerangl, as they say in Yiddish – "in struggle." Larry Rosenwald



Edited by Gabrielle Shell '24