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HARVARD MAGAZINE

SEPTEMBER-OCTOBER 2025 • $7.99

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(even at Harvard)

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SEPTEMBER-OCTOBER 2025, VOLUME 128, NUMBER 1

HARVARD MAGAZINE

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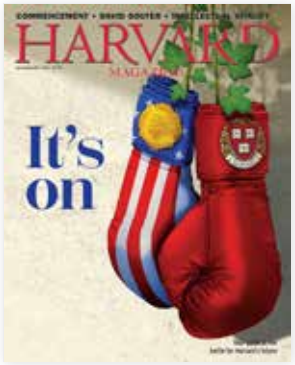
On the cover: *Illustration by Robert Neubecker*

FROM TOP: SCOTT EISEN/GETTY IMAGES; JIM HARRISON; KOTRYNA ZUKAUSKAITE

Cambridge 02138

Controversial Cover, Harvard's Standoff, Antisemitism



Letters Policy

Harvard Magazine publishes selected letters to the editor in each bimonthly print magazine and online at www.harvardmagazine.com. Letters are edited for length and clarity. We do not publish ad hominem attacks or objectionable language. —*The Editors*

THE COVER

I was so pleased to see that on your cover for July-August, Harvard "is not pulling its punches" against Trump's illegal, unconstitutional, and corrupt actions. *Veritas* will win this boxing match!

James Berkman '77, J.D. '82
Boston

When the August issue of *Harvard Magazine* arrived in my mailbox, I did a second take when I saw the cover and shook my head. I don't know if framing the fight Harvard is involved in with the Trump administration in this manner is arrogant, blind to what's at stake here, or just plain stupid. But I hope you understand that if Harvard views itself as being in the ring with Trump, it's a fight you are going to lose, however many times you block him in the lower courts. I gather there are discussions in process to try and figure out a way through this other than in the ring. That's smart, as smart as your cover is dumb, because as many have learned to their cost, Trump doesn't play by the Queensberry Rules.

David McDonald, LL.M. '80
Great Barrington, Mass.

The opposing boxing gloves on the July-August cover seem to give credibility to Trump's position, with his glove in red-and-white stripes and with a solid blue wrist. I am sure Trump would be happy with his glove in all gold. That represents his values. *Veritas* should be across Harvard's glove to remind everyone that "Truth" is the foundation of all knowledge.

David Souers, M.Arch. '82
Friendship, Me.

Portraying the Trump administration's attacks on Harvard University as a boxing match between Harvard and the United States demonstrates a possibly fatal misunderstanding of cultural and political divisions in the United States. Harvard is not

LEFT SIDE FROM TOP: NASA VIA UNSPLASH ; MONTAGE BY NIKO YAITANES/*HARVARD MAGAZINE*; PHOTOGRAPHS IN THE PUBLIC DOMAIN; JENNIFER CARLUNG/*HARVARD MAGAZINE*

fighting the "United States of America." Its struggle is with MAGA—a political entity working to destroy or pervert education in our country. Harvard is rightly leading the fight for education free of political influence. Most Americans support that. Don't wrap MAGA in the American flag.

Ivar Nelson '63
Moscow, Idaho

Just wanted to say we absolutely love the cover of this month's *Harvard Magazine*! We stand by you!

Barbara Karp

My compliments to the authors and editors responsible for the letters and obituaries. I marvel at the intelligence and accomplishments set out in both. Also, I enjoyed the cover of the July-August issue. Hubris has never been rationed at Harvard and is on full display on the cover. It caused a robust laugh.

Kathleen Heirich Casey '59
Pearland, Tex.

HARVARD'S STANDOFF

The latest issue of *Harvard Magazine* could not have arrived at a more fitting moment. The article subtitled "*Your guide to Harvard's standoff with the government*" (page 22) is outstanding—clear, principled, and deeply resonant with this political moment. *The Washington Post* has published an op-ed by Department of Homeland Security Secretary Kristi Noem, which appears to formalize the Trump administration's campaign against Harvard under the guise of immigration enforcement. Given the coordinated nature of this public relations offensive, it is crucial that readers have easy access to your article, which frames the stakes far more accurately and thoughtfully than the administration's talking points.

Ethan S. Burger '81
Washington, D.C.

Harvard informs us of the cancellation of 1,000 grants and contracts, which threatens to halt progress in causes as worthy as sudden infant death. But the consequences, even if unfortunate, are irrelevant. When a hospital's failure to meet the appropriate standard of medical care leads to poor patient outcomes, it may be required to pay significant judgments or settlements, and it is inevitable that the expenditure will lower the standard of care for other patients, but this is not a valid defense of malpractice lawsuits. *(please turn to page 6)*

HARVARD MAGAZINE

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It's Complicated

The seductive power of easy solutions

My first job out of college was in a small newspaper bureau in a parish—that's Louisiana-speak for county—just east of New Orleans's Ninth Ward. Our office, a squat former bank branch, sat on the main thoroughfare, Judge Perez Drive, named for an early twentieth-century local political kingpin. Leander Perez had been a district attorney, a judge, a mastermind of mob justice and stolen elections, and such a notorious and unrepentant segregationist that local leaders eventually decided it wasn't the best idea to honor him with a major roadway. In 1999, after some deliberation, they announced that they were renaming the street to...Judge Perez Drive, after Melvyn Perez, a local jurist, no relation.

I've thought often about Judge Perez Drive recently, in light of similar acts of administrative sleight of hand. The U.S. Army's Fort Bragg and Fort Lee, once named for Confederate generals, now honor, respectively, a World War II veteran and a Buffalo soldier. And Harvard announced this summer that it is renaming John Winthrop House to merely Winthrop House, to acknowledge that the two John Winthrops associated with the House had both owned slaves (see "News in Brief," page 18).

Following a formal request to "dename" the House—through a new process the University established in 2021—an advisory committee conducted historical inquiries and real-time surveys, and found both "positive associations" and "complications" with the Winthrop name. In the end, the group declared that an invisible renaming (because what student has ever called it "John Winthrop House"?) was a fair way to reckon with an institution that spans many historical eras and standards of conduct. If you keep the name and expose the story, the argument goes, you invite people to grapple with those complexities. As an added bonus, you can try to please everyone.

Many stories in this issue of *Harvard Magazine* deal in complexities: challenged narratives, shattered assumptions, situations in which it is hard to discern who has won and who has lost. Lydialyle Gibson's portrait of political philosopher Brandon Terry, whose new book challenges the "romantic narrative" of the civil rights movement, offers a new argument for hope amid political setbacks (page 26). Max J. Krupnick's deeply reported story about doxxing at Harvard shares the surprisingly long history of name-and-shame efforts in America and gets under the hood of the current debates over the boundaries of antisemitism, harassment, and free speech (page 36).

> The principled resistance cheered at Commencement stands off against the prospect of layoffs, shuttered labs, and diminished ambitions.

Nina Pasquini's cover story about the political divide within Gen Z—and the new brand of conservatism on the rise among Harvard students—offers proof that campus politics are not as simplistic as the outside world might imagine (page 20). (It is also a reminder that, whatever faculty politics they might encounter, Harvard students are quite capable of thinking for themselves.)

Harvard, of course, now faces one of the most complex challenges in its history, a product of competing truths that University leaders have voiced themselves: a troublingly lopsided campus culture, a dangerous rise in antisemitism, a feverishly aggressive government, and an assault on the First Amendment and international students (see page 32). The University's defiant stance in April, after the Trump administration made its first draconian demands, has led to a string of creative government moves to exert financial pressure, as U.S. President Donald Trump had forewarned—including some newer tactics that could make future court challenges more difficult. The principled resistance that the community cheered at Commencement stands off against the prospect—and reality—of layoffs, shuttered labs, and diminished ambitions.

That predicament has left University leaders in a frantic state this summer, occupying backrooms and courtrooms, making both impassioned statements and controversial reforms. As we closed out this issue, other universities, one by one, were announcing settlements with the federal government, and many were wondering whether Harvard would be next (see "The Price of Resistance," page 13). On this, too, the Harvard community has been divided. Some have called for a negotiated solution that codifies reforms and enacts some punishment for a campus culture gone awry; some have urged the University to stand its ground in the face of threats to independence, free speech, and academic freedom. Some want Harvard to undo its recent changes; some want those changes to go further. The debate continues in coffeeshops and on commuter rail trains, in email newsletters and editorial pages, and among competing Harvard graduates in Congress.

By the time this magazine hits mailboxes, Harvard's immediate battle with the government may have been resolved—or it may be ongoing, weaving through the courts, in a slow burn of mutual intransigence. Whatever happens, there will be no clever outs, no painless solutions, no easy roads, no way to please everyone. But there will be plenty of time to wrestle with the complications.

—Joanna Weiss, *Editor*

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Nancy Helene Elizabeth Diamond '82
Free Union, Va.

I was an international student at Harvard over a decade ago, as were a big chunk of my section mates, representing the whole world from China to Ghana and Mauritius. Harvard is one of the world's top brands and top American cultural exports, at the same level as Nike or Coca-Cola. It's idiotic for an administration to handicap one of America's most iconic brands. I'm proud of President Garber, and for the first time in years, I'm proud to be seen in Harvard swag. The name used to connote privilege, but now it's become a beautiful symbol of freedom, resistance, and TRUTH.

Lisa Kostova, M.B.A. '09
Portland, Oreg.

Many of your articles in your July-August issue remind me of Maslow's law: if all you have is a hammer, everything looks like a nail. Harvard is trying only intellectual tools to "fix Harvard." The problem is not reducing conflict or hatred. Nor is it to engender kumbaya moments between Hamas supporters and Zionists—that is close to impossible. What is needed, and can be immediately applied, is more robust enforcement of rules of behavior regarding free speech.

Charles Block, A.M. '51
Aventura, Fla.

At my 45th reunion at Harvard Business School in June, Goldston professor of business administration Deepak Malhotra gave a fascinating talk, titled "Your Personal All-Purpose AI Negotiation Adviser." At the end, he invited us to test-drive a new AI negotiation agent he is working on. I told the AI that as "an advisor to President Garber," I wanted to help Harvard settle its argument.

The agent's conclusion? "Harvard faces a critical strategic challenge where the institution's preferred approach of litigation to preserve the status quo may not align with the legal and political realities of the situation. The strategy should acknowledge that Harvard is operating from a position where its underlying legal compliance is questionable, while seeking to preserve its institutional integrity and financial stability."

The agent's remarkably cogent advice convinced me of AI's exciting potential. May our beloved, beleaguered Harvard heed its homegrown AI agent's advice—and convince anew both us alumni and the nation that it is still worthy of our support.

Thomas H. Pyle, M.B.A.'80
Princeton, N.J.

"The [Harvard] name used to connote privilege, but now it's become a beautiful symbol of freedom, resistance, and TRUTH."

During my time at Harvard, I had classmates from all over the world. The wide-ranging perspectives and lived experiences reflected within my classes helped shape the incredible experience I enjoyed as a member of the Harvard community. Which is why the Trump administration's latest attacks on Harvard are so disheartening. The attorney in me can't help but be gripped by the current legal battle, which hinges on core constitutional concepts. The student part of me is also watching the Harvard litigation, though. As a [lifelong] learner and a recent graduate, I believe in Harvard's mission, and I care deeply about the Harvard community. Truth is not just a value to which I subscribe, it is an imperative.

Lindsay Bennett, A.L.M. '25
Sacramento, Cal.

ANTISEMITISM

Harvard is wrong to fight the U.S. government's efforts to root out antisemitism on campus and beyond. Harvard was unable and unwilling to do so from October 7, 2023, onward and for as far back as one can look before then. Harvard must acknowledge its shortcomings and cooperate fully with the government on these important reforms. The future of the institution is at stake.

Howard M. Sipzner, M.B.A. '87
Lido Beach, N.Y.

I have just completed reading the University's final report on antisemitism and I find it pathetically unconvincing in demonstrating that Harvard intends to do anything to end the antisemitism prevalent on campus.

The University report continually falls back on "free speech" to justify taking no direct action against anti-Jewish elements on campus. The U.S. Constitution prohibits *the government* from impairing the free speech of Americans—it most certainly does not require *private institutions* (like Harvard) to protect the free speech of students or anyone else. Harvard can adopt whatever restrictions on free speech it feels are necessary to enhance students' educational experience. The University can—and MUST—immediately ban the use of phrases threatening, directly or indirectly, the life of any Jew anywhere in the world (like "from the river to the sea, Palestine will be free") and ban hostile and aggressive language (or conduct) toward any Jewish student. Adopt a 100 percent expulsion rule for speech violations—with no exceptions. Abandon the University's unconvincing attempt to find equivalency between anti-Jewish prejudice and anti-Muslim prejudice. The pablum of equivalency simply provides another excuse for doing nothing. For Harvard, that time has passed.

Mark Rutzick, J.D. '73
Reston, Va.

INTERGENERATIONAL DISAGREEMENT IN THE AGE OF SOCIAL MEDIA

I appreciated the conciliatory efforts of Serena Jampel in "Agree to Disagree" (page 14). But there is more to this difficult story than matters of rhetoric and politesse. The Trump administration has just allocated $93 million to Jewish groups in an effort to combat antisemitism, which has been defined by some as protesting the American taxpayer-financed deaths of Palestinians in Gaza. The baby boomers' mainstream narrative is bolstered by the political and financial power structures to which they cling. But it may be slowly decomposing in the face of the younger generation's embrace of less fettered social media reporting. Perhaps it's time to recognize that this moment of intergenerational transition will not be

SPEAK UP, PLEASE

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stopped nor even soothed by more mannered conversations.

Constance B. Hilliard '71, Ph.D. '77
Hickory Creek, Tex.

THE INTERNATIONAL NATURE OF SCIENCE RESEARCH

Across multiple conversations with alumni, friends, and neighbors, it's clear that most people don't understand how universities serve government. Research grants to faculty are not entitlements. Such grants are what the U.S. government wants smart people to do to advance national security and prosperity. And they do this work at a fraction of the cost the government would incur if it had to undertake creating the laboratories and searching all over the world for experts to work on its priorities.

HM To read additional letters, please visit harvardmag.com

International students are part of an ecosystem that makes this possible because fewer Americans opt to seek degrees in science, technology, engineering, and mathematics. Total foreign student enrollment today is 6 percent nationwide, compared to 25 and 30 percent in other English-speaking countries. Yet, more than half of all degrees in science and engineering are earned by international students.

So, the next time you read a news story about a U.S. advance in medicine, science, or technology, note the surnames of the team members responsible. And do, indeed, ask not what our country is doing for them but what international students are doing for us.

Allan E. Goodman, M.P.A. '68, Ph.D. '71
President Emeritus, Institute of International Education
Washington, D.C.

VERITAS AND UNITATIS

In the latest issue of *Harvard Magazine*, Catherine Snow, a professor at the Graduate School of Education, is quoted as saying, "I've come to realize now how naive we've been to assume that the values Harvard stands for are widely shared." And she's absolutely right.

Any number of recent media pieces on Harvard portray an unflattering image of a seemingly arrogant, elitist institution. I did my graduate work at the Kennedy School and the Graduate School of Arts and Sciences. I also served as the founding director of the Kennedy School's *(please turn to page 61)*

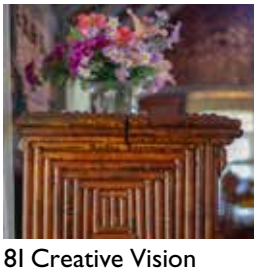
Harvard²

CAMBRIDGE, BOSTON, AND BEYOND

8E At Its Core
CiderDays fall festival celebrates the apple in Western Massachusetts.

CARR'S CIDERHOUSE

8B Extracurriculars
Events on campus in September and October



8I Creative Vision
The anachronistic Paper House in Rockport

8J Early American Punishment
A copper mine-cum-prison

8L Works by Japanese director Mikio Naruse
Harvard Film Archive

Extracurriculars

Events on and off campus during September and October

COURTESY OF AN EVENING WITH CHAMPIONS

An Evening with Champions

SEASONAL

An Evening with Champions
aneveningwithchampions.org
The world-class ice skating exhibition, hosted by renowned skaters Paul Wylie '90, M.B.A. '00, and Emily Hughes '11, features Olympians Keegan Messing and Maddie Schizas, along with phenom Sophie Joline Von Felten. Proceeds go to The Jimmy Fund, of the Dana-Farber Cancer Institute. Bright-Landry Hockey Center. (September 12-13)

NATURE AND SCIENCE

The Arnold Arboretum of Harvard University
arboretum.harvard.edu
This Boston urban oasis offers guided tours and events—or just spend time wandering through the gardens and trees, enjoying the changing season.

EXHIBITIONS

Houghton Library
library.harvard.edu
Edward Gorey: The Gloomy Gallery offers a glimpse of the "comically dark, creative universe" of the prolific artist (of the Class of 1950). (Opens September 2)

Harvard Art Museums
harvardartmuseums.org
An array of works, including George Seurat's *Woman Seated by an Easel,* illustrate techniques and style in *Sketch, Shade, Smudge: Drawing from Gray to Black.* (Opens September 12)

Carpenter Center for the Visual Arts
carpenter.center
The artist, filmmaker, writer, and activist Tourmaline links walking meditations in nature with archival footage of trans activism and intergenerational memories in her 2022 film *Tourmaline: Lives of a Pollinator.* (Opens October 3)

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LECTURES

Mahindra Humanities Center
mahindrahumanities.fas.harvard.edu
Academy Award-winning filmmaker and artist (and Norton professor of poetry) Steve McQueen gives the Norton Lectures on September 30, October 21, and November 6 (with more coming in 2026). In addition, honoring a century of Norton Lectures, a September 11 discussion on the vital role of the arts and humanities in public life features Loker professor of English Stephanie Burt, *New Yorker* staff writer and best-selling author Adam Gopnik, composer and pianist Vijay Iyer, and Pulitzer Prize-winning novelist Viet Thanh Nguyen. Sanders Theatre.

Radcliffe Institute for Advanced Study
radcliffe.harvard.edu
Harvard Medical School genetics professor David Reich explores "Who We Are and How We Got Here: Ancient DNA as a Window into Human History and Biology." Knafel Center or online via Zoom. (September 15)

POETRY

Emily Dickinson Museum
emilydickinsonmuseum.org
The Tell It Slant Poetry Festival offers recitations of the New England poet's enduring verses, along with workshops, open mics, and guests, including National Book Award winner and MacArthur Genius grantee Terrance Hayes and award-winning poet Krysten Hill. (September 15-21)

MUSIC

Groton Hill Music Center
grotonhill.org
Straight from New York's Birdland Jazz Club, the Birdland Guitar Trio features Frank Vignola, along with guitarist Vinny Raniolo and bassist Gary Mazzaroppi. (October 19)

THEATER

Boston Center for the Arts
bostontheaterscene.org
The one-man play *Churchill,* starring British actor David Payne (known for playing C.S. Lewis) is a revealing portrait of a modern world leader and the crises he faced. (October 7-12)

Events listings are also available at **harvardmagazine.com.**

At Its Core

Exploring apples through CiderDays

by NELL PORTER BROWN

HEADWATER CIDER

NEW SALEM CIDER

CARR'S CIDERHOUSE

From top: Apple picking at Headwater Cider; the Cider Garden at New Salem Cider; and cider being pressed at Carr's Ciderhouse

FOR THREE DAYS EACH FALL, hundreds of cider-hounds, families, and pomological devotees gather in Western Massachusetts to celebrate the apple and the joys of hard cider. Featuring about 18 small-batch cider producers and orchards, primarily located in the hill towns north of Northampton, CiderDays offers workshops, tastings, talks, and other fruitful activities from October 31 through November 2.

Through the eighteenth and into the early nineteenth century, hard cider was the go-to beverage in New England. Inexpensive and easy to produce, it was enjoyed by everyone, from farmers to ministers to Harvard students—and even children, who drank the less alcoholic second pressings, says New Hampshire-based writer and longtime cider expert Ben Watson, the author of *Cider Hard and Sweet: History, Traditions, and Making Your Own* (2013).

Early colonists couldn't grow barley or grapes, he says, yet they didn't trust the water. So they began experimenting with fermenting available produce, like pumpkin, corn, and American persimmon, and "they soon found nothing as suitable as apples." Cider was also considered healthy, especially compared to whiskey and rum.

By the 1820s, however, growing concerns over drunkenness led to the American temperance movement in Boston, and ultimately

to the Prohibition. That, combined with the rise of an urban-centered society and new immigrant groups from Ireland and Italy, who preferred beer and wine, Watson says, led to the virtual disappearance of public cider production in New England by the 1930s.

CiderDays began three decades ago as a small, grassroots gathering. It soon came to revolve around West County Cider, in Colrain, where owners Judith and Terry Maloney had moved from California in 1972. They began making high-quality cider to share with friends and family and became artisanal retail cider-makers in 1984.

"CiderDays and Massachusetts's Franklin County were ground zero for the hard cider revival in the United States," says Matt Kaminsky, a farmer and apple enthusiast who goes by the nickname Gnarly Pippin. Before the Maloneys and a handful of others in New England—including Scott Farm Orchard in Dummerston, Vermont, and Farnum Hill Ciders (founded and owned by influential innovators Stephen Wood '76 and his wife, Louisa Spencer '76) in Lebanon, New Hampshire—there was virtually no hard cider on the public mainstream market.

CARR'S CIDERHOUSE

Fruit is pressed on the century-old Mount Gilead cider press at Carr's Ciderhouse.

CiderDays celebrates the resurgence of the beverage but also digs deep into the cider-making process and the fruit, says Claire Morenon, the communications manager for CISA (Community Involved in Sustaining Agriculture), an organization that supports the local-food economy in the Pioneer Valley. "A lot of events are geared toward the nitty-gritty of apple production and homebrewers. There's a deep dive into cider and apple nerdery."

There are also plenty of activities for the casual consumer and cider newbies. Farmers and cideries run tours, explaining how apples are grown and cider is made. Some offer food and cider pairings in bucolic settings, along with locally made sweet ciders.

Among this year's highlights is the Sixth Annual Wild and Seedling Pomological Exhibition. Kaminsky presides over this showcase that pits about 200 unique apples against each other, in categories such as "best of show" and "best crabapple." It's held at the Williamsburg Grange Hall, where idiosyncratic apples from around the country are laid out on paper plates. "There's a call for submissions in August and people mail in the fruit to me," Kaminsky says, "and the criteria is that it must be an apple grown from a seedling, rather than a tree planted or grafted, or found in the wild."

People mill about tasting the apples—"There's a lot of discussion and a lot of toothpicks," he says—and in front of each plate are a pen and a placard "and space on which you and 499 other people write adjectives describing the apple, using a lot of superlatives."

The rest of the festival revolves around the independent farms that form the heart of Massachusetts's cider industry. West County Cider, now led by the Maloneys' son Field, continues its small-batch tradition, producing about 3,000 gallons of cider a year, a minuscule amount compared to mainstream commercial sellers. The company's Baldwin cider uses an old Massachusetts apple named for its developer, Revolutionary War colonel and civil engineer Loammi Baldwin (who received his master's degree from Harvard in 1785).

"The Baldwin was a mainstay in New England, but it's rare now because the tree only yields every other year, so it's not commercially viable," Maloney notes. West County Cider partners with other small orchards to make its Apple and Vine cider and its unusual Quince Cider (the tannin-rich fruit is mixed with apples).

Scott Farm Orchard will likely host the ticketed Cider Salon—the largest cider-tasting opportunity, under a tent, with food. Among the others offering a range of ciders, including sweet cider, and apple-related activities are: Clarkdale Fruit Farms (Deerfield), New Salem Cider (New Salem), Headwater Cider Company (Hawley), and Carr's Ciderhouse (Hadley). (Check out the forthcoming map and schedule on ciderdays.org.)

Carr's Ciderhouse, owned by Nicole Blum and Jonathan Carr, is set on their idyllic Hadley farm. They bought the dilapidated property in 2002 and have restored and revamped it, planting new orchards and opening land for other agricultural ventures, like their daughter's vegetable farm and a sheep-and-chicken farm run by Kaminsky and his partner, Rachel Haas.

CARR'S CIDERHOUSE

The Cider Garden Bar at Carr's Ciderhouse

Blum and Carr now grow pears and a variety of apples: Wickson, Golden Russet, Goldrush, Hyslop Crabapple, and Baldwin. The fruit is pressed in the barn on an antique Mt. Gilead machine and "ferments all winter, using a low-temperature process that preserves the aromatics," says Carr (whose father, Peter Carr, is a graduate of the Harvard Class of 1968). The production and chemistry of cider gives them "lots to play with" in terms of calibrating acidity, sugar, and structural elements like tannins, and they aim for a "clean expression" of the fruit.

Eight hard ciders, along with fruit sodas and shrubs, are served in their charming cider garden, set amid chestnut trees and abutting a goat yard. On Fridays and Sundays, Augustine's Pizza Club, owned by Joe Kress, turns out unbelievably good delicate-crusted pies. The farm store also offers their homemade, high quality cider-based syrups, vinegars, shrubs, and switchel (a traditional punch made of apple cider vinegar, ginger, and honey), along with fresh produce from the vegetable farm.

Unlike the mammoth CiderCon, run by the American Cider Society, says Kaminsky, CiderDays "is the real deal" for people who appreciate artisanal artistry and who want to experience the *terroir* of cider and meet the people making it. "No one makes a million dollars from CiderDays. We do it, all volunteers, because it's fun and we like apples. There are not a lot of events like this anymore," he says. "It's a fragile little weekend getaway that might not happen forever."

CURIOSITIES

Cape Ann Treasure

PHOTOGRAPHS BY ALEXANDRA CHARITAN

If you can read a room, why not an entire home? At the Paper House in Rockport, Massachusetts, visitors can peruse a writing desk to learn about Charles Lindbergh's 1927 transatlantic flight, while the radio cabinet highlights Herbert Hoover's 1928 presidential campaign. The piano offers "a mish-mash," says Edna Beaudoin, grandniece of the cottage's creator, like her favorite headline: "'Dash for Safety Through Annihilating Seas.' I mean, who uses the word 'annihilating' anymore, anyways?"

The idiosyncratic two-room summer home was built in the early 1920s by Elis and Esther Stenman, of Cambridge. Elis, an intellectually curious mechanical engineer, framed it out of wood before divining that reused sheets of newspaper could serve well as walls. He grafted thousands of sheets together and then slathered on marine varnish. Then he started in on the furniture. The couple had a kitchen (water came from a pipe outside) but used an outhouse (not made of paper). Beaudoin lives in the place next door, where the Stenmans moved in 1930 after opening their Paper House as an informal museum. Sundays were busiest and Beaudoin's job was to collect the twenty-five-cent admission while her mother and grand-aunt answered questions inside. "I didn't like it much," she says. "Kids have other things to do."

Above: furniture devised out of thousands of tightly scrolled newspaper sheets; left: detail of the side of the piano

Yet since 1995, she has gladly been the caretaker, protecting the house from harsh weather and burrowing critters. She still opens it to the public from May through October—although admission has jumped to $3. Visitors pay via Venmo or stick cash in the mail-slot next door. "We use the honor system. People are basically honest. And if they're not?" she says. "Well, that's on them." —N.P.B.

ALL IN A DAY

Fits the Crime?

Visiting America's first state prison

by NELL PORTER BROWN

Above: the nineteenth-century prison grounds and ruins, and restored guardhouse; right: the former copper mine where prisoners were held until the 1820s

PHOTOGRAPHS COURTESY OF OLD NEW-GATE PRISON AND COPPER MINE MUSEUM

Descending 75 feet into a dark, wet stone cavern that had once been a copper mine, tour guide Bob Ravens-Seger points out a 40-square-foot section of dank rock. "This is where the prisoners lived," he says—up to 60 men, crowded together, shackled to their bunks. "There was no light, no supervision, no sanitary facilities, and no segregation of prisoners," Ravens-Seger adds. "It was complete bedlam for the 12 hours they were down here left to their own devices."

When allowed aboveground, the prisoners ate scrappy meals and labored. Officials soon learned it was unwise to hand out mining picks. So, instead, prisoners made nails and later shoes, wagons, and baskets. Twenty-two at a time, they walked the Treadmill, a group StairMaster-like device that ground grain.

Still, when it opened in 1773, New-Gate's approach to punishment was considered relatively enlightened. Before that, county lockups existed (e.g., for problem drunkards), but violent public abuse and humiliation prevailed. Pillories and stocks. Ear croppings. Brandings. New-Gate's founding officials "were trying to reform," says Morgan Bengel, a curator and site administrator at the state-owned Old New-Gate Prison and Copper Mine museum, in East Granby, Connecticut. "They thought they could put prisoners to work and that it would be sufficient security and housing."

The earliest prisoners were serving time for crimes like horse-stealing, burglary, and counterfeiting. Such wrongdoers as Daniel Collyer Humphry and William Johnson

Crawford arrived in 1774, and remain buried under the rock avalanche they caused by trying to dig their way to freedom. With the American Revolution came political prisoners, including Tories, along with court-martialed Continental Army soldiers. New-Gate's population swelled. "This was a school for crime," Ravens-Seger says. "You came here as a 14-year-old as a snatch-and-grab and you came out six months later as a monster." Some acted up just to be put in solitary confinement—a blasted-out stone corner that flooded, creating a septic-tank atmosphere. It was challenging, Ravens-Seger says, yet also gave guys the chance "to sit on their keisters 24/7 while the others worked 72-hour weeks."

After the war, New-Gate took on more hardened criminals, yet no murderers, save for Thirza Mansfield, who was sentenced to life in 1825 for axing her abusive, alcoholic husband. By then, the state had erected a new four-story aboveground prison next to the copper mine, which had cell block dormitories. The underground population had been moved there, but a core group chose to remain, citing camaraderie and lack of supervision.

Meanwhile, New-Gate's deservedly sinister reputation had made it a target of criminal justice reformers. That pressure, combined with a failing economic model and poor infrastructure, led New-Gate to close in 1827. The prisoners were marched to the new Wethersfield State Prison, where they could learn trades, breathe fresh air, exercise, and receive religious teachings. (Around that same time, new prisons with rehabilitative-related modalities, Eastern State Penitentiary and Sing Sing Correctional Facility, also opened in Philadelphia and Ossining, New York.) Private mining operations soon resumed, but by the 1920s the guardhouse was a dance hall, and in the 1950s, caged monkeys, a bear, and a World War I tank drew crowds to the site."It had a P.T. Barnum curiosity," Bengel says, "Like, 'Bring your girl, have a chicken dinner across the street, and see the dungeon.'"

HARVARD SQUARED

That ended in 1968 when the state bought the property to turn it into a museum. Repairs and restorations have ensued. Visitors now get a fascinating tour of the caverns and can explore the ruins of the nineteenth-century brick buildings, the restored guardhouse, and grounds—with texts and historic images that explain the site's incarnations. "New-Gate was an experiment," Bengel says. "The criminal justice system has always evolved through push-and-pulls and power struggles. New-Gate is one of the only opportunities where we, the general public, can be in a prison and continue to critically think about how the system should operate."

COURTESY OF THE HARVARD FILM ARCHIVE

STAFF PICK

Harvard Film Archive

The Harvard Film Archive's retrospective "Floating Clouds…The Cinema of Naruse Mikio," through November 3, offers 45 films, many capturing *shōshimin-eiga* (the dramas of ordinary people). The director, active between 1930 and 1967, is known for a desolate, yet not unrealistic, outlook. Many narratives "magnified the movements within human relationships as intimate responses to historical change," notes the archive's contributing writer Kelley Dong. After World War II, his works highlighted women, as in *Floating Clouds*, *Sound of the Mountain,* and *Flowing.* Existentialism shone through, too. *Scattered Clouds,* his final film, reflects on the modern idea, Dong writes, "that the solitude of independence invokes both immeasurable pleasure and devastating grief because it marks the death of the past." —N.P.B.

Right Now

THE EXPANDING HARVARD UNIVERSE

THE MERCURIAL MR. MARLOWE

How Shakespeare's Rival Remade Elizabethan Art

by NINA PASQUINI

A 1585 portrait believed to be of Christopher Marlowe, by an unknown artist

HE WAS A RADICAL, the inventor of blank verse, a master of internal monologue, and a victim of murder. This was the English playwright Christopher Marlowe, a contemporary and rival of William Shakespeare—and perhaps the Bard's key creative influence.

At 14, young Marlowe—the son of a poor Canterbury cobbler—won a scholarship to the prestigious King's School, becoming the first in his family to receive a formal education. He excelled, went on to the University of Cambridge, and there studied the great works of antiquity, from Virgil's *Aeneid* to Ovid's *Metamorphoses*. Where his classmates saw musty mandatory reading, Marlowe found something else: worlds of ecstatic violence and erotic excess, of vengeful outcasts and capricious gods, worlds that upended the Christian moral order in which he was raised.

After graduation, Marlowe faced an uncertain future—unlike his wealthy classmates, his education didn't secure for him a place in society. So, he decided to take a risk, moving to London to try his hand at an unstable, disreputable profession: writing for the stage.

When Marlowe was born in 1564, says Stephen Greenblatt, the Cogan University Professor of the Humanities, England was still stuck in the Middle Ages, even as the Renaissance bloomed on the continent. Public entertainment revolved around bearbaiting and hangings; poetry was weighed down by moralizing and clumsy rhymes; brutal censorship stifled any art that challenged the crown's authority.

By the time Marlowe died in 1593, at just 29 years old, England was in the midst of a cultural and intellectual flourishing. Greenblatt credits Marlowe with sparking this transformation. In a new book, *Dark Renaissance: The Dangerous Times and Fatal Genius of Christopher Marlowe*, Greenblatt—one of the world's foremost Shakespeare scholars—argues that Marlowe didn't merely precede Shakespeare, he made Shakespeare's career possible.

"It was Marlowe who cracked something open," Greenblatt says, "and enabled Shakespeare to walk through—how should we say?—over his dead body."

Marlowe's story, Greenblatt adds, is also relevant to many of academia's current preoccupations. He was a "first-gen" student who glimpsed radical possibilities in the supposedly conservative texts of "great books courses." He faced a "vocational crisis" familiar to many humanities students today—and pursued his passion despite the risk.

That career began with Marlowe's debut play, *Tamburlaine the Great*, written in 1587 or 1588. "Virtually everything in the Elizabethan theater," Greenblatt writes, "is pre- and post-*Tamburlaine*."

Doctor Faustus marked the first time "a powerful, complex inner life" was represented on the stage.

Part of the play's shock value lay in its plot. Loosely based on the rise of the fourteenth century Central Asian conqueror Timur (also known as Tamerlane), *Tamburlaine the Great* tells the story of a Scythian shepherd who ascends from obscurity to become a dominating tyrant. The violence is unrelenting, and the ambition unchecked: Tamburlaine faces no moral comeuppance for his pride. This rags-to-riches arc may have mirrored Marlowe's own desires, Greenblatt writes—and defined many of the other outsider characters Marlowe would go on to write.

But the play's most revolutionary element was formal: the use of "this hallucinatory blank verse, which Marlowe basically invented," Greenblatt says. Marlowe's characters spoke in unrhymed iambic pentameter—"elegant, musical, and forward-thrusting," Greenblatt writes—which gave English drama a new expressive register.

Before *Tamburlaine*, English playwrights were trapped in stiff structures such as Poulter's measures—couplets in which 12-syllable iambic lines rhyme with 14-syllable iambic lines. Blank verse enabled Marlowe's characters to sound like they were "actually speaking English," Greenblatt says, dramatized by some structure, but still alive. Shakespeare would come to rely heavily on blank verse in his own work.

A few years later came *Doctor Faustus*, first performed in 1594. It was Marlowe's most famous play and the first dramatization of the Faust legend, in which a scholar makes a deal with the devil, trading his soul for magical powers. This work, Greenblatt argues, marked the first time "a powerful, complex inner life" was represented on the stage.

Before Marlowe, English theater externalized psychology through allegory: morality plays populated by characters such as Pride and Shame. In *Doctor Faustus*, by contrast, Marlowe relies on soliloquy and dialogue about the characters' internal states. "It was from *Doctor Faustus* that the author of *Hamlet* and *Macbeth* learned how it could be done," Greenblatt writes.

Marlowe's life ended as dramatically as one of his plays: he was stabbed to death in a tavern in Deptford. Officials claimed the death resulted from a quarrel over a dinner bill—but Greenblatt points to a more complicated story. While still a student at university, Greenblatt writes, Marlowe was likely recruited as a spy for Queen Elizabeth's secret service, possibly to monitor Catholic dissidents or plots against the crown.

But over the years, Marlowe drew scrutiny for his radical ideas and was accused at times of atheism—a grave offense in Elizabethan England. Greenblatt believes that Marlowe was killed for his beliefs, possibly on orders carried out by an "overly zealous servant" of Queen Elizabeth herself.

To Greenblatt, Marlowe's life serves as a reminder of how repressive Elizabethan England was: "It was basically wise to keep your head down, unless you wanted your head to be chopped off." Marlowe didn't and paid the price. Shakespeare was watching, Greenblatt argues, and learned he had to be more careful. But Shakespeare's blend of conservatism and radicalism was only possible because Marlowe had first ventured too far. Shakespeare relied, Greenblatt writes, on Marlowe's legacy of "reckless courage and genius."

And Greenblatt believes Shakespeare was aware of his debt. Greenblatt's *Dark Renaissance* ends with a line from Shakespeare's *As You Like It*, a reference to Marlowe's mysterious death in that small tavern room in Deptford: "When a man's verses cannot be understood...it strikes a man more dead than a great reckoning in a little room."

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CELLULAR SAVIORS

Do Mitochondria Hold the Power to Heal?

by MAX J. KRUPNICK

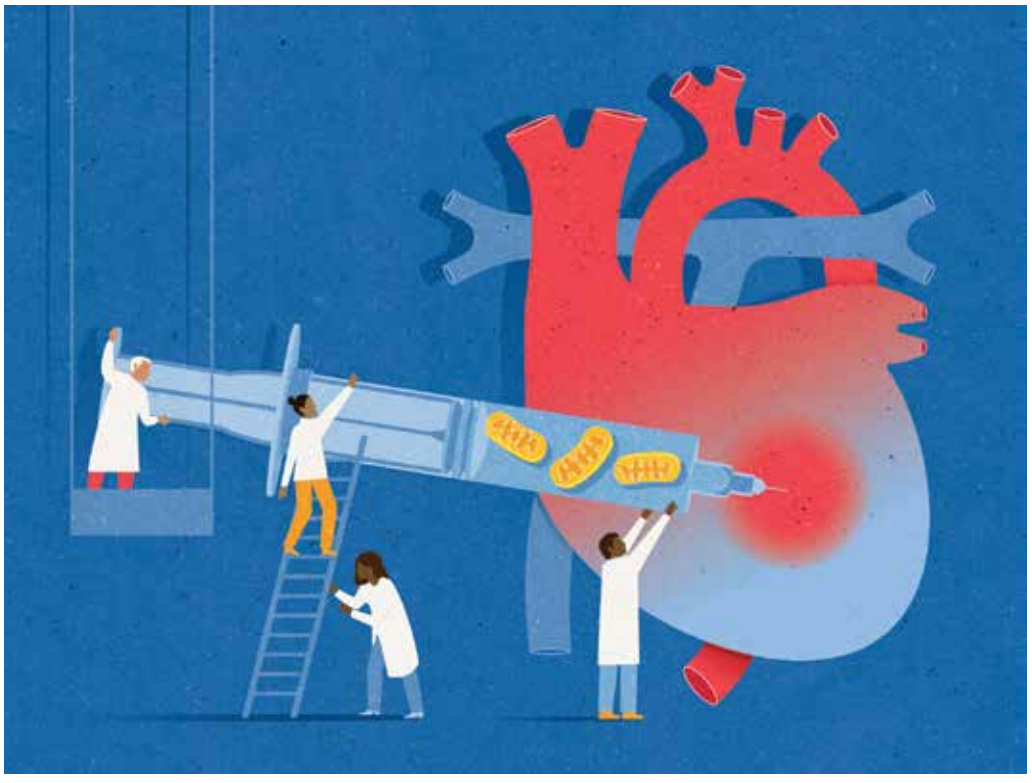
Introductory biology students often hear that mitochondria are "the powerhouses of the cell." These bean-shaped microscopic organelles produce cellular energy. But a new field of research suggests that mitochondria are much more than that.

James Donald McCully, an associate professor of surgery at Harvard Medical School, has pioneered the use of these tiny organelles to treat newborns with damaged hearts. Sometimes, when newborns undergo heart surgery, the blood flow to their hearts temporarily stops—a condition called "ischemia," which can set off a cascade of issues. Without oxygen, mitochondria cannot produce energy. Without energy, cells die, and muscle becomes useless scar tissue; infants with this complication have a one-in-ten survival rate.

McCully believes the answer to this problem—and many other biomedical quandaries—lies in mitochondria. For nearly two decades, his lab has been perfecting the process of "mitochondrial transplants"—isolating mitochondria from healthy abdominal muscle tissue, then injecting them directly into malfunctioning hearts.

During the past decade, McCully has performed mitochondrial transplants on 17 infants who suffered ischemic events during heart surgery; 13 of them survived. New research shows that mitochondrial transplants can help heal other organs, too.

When McCully, a cardiac surgeon, started studying mitochondria in 2007, few scientists were assessing mitochondria's potential to save damaged cells. One breakthrough came almost by accident, with a pig he was studying in his lab. As McCully's team was pulling mitochondria



from a tissue sample, the animal went into atrial fibrillation—a condition in which a rapid heartbeat slows blood flow. McCully grabbed some of the mitochondria he had just isolated, injected them into the pig's heart, and saw that the heart function visibly improved.

During the past 18 years, McCully has refined the mitochondrial transplantation process and expanded its use to humans. Whereas early isolations of these organelles took at least 90 minutes, now he can derive pure mitochondria from a tissue sample the size of an eraser within 20 minutes, never leaving the patient's bedside.

Scientists are not yet certain why mitochondrial transplants work, but McCully has a rough understanding. Upon injection into a tissue or a nearby artery, the organelles quickly enter cells, fuse with other mitochondria close to the nucleus, and begin sending out signals ordering the cell to stop destroying itself and to restore normal function.

This restorative property means that surgeons may one day be able to perform mitochondrial transplants before operations begin, McCully says, preventing tissue death during long procedures. "We'll spend the next 15 or 20 years trying to figure out the minutiae," he says, "but it works."

Some researchers, McCully says, are now investigating how mitochondrial transplants could be used to treat spine and brain injuries, including for diseases such as Alzheimer's and Parkinson's. With funds from a philanthropic foundation, McCully's own lab is investigating whether those transplants could help patients with metabolic diseases caused by mitochondrial dysfunction, which has been implicated in neurodegenerative disorders, diabetes, cancer, altered immune response, and even aging.

While studying at Harvard, Fernando Rubio-Mijangos, M.A. '25, conducted research in McCully's lab on whether mitochondrial transplants could work in the eyes, healing retinas after a period of blood loss. For his master's thesis, Rubio-Mijangos performed mitochondrial transplants on cell samples that mimicked damaged retina cells. He found that the organelles prevented cell death, minimized immune overreaction, and reduced the effects of stress-response genes associated with inflammation.

Watching mitochondria strengthen these beleaguered cells led Rubio-Mijangos to reassess his understanding of how cells work. Within the cell, he says, "We always thought the nucleus was the brain, but I think it's the mitochondria."

Rather than calling mitochondria the "powerhouse," Rubio-Mijangos suggests a new moniker: "the guardian of the cell."

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HOW HOT IS TOO HOT?

The Limits of Human Heat Tolerance

by ERIN O'DONNELL

The record-breaking heat that baked parts of the United States and Europe in June and July, sending hundreds to the hospital, highlights a pressing question: How hot is too hot for the human body?

"There's been a lot of interest in defining the upper limits [of] what humans can tolerate for prolonged periods," says thermophysiologist Robert Meade, a postdoctoral research fellow in epidemiology at the T. H. Chan School of Public Health and the Salata Institute for Climate and Sustainability, who studies how the body regulates its internal temperature—and why those systems can fail.

In comfortable conditions—a cool room, modest humidity—thermoregulation is usually simple. When a person exercises or is exposed to the sun, sensors in the skin and the central nervous system register an elevated core temperature and send signals to the brain, which directs the process of

Illustration by Kotryna Zukauskaite

A man cools off with water near the Acropolis in Athens, Greece, during a July 2025 heat wave. Extreme heat led to the temporary closure of the Acropolis this summer.

shedding heat. Blood vessels dilate to bring heat to the skin's surface, where it can dissipate into the air. The body sweats, "and the evaporation of sweat from the skin helps draw out the heat," Meade says.

But in extreme temperatures, he says, those mechanisms are not always enough. As heat builds in the body, it can trigger heat illness, accompanied by symptoms such as irritability, an itchy skin rash, and dizziness. Higher core temperatures, usually around 104 degrees Fahrenheit, lead to heat stroke, which causes confusion and extreme lethargy, and can escalate to organ failure and death.

Meade compares the challenge of extreme heat to encountering someone who is treading water and "handing them a brick. It's an added weight on the body's physiological systems and there's only so long they can keep it up."

Some scientists tie the human heat limit to the concept of "wet bulb" temperature, a measure that includes both air temperature and humidity. One seminal 2010 paper proposed that the human heat limit is a wet bulb temperature of 95 degrees Fahrenheit, or 35 degrees Celsius; Meade says that's "equivalent to 35 degrees air temperature with 100 percent humidity." That level of moisture in the air prevents sweat from evaporating to cool the body.

Yet subsequent experiments found—alarmingly—that the body's thermoregulatory system can fail at wet bulb temperatures that are as low as 79 degrees Fahrenheit.

Meade recently conducted a study to confirm the reliability of those findings. He brought 12 volunteers, ages 28 to 32, into a stainless steel chamber roughly the size of a two-car garage, specially outfitted so that researchers could precisely control the temperature and humidity. Participants wore thermometers that monitored their internal temperature.

The room was initially warmed to 107 degrees Fahrenheit, with just 28 percent humidity. "We didn't want them to get hit with this wall of humidity right out of the gate," he says. After an hour, the researchers started to increase the humidity. Meade, who also served as one of the study's subjects, reports that the conditions were very uncomfortable. "As you start to get too hot, your brain is just screaming at you that you should leave that environment," he says. The data showed that people's core temperatures were stable for a while, then hit a sudden spike. "In those conditions, there's just no ability for the body to offset the level of heat gain," Meade says.

Based on the data they collected, Meade and his colleagues projected that at 107 degrees Fahrenheit and 70 percent humidity, participants would develop heat stroke after around 10 hours of exposure on average, "which is very, very rapid."

More research is needed, particularly on older adults, he says, because the body grows less able to thermoregulate with age, and the elderly are more likely to have other conditions that extreme heat can exacerbate. "Contrary to conventional wisdom,heat stroke kills relatively few people," Meade says. "Most heat-related deaths actually occur due to cardiovascular conditions. Your heart has to work harder to maintain regular function when you're hot," increasing the risk of heart attacks and strokes.

Meade also wants to pursue future studies on the variable responses to high heat. The hotter the conditions in a given climate, the higher the threshold for heat-related illness and death, he notes—possibly a result of physiological adaptations or infrastructure, including air conditioning.

Air conditioning is one of the most reliable ways to protect the body from the ravages of heat, but less expensive options are needed around the globe, particularly in places where temperatures are regularly unsafe and the electric grid is unreliable. Previous research by Meade and colleagues show that low-cost cooling options, such as fans and wet towels placed on the neck, make only small improvements to core temperatures during heat waves.

Meade has been working with Salata Institute colleagues to understand how extreme heat affects poor working women in Gujarat, India, who face severe summer heat waves. Their data shows that even before temperatures reach the level at which the thermoregulatory system fails, there's a period of negative impact the researchers call "the zone of misery."

Such heat harms sleep and mood. "You might not be at huge risk of heat-related health events, but you are uncomfortable and you're not as productive at work," he says. "It can in certain circumstances have negative effects on how much you're earning."

Meade notes that the human ability to adapt is remarkable. People can cope with higher temperatures through changes in physiology or behavior—by working at night, for example.

Still, more research is urgently needed. "In some places, human survival and thriving will become increasingly difficult due to heat," he says. "We currently have the least understanding of how the human body responds to heat in the regions most at risk of coming heat stress."

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Photograph by Socrates Baltagiannis/Picture Alliance via Getty Images

JOHN HARVARD'S
Journal
NEWS ABOUT THE UNIVERSITY

Protesters gather outside the John Joseph Moakley United States Courthouse on July 21, 2025, in Boston, Massachusetts.

The Price of Resistance

What Columbia's settlement means for Harvard

In a summer of relentless news for Harvard, the biggest development arguably took place some 200 miles away, in Morningside Heights, New York, at a different Ivy League university.

Toward the end of July, Columbia—another major target of U.S. President Donald Trump—signed a sweeping settlement with the government. Excoriated by some as a shakedown, hailed by others as a template for higher education in the Trump era, the three-year agreement left both sides claiming they had won. The government extracted hundreds of millions of dollars and multiple promises for institutional reform. Columbia's leaders said they retained their independence and academic freedom. At a time when free speech, civil rights, and the financial costs of resistance were front and center, the obvious question arose: will Harvard make a deal of its own?

And on the heels of that question came another one: has Harvard actually been on Columbia's path all along?

At first glance, Columbia's settlement was the road not taken for Harvard. Both universities had faced government charges that they violated the civil rights of Jewish and Israeli students and that their campuses were ideologically lopsided. Both were first attacked with a withdrawal of federal grants and contracts—worth more than $2 billion, in Harvard's case—that funded science and medical research. Both entered negotiations with government officials. But in early April, when the Trump administration sent a letter to Harvard with a list of draconian demands—purportedly by mistake—the University halted the talks and sued. The message: Harvard, reluctantly but driven by principle, was stepping up to fight a bully.

Many Harvard faculty, alumni, and advocates cheered the move. At Commencement, President Alan M. Garber got a hero's treat-

Photograph by Scott Eisen/Getty Images

Photograph by Kris Snibbe/Harvard Public Affairs and Communications

HARVARD PORTRAIT

Samuel Gershman

"In some deep sense, memory is at the core of life," says neuroscientist and professor of psychology Samuel Gershman, midway through a story about the "wild voyage" that led him to his current quest. He and his lab are working to develop a computer model that can "think" like a single-celled organism—specifically, a trumpet-shaped pond dweller called *Stentor*. "As soon as life existed," Gershman explains, "memory existed. A cell is basically just a membrane enclosing a bunch of molecular material, and its primary job is to remember the difference between the inside and the outside—and to maintain that memory in the face of constant perturbations from its environment." To respond adaptively, "it has to learn and remember." But how, without neurons and synapses, without brains? That's what Gershman hopes to discover. Growing up in Chicago in the 1990s, he was always intrigued by the idea that computers could think, which prompted other questions: How do humans think? What does *thinking* even mean? These profundities seemed to point toward the humanities until he took a "captivating" course on cognitive neuroscience as a Columbia undergraduate. The following summer, he worked in a lab studying human memory and from there went on to pursue a Ph.D. at Princeton in psychology and neuroscience, then a postdoc at MIT. These days, his work combines biological experiments with computer programming and artificial intelligence, building models to simulate everything from language to vision to decision-making. In 2024, Gershman won the Schmidt Sciences Polymath award, which recognizes boundary-pushing research and comes with a $2.5 million prize. Outside the lab, he's often at the piano; he and a colleague have been practicing duets, including César Franck's "Sonata in A major for Violin and Piano." The music is beautiful and difficult—a different kind of exercise in learning and memory.

—LYDIALYLE GIBSON

ment—the kinds of ovations that aren't always showered on soft-spoken, understated academics. But the Trump administration continued its multipronged assault, and the potential for pain became increasingly acute for the nation's richest university. The U.S. Department of Education ruled that Harvard had violated Title VI of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 and challenged the University's accreditation. Congress passed Trump's "Big Beautiful Bill," with its tax hike on college endowments that will cost Harvard an estimated $200 million per year, on average. The U.S. Department of State issued an effective travel ban on Harvard's international students, who make up a large proportion of many of its graduate schools.

Harvard responded to each move with statements that emphasized its compliance with all relevant laws and, in one case, with more legal action, filing a second federal suit challenging the travel ban. As the cases wound through the U.S. District Court in Massachusetts, the hearings and incremental rulings seemed to signal that Harvard's constitutional defenses, and legal prospects, were strong. Judge Allison Burroughs issued a preliminary injunction to halt the travel ban in late June, accompanied by a scorching 44-page memorandum that called out "the government's misplaced efforts to control a reputable academic institution and squelch diverse viewpoints." A few weeks later, during a July 21 hearing in the federal funding case—over which she is also presiding—Burroughs voiced a practical question at the heart of the dispute: if the Trump administration has legitimate concerns about campus antisemitism, how does punishing a long list of labs that haven't been accused of antisemitic behavior do anything to solve that problem?

This was all welcome news to the Harvard supporters who cheered outside the courtroom (including one man who came dressed as an exaggerated version of Trump, with small Trump heads embedded in his massive orange wig). Still, these were early rounds in a battle that could well make its way to the U.S. Supreme Court, with an uncertain outcome and massive financial hardship along the way. In a letter to the Harvard community in July, Garber announced that the administration stood to lose $1 billion per year. A hiring freeze was extended; layoffs took place across many graduate and professional schools. And while the University had announced a $250 million bridge fund to continue critical research in certain labs,

many braced for deep cuts or closure.

Faced with similarly dire stakes, Columbia opted to stanch the bleeding. In exchange for the restoration of $400 million in federal grants, Columbia agreed to pay $200 million to the government and $21 million to Columbia employees to settle an Equal Employment Opportunity Commission investigation. And it agreed to a set of sweeping reforms that included the appointment of new faculty members who would broaden the viewpoints in Jewish studies; review of academic programs, particularly those focused on the Middle East, for ideological balance; the transfer of disciplinary proceedings from the purview of the faculty senate to the provost's office; the sharing of admissions data so that the government could ensure that race was not a factor in decisions; and a ban on face coverings at protests except those donned for medical and religious reasons.

ed court settlements and through internal actions pursued quietly during the previous year and this summer. In March, the University dismissed the faculty leaders of the Center for Middle Eastern Studies, accused by some of foisting a one-sided view of the Israel-Palestine conflict on their students, while the T.H. Chan School of Public Health suspended its research partnership with Birzeit University, whose West Bank campus had been linked to terrorist support. In April, the University announced efforts to make disciplinary procedures for campus protests consistent across the College and professional schools and renamed its office of Equity, Diversity, Inclusion and Belonging to the Office for Community and Campus Life.

In July, the College closed its offices for women, minorities, and LGBTQ+ students and created a new Office of Culture and Community. That same month, the University announced a series of new relationships strengthening its ties to Israel, from a partnership with Ben-Gurion University to a new Harvard Medical School fellowship aimed at Ph.D. graduates from Israeli universities. On July 30, the University announced the appointment of Rabbi Getzel Davis as the director of Interfaith Engagement—a new presidential initiative to promote religious literacy and dialogue across faith and non-faith traditions.

Some compared the agreement to appeasing a mob boss who will never be satisifed.

Some compared the agreement to appeasing a mob boss who will never be satisfied. Others saw it as a corrective to a campus culture that had spiraled out of control. Former Harvard President Lawrence H. Summers posted on X that the deal is "an excellent template for agreements with other institutions including @Harvard...this may be the best day higher education has had in the last year." Days later, Brown University, which faced three federal investigations, announced its own deal with the government, agreeing to pay $50 million to Rhode Island workforce development organizations. Brown also gave the government access to admissions data, pledged to avoid unlawful racial discrimination in admissions or university programming, barred transgender athletes from competing on Brown teams, and banned puberty blockers and gender-affirming surgeries for minors at Brown-affiliated hospitals. In a Truth Social post, Trump claimed the terms of his victory: "There will be no more Anti-Semitism, or Anti-Christian, or Anti-Anything Else! Woke is officially DEAD at Brown."

What the public rhetoric didn't always point out was how many of the terms of the Columbia deal, in particular, resembled actions Harvard has already taken, in unrelat-

Together, these moves paint a picture of a university at work—to reform a broken campus culture that Garber continued to acknowledge, or to escape the federal government's voracious desire for punishment, or both. The two explanations aren't incompatible, though many at the University have voiced dismay at the prospect of allowing Trump or his allies to dictate the bounds of campus culture. At a faculty meeting in April, when Harvard's countermoves were just beginning, some professors voiced fears about "capitulation." In July, days after the Columbia settlement was announced, the alumni group Coalition for a Diverse Harvard wrote a letter to Garber, demanding a reversal of the University's DEI-related decisions and repeating its call that Harvard "should not preemptively submit to federal administration directives to dismantle higher education as we know it." And some Harvard alumni serving as Democrats in Congress threatened the University with a "rigorous" investigation if it settles with the Trump administration.

At Columbia, Acting President Claire Shipman walked the same tightrope Garber faces and urged her university's many constituencies to view the settlement outside the bounds of winning and losing. "I completely understand the desire for a simple narrative: capitulation versus courage, or talking versus fighting," Shipman told *The New York Times* after Columbia's settlement was announced. "But... I really would argue that protecting our principles, slowly and carefully while we stabilize the institution, requires courage too, and is far from capitulation."

Harvard has been caught up in that binary—by circumstance, and to some degree by design. The risk of a resistance posture, after all, is that if you do make a deal, some will believe you have caved. The University's stance in the spring served it well with many peer institutions and proud alumni, some of whom, in letters to this magazine, declared that a smaller Harvard would be preferable to a changed Harvard. But what would a smaller Harvard actually mean? The University seems loath to find out.

—Jonathan Shaw and Joanna Weiss

A Reckoning, and a Chance to Reinvent

When Andrea Baccarelli stepped into his role as dean of the T.H. Chan School of Public Health in January 2024, he could hardly have foreseen the financial headwinds that would soon batter one of the world's leading public health institutions. A sudden shift in federal research funding—long the bedrock of the school's budget—has forced painful choices and urgent innovation. But Baccarelli said in a June in-

Yesterday's News

From the pages of the *Harvard Alumni Bulletin* and *Harvard Magazine*

1900 Newell Boathouse opens for business, the foundation is laid for the Harvard Union, and construction begins on the Stillman Infirmary.

1920 The increased student population at Harvard reflects a national trend; the *Bulletin's* editors attribute the upswing to the fact that "the boys and young men who took part in the war learned from their experiences…that a college education was worth while" and that more families can afford the tuition.

1935 Director of athletics William J. Bingham states in the *Crimson* that if the German government persists in excluding Jewish athletes from the 1936 Olympic Games in Berlin, Harvard will not be represented on the American team.

1945 The "tight little masculine microcosm…exploded like the atom," reports the *Bulletin*, when the Faculty of Medicine, "after much deliberation and many misgivings on the part of some," admits 12 women to the class of 1949. The women, the editors caution, are "henceforth to be accounted ordinary students…no longer objects either of curiosity or of alarm."

1960 In his inaugural lecture as Abbot Lawrence Lowell professor of the humanities, Howard Mumford Jones outlines a weighty responsibility for American scholars: "The fate of the world may depend upon the ability of Americans to understand and express the origins, directions, and implications of American life."

1970 A bomb explodes in the Center for International Affairs, causing damage but no injuries—the first such incident at Harvard since disgruntled students set off an explosion at a chapel in 1834.

1995 "A frizzy-haired man of great amiability, for whom many at Harvard feel warm affection," Irish poet Seamus Heaney, then Boylston professor of rhetoric and oratory, wins the Nobel Prize in Literature. The Swedish Academy of Letters honored him "for works of lyrical beauty and ethical depth, which exalt everyday miracles and the living past."

2020 Just 40 percent of undergraduates are permitted on campus for the fall, and they must take their classes online to guard against COVID-19. This includes all first-years who wish to be in residence. The plan is for them to return home for the spring term, enabling seniors to finish their studies in Cambridge.

terview that within this crisis lies an opportunity: to remake the school as an even more resilient, impactful institution.

Of all Harvard's schools, none was as vulnerable to the Trump administration's cuts to research funding as the Chan School, whose work has helped improve the health of millions. Roughly 47 percent of the school's revenue came directly from federal sources. An added endowment tax and threats to international student enrollment compounded the blow for a school where global reach has always been a point of pride. "We lost, overnight, $200 million," Baccarelli said. "Unfortunately we have had layoffs, and we will have more."

Baccarelli's first instinct was to protect the school as it was, attempting to preserve every program and maintain the status quo. But he quickly realized the futility of that approach, given the immensity of the potential financial losses. "At some point, we pivoted from grieving the past to planning the future," he said. At a Commencement event, a faculty member reminded him that resilience and entrepreneurial spirit run deep in the school's DNA—faculty typically secure about 65 percent of their own salaries through external funding.

"If there is a group of people who can pivot," Baccarelli reflected, "it's us. So, I changed the message and decided that we are no longer thinking about how we save the school, but how do we plan for the Chan School of 2030? The vision I have is a school of the highest quality, probably smaller in size."

This recognition shaped a new vision: the school won't pursue growth for its own sake. "Academia," Baccarelli said, "is often about growing, but growing is not a virtue…I think we are moving [to become] a school that doesn't want to grow in size any longer, but wants to grow in quality, excellence, and impact."

Layoffs of research staff whose federal funding had been canceled began in April and now extend to administrative roles. Offers of admission to incoming Ph.D. students have been cut by about half—an almost unthinkable step for a school long committed to supporting doctoral education with generous, multiyear funding contributions. The school will continue to support existing Ph.D. students—whose education

Illustration by Mark Steele

spans five years at an annual cost of about $100,000 per person—for the remainder of their studies.

The loss of federal grants remains the biggest challenge, in terms of both money and mission. "To conduct so much research commissioned and sponsored by the government," said Baccarelli, "was a point of pride." And because such contracts were awarded by panels of the nation's leading scientists, "[w]e used the success of colleagues in securing NIH grants to evaluate faculty for promotion. But this system can't stay the same."

Faculty are pivoting to corporate partnerships. Already, 14 percent of operating revenue in fiscal year 2024 (July 1, 2023 - June 30, 2024) came from corporate-sponsored research. A $30 million collaboration with biotech firm Enlila on diabetes and aging was announced in June. Because corporations aren't driven by an interest in basic science, but instead by avenues of research that could lead to commercially viable products, a substantial challenge of the shift toward corporate-sponsored research will be developing new, objective means of assessing the quality and importance of faculty research.

"We will need to manage conflicts of interest," Baccarelli acknowledged. "But we always have." He notes that even government funding can subtly shape institutional priorities. To guard against undue influence, he plans to standardize how the school measures quality, ensuring research rigor and transparency, and to strengthen the evaluation of instructors across departments.

On the educational front, the crisis has accelerated innovation. While core doctoral programs depend on the school's operating budget, master's and executive education programs have been self-sustaining—an advantage now. The school plans to expand both its existing online master's degree programs—in part to reach international students if they cannot attend in person—as well as its in-person nondegree and customized executive education initiatives for working professionals and organizations such as the U.S. Navy.

Demographic trends, though, are a challenge: with fewer American students pursuing graduate education in public health, international students, who made up 42 percent of the student body last year, remain vital. These students often return home to become prime ministers, secretaries of public health, or leaders of national programs, extending the school's influence globally.

Andrea Baccarelli

COURTESY OF THE T.H. CHAN SCHOOL OF PUBLIC HEALTH

Longtime donors have stepped up with $3.5 million in additional gifts, but Baccarelli knows philanthropy alone can't fill the gap. "What we're doing now is not about saving the school," he said. "It's about building a better version of it." Encouragingly, the crisis has inspired a shift in culture: a recent finance group report called for more transparency and accountability, and faculty and staff are more engaged in understanding the school's financial realities than ever before.

Through painful cuts and bold pivots, the Chan School is reinventing itself—smaller but more focused, less dependent on a single funding source, and more attuned to the real-world impact of its work. For Baccarelli, the upheaval clarifies the mission: "Easy, quick, and cheap—that is the kind of solution that can help millions of people." It's a tall order, but he is convinced the crisis will transform the school into a more resilient, impactful force for global public health.

—JONATHAN SHAW

News In Brief

Winthrop House Name Narrowly Preserved

FOR THE past year and a half, a Harvard committee has deliberated whether to change the name of Winthrop House, responding to a March 2023 student-initiated denaming request. The students argued that both John Winthrops—the seventeenth-century governor and the eighteenth-century professor—"were instrumental in creating, maintaining, and defending slavery." Officially the "John Winthrop House" (named for the professor, *not* the governor), it will now be referred to simply as "Winthrop House," already the de facto colloquial usage. The decision retains the Winthrop name to honor the 400-year legacy of the Winthrop family while deemphasizing the complicated history of the two John Winthrops. Changing the name of the House outright, the committee argued, would deprive Harvard students of "the chance to reckon with the institution's history" (see **harvardmag.com/winthrop-house-name-25**).

HKS Launches a Major Fellowship for Public Servants

THE HARVARD KENNEDY SCHOOL (HKS) has announced the American Service Fellowship, a fully-funded one-year master's degree program for at least 50 students—comprising equal numbers of military veterans and experienced public servants. Launching in 2026, this pilot program will represent the largest single-year scholarship offering in HKS history.

The initiative arrives as the school grapples with major institutional challenges: layoffs, pressure from reduced international enrollment, and a University-wide hiring freeze. Funded entirely by philanthropy, it will not require additional staff or facilities, instead leveraging existing infrastructure.

Dean Jeremy Weinstein stressed the need for leadership that bridges divides in a time of political polarization. The fellowship is intended not just as financial aid, but as an investment in civic renewal. HKS will recruit candidates from all 50 states, requiring each to have at least seven years of service in public or military roles (see **harvardmag.com/kennedy-school-fellowship**).

Harvard Faculty Testify in Free Speech, Deportation Case

AT THE HEART of a closely watched federal court case is a question with sweeping implications: can noncitizens in the United States be deported for their political views? Harvard philosophy professor Bernhard Nickel testified that he has self-censored in response to a wave of arrests and threatened deportations targeting pro-Palestinian voices.

The lawsuit—brought by academic groups including the Harvard chapter of the American Association of University Professors, of which some University faculty are members—alleges that the Trump administration has effectively instituted a policy of "ideological deportation," arresting and detaining students and faculty who are not U.S. citizens and who speak out against Israel's actions in Gaza. While the government denies the existence of such a policy, the plaintiffs argue that the pattern of arrests, combined with intelligence gathering by a federal "tiger team," amounts to a de facto violation of First Amendment rights.

Nickel, a green card holder from Germany and longtime U.S. resident, testified that he stopped speaking out after the arrest of a student activist from Tufts University. He even canceled travel to visit a terminally ill family member abroad, fearing he might be denied reentry. "I love this country," he told the court, "but I no longer feel safe expressing my views."

The case, still unresolved, reflects growing tensions over academic freedom, free speech, and immigration enforcement. The outcome may set important precedents for how political expression is protected—or punished—among noncitizen scholars and students (see **harvardmag.com/aaup-v-rubio-immigration**).

VEASEY CONWAY/HARVARD UNIVERSITY

John Goldberg Appointed Dean of Harvard Law

John C.P. Goldberg has been formally named the dean of Harvard Law School, after serving in an interim capacity since March 2024. A distinguished legal scholar with a focus on tort law and legal philosophy, Goldberg joined Harvard in 2008 after teaching at Vanderbilt Law School and clerking for Supreme Court Justice Byron White. At Harvard, he has chaired key committees on faculty hiring, policy, and governance, and previously served as deputy dean. His academic work, including widely used casebooks and editorships of leading journals, has shaped contemporary thinking about responsibility and redress in the law.

President Alan M. Garber and Provost John Manning expressed confidence that Goldberg will guide the law school with wisdom and resolve amid nationwide challenges to legal institutions and constitutional principles alike (see **harvardmag.com/law-school-new-dean-goldberg**).

Layoffs Spread Across Harvard Amid Financial Strain

Amid federal funding freezes, a dramatic endowment tax increase, and visa-related international enrollment uncertainty, Harvard has implemented layoffs across numerous schools and centers. The T.H. Chan School of Public Health, which depends heavily on federal research grants and international tuition, has already begun reductions. The Harvard Kennedy School, where more than half of the students are international, has also laid off staff and prepared contingency plans for displaced learners.

At Harvard Medical School, budget cuts of 15 percent have been ordered, with potential program and personnel impacts looming. The School of Dental Medicine faces an annual shortfall of $9 million in federal grants. The Wyss Institute for Biologically Inspired Engineering reports unpaid invoices and halted grants, while the Broad Institute, a joint Harvard and MIT biomedical research institute, laid off 75 employees in late June.

Even schools less reliant on federal funding, such as the Harvard Divinity School, may feel pressure due to a recent increase in taxation on college endowments. The graduate schools of education, engineering, and design—all with large numbers of international students—face uncertain risks as the University's global orientation, once considered a strength, has made it vulnerable to political headwinds (see **harvardmag.com/layoffs-across-university**).

Contingency Plans for International Students Unveiled

With the legal status of international student visas unresolved, Harvard is developing fallback strategies. The Harvard Kennedy School (HKS) announced two possible options: a new online program and a collaboration with the University of Toronto's Munk School of Global Affairs and Public Policy that would allow second-year students to complete their degrees in Canada. HKS Dean Jeremy Weinstein emphasized that these options will only be implemented if necessary. The T.H. Chan School of Public Health, where 42 percent of students are international, is also expanding online degree programs and nondegree training modules aimed at global health professionals. The plans are designed to meet the needs of students unable to re-enter the U.S. due to visa restrictions (see **harvardmag.com/international-students-contingency-plans**).

GEN Z'S RIGHT TURN

How Trump, TikTok, and the pandemic are reshaping campus politics

by NINA PASQUINI

For Leo Koerner '26, it started with the pandemic.

As a sophomore in high school when COVID-19 hit, he watched government officials insist on mask mandates, lockdowns, and school closures—despite a lack of certainty over such policies' effectiveness.

"You told a bunch of kids who were in the most important social time of their life that they had to stay inside for two years," Koerner says. It felt like "a total overreach."

By the time he arrived at Harvard in 2022, Koerner was disillusioned by more than just public health policies. He was distrustful of both political parties, he says, and skeptical that his generation could achieve the American dream of a stable job, a family, and a comfortable retirement.

Koerner was raised in deep-blue Cambridge, Massachusetts, surrounded by liberal neighbors and peers. He began to wonder whether conservatism might hold the answers he hadn't found growing up. So he started to attend meetings of the Harvard Republican Club and the John Adams Society, the University's conservative debate society. In the classroom, he immersed himself in the Western canon—from Plato's *Republic* to Pope Leo XIII's *Rerum Novarum*, the Catholic encyclical that critiques both socialism and unregulated capitalism. In the midst of his undergraduate studies, he converted to Catholicism.

Today, Koerner is the president of the Republican Club—notorious, lately, for its full-throated support of President Donald Trump, its shift to a populist brand of conservatism that might come from the mouth of Vice President J.D. Vance, and its increasingly prominent place on campus.

When Koerner was a freshman, he says, the club might have drawn 20 to 30 people to an event featuring a conservative speaker. Now, such events can attract over 100 students. In a 2024 *Crimson* op-ed, Michael Oved '25, Koerner's predecessor, declared that "it has never been a better time to be a Republican on campus" and wrote that the club's mailing list had grown from 100 to over 800 during his tenure.

Harvard, like many American universities, has long been seen as a bastion of liberalism. In its attacks on the University, the Trump administration has often pointed to a lack of ideological diversity on campus—a charge that even Harvard's own leadership has conceded, at least in part, by launching formal efforts to address it.

But whatever you think you know about the politics of Harvard's faculty, its student body is an increasingly different story—one that reflects a broader shift in Gen Z politics. In poll after poll, the youngest members of Gen Z have shown a surprising conservative tilt. In the last presidential election, a Democratic polling group found, white men under 20 voted for Trump at higher rates than those in their late-20s—and at higher rates than white baby boomer men. And the latest Yale Youth Poll revealed a whopping 18-point partisan gap between voters aged 18 to 21—who leaned Republican by 11.7 points—and those aged 22 to 29, who leaned Democrat by 6.4 points.

In April, a theory about this shift went viral on X.

"I said it before and I'll say it again," Rachel Janfaza '20, an analyst focused on youth politics, wrote. "There really are two Gen Zs." Her post included a graphic contrasting "Gen Z 1.0," the liberal-leaning older cohort, with "Gen Z 2.0," their younger, more conservative peers.

According to Janfaza, the pandemic marked a dividing line. Older Gen Zers were in college when it hit, able to quarantine with roommates and friends; younger ones were still in high school, isolated at home. The two cohorts also came of age in different political climates: Gen Z 1.0 came up during Trump's first presidency, when resistance meant protesting at the Women's March or walking out of school for climate action. Gen Z 2.0 grew up under President Joe Biden—disillusioned with institutions, skeptical of pandemic rules, and more likely to lean into contrarian conservatism.

Now, Gen Z 2.0 is filling college campuses around the country, including at Harvard. They're revitalizing conservative institutions, shifting the boundaries of campus discourse, and getting ready to shape national politics.

MAPPING A GENERATION'S DIVIDE

Growing up in Weston, Massachusetts, Rachel Janfaza was constantly discussing politics and current events with her three younger siblings. She was born in 1997, and her youngest sister in 2003. Even though their age difference was just a few years, Janfaza could sense micro-generational rifts throughout her childhood.

Janfaza's first phone was a flip phone; her sister's first phone was an iPhone. Janfaza followed the Barack Obama-Mitt Romney election as a freshman in high school; her sister can barely remember a political world before Trump.

"I have always felt that the four of us have had very different political experiences," Janfaza says, "even though we are so close in age."

At Harvard, Janfaza concentrated in government. For her senior thesis, she examined social media's role in youth activist movements—including immigration activism, the pre-pandemic Black Lives Matter movement, March for Our Lives, and climate strikes. She analyzed how social media enabled young people to lead these movements, how activism on platforms like Snapchat and Facebook translated into offline protest, and how algorithms incentivized the spread of disinformation.

She submitted that thesis in March 2020, just before students were sent home for the pandemic. "The thesis was outdated the moment I handed it in," she says: immediately, the pandemic "bifurcated Gen Z" and transformed how young people consumed social media.

After graduating that May, Janfaza began covering the youth vote for CNN. As she spoke to young people across the country, she noticed that Gen Z's politics didn't map cleanly onto traditional party lines. She remembers interviewing an 18-year-old woman in Nebraska who was passionate about reproductive rights—but said she supported Trump, believing he would help bring back jobs for her and her family.

"They'd take a little from the Democratic Party, a little from the Republican Party," Janfaza says. Instead of party loyalty, "they cared about the issues that were affecting their lives," especially as they related to the economy.

Illustrations by Robert Neubecker

> "The pandemic bifurcated Gen Z…this cohort of young people who were either in high school or middle school during the pandemic grew really frustrated with authority."
>
> —RACHEL JANFAZA

At the same time, the pandemic was changing how young people used social media. As they quarantined at home, many began scrolling on TikTok for the first time. That app rewarded "unfiltered, often controversial" takes, Janfaza says, in contrast to the polished, curated posts that had defined Instagram for older Gen Zers.

In this new media environment, contrarian creators who pushed back on pandemic restrictions found eager audiences. And TikTok's hyper-specific algorithm, Janfaza argues, deepened ideological and identity-based divides, particularly around gender. YouTube also grew in popularity among young viewers seeking fewer content restrictions after Twitter and Facebook banned Trump from their platforms in the wake of the January 6, 2021, riots.

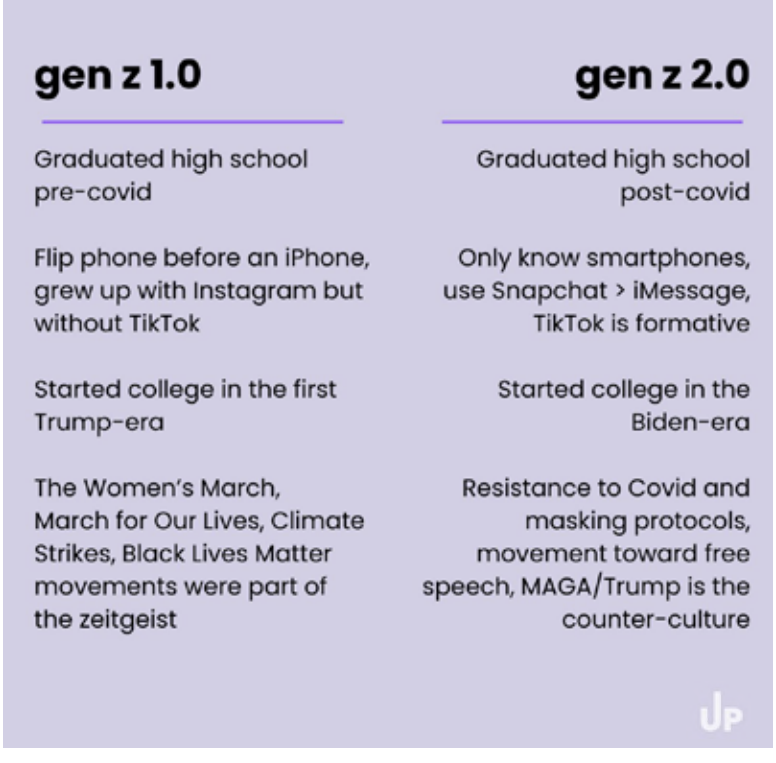
In the fall of 2022, Janfaza left CNN and launched *The Up and Up*, a Substack newsletter dedicated to Gen Z politics. She now works full-time consulting organizations on connecting with young people. In late 2022, shortly after the midterm elections, she partnered with John Della Volpe of Harvard's Institute of Politics and criss-crossed the country, interviewing young voters about their views.

She found that the patterns she first noticed in 2020 had accelerated. Young people still prioritized the economy over culture war debates. But the economic policies they supported were starting to sound different. They were receptive to tariffs and isolationist policies. Some backed an expanded social safety net. Many were also becoming religious.

None of this mapped neatly onto a political party—but it clearly pointed to a kind of realignment and a desire to protest against the status quo.

The trends she was seeing showed up in the data. According to the Harvard Youth Poll released in the spring of 2024, Biden led Trump in the presidential race by 26 points among 25- to 29-year-old likely voters—but that number shrank to just 14 points among 18- to 24-year-olds. The gap between older and younger Gen Z voters held even after then-Vice President Kamala Harris replaced Biden as the Democratic nominee.

When the election results tracked what the earlier polling had revealed, Janfaza named this pattern "two Gen Zs." The theory has since been picked up by *Vox*, *Politico*, *Axios*, and others trying to understand the political realignment happening among young people.



Rachel Janfaza's post on X comparing the two Gen Zs

THE HARVARD REPUBLICAN CLUB'S TRANSFORMATION

Harvard students—like most college students nationwide—still lean broadly to the left. A *Crimson* survey from the spring of 2025 found that 64 percent of that year's graduating class identified as progressive or very progressive, compared to just 10.5 percent who saw themselves as conservative or very conservative. Another 24 percent identified as moderate. Still, students say the contours of being a conservative on campus have changed—and that there is less shame associated with holding pro-Trump views than students experienced eight years ago.

On November 5, 2024, when the Institute of Politics hosted its election night watch party in Sanders Theatre, the rows of wood-paneled booths were filled to capacity. Among the sea of students, a small but vocal group donned red MAGA hats. They weren't a majority—but they felt no need to hide.

That fall, "people who weren't traditionally interested [in Republican politics] became interested," says Koerner, the Harvard Republican Club president. "The energy built up and built up and built up—and then we won."

It was a marked transformation from the election night of eight years earlier. In 2016, the Harvard Republican Club, known on cam-

All photographs courtesy of the subjects

pus as HRC, had famously refused to endorse Trump, calling him a "threat to the survival of the Republic." At the 2016 Institute of Politics watch party, when Trump defied expectations, many Republican Club members were as stunned as their Democratic classmates.

"A rumor came out the next day that there was some secret Trump watch party that was happening at one of the other houses, that was kind of underground," recalls a former HRC member. "It was almost like a scandal—like, who was at *that* watch party?"

But over time, the club's stance towards Trump softened. Wesley Donhauser '21, who served as the HRC president when the organization endorsed Trump in 2020, traces the shift partly to familiarity. When Donhauser arrived on campus in 2017, the notion that Trump was president was still hard to believe. By 2020, Trump was an incumbent with proven electoral appeal.

The change was also driven by a transformation in what it *meant* to be a conservative, Donhauser says. When he was a freshman, he continues, campus Republican identity centered around "this fiscally conservative, socially liberal kind of mantra."

But for Donhauser—who grew up Catholic—conservatism was rooted in a belief "that there is an enduring moral order, and that it is the duty of one another to bind each other to said order." He viewed society's purpose not as maximizing "individual freedom or choice" but as helping people "fulfill their responsibilities to each other and the greater good." And an increasing number of students agreed with him: "As time went on," he says, "there was a greater willingness to defend conservative and religious social issues."

By 2020, the Harvard Republican Club was deeply divided over whether to endorse Trump. Ultimately, they did—not out of affection for his personality, Donhauser says, but because of his willingness to champion culturally conservative values.

Those priorities, he says, were reshaping the party's economic agenda as well. Take immigration. Studies have consistently shown that it boosts economic growth: "It's hard *not* to be positive for the GDP," Donhauser says. "It's a lot of fantastic, hardworking people."

But in his view, rapid, large-scale immigration puts a strain on local communities—especially by driving down wages. For Donhauser, then, restricting immigration is a way to prioritize working-class Americans over abstract metrics like gross domestic product.

That logic reflects a broader shift in conservative thinking, as he sees it. It's no longer about "money and business interests," he says, but about constructing a social order that can sustain families and communities. "We thought the conservative social order led to better outcomes for people."

HARVARD'S NEW CONSERVATIVES

When he arrived on campus in 2021, Michael Oved '25 sensed there was something below the surface of Harvard's liberal varnish. There was a growing appetite, he felt, for conservative voices and spaces—at least among students. He began "testing the waters" by offering right-of-center opinions in class, then watching as classmates approached him afterward to say they had similar thoughts.

"I was taken aback by how they really bought into a lot of the Trump rhetoric… They were obviously much more nationalistic in their economic policy."

—N. GREGORY MANKIW

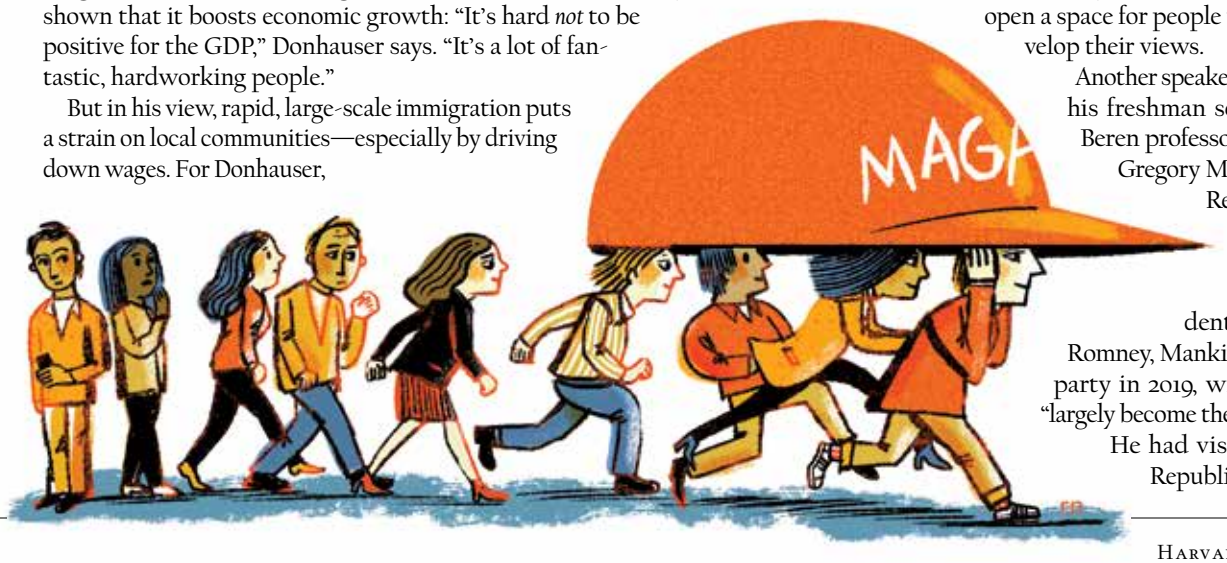
"There are more conservatives than meet the eye," he realized.

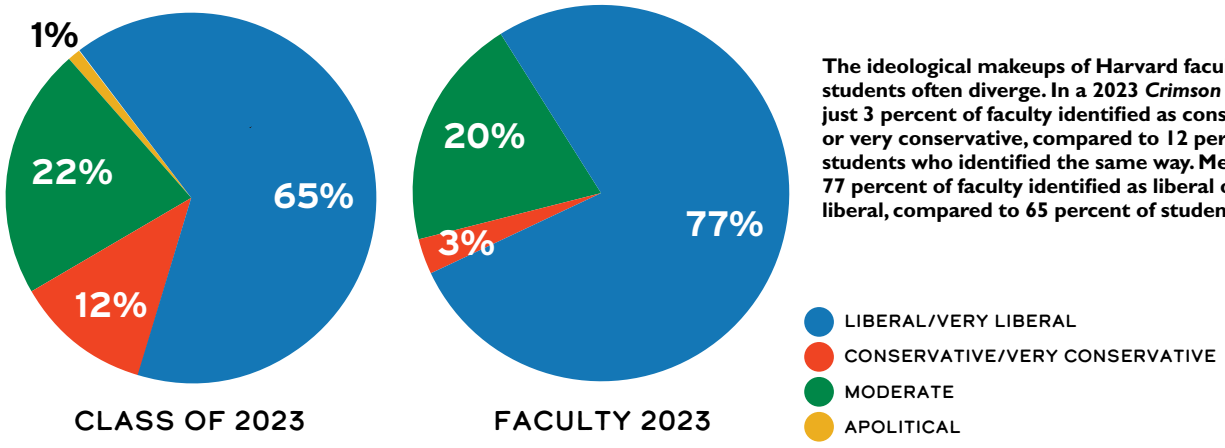
Oved understood, though, that this conservatism wasn't the traditional Republicanism of past decades. It encompassed a wide—and often contradictory—range of views: tech evangelists and tech skeptics, deficit hawks and those who wanted to expand the social safety net.

"The Republican Party is not a monolith," he says. "The beauty of the Republican Party is the difference of opinions within it."

So he started to invite a wide array of speakers to HRC events—Peter Thiel, Palantir cofounder Joe Lonsdale, Babylon Bee CEO Seth Dillon—not to try to achieve consensus, but to open a space for people to discuss and develop their views.

Another speaker Oved invited was his freshman seminar professor, Beren professor of economics N. Gregory Mankiw. A longtime Republican who had advised President George W. Bush and presidential nominee Mitt Romney, Mankiw publicly left the party in 2019, writing that it had "largely become the Party of Trump." He had visited the Harvard Republican Club once be-





The ideological makeups of Harvard faculty and students often diverge. In a 2023 *Crimson* survey, just 3 percent of faculty identified as conservative or very conservative, compared to 12 percent of students who identified the same way. Meanwhile, 77 percent of faculty identified as liberal or very liberal, compared to 65 percent of students.

fore, about two decades earlier, and remembered students sounding a lot like him: fiscally conservative, socially liberal.

He quickly realized that was no longer the case.

"I was taken aback by how they really bought into a lot of the Trump rhetoric," Mankiw remembers. He was especially struck by their economic beliefs: "They were obviously much more nationalistic in their economic policy—leaning to isolationism and nativism," he says, "which I personally don't think is a healthy place for the country to be."

Before the 2024 election, HRC released an endorsement of Donald Trump that expressed no reservations. A 2,000-word document, complete with 41 citations, laid out the group's rationale—including Trump's tax cuts and deregulation, his non-interventionist foreign policy, and his success in appointing conservative judges. "The goal," Oved says, "was to educate our peers."

For him, the endorsement was the culmination of his work to reestablish the club's stature on campus. As the oldest collegiate Republican group in the country, HRC is a key player in Republican youth organizing, Oved says. But he feels that it had been adrift since its 2016 refusal to endorse Trump. "During my tenure as president of the Republican Club, we revived the organization," he says. "We brought it back to its glory."

The conservative resurgence has extended beyond HRC. In 2021, Harvard students revived *The Salient*, a once-dormant conservative campus magazine. The Abigail Adams Institute—an independent intellectual center devoted to the Western tradition, located near campus but not affiliated with Harvard—has also seen rising attendance at its events, its director recently told *The New York Times*.

As the tent expands, for many students, social conservatism—often shaped by religion—remains its center. Leo Koerner, the current HRC president, says many of his beliefs are drawn from Catholic social teaching—for example, that the government should help build a society centered around purpose and meaningful work.

"Having strong social safety nets—and providing support to help people feel like their lives have meaning—is good," he says. He provides tariffs as an example: "If we tariff China or any other country and bring home 10,000 jobs, but it costs the GDP X amount, that's worth it, because the GDP is not the soul of the nation."

Still, it can be hard to tell how much of the campus shift reflects deeply held beliefs and how much stems from students modulating their views to match the version of conservatism in power. In some cases, students' turn toward New Right ideas may stem from a shortage of conservative perspectives among Harvard's faculty: without a broader range of competing alternatives, they may gravitate towards what is most visible or ascendant.

Kenan research professor of government Harvey Mansfield, who was one of Harvard's few conservative faculty members until his retirement in 2022, is sharply critical of what he sees as the University's failure to prioritize intellectual diversity on the faculty—including diversity within the conservative movement.

He points to the recent rise of "common-good conservatism," championed by Harvard Law School professor Adrian Vermeule. That philosophy argues, as Vermeule wrote in *The Atlantic* in 2020, "that strong rule in the interest of attaining the common good is entirely legitimate"—an idea echoed by many current conservative Harvard students.

"[Common-good conservatism] is very hostile to liberalism—too much so, in my opinion," Mansfield says. "It wants conservatives to define a 'common good' which excludes liberals. To me, I wonder whether that means they're no longer going to have elections in which the other side can win. My conservatism tries to be compatible with losing an election and letting the liberals have their turn when they win." If there were more conservative faculty on campus, Mansfield suggests, students might be exposed to more of these internal debates.

> "There are more conservatives [at Harvard] than meet the eye."
>
> —MICHAEL OVED

In recent years, Harvard has made a visible effort to foster greater intellectual diversity on campus. After the October 7, 2023, Hamas terrorist attacks on Israel, Israel's subsequent war in Gaza, and the campus unrest that followed, the

University began prioritizing "intellectual vitality" by funding student projects and hosting events centered on difficult or divisive topics. In July, *The Wall Street Journal* reported that, amid pressure from the Trump administration, Harvard has also explored the creation of a center for conservative scholarship.

"A lot of the media portrays Harvard as so polarized that no one's willing to talk. But in reality, many, if not most, students want to hear more dissent on campus."

—TENZIN GUND-MORROW

Some students are skeptical about the intentions behind such changes. "I think it's remarkable, the sudden interest," Koerner says. "The institutional support is certainly opportunistic and relies on what the outside pressures are." Still, he thinks the effect will be positive, regardless of the motivation—making space for a wider range of views on campus.

THE FUTURE OF GEN Z 2.0

Notwithstanding such institutional efforts, in many ways, students feel they're doing just fine on their own. For as long as they can remember, the younger members of Gen Z have watched the country grow more politically divided, with adults drifting to extremes on both sides. But paradoxically, many say that this environment has made them *more* committed to civil discourse—not less.

In past eras, left-leaning students drew conservative ire for treating speech as harm: shutting down controversial speakers, insisting that certain views posed material harm to marginalized students. But for some younger Gen Zers, that mindset no longer holds sway.

Tenzin Gund-Morrow '26, a co-president of the Institute of Politics and a longtime progressive, remembers the distress he felt when Trump won the 2024 election. He was worried, he says, for undocumented students and other vulnerable groups. But that never translated into believing Trump's policy ideas shouldn't be heard.

"It really doesn't help anyone to shut someone else down," Gund-Morrow says. "If you don't listen thoughtfully and respond in kind, people just radicalize further."

That belief is increasingly reflected in how students approach campus conversations. Last semester, the far-right blogger Curtis Yarvin came to Cambridge to debate political theorist Danielle Allen, the Conant University Professor. No one shouted him down. Allen herself questioned whether Yarvin's ideas were worth engaging with—but acknowledged that they were popular and needed to be confronted.

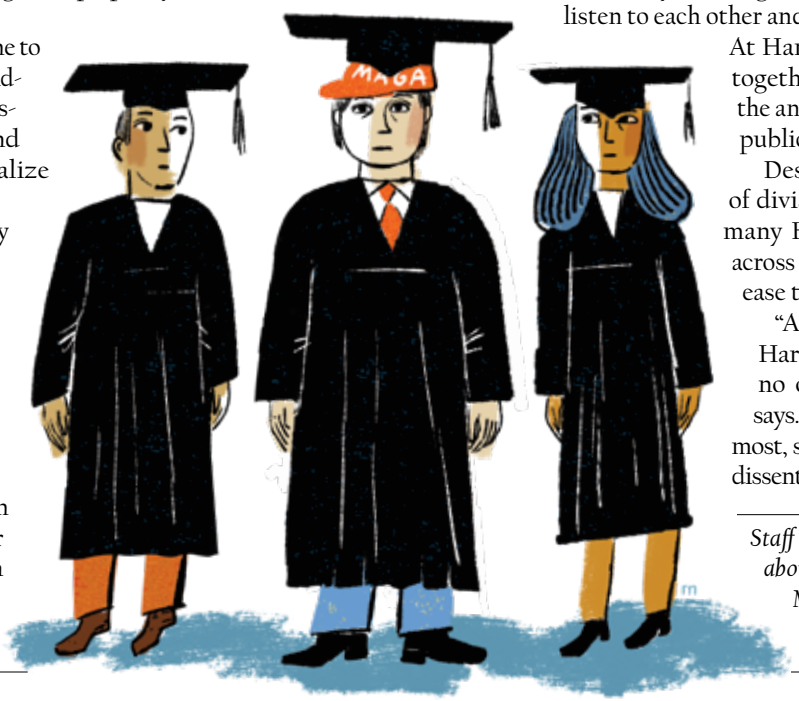
For Koerner, the fact that the event took place at all was a sign of progress. "That shows a major change," he says, "the fact that that type of debate happened at Harvard."

Students say they value such conversations not for the sake of performance—to prove that they can engage across difference—but for the purpose of making progress on issues they care about, especially material ones. That desire for bipartisan dialogue, Janfaza says, is something she's seen across the country.

"When I ask young people what worries them most, so many say divisiveness," she explains. "They're frustrated that the two parties are so far apart. They want space for conversation in the middle."

At Harvard, students are finding ways large and small to have those conversations. The Institute of Politics has launched new initiatives focused on dialogue and debate. And individual students are talking to each other, too.

Tenzin Gund-Morrow and Leo Koerner first met as high schoolers, at the School for Ethics and Global Leadership, a semester-long residential academic program. "I was lucky enough to come here with a friend who slept five feet from where I was sleeping for an entire semester, who has entirely different opinions on immigration and on many issues in politics from me," Gund-Morrow says. During the program, they learned to listen to each other and consider opposing views. At Harvard, they still get lunch together and cohost events like the annual Visitas Democrat-Republican debate.



Despite national narratives of division, Gund-Morrow says, many Harvard students engage across ideological lines with more ease than people might expect.

"A lot of the media portrays Harvard as so polarized that no one's willing to talk," he says. "But in reality, many, if not most, students want to hear more dissent on campus." ▽

Staff writer Nina Pasquini wrote about the new gender gaps in the May-June 2025 issue of Harvard Magazine.

Brandon Terry with The Embrace in Boston Common

Photograph by Jim Harrison

Civil Rights, Retold

Political philosopher Brandon Terry's vision of racial progress

by LYDIALYLE GIBSON

"Part of the problem with mythology," said political philosopher Brandon Terry, sitting in a near-empty Allston diner on a sweltering afternoon in late June, "is that it doesn't really prepare you for the fight you have to have. It doesn't prepare you for how long it is, how arduous it is, the kinds of disappointments you'll face." A scholar of the civil rights movement, Terry was talking about events more than half a century in the past: the March on Washington, where Martin Luther King Jr. gave his "I Have a Dream" speech; Bloody Sunday in Selma, Alabama, and the marchers' defiant return to the Edmund Pettus Bridge; Rosa Parks refusing to give up her seat on the Montgomery bus; *Brown v. Board of Education*; and all the other familiar, celebrated touchstones that make up what he calls the "romantic narrative" of that era.

But he was also talking about right now. The retrenchment and backlash against "wokeness" and anything that can be labeled "DEI." The rollback by the Trump administration of federal antidiscrimination policies in place since the civil rights movement. Book bans targeting "diversity" and state laws restricting the teaching of Black history. Cuts to medical research benefiting Black patients. Lately, the "fight you have to have," Terry believes, has been escalating dramatically. In a talk last spring at the Princeton Public Library, Terry, a 2005 College graduate and Loeb associate professor of the social sciences in African and African American studies, described 2025 as "a time where it seems like the great victories of one era are being slowly turned into the ruins of our present."

Martin Luther King Jr. speaks to a crowd in Long Beach, New York, in May 1965.

We are at a disorienting moment in American life. While one part of society reels from what Terry labels the defeat of the Black Lives Matter movement, another asserts—with growing political success—that measures intended to counter racial discrimination are themselves discriminatory. Underlying everything, according to Terry, is the gauzy story we've told ourselves about the 1950s and 1960s—and the warping effects that story has on the politics of today. His new book, *Shattered Dreams, Infinite Hope: A Tragic Vision of the Civil Rights Movement* (Belknap Press, out this October), is an attempt to correct the record, to offer a more truthful and clear-eyed account of what happened, what it means, and how it might point a way forward.

Complaints about the "arc of justice" hagiography are not new. Critics have long warned that depicting the civil rights struggle as a heroic and inevitable triumph glosses over the very real conflicts and complexities that affected the movement, the failures and flaws, the numerous ways its leaders' actions were shaped by events they didn't control. That triumphal story also brushes off racial inequalities that persist. "Part of the intensity of cultural explanations for Black disadvantage in the '70s, '80s, and '90s stems from, I think, the success of the romantic narrative," Terry says. "Because if everything's been fixed, if we have in fact overcome—or are just about to overcome—then the rest of this must be your fault."

But now, amid what many see as an alarming leap backward, the romantic narrative is breaking down. And what threatens to take its place, Terry worries, are pessimism and bitter resignation, the belief that things will never get better. This is a reaction he understands—at times he has shared it—but ultimately, he believes, it's self-defeating. Instead, he advocates a different response: hope.

The title of Terry's book comes from a sermon published in 1963, in which Martin Luther King Jr. speaks of "blasted hopes and shattered dreams." Unfolding across 400 pages, the book is an intricately woven philosophical argument, with a table of contents that namechecks Immanuel Kant, John Rawls, and the Jamaican American philosopher Charles W. Mills. There is a deep analysis of a 1920 essay by W. E. B. Du Bois, A.B. 1890, Ph.D. 1895, with a blood-curdling description of the Grand Canyon as a metaphor for Jim Crow. Terry offers a sympathetic, deep-in-the-weeds critique of Afropessimism, the theory that describes anti-Blackness as a permanent condition of civil society, with no possibility of emancipation or equality.

But *Shattered Dreams* is also an absorbing, emotional narrative, with an idea at its core that lands like a lightning bolt.

The civil rights movement, Terry contends, is a "tragedy"—not in the modern-day colloquial sense, but in the way that Aristotle and the ancient Greeks might have recognized it, as a story of conflict without easy resolution, full of deep moral tensions, unintended consequences, and unforeseen occurrences. A story of "intertwined victories and defeats," in which nothing is inevitable.

It's also a bigger story than the one that's usually told, lasting not just a decade or two, but generations. Terry agrees with the "long civil rights movement" historians, who push back the start date to the early twentieth century, amid the Great Migration and the founding of organizations like the National Association for the Advancement

Photograph by Alan Raia/Newsday RM via Getty Images

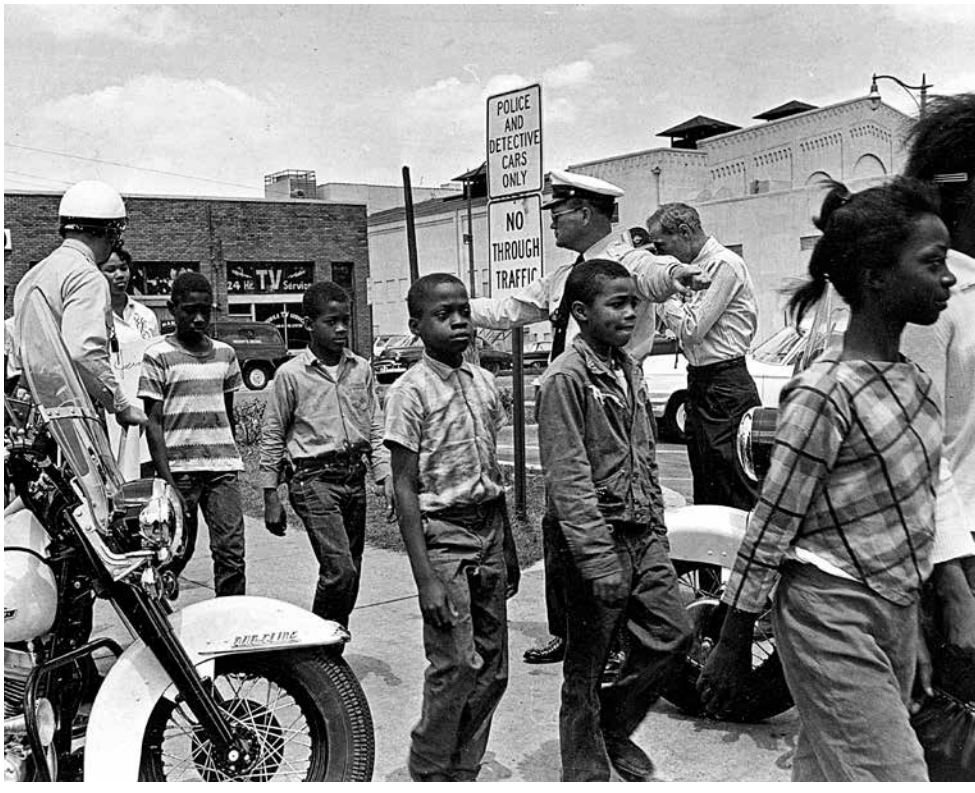
of Colored People and Black labor unions like the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters. This longer history also encompasses the militant activism of Black soldiers, who returned from World War I with sharpened demands for equal citizenship. In this telling, figures like Du Bois were not precursors to the civil rights movement, but part of it.

"If all you teach is hopelessness...you don't train people to look for unexpected contingencies."

Du Bois himself pictured the fight against racial injustice as a "long siege," Terry notes, and King explicitly said in his shattered dreams sermon that he didn't expect the movement to fully succeed within his lifetime. Thinking in these terms raises existential questions—if profound inequality still persists, was the effort worth it?—but it also allows people to see themselves as part of a continuing struggle in which political failures and individual shortfalls can be steps on the road toward progress. "This goes right to the heart of the matter," Terry says. "I'm trying to remind people of the genuine human flourishing that's at stake in making people's lives even a little bit better."

All this—the long siege, the partial victories, the chance opportunities—forms the crux of his argument against Afropessimism's nihilistic despair, which Terry has seen rising over the past year. At the diner in Allston, he talked about how the civil rights era coincided with several seemingly unrelated events—the Cold War, the mechanization of Southern agriculture, the rapid expansion of television. "These things had nothing to do with the problem of Black subjugation as such," he said, "but they became part of the terrain for overturning it," converging contingencies that civil rights leaders took advantage of (just as civil rights activists today have used cellphone cameras and social media). "But if all you teach is hopelessness and that nothing can change," Terry added, "you don't train people to look for unexpected contingencies."

From this perspective, failures are not just setbacks; they're opportunities for insight and revised tactics—which sometimes carry their own moral predicaments. Terry recounts how, during the 1962 desegregation campaign in Albany, Georgia, the local police chief outmaneuvered King by arresting protesters without spectacular violence, which dampened media coverage that might otherwise have provoked federal intervention. In Birmingham, Alabama, the following year, Bull Connor, the legendarily brutal commissioner of public safety, at first followed the same playbook.



Children's Crusade marchers are arrested in Birmingham, Alabama.

Desperate for national attention, Birmingham organizers decided, with King's tacit approval, to recruit children as young as elementary-school age to march in what became known as the Children's Crusade. This was a wrenching dilemma—the organizers knew they were risking children's lives. King himself had said during an earlier strategy session with the Southern Christian Leadership Conference that he did not expect everyone to come back alive from the Birmingham campaign.

This time, Connor reacted as expected, and the photographs and videos that emerged—of children being beaten with clubs, attacked by police dogs, and sprayed with firehoses—sparked international outrage and prompted President John F. Kennedy to support civil rights legislation. Even today, these are among the first images that spring to mind when talking about the civil rights era. Reading Terry's account, which describes King locked in a motel suite for hours, stricken with doubts about whether to "send in the children," it's hard not to feel haunted by how differently it all might have turned out.

At 41, Terry has the kinetic presence of an even younger man, but the voice—patient, heavy, slightly syncopated—of someone years older. Friends and colleagues invariably describe him as a generational thinker. (They'll also tell you that he has read *everything*. "I don't think he sleeps much," says Harvard philosopher Tommie Shelby, who was Terry's undergraduate thesis adviser.) Dartmouth political theorist Keidrick Roy, Ph.D. '22, who came to Harvard to study with Terry, describes their conversations as "jazz sessions," full of riffs and unexpected harmonies and questions that kept pushing deeper. Philosopher and activist Cornel West '74, Terry's mentor and friend for two decades, calls him "the towering humanistic intellectual of his generation," an heir to Erasmus and the great twentieth-century German philologist Erich Auerbach. "To have a Black man who is part and parcel of that great tradition," West says, "rooted in the best of the Black intellectual tradition but also so immersed in the grand humanistic tradition of the West, is a magnificent thing."

Photograph by Bill Hudson/Associated Press

Terry began work on *Shattered Dreams* during his dissertation days at Yale, where he earned a Ph.D. in political science and African American studies in 2012. But the truth is, this book started in Baltimore.

Terry grew up at the edge of the city, in an unincorporated community called Randallstown. It had been a Jewish neighborhood for decades, but by the time he was out of elementary school, it was almost entirely Black. "I had these extraordinary experiences, where, at the same time that I was the only Black kid at a couple of kids' bar mitzvahs, I also went to visit my brother in federal prison," says Terry, who was one of five children. His father, a driver for the American Red Cross, had grown up in public housing. His mother, a public-school social studies teacher, was from a Black working-class area in the northwest part of the city, not far from where the Freddie Gray riots started in 2015. There were books all over the family's house—textbooks, encyclopedias, books left over from her time in college. "And I would just read them constantly," Terry says.

His uncle offered to pay the Harvard application fee—$65, the same price, Terry recalls, as a pair of Nike Air Force 1 sneakers.

He was about nine the first time he read *The Autobiography of Malcolm X*. "I didn't digest all of it," he says, "but the stridency and his more nationalist formulations—they hit very powerfully for young people, because they just seem to have all the answers. It's kind of a sealed worldview. And in a place like Baltimore, there's a lot about Black nationalism that seems to clarify things, especially at that time, when you could see really clearly the stark racial divide, and how class inequalities were mapped onto race inequalities." Malcolm X connected on a visceral level, too. "His message about the existential cost of oppression, the sense of hopelessness, sense of despair, waywardness—I mean, this was an era of unprecedented homicide rates, devastating levels of drug addiction," Terry says. "And these were things that we had intimate experience with in our family, things that we saw, things that we knew."

Politics were intensely debated around the kitchen table. His mother, grandmother, and uncle Eddie, a Vietnam veteran who worked for the Social Security Administration, were center-left liberals who admired King and believed that integration was worth sacrificing for, even in the face of persistent discrimination. His uncle Ronald was a Black nationalist who moved out to rural Maryland and began growing his own food. "He took self-sufficiency really seriously," Terry says. "He bought bombed-out houses in Baltimore and rehabbed them with his own bare hands and a crew of people he had trained. He was very deeply skeptical that we were ever going to change the broader society's attitudes toward Black people, absent some amassing of power by Black people themselves, economically, socially, politically."

As a high school junior, Terry scored high on the PSAT, and Yale sent him a letter, encouraging him to apply. He ripped it up immediately. "I thought it was just absurd," he says. "No one from my high school had ever gone to an Ivy League school. We barely knew people who went to college, especially outside of the historically Black colleges in Maryland." Then Harvard sent a letter, which he showed to his uncle Eddie as a joke. But Eddie didn't laugh. "I'll never forget, he just kind of looked at me and said, 'Why is that funny?'" Terry says. "And my fear and discomfort kick in, because I realize he's pushing." His uncle offered to pay the application fee—$65, the same price, Terry recalls, as a pair of Nike Air Force 1 sneakers—and promised to give Terry the same amount if he got in.

He did get in, and during his first months on campus, he felt as much like a fish out of water as he'd feared. But he soon found his way to the Black Men's Forum (today he serves as its faculty adviser) and began writing a column for the *Crimson*, "On the Real," where he often explored issues of race.

He declared a concentration in government and African and African American studies. Black nationalism was still on his mind. "I think one reason nationalism is very attractive to striving young people is that they have ambitions that they can see thwarted by their membership in a stigmatized group," he says. "So, there's a lot of hostility and a lot of frustration." But he was also starting to read King and other thinkers whose work complicated his understanding of race. "Something that became unavoidable for me was the way that fictions of Black collective identity paper over all manner of divisions based on sexuality, gender, ethnicity, religion, class." (That idea resurfaces in *Shattered Dreams*, as another critique of the romantic civil rights narrative.) His senior year, he wrote a thesis exploring whether any version of Black nationalism could survive those criticisms. In the end, he decided there wasn't. By then, he says, "King had started to loom much more largely."

Much of his career since has been spent plumbing the depths of King's political thought—and working to dispel the romantic caricature that he says has "entombed" the civil rights leader. In 2018, the 50th anniversary of King's assassination, Terry coedited *To Shape a New World: Essays on the Political Philosophy of Martin Luther King, Jr.*, along with Tommie Shelby, the Titcomb professor of African and African American studies and of philosophy. "That book was very much Brandon's brainchild," Shelby says, intended to refute King's image as a colorblind dreamer. King wrote five books of political philosophy and held numerous positions—on militarism and war, labor rights, reparations, universal basic income—that even today fall outside of the American mainstream.

"That book was a real corrective," says former Harvard historian Elizabeth Hinton, now a professor at Yale who codirects the Harvard-housed Institute on Policing, Incarceration, and Public Safety with Terry. "People have frozen King at 'I have a dream' and taken lines from that speech—ignoring the totality of the points he was making, never mind grappling with the full corpus of his activism and thought—to argue that King wouldn't support things like racial justice initiatives or DEI. And the treatment Brandon gives him really shows how much his philosophy has been distorted."

In 2023, Terry was part of a committee that guided the construction of The Embrace, a 20-foot-tall bronze monument to King and his wife, Coretta Scott King, on Boston Common. It depicts a famous photo of the couple taken just after King found out he had won the

1964 Nobel Peace Prize. "I fought really hard to have Coretta Scott King included in the monument," Terry says. The couple met in 1952, when King was a graduate student at Boston University. Designed by artist Hank Willis Thomas, the sculpture was five years in the making, a process that included a design competition and public comment sessions, focusing especially on the city's Black neighborhoods.

But the unveiling sparked a social media frenzy that quickly turned ugly. Some commenters noted that from certain angles, the tangle of arms and hands looked pornographic. Others called the artwork racist or whitewashed, assuming that African Americans weren't part of the decision-making, even though most of those involved, including the artist, were Black. Outlets worldwide picked up the story. Comedian Leslie Jones mocked the sculpture on *The Daily Show*.

"I think what happened," Terry says, "is that it just ran headlong into an old narrative about Boston, that there are essentially no Black people here, and the ones who are here have no power; they're beleaguered and disorganized and mostly irrelevant." (It ran into even older ideas, he adds, about race. "Race is a highly valent form of difference, and one where people work out so many of their ideas about purity and impurity, safety and danger, the animal and the human," he says. "Sex is always a big part of that, and given my training, I shouldn't have been surprised.")

But since that rocky start, the monument has become a community gathering spot. Terry serves on the board of a nonprofit, Embrace Boston, that hosts a speaker series and an ideas festival, plus other events and celebrations. "It's become a symbol of Black competence, a way for people to make connections and break down fear, break down alienation, break down exclusion," he says. "Now, did it fix everything? Of course not. But it is setting in motion, I think, a new way of thinking about Boston."

"Did [The Embrace] fix everything? Of course not. But it is setting in motion, I think, a new way of thinking about Boston."

The saga of The Embrace—the controversy and backlash, the subsequent reappraisal—feels in a way like a microcosm of what Terry has been writing about all along. It's not the kind of monument we've been taught to expect: a solitary hero in a symbolic pose on a literal pedestal.

Instead, it's something more human and relatable—a real moment in a complex individual's life, a universal gesture of connection—but those attributes, paradoxically, seemed to make the sculpture harder to grasp. Perhaps because romantic narratives are difficult to let go.

Lydialyle Gibson is the associate editor of this magazine.

OPINION

Why Harvard Needs International Students

Global challenges demand global experiences.

by FERNANDO M. REIMERS

When I first arrived at the Harvard Graduate School of Education as a student from Venezuela in the fall of 1983, I was among a small minority: barely 7 percent of our student body was international. Today, more than half of our students come from distant corners of the world, eager to learn and shape the future of education together.

This remarkable transformation is a testament to Harvard's deliberate embrace of internationalization—recognizing that, in the twenty-first century, a truly leading university must engage students and scholars from all over the globe.

That philosophy of education is in jeopardy as the Trump administration tries to restrict Harvard's ability to enroll international students. It's a policy as backward-looking as it is shortsighted. If the University loses the ability to draw international students to our classrooms and programs of study, it will be more difficult to educate leaders who can navigate an interconnected world—or draw on global insights to address domestic challenges.

For more than two decades, I directed a master's program in international education policy that brought together students from around the world. I recently asked graduates to share what they had gained from learning alongside peers from more than 100 countries. They described invaluable lessons in cross-cultural communication and collaborative problem-solving; exposure to a range of ideas about competition, teamwork, and leadership; and a global network of friendship and support that persisted beyond graduation.

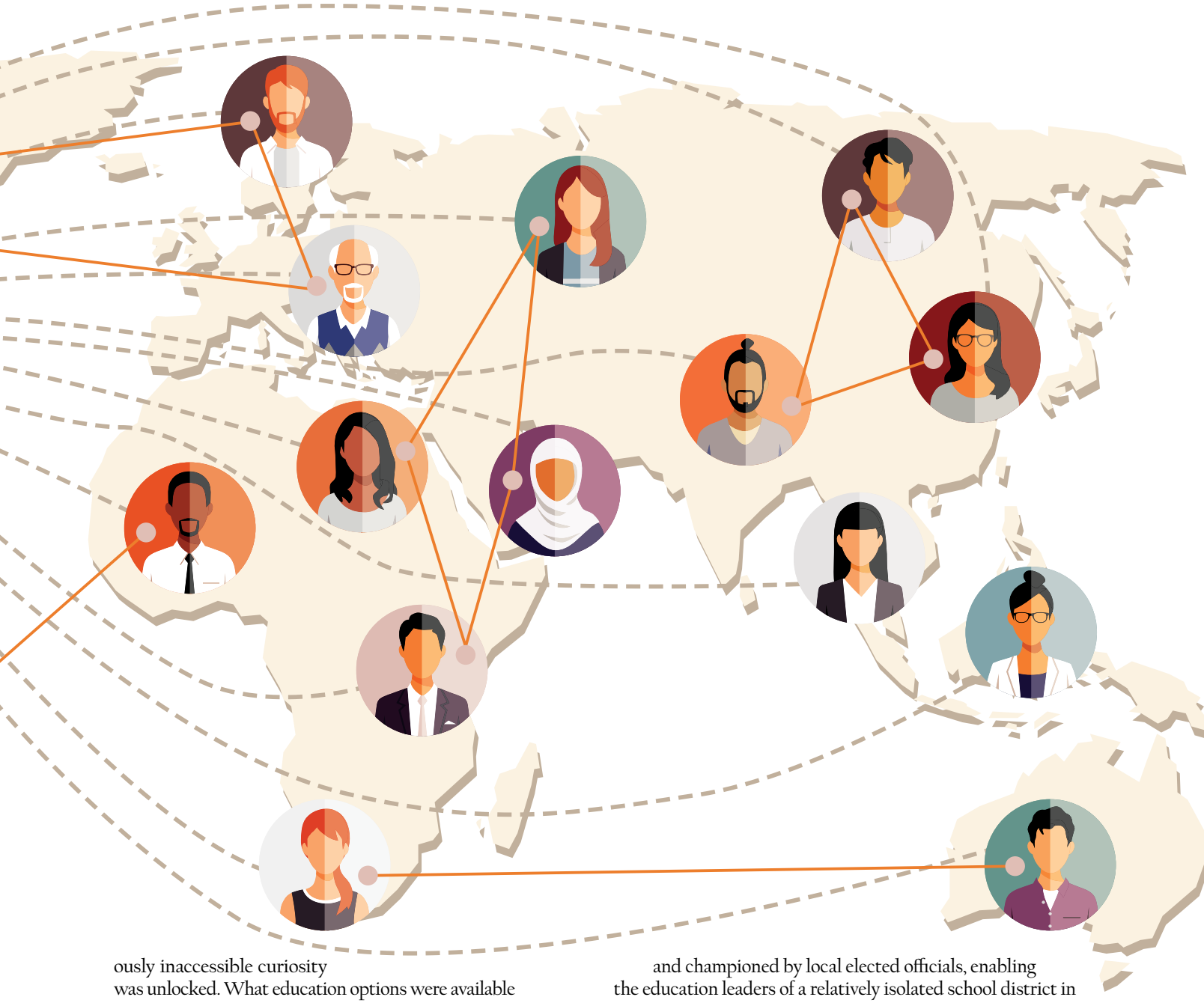
One graduate, who cofounded and directs a nonprofit focused on K-12 climate education in the United States, said international perspectives have shaped her current work:

> I know to look abroad for inspiration on how to scale education reform. For example, Italy—they require climate change education, and now we're looking at student outcome/impact data to see if this requirement yielded promising results. Or, looking into what they are doing at the curricular level in China or the investments being made in Pakistan...my classmates have never hesitated to take an exploratory call so that I could learn about what worked and what didn't in various contexts, so that I can apply new strategies in the U.S.

Another graduate currently working in innovation strategy at a U.S. university attributes much of his personal development to his international peers:

> Our dialogues and debates challenged my assumptions and broadened my worldview. And with each story, some previ-

*Illustration compositions by Jennifer Carling/*Harvard Magazine *using images from iStock*



ously inaccessible curiosity was unlocked. What education options were available for Indigenous learners in the Chittagong Hill Tracts of Bangladesh? It was something I had never considered, but I had the chance to learn about it simply by sitting down for coffee with a classmate.

But it isn't just Harvard's graduate students who benefit from an international perspective. It's also the communities they serve. Two years ago, for my course, "Education Policy Analysis and Research in Comparative Perspective," a team of graduate students—including former teachers from Massachusetts and a human resources professional from Ukraine—studied how to support the growing population of children of Haitian immigrants in Gardner, a small city in North Central Massachusetts.

Drawing on classmates' experiences of different education systems facing similar challenges, as well as a review of comparative cross-national research, they focused on parental and community engagement and teacher preparation as levers that had not been previously tapped in Gardner. Their final report was published in a book and championed by local elected officials, enabling the education leaders of a relatively isolated school district in Massachusetts to benefit from the rich repository of knowledge and global experience available in this international course.

Last year, for the same course, a team of former teachers from Massachusetts, Japan, and Azerbaijan traveled to Holyoke, a post-industrial Massachusetts town where 83.6 percent of students were low-income. Their charge was to study persistent absenteeism in schools. They identified three root causes: residential instability, limited transportation options, and psychosocial adjustment challenges. Among the solutions they proposed was an information-sharing platform inspired by similar initiatives in Japan and a focus on socio-emotional learning that drew on recent strategies deployed in Azerbaijan.

Other groups in this course over the years have focused on topics such as how to most effectively educate English language learners in Florida, how to strengthen caregiver partnerships in Minnesota, and how to sustain educational opportunity during the COVID-19 pandemic in Texas—all drawing insights from international experience.

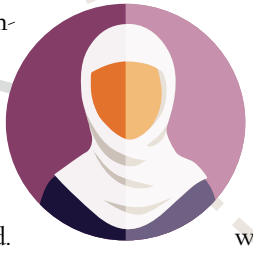
Attempts to draw on global talent date back almost to Harvard's beginnings: In 1654, the Polish educator John Amos Comenius was invited to become president of Harvard College. But Comenius declined the invitation—he decided instead to focus on improving the education systems in Europe—and Harvard remained a largely local institution until the presidency of Charles William Eliot in the late nineteenth century.

Eliot, inspired by the modern research universities in Prussia, first championed Harvard as an engine of economic and social development and realized that the advancement of knowledge would be well served by attracting talent and ideas from near and far. By the early twentieth century, American universities, including Harvard, were pioneering academic exchanges, fellowships, and cross-border collaborations. In 1919, in the aftermath of World War I, a group of educational and diplomatic leaders founded the Institute of International Education to promote international student exchange as a way to foster peace and mutual understanding among nations.

In the second half of the twentieth century, universities increasingly sought to internationalize, motivated by the rising awareness of globalization and the need to prepare graduates to operate in increasingly interdependent global contexts. The desire for enhanced research productivity and excellence often drove international collaboration.

Internationalization was also seen as a new source of talent and revenue and, in some cases, as a status symbol contributing to positioning in world rankings. Universities began to see addressing global challenges as their mission, which requires drawing on international talent. At Harvard, these priorities were reflected in growing international enrollments, research initiatives, and funding.

While there are pragmatic reasons for Harvard's internationalization, the moral and educational imperatives are even more important. Today's most pressing problems—climate change, pandemics, migration, technological disruption, inequality, democratic decline—do not respect national borders. Global competence, comparative perspective, empathy, and creative problem-solving are necessities, not luxuries, for those preparing to lead.



This is as true for education as it is for business, public health, government, and engineering. Exploring why gender achievement gaps in science vary across countries, for example, helps us move beyond the limits of local explanations and reveals broader causal patterns. Cross-national studies of the relationship between student achievement and socioeconomic background have debunked the prevailing view that education policy must choose between excellence or equity: There are nations where the influence of socioeconomic background on student achievement is small, and students from all backgrounds achieve at high levels.

Insights from other nations that have implemented curricular reforms or teacher training can illuminate new paths forward in the United States. Some of the higher-performing educational systems in the world—in Singapore, for instance—have demanding curricular standards, coupled with support for teachers to teach to those standards and specific mechanisms to identify and boost the lower-performing students in every classroom. Those conditions have proven elusive in American educational reform efforts.

Global competence, comparative perspective... and creative problem-solving are necessities, not luxuries, for those preparing to lead.

International students are also catalysts for new lines of inquiry and collaboration. Many of my own research projects and books have been shaped profoundly by collaborations with students who later became educational leaders in their own countries. International graduates shape education reform in Africa, Asia, Latin America, Europe, and the U.S.—as ministers, policy entrepreneurs, and nonprofit leaders. They extend Harvard's legacy, living out our motto: "Learn to Change the World." My greatest professional satisfaction comes from seeing former students continuing the virtuous cycle of education without borders.

The contrast between my own experience as a foreign student and today's internationally robust Graduate School of Education is striking. The international education policy program, which I created with various colleagues in 2000 and led for more than two decades, evolved into a concentration in global, international, and comparative education, which is part of the recent redesign of our master's program.

Building on those experiences, we have just launched a new online master's program in international education policy and management that will educate leaders in government, nongovernmental organizations, and international development agencies. This evolution was not accidental. It resulted from strategic vision, leadership, and the commitment of many—faculty, administrators, and students—willing to respond to a changing world.

A former student, now working as a policy analyst for the Peace Corps, sums up the importance of learning from international classmates:

> Studying alongside international students enriched my graduate experience so profoundly that I don't think I would have even applied to the program if I had known the cohort wouldn't be international. If I were advising someone on where to study, I'd urge them to choose a place with a truly global student body—it makes all the difference.

To educate leaders equipped to meet today's challenges, from war to climate change to migration, we must remain a University that is, itself, a community of nations. In this moment, when some would pull inward and retreat, Harvard must lean outward. For this, we need international students—not as visitors or as adornments, but as equal partners and co-architects of our shared future.

Fernando M. Reimers is the Ford Foundation professor of the practice of international education at the Harvard Graduate School of Education.

TWO YEARS OF DOXXING AT HARVARD

What happens when students are named and shamed for their views?

by MAX J. KRUPNICK

On Wednesday, October 11, 2023, an unusual truck circled the streets surrounding Harvard Yard, pausing outside the bakery across from Widener Library. Three video screens on its sides showed the faces and names of Harvard students. Accompanying text, in newspaper typeface, labeled them "Harvard's Leading Antisemites."

By now, nearly everyone is familiar with how it happened. The day after the October 7, 2023, Hamas terrorist attacks on Israel, Harvard's Palestine Solidarity Committee circulated a letter holding "the Israeli regime entirely responsible for all unfolding violence." Representatives of 33 student organizations, from overtly political groups to a South Asian dance troupe, cosigned it. And amid the angry backlash, some prominent voices called out for a particular form of retribution. Investor Bill Ackman '88, M.B.A. '92, posted on X that Harvard should release the names of students who belonged to the signing groups "to insure [*sic*] none of us inadvertently hire any of their members." If students support the letter, he continued, their views should be "publicly known."

A thousand miles away, in a seaside suburb of Jacksonville, Florida, Adam Guillette came upon the student letter. Since 2019, Guillette has run Accuracy in Media, a right-wing nonprofit group. Before October 7, his primary project had been investigating diversity, equity, and inclusion efforts at universities to ascertain, he says, whether administrators "are putting politics ahead of...education." But he also dabbled in protesting antisemitism; in the fall of 2022, he brought a digital billboard truck to display student names at the University of California, Berkeley School of Law after nine student groups there said they would not invite speakers who had expressed support for Zionism.

Guillette viewed the Harvard letter as tantamount to antisemitism and support for Hamas, calling it "a horrible action." Part of his outrage was personal—Guillette is Jewish and says his grandparents fled antisemitism in the Soviet Union. And part of it was professional—exposing students for speech he perceived as antisemitic helped him advance his crusade against what he considered to be excesses in higher education.

He sprang into action, combing through the *Crimson*'s archives and the signing organizations' social media pages to compile a list of group leaders. He bought ads that showed up on the feeds of pro-Palestinian students' LinkedIn and Facebook contacts to target their personal and professional networks. Then, he flew to Cambridge and rented the truck. The roving digital billboard circled campus for about a month, visited the Vermont hometown of one named student, and came to be known as the "doxxing truck."

Doxxing, a term that grew out of 1990s hacker culture, refers to "dropping documents": releasing an individual's personal information without permission. This was one of the first activities that brought the digital world into the physical, says Bemis professor of international law Jonathan Zittrain: a doxxing effort "could produce thousands or millions of touchpoints from strangers, including harassing calls, threats to employment, or intimations of violence, against a targeted person." Outside the gates of Harvard Yard, students featured on trucks (sent by Guillette as well as other organizations) were called terrorists, baby killers, Hamas apologists, and antisemites. Some people were moved by Guillette's doxxing efforts to threaten the student signers with violence, including death and rape; some also made racist remarks.

Illustration by Eva Vázquez

The Accuracy in Media trucks returned to campus for Commencement in May 2025, showing the names and faces of several Harvard students.

Is doxxing a form of justice or an assault on free speech? At Harvard, both interpretations collided in real time during the past two years, exposing deep divisions over the meaning of community, responsibility, and free expression—and changing campus life in ways that still reverberate today.

Guillette denies that his actions constituted doxxing, arguing that the information he shared was already public. Still, his tactics echo a longer American tradition—one rooted in a vigilante spirit and frustration that institutions, whether courts or universities, fail to take perceived threats seriously. Though today's technologies make it far easier to identify faces, names, and employers, the practice itself predates the digital age and has targeted figures on both the right and the left: neo-Nazis in Charlottesville, abortion rights advocates after the *Dobbs v. Jackson Women's Health Organization* Supreme Court decision, communists during the Second Red Scare, and Ku Klux Klan members in the 1920s. What links these campaigns is not just their swiftness, but their bluntness. They often presume guilt rather than innocence, seek retribution for speech and affiliation alike, and spiral beyond their initial intent—silencing some, galvanizing others, and eroding trust in the communities they claim to defend. The tools may have changed, but the impulse to name, shame, and punish in public remains deeply American.

In the late 1940s, a trio of former FBI agents believed the government was acting too slowly against what they considered to be a massive threat: communism. During World War II, the agents had worked together on the FBI's New York-based communist squad, tracking infiltration efforts. In 1947—three years before U.S. Senator Joseph McCarthy's famed anticommunist crusade—they began publishing *Counterattack*, a weekly four-page newsletter focused on combating communism in the United States. They publicized names because they feared an imminent communist revolution and wanted people to know who might lead that charge.

The 1950 publication of their booklet *Red Channels: The Report of Communist Influence in Radio and Television* launched their project into the mainstream. The impact of that list of 151 alleged communists, from harmonica players to A-list stars, was visible and dramatic: an NBC pilot was pulled off the air hours before its debut because advertisers did not want to be affiliated with the *Red Channels*-listed star. The report helped spark the Second Red Scare, during which 10,000 Americans were fired for alleged communist affiliations or activities over the course of 15 years.

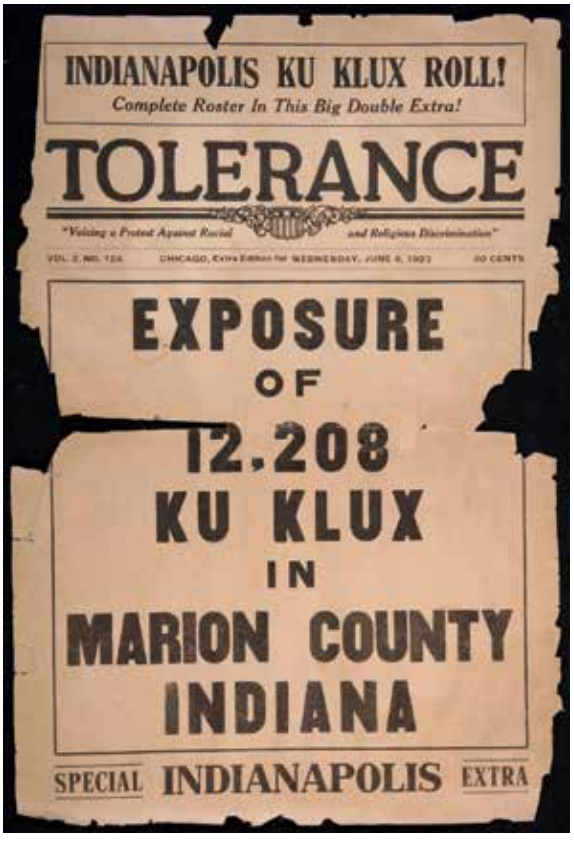
Decades earlier, in 1922, a Chicago lawyer named Patrick O'Donnell used the tactics of doxxing to attack the far right. Concerned about the growing political power of the local Ku Klux Klan, he noted that the Klan routine-

[THESE CAMPAIGNS] OFTEN PRESUME GUILT RATHER THAN INNOCENCE...AND SPIRAL BEYOND THEIR INITIAL INTENT.

Photograph by Tamara Evdokimova/Harvard Magazine

Doxxing occurred long before the internet. *Tolerance*, published in 1920s Chicago, named alleged Klansmen. *Red Channels*, a 1950 pamphlet, named alleged communists.

INDIANA DIVISION, INDIANA STATE LIBRARY



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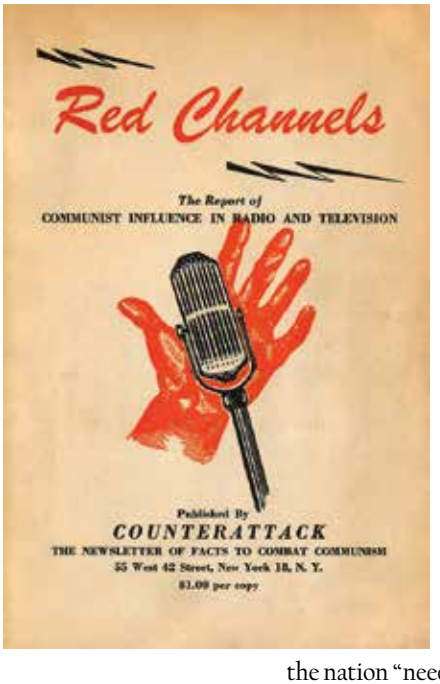


BOOK COVER/IN THE PUBLIC DOMAIN

ly distributed lists of Klansmen-owned businesses to its members to encourage them to shop there. (If a shop owner's affiliation stayed secret, he could simultaneously profit off of Klansmen and the groups they antagonized.) O'Donnell saw the Klan's desire for anonymity as an exploitable weakness. He began publishing a weekly newspaper, *Tolerance*, which listed the names, addresses, and occupations of Klansmen, including salesmen, grocers, and executives, targeting businesses small and large. *Tolerance* attacked social ties, too, asking "Is Your Neighbor a Kluxer?" before releasing local names.

Doxxing harmed both individual Klansmen and the Klan; the group's appeal dimmed once the economic benefit of membership turned into a burden. But the naming strategy also sparked some prominent mistakes, leading to legal challenges for the doxxers. At one point, *Tolerance* accused gum magnate William Wrigley Jr. of being in the Klan, but the signature on his Klan membership form turned out to be forged, lifted from a gum wrapper logo. The ensuing libel suit inspired dozens of accused Klansmen to file, too.

Faced with financial ruin, *Tolerance* stopped publishing in 1925. The *Counterattack* team, too, fended off seven libel suits—six of them based on information published in *Red Channels*. They won them all, but the financial toll led the publishing company to stop doxxing.

Today, the internet makes doxxing easier than ever, both in spreading information and seeking it out. Groups like Canary Mission—a doxxing website focused on exposing anti-Israel activism—have publicized the names of students and faculty who have publicly articulated anti-Israel views, coauthored columns supporting the Boycott, Divest, and Sanction movement, been members of groups that cosigned anti-Israel letters, or participated in protests. Before the advent of the internet—especially social media—much of that activity would have remained within the campus gates. Contact information used to be harder to come by, too: whereas, once students could only be reached via their parents' landlines or physical mail, they now have social media pages and easily guessable emails. All speech is public, and everyone is reachable.

Advocates of the name-and-shame efforts after October 7 have said they are performing a service at a time of rising antisemitism. A quarter of Harvard's Jewish students said they felt physically unsafe on campus and nearly half felt mentally unsafe during the 2023-2024 academic year, according to a report from the school's antisemitism and anti-Israel bias task force. The report, released in April 2025, found that many Jewish students—particularly Israelis—felt the "unfettered expression of pro-Palestinian solidarity and rage at Israel" was "directed against them as well." Doxxers say they are defending a vulnerable group that faced continued harassment: brazenly antisemitic statements circulated on the anonymous Sidechat app after October 7, and Jewish students reported intimidation from professors and students involved in protests and encampments. Guillette says that the nation "needs" to know the identities of Harvard students "who are openly racist and openly defend violence."

But others argue that doxxing's true intent is to squelch free expression. Professor of history Kirsten Weld, who leads Harvard's chapter of the American Association of University Professors (AAUP), says that a primary goal of groups like Canary Mission "is to defame and terrorize members of our campus community in order to chill their speech."

Experts note that doxxing is designed to provoke a reaction. "Information is deeply contextual," says Jessica Fjeld, an affiliate of Harvard's Berkman Klein Center for Internet and Society. Doxxing campaigns, she says, "are releasing that information directly to communities that they think will be inspired to act."

And there can be broad consequences for ending up on a list. Canary Mission bills itself as employment-focused; its website says, "It is your duty to ensure that today's radicals are not *(please turn to page 62)*

Montage

ART, BOOKS, DIVERSE CREATIONS

Julia Riew

Songs of Past and Future

Julia Riew '22 writes the musicals she needed to see.

by MAX J. KRUPNICK

When Julia Riew '22 was growing up, everyone around her knew that she would write musicals. In elementary school, she turned recess into drama class, directing her friends in made-up plays like *High School Moosical*. After school, she sang in the St. Louis Children's Choirs and played the guitar she took from her brother Grant '19, M.B.A.'25, M.D.'26. In middle school study hall, she transformed her notebook paper into staff paper, composing violin duets that the school orchestra performed. I was her classmate back then, and I remember her strumming her ukulele backstage during the play we performed in together.

And yet, in college, Riew began to doubt the artistic future that seemed so clear to her friends and family. The summer before her first semester, she traveled to South Korea and met up with other incoming students of Korean heritage. It was an exciting trip because, although all four of her grandparents immigrated from Korea, Riew had had only one Korean friend growing up. But when she arrived on Harvard's campus, she found that no Korean students were involved with theater. And women, she learned, were underrepresented backstage on Broadway. So she shifted her focus. All of the successful Asian American women she knew were doctors. At the end of her first semester, she switched her concentration from theater to the history of science and medicine.

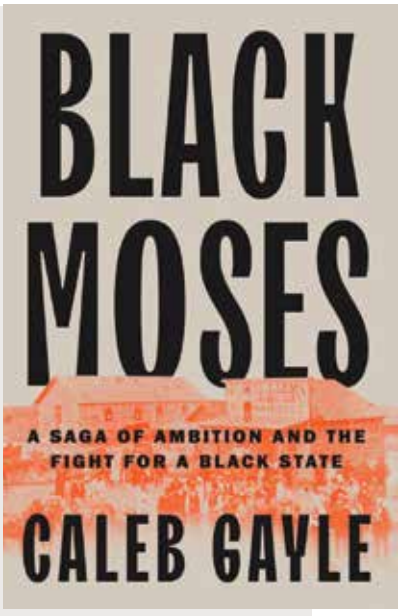
Still, Riew did not let go of musical theater. She directed the first-year play and founded the Asian Student Arts Project, a student club that fosters an Asian art community. Each semester, she took two music and theater classes as "fillers." Soon, the lines between art and science blurred. She wrote raps to memorize slides for pre-med exams, and in four of her history of science classes, she presented musical final projects.

Two sophomore year experiences helped Riew regain her confidence in musical theater. That spring, she wrote *The East Side*, a coming-of-age musical comedy that explored Asian identity and was performed by Asian actors. She invited students from

All images courtesy of Julia Riew

OPEN BOOK

Civil Rights in the American West



In *Black Moses: A Saga of Ambition and the Fight for a Black State* (Riverhead, $33), journalist and Northeastern University professor Caleb Gayle, M.B.A.-M.P.P. '19, tells the story of African American leader Edward McCabe. The businessman and rising political star tried to found a state for Black people in the wake of the American Civil War and Reconstruction. And he nearly succeeded. The passage below, adapted by the author from the book's penultimate chapter, gives a sense of what McCabe was up against.


Edward McCabe

IN THE PUBLIC DOMAIN

Public memory of civil rights lawsuits often centers on the South, overlooking the ways Black ambition collided with legal limits in the American West. But a closer look at one Oklahoma lawsuit—filed by a once-powerful Black political figure—reveals just how early and deliberately the law worked to shut that ambition down.

By the 1910s, Edward McCabe—once the most influential Black political figure in the Oklahoma Territory—had seen his grand vision of a Black-governed Oklahoma unravel. But if political ambition was no longer a viable path, McCabe found a new battleground: the courts. In his final act of public resistance, he filed suit against the Atchison, Topeka & Santa Fe Railway Company—a case that would reach the U.S. Supreme Court and spotlight the limits of equality under the law.

The injustice was both symbolic and structural.

The very first law passed by Oklahoma's newly formed legislature mandated racially segregated train cars. It was more than policy—it was priority. While white passengers were guaranteed quality accommodations, Black passengers who purchased the same tickets were frequently denied comparable service in the "Negro Cars." McCabe had recruited thousands of Black people to Oklahoma who experienced this disparity firsthand. He brought suit in his own name, arguing that the company's refusal to provide equivalent first-class cars for Black travelers violated both Oklahoma's Separate Coach Law and the Equal Protection Clause of the Fourteenth Amendment.

Despite losing in lower courts, McCabe pushed forward. In 1914, *McCabe v. Atchison, Topeka & Santa Fe Railway Co.* reached the U.S. Supreme Court. He no longer held political office; his former newspaper was collecting dust; and his finances were dwindling. What he had was a name on a lawsuit that dared to test whether "separate" would ever be meaningfully equal.

But the Supreme Court didn't rule in McCabe's favor because he had not personally been denied service, and the Court declined to weigh in on the law's application. In doing so, it sidestepped the deeper issue at the heart of McCabe's claim: that discrimination was not merely a hypothetical—it was a pattern hiding behind technicality.

Still, by bringing the case forward, McCabe exposed something foundational about Oklahoma's—and the American West's—new identity. The state's first legislative act had not been to build a school, fund a bridge, or extend the vote. It had been to codify separation—to declare, from day one, who this state was for.

This lawsuit would be McCabe's final major public act. He would not found another all-Black town or hold another office. But in placing his name before the highest court in the land, he insisted that Black citizens had not given up on equal treatment—even if the legal system seemed determined to defer that possibility to someone else, some other day.

Sometimes, the last stones a man turns over are the ones that reveal just how much of him still refuses to be buried.

Chinatown to the show. Watching their faces light up, Riew realized that "theater is not just something we do for fun," she says. "The stories we are told...really shape how we see ourselves, how we see other people, and how we see the world."

That summer, she did an internship with Korean-American novelist Min Jin Lee. "I had this terrifying fear of being weird," Riew says. "I had this association in my mind that artist equals weird, that Asian artist equals weird." But Lee told her, "I'm weird and I love it." That gave Riew the license she needed.

Then came her "one-shot opportunity" to gain a professional foothold in musical theater. An American Repertory Theater (A.R.T.) producer watched Riew's *The East Side* and then commissioned her to write two children's shows: *Jack and the Beanstalk: A Musical Adventure* and *Thumbelina: A Little Musical*. In high school, she had played a leading role in *Pippin* and had spent hours studying videos of the Broadway version directed by A.R.T. artistic director Diane Paulus. At the A.R.T., Riew got to work alongside the prominent Asian American director (Paulus's mother was Japanese), learning how to lead a cast and crew.

Riew's senior thesis—a musical inspired by the traditional Korean folktale "Shimcheong" about a young woman who must journey across the sea to make it back home—launched her into the public eye. In 2022, she recorded herself singing the show's titular song, "Dive," in which the protagonist is about to make both a literal and metaphorical dive into her adventure. "There was no Korean Disney princess, so I decided to make my own," wrote Riew on the video, which went viral. She snapped her fingers and her face transformed into a Disney-style animation. Riew's cartoon face beamed as she belted an uplifting tune that one could

Riew and her brother, Brad, turned their grandmother's stories into a novel, *The Last Tiger*.

imagine children singing one day. After graduation, Riew signed with an agent, secured a Harvardwood Artist Launch Fellowship, and won the Fred Ebb Award for aspiring musical theater songwriters.

Three years after graduating, Riew is working at a furious pace. She usually constructs two shows at once for regional theaters in the U.S. and South Korea—writing the book (script) for one while composing songs for the other. She is a rigorous outliner, laying out the entire plot before playing with a single note. She begins each show by determining its core message and its audience, writing both atop all of the show's documents.

Often aimed at younger audiences, Riew's musicals—much like her personality—are bright and uplifting. Each show has a specific mission. For example, *ENDLESS* (a mythological musical in development for a Korean premiere) shows that "although everything must end, sometimes, the briefest moments can stay with us forever," she says. Riew's works often encourage young people to explore stories, ranging from family tales to fictional narratives.

Riew loves the all-encompassing experience of watching a musical, but she is also experimenting with print. When Riew was young, her parents (Daniel '80 and Mary, M.B.A. '92) often brought her to a Borders bookstore, where she sprinted straight to the young adult fantasy section. Now, she has written a novel she would have loved as a child. *The Last Tiger* (Kokila, $21.99), published in July and co-written with her brother Brad '18, is a story inspired by their paternal grandparents' forbidden, secret romance in war-torn Korea.

The project began nine years ago with a high school English assignment to interview a family member. When she asked her grandfather to talk, he sent a 12-page account of the courtship between him and his wife and asked Riew to write a fictional version. After their grandfather died at the start of the COVID-19 pandemic, the Riew siblings returned to that account and their grandmother's stories to create *The Last Tiger*.

Riew has built a blossoming career around sharing Korean art. She traces her cultural interest to conversations with her grandparents about their upbringings. Though much of her work is centered around Korean folklore, she hopes that her art will inspire children from all backgrounds to investigate their own family histories. "It's so moving to hear about where we came from," she says. Perhaps those stories will come to life, too.

Beyond Sufferers and Dreamers

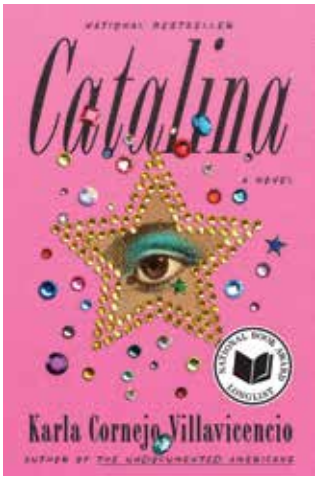
Karla Cornejo Villavicencio challenges stereotypes about undocumented immigrants.

by NINA PASQUINI

In Karla Cornejo Villavicencio's 2024 novel *Catalina*, the titular protagonist—a spirited Harvard senior juggling schoolwork, romance, and her and her grandparents' undocumented immigration status—feels a certain affinity for former Secretary of State Henry Kissinger '50, Ph.D. '54.

Catalina arrives in the United States from Ecuador at the age of five, joining her grandparents in Queens after her parents die in a car accident. Throughout her childhood, her grandfather—a passionate amateur historian—lectures her on his favorite topics, from Gabriel García Márquez's literary career to Kissinger's role in propping up Latin American dictatorships.

"Of course I thought Henry Kissinger was brilliant. Boring men don't interest me," Catalina narrates, in the novel's lush, wry, sometimes frenzied inner monologue. "He was an immigrant child with a traumatic past making his way up the ladder in America. Let's say we had a kinship."



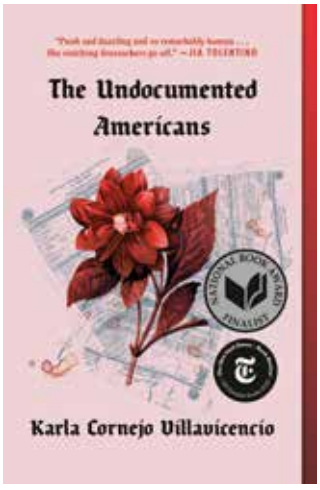
From this relationship, Catalina draws strength: she imagines a fleet of Henry Kissingers "in a storage container by the highway inside my brain," running on treadmills to power "my grit, resilience, and Protestant work ethic."

Throughout her career, Cornejo Villavicencio '11 has often done something similar, claiming legacies that some might say don't belong to her, alchemizing them into work that is funny, furious, her own.

Like Catalina, she grew up as an undocumented immigrant in Queens—but with her parents and younger brother—and was a precocious student. As she progressed through her education—first at a private New York City high school, then at Harvard—she began to feel clichés about immigration cling to her. That as an undocu-

mented student, she should be humble, insecure, unsure of her talent, grateful when someone noticed it.

During her senior year, she wrote an essay for *The Daily Beast* about being undocumented at Harvard. Soon came the inquiries about a memoir. But she sensed the shape of the story publishers wanted—and rejected them.



It was only after the 2016 election, on her own terms, that she decided to write a nonfiction account that she termed in her mind "*the* book." It would be titled, simply, *The Undocumented Americans*.

She spent years traveling the country, embedding herself in communities of undocumented immigrants: those who cleaned up Ground Zero, those who suffered from the Flint water crisis, day laborers on Staten Island. In the book's introduction, she writes about her dissatisfaction with the two dominant portrayals of undocumented life in the United States—either as the apex of the American dream, embodied by young people at places like Harvard, or as the tireless, faceless worker. "[S]ufferers or dreamers," as she calls them.

Instead, she sought to capture undocumented Americans as they were: "warm, funny, dry, evasive, philosophical, weird, annoying, etc." She writes, "I wanted to learn about them as the weirdos we all are outside of our jobs."

But during the book's press tour, journalists kept asking her questions about her "dreamer" narrative. Was she surprised when she got into Harvard? Did she experience "culture shock"? Was she unprepared compared to the prep school kids?

"I started saying that I thought it was my birthright to go to Harvard," Cornejo Villavicencio says, "and they would push me and ask me why, and I would just respond with absurd things, because I was so annoyed that it was such a constant theme in everything that I was asked."

Her next project, a novel, examined the material power such narratives can hold. In *Catalina*, the protagonist is navigating senior year at Harvard when her grandfather receives a deportation order.

At the time, Catalina is dating a boy named Nathaniel, the son of a renowned documentary filmmaker named Byron Wheeler. Catalina knows that for her grandfather to stand a chance, he needs public sympathy—and that Byron's camera can help her get it. So together, she and Byron plan a short documentary about her last year at Harvard. Byron pitches it simply: "*Dreamer risks losing it all.*"

Catalina plays the "dreamer" role dutifully, packing up her dorm room on camera, crying as she answers prompts like "Tell us what you love most about your grandfather." She swallows her discomfort with being a "poster child" to try to protect him.

Nathaniel, meanwhile, is working with a Harvard professor to try to decode *khipus*, ancient Inca recording devices made of knotted string. Catalina quietly roots against them, hoping they fail in their pursuit of clarity and meaning. It's a desire for a sort of revenge—as she feels pressure to turn herself into a stereotype, easy to understand, she wants there to be *something* they can't flatten, label, contain. "I hoped that for them, it remained an unfulfilled longing," she narrates. "There were consequences to empire."

Cornejo Villavicencio feels a similar protectiveness toward her own experiences. "There's such great curiosity about my time at Harvard," she says. "Understandably—it's the most famous school in the world." *Catalina* was a way to answer some of those questions while keeping her real experiences obscured.

That tension between intimacy and distance is at the heart of her work, she continues. "Part of what I try to do as a writer and a public figure is keep myself a little bit murkier," she says, "a little bit behind a curtain." She never shares her full self, carefully controlling what she discloses. "I like knowing that there are people who will read the book and never have their curiosity [about my real experiences] satiated," she says. "Much like how in Catalina's heart, she doesn't want the *khipu* to ever be decoded."

Lately, Cornejo Villavicencio has been struggling to write at all. The political climate has made it hard to create: "I'm a chaos of destructive energy and foreboding gloom, because there's nothing for me to work on," she says. "The writing is not coming out." So she's been reading and thinking about the "sanctuaries" that once helped her survive—especially her schools.

After Harvard, she enrolled in a Ph.D. program at Yale, not because she dreamed of becoming an academic but because she was undocumented and couldn't work legally, and graduate school gave her health insurance and space to think.

"I didn't want to do this," she says, "but


Karla Cornejo Villavicencio

All images courtesy of Karla Cornejo Villavicencio

once I was here, it was an extraordinary sanctuary for me to read and write and develop my voice while I felt safe." Her time at Harvard as an undergraduate offered that same sense of protection.

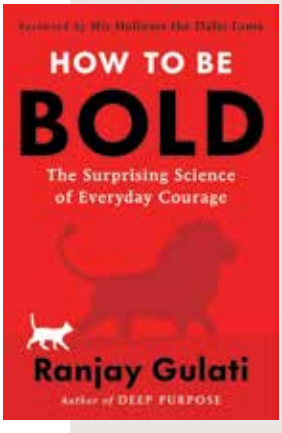
Cornejo Villavicencio is now a naturalized citizen through marriage. But in an era when the Supreme Court and the federal government are rolling back rights once considered settled, she says, she still doesn't feel entirely at ease. "I became a citizen through gay marriage with my gay spouse," she says. "So I do feel that my sense of security is still on precarious ground."

And she thinks about those with even less

Off the Shelf

How do we get from A to B? The entries below lend a sense of urgency to this basic question. These books present journeys—ongoing and historical, sometimes mythic, and often foundational. Some interrogate systems that led us to where we are, while others seek solutions to dilemmas before us. Within their pages are needless wars, societies desensitized to moral abuses, powerful cults of personalities, oppressive systems that shape identities, and distractions harnessed for profit. As Virgil reminds us, the descent into hell is easy.

But there is also light, literal and figurative. The sun can save, the earth can prevail—maybe—if we stop devouring it. Courage is a skill anyone can cultivate. Unforeseen wrongs are, often by their very design, *amendable*. And if all else fails, a bit of introspection—and a dose of nostalgia—might help us remember who we are and where we need to go. —GABRIELLA GAGE

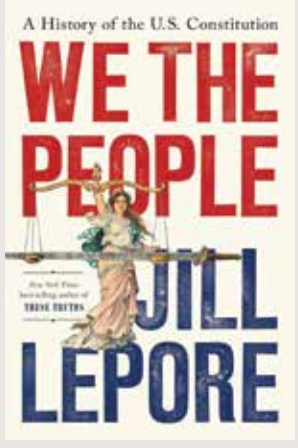


How to Be Bold: The Surprising Science of Everyday Courage, by Ranjay Gulati, Ph.D. '93 (Harper Business, $32).

From the author's opening account of his mother's near-gunpoint encounter, the case studies in *How to Be Bold* epitomize feats of courage while grounding them in the attainable. An expert in organizational behavior, Gulati, the Lawrence MBA class of 1942 professor of business administration, provides a user-friendly playbook for cultivating boldness through researched, real-life examples. Within this framework, courage is learned behavior; fears can be recognized and mitigated; and wielders of this mindset become architects of their own destiny, able to act decisively in the face of risk.

We the People: A History of the U.S. Constitution, by Jill Lepore (Liveright, $39.99).

"Brittle"—it's not the first time Lepore has used this word to describe one of America's oldest and most storied foundational documents. And it likely won't be the last. *We the People* delivers an intro course on the origins of U.S. constitutional law, through the kind of compelling historical narrative that is characteristic of the Kemper professor of American history and *New Yorker* staff writer. She examines the enduring nature—and the limitations—of the ideas the nation was founded upon, showing how they've been reinterpreted to solve existing problems and exploring whether they can account for future ones. The concept of amendment is fundamental to the Constitution—and Lepore's argument.



McNamara at War: A New History, by Philip Taubman and William Taubman '62 (W.W. Norton, $39.99).

A war with oneself takes center stage in this psychological portrait of Robert McNamara, the controversial former U.S. secretary of defense who steered the escalation of the Vietnam War. The Taubman brothers argue that a better understanding of him—and his ability to gain considerable influence over two American presidents—makes this a worthwhile, timely study. What's new: access to previously unexamined correspondence among McNamara's inner circle, and a deeper exploration of his surprising friendship with Jacqueline Kennedy.

The Intellectual Origins of American Slavery: English Ideas in the Early Modern Atlantic World, by John Samuel Harpham, Ph.D. '19 (Harvard, $35).

How does an immoral institution gain a foothold in a supposedly civilized society? What discourse and logic are used to embrace it? Harpham, a lecturer on social studies, explores the intellectual origins of American slavery, examining its often-overlooked grounding in ancient traditions like Roman law that helped shape early modern English justifications. In Harpham's telling, ideas weren't the central motivation—economic interests still remain front and center—but they did help legitimize the practice in the eyes of its architects, despite clear evidence of its dehumanizing nature.

The Aeneid, by Virgil, translation by Scott McGill and Susannah Wright, Ph.D. '24 (Liveright, $39.99).

One may ask: do we really need another translation of *The Aeneid*? Those asking are clearly not poets (and that's OK, really!). They forget that to capture the ephemeral rhythm of the original is often a life's work, as is the quest to channel the same muse invoked by Virgil in the epic's opening lines. This first collaborative English translation utilizes unrhymed iambic pentameter, marrying accessibility with elevation while aiming to preserve the pace of Virgil's Latin, similar to the way Emily Wilson approached Homer's Greek in her groundbreaking translation of *The Odyssey* (2017). This latest vehicle for Aeneas's journey includes new maps, extensive notes, and, fittingly, an introduction by Wilson.

Here Comes the Sun: A Last Chance for the Climate and a Fresh Chance for Civilization, by Bill McKibben '82 (W.W. Norton, $29.99).

Followers of McKibben's work have

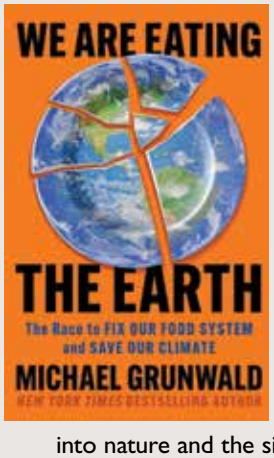
stability—including international and undocumented students at Harvard, who no longer feel the safety she once found in her dorms and classrooms, which she remembers as places of "deep intellectual love and freedom."

And for those who might argue she didn't belong there in the first place, she has a response: "I'd venture to say that Harvard alumni like me—and Henry Kissinger—enrich the legacy for the students who are there, and those to come," she says. "So I think Harvard should keep accepting immigrant students, unless they have something against me or Henry Kissinger."

come to expect a thoughtfully delivered dose of reality when it comes to our climate prospects. Amid U.S. policy regressions and the hottest temperatures on record, *Here Comes the Sun* gives us a look at the bright side, literally: the solar revolution. Recently, solar and wind have scaled faster than previous technologies. The costs have fallen, and China is leading the charge, generating record-producing amounts of clean energy. McKibben reports on a moment when humanity potentially "took a decisive turn towards the sun" and calls us to embrace it as the planet's best fighting chance.

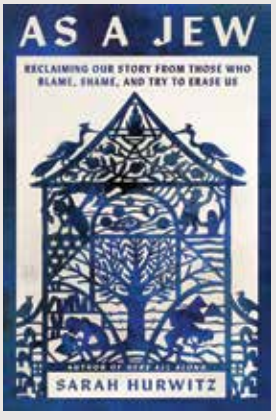
We Are Eating the Earth: The Race to Fix Our Food System and Save Our Climate, by Michael Grunwald '92 (Simon & Schuster, $29.99).

A soccer field's worth of carbon-absorbing tropical forest. That's what's lost every six seconds thanks to mostly agriculturally driven deforestation, according to journalist Michael Grunwald. In *We Are Eating the Earth*, agricultural interests, technology, and those fighting uphill battles against "bad science and bad politics" all converge on our dinner plates. Grunwald looks beyond the toll of fossil fuels to another segment of Earth's existential dilemma, one that is decades behind the clean energy movement in solution-seeking: the relentless expansion of farmland into nature and the simultaneous need to feed humanity.



As a Jew: Reclaiming Our Story from Those Who Blame, Shame, and Try to Erase Us by Sarah Hurwitz '99, J.D. '04 (HarperOne, $32).

What does it mean to be Jewish, and how has antisemitism shaped and refracted that identity? These questions underlie *As a Jew,* a memoir-meets-reclamation of Judaism in a modern world where attempts at its erasure persist alongside the resiliency of its traditions. Hurwitz, a former White House speechwriter, takes the reader on her hard-fought spiritual awakening, tracing the historical roots of antisemitism and interrogating its reverberations today in everything from the rise of secular, cultural Judaism to the rhetoric of anti-Zionism.



The Disturbing Profane: Hip Hop, Blackness, and the Sacred, by Joseph R. Winters '99 (Duke, $25.95).

From an early scene in which 2Pac's "Dear Mama" plays at a nightclub during an impromptu homecoming for a Black man recently released from prison, *The Disturbing Profane* unpacks visceral and contextual elements of hip hop, capturing its "interplay between agony and excitement." We learn how the genre aligns with commodifying paradigms in the music industry as it also disrupts them, part of what the author describes as its "volatile sacrality." Winters, an associate professor of religious studies and African and African American studies at Duke University, explores these tensions through the "sacred-profane" dichotomy and looks at society's urges to oversimplify and disempower the genre.

Every Screen on the Planet: The War Over TikTok, by Emily Baker-White, J.D. '15 (W.W. Norton, $31.99).

How did the Chinese company ByteDance build the video platform that's become a generation's companion of choice—one "trained meticulously" by the user's interests—and in the process become the world's most valuable start-up? Baker-White, a lawyer turned investigative journalist, reports on TikTok's rise, unleashing a propulsive narrative that feels dangerous (as an ongoing federal investigation digs into allegations that TikTok spied on journalists, including Baker-White) and disquieting as it reveals the lengths world leaders have gone to harness its power. "It's inevitable that strongmen would come for a tool that could seize and hold so much human attention," writes Baker-White. Cue: shudder.

The Master of Eliot House: John H. Finley, Jr.'s Life, Times, and Legacy at Harvard, by Constantine A. Valhouli and (the late) Nelson W. Aldrich Jr. '57 (privately printed, $85).

There's something both fancifully nostalgic and surprisingly timely about a book profiling the one-time embodiment of Harvard, at a time when that identity—and its value—is contested. This is the first in-depth portrait of John H. Finley, Jr., the influential Eliot House leader (1941-1968) at a time when faculty deans were called "house masters." From navigating clashes with McCarthyism and attacks on Harvard's autonomy to spearheading its General Education program and establishing Eliot House as a who's who of literature and culture, Finley becomes the microcosm of Eliot House, and Eliot the microcosm of Harvard. While regaling the memory of a bygone era can feel distant or dated, especially to those who wouldn't embody the "Harvard Man" of Finley's world, there are relevant, vivid connections between the zeitgeist captured in its pages and the modern University as we know it.

University People

IN THE CRIMSON COMMUNITY

Catherine Zipf

A Fragile History

Architectural historian Catherine Zipf is building a database of Green Book sites.

by LYDIALYLE GIBSON

"THERE IT IS," says Catherine Zipf '94, striding down a narrow residential street in Providence, Rhode Island, and pointing toward a house near the top of the hill. Built in the early 1800s, it's big and boxy, with blue clapboard walls, a bright red brick foundation, and a bay window jutting out over the sidewalk. "Fifty-eight Meeting Street," Zipf says, reciting the address from a printout she's brought. The building isn't extraordinarily significant as a piece of architecture (though it's still "cute as the dickens," she says with a grin), but as a piece of history, it is. In the 1930s and 1940s, this was the Mrs. M.A. Green Tourist Home, one of 24 Rhode Island businesses listed in *The Negro Motorist Green Book*.

Zipf knows all 24. An architectural historian who leads the historical society in the nearby picturesque coastal town of Bristol, she is part of a research team that has been working since 2016 to compile a database of every business ever listed in the *Green Book*, the Jim Crow-era guide that helped Black travelers find safe lodging, restaurants, and other services. Founded in 1936 by Victor Hugo Green, an African American postal worker in New York City (who died 65 years ago this October), the *Green Book*

Photograph by Mark R. Courtney

was updated annually until 1966. In those three decades, more than 15,000 businesses appeared in the book's pages: flower shops, beauty parlors, gas stations, parks, beaches, dance halls, with some listed only once and others showing up year after year.

Until recently, though, the *Green Book* had largely slipped from public memory. "The story goes that the Civil Rights Act was passed [in 1964]," Zipf says, "and then everybody tossed their *Green Book*s." But about 10 years ago, the New York Public Library's Schomburg Center for Research in Black Culture digitized its entire collection. For Zipf, this was a revelation. Back then, she wrote a monthly architecture column for *The Providence Journal* and chronicled some of the *Green Book*'s Rhode Island listings, including the Mrs. M.A. Green Tourist Home. "There is a lot more that could be known about these buildings," she wrote. "I'd love to see maps and maybe even a tour of surviving sites."

Often, the only way to know if a particular site was in the *Green Book* is to look for it... in the *Green Book*.

Anne Bruder, a fellow architectural historian and Zipf's graduate school roommate at the University of Virginia, got in touch after reading the column to propose they do exactly that. The pair recruited another graduate school classmate, Susan Hellman, and their research project soon snowballed into a full-fledged effort to build a database, which they called "The Architecture of the Negro Travelers' Green Book."

"THIS IS VERY fragile history," Zipf says. She means this literally—many of the *Green Book* buildings are demolished or in disrepair, and few have been formally preserved—but her statement is also true in another sense. Often, the only way to know if a particular site was in the *Green Book* is to look for it...in the *Green Book*. That's because listings there were rarely recorded in other archival sources. This is the case even for buildings with substantial documentation. Zipf, a former history professor at Salve Regina University in Newport, Rhode Island, remembers leading a student through a research project on a restored home in Newport, only to find out years later that it had once been a *Green Book* tourist home.

"We spent an entire semester on that house, and none of the records turned up that fact," Zipf says. This lacuna, she believes, "creates an urgency to put that history more prominently out there."

The database is only one of a half-dozen projects that Zipf has spinning at any given time, but it's part of an interest that has threaded through her career—and, really, her whole life. Growing up in Scarsdale, New York, she was interested not just in buildings, but also the people in them. "My dad would take me to tag sales," she says, "and I would run around the houses, figuring out how they were put together, and how people lived in them."

Clockwise, from top left: *Green Book* covers from the 1940, 1956, 1960, and 1963 editions

At first, she thought this meant she should be an architect. At Harvard, she declared a special concentration called "design science" that consisted, essentially, of courses in the visual and environmental studies department (now art, film, and visual studies), plus a little mathematics and engineering thrown in. Then, while applying to architecture graduate programs as a senior, she stumbled across the University of Virginia's program in architectural history. "It was love at first sight," she says. The day the acceptance letter arrived, "I bounced my way up all four flights in Winthrop House."

Her Ph.D. thesis (later a book, *Professional Pursuits*) looked at the Victorian-era Arts and Crafts Movement and how its association with domestic spaces allowed women to sidestep barriers that usually kept them out of professional life, to become business owners, editors, designers, and architects. In other writing, she's examined "the gendered politics of public space"; a Modernist female architect named Chloethiel Woodard Smith; and Frank Lloyd Wright's iconic Fallingwater. Zipf spent nine years on the faculty of Salve Regina and four years as a research scholar at MIT before joining the Bristol Historical and Preservation Society in 2016 as executive director.

That job turned out to be a perfect fit. The society is one of dozens of similar organizations dotting New England, and its headquarters is the former town jail, an 1828 granite building with more than enough eccentricities to keep an architectural historian occupied. Part museum and part office, it includes a restored two-story cell block with metal cots that fold up against the wall and rooms upstairs where the jailkeeper lived with his family. (Also upstairs: a "VIP" cell with its own fireplace, as well as three airless "dungeon cells," which Zipf

Covers from the New York Public Library Digital Collections/Schomburg Center for Research in Black Culture, Manuscripts, Archives and Rare Books Division

says might have been used to hold people with mental illnesses. "In the nineteenth century, you'd go to jail for that," she says, then adds, after a pause, "We like to think that the dungeon cells were empty most of the time.")

The building sits near Bristol's main thoroughfare, and locals, tourists, and school groups waft in and out all day. About once a week, there's a visit from the "ghost guy," a retired firefighter who conducts paranormal investigations. He approached Zipf a few years ago, asking if he could do some research in the jail. She said OK. "I feel very strongly that the historical society should be a resource to the community, of service to the community," she says. "So, unless the asks are just really burdensome, I generally say yes."

Bristol itself, a colonial-era town with a deep-water port that was once one of the country's most significant, offers plenty for an architectural historian. Walking down Hope Street, with its stone churches, brick storefronts, and gabled roofs, Zipf says, "I can't unsee the layers." The original wooden planks behind artificial siding, the old proportions clinging to replacement windows, the way a chimney's shape reveals its age, no matter what the rest of the building seems to insist—sometimes it can be overwhelming. "It's like fanning through a pack of cards," she says.

The life stories inside the architecture have a similar effect. Bristol's history is intertwined with that of the infamous DeWolfs, a family of slave traders and privateers who owned sugar plantations in Cuba and mansions in New England. Their fortunes funded the town for generations—and built many of its buildings, including banks, warehouses, and a rum distillery. Standing in front of Linden Place, a stately mansion erected in 1810 by George DeWolf, a ne'er-do-well nephew of the family patriarch, Zipf explains how he ended up fleeing the country in the middle of the night after a series of disasters tanked his businesses abroad and his creditors came calling. The home he left behind, now a museum, is an impressive sight—a Federal-style colossus, all white, with grand Palladian windows, soaring Corinthian columns, and a roofline balustrade. It was built, she says, from the proceeds of a single slave voyage. Among her research projects is an exploration of Bristol's enslaved residents.

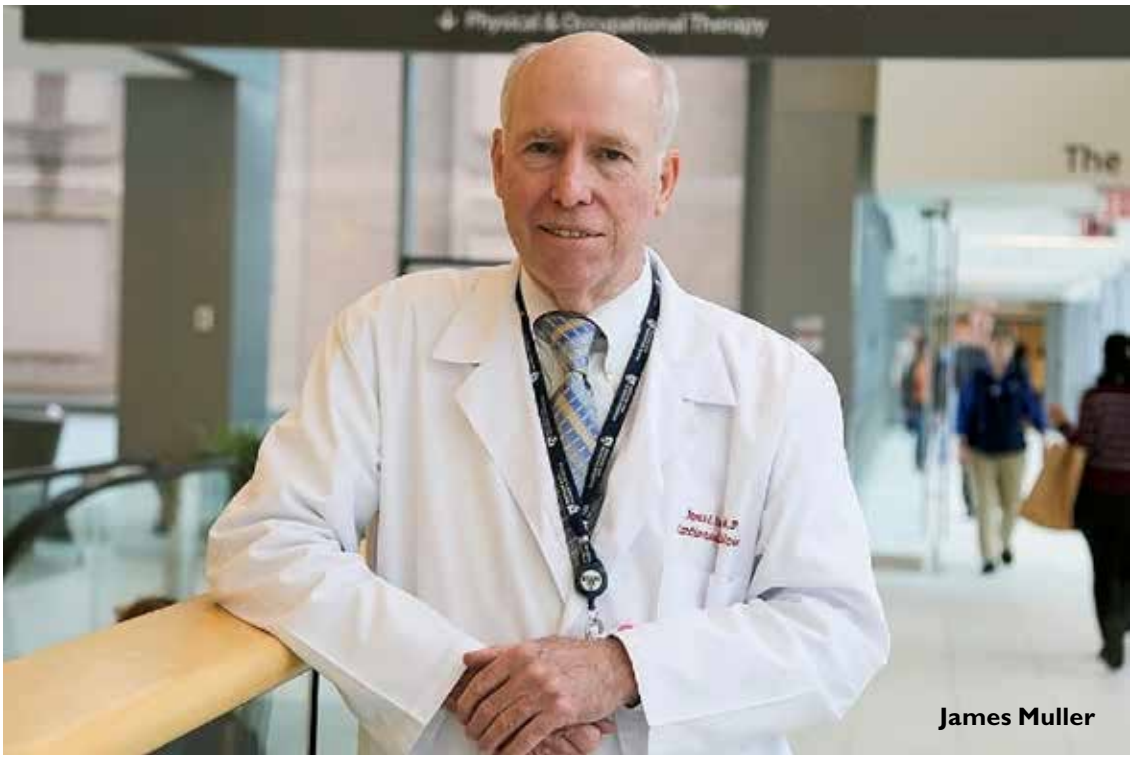
The *Green Book* project, meanwhile, continues apace. So far, Zipf and the others (including a host of volunteers based throughout the country) have compiled data on sites in 20 states, plus Washington, D.C. For each entry, they document property histories, verify names and addresses, look up census data, and check to see whether the buildings still exist. Whenever possible, they visit the site and snap a photo. In Custer, South Dakota, Rocket Court (now the Rocket Motel) is still in operation next to U.S. Highway 16, its giant red neon sign lighting up the roadside. In Amarillo, Texas, a man named Gabriel B. Carthen ran the Blue Moon Billiard Hall, now demolished. In northwest Baltimore, owner John Whirley hosted live music at the Ubangi nightclub. That building still stands, though it's seen better days. The ground floor is mostly bricked up, and the two stories above it are covered in Formstone, a type of fake-stone stucco characteristic of Baltimore rowhouses. Hosted on the University of Virginia's website, the database is searchable by year, state, establishment type, and owner.

Zipf did the research for Rhode Island's *Green Book* sites, all but one of which are clustered in Newport and Providence. The Mrs. M.A. Green Tourist Home, listed in the book from 1939 to 1948, was run, she explains, by an African American widow named Martha A. Greene; she lived there with her daughter (also Martha), who worked as a maid, and a lodger named William P.H. Freeman, who sold real estate. Two doors further up stands the Hill Top Inn, another tourist home, while at the bottom of the street is a parking lot where the Bertha Hotel once stood. A few blocks away are a handful of other sites: beauty parlors, a restaurant, more tourist homes. Most of the buildings that remain are within the College Hill Historic District, established in 1960. The preservation effort wasn't aimed at the *Green Book*, though—it was meant to save homes in the oldest part of the city. In fact, the designation sparked a wave of gentrification that pushed out African American residents.

There's a lot of American history wrapped up in ironies like that, Zipf says, including the fragility of African American stories and sites. She walks to the edge of the historic district, where residential Benefit Street converges with the busy Main Street. To her right stands the former Lucille's Beauty Parlor, a cream-colored building with stairs up the side. Across the street, just steps outside the historic district, were Dinah's Tourist Home and Restaurant and Hines Tourist Home. The building was demolished in 1963. Zipf looks down again at her printout, which includes a map of the neighborhood from 1937, filled with buildings that no longer exist. She looks up again at the modern-day neighborhood all around her. She can't unsee the layers.

In 2024, Harvard's Houghton Library acquired a 1949 edition of the *Green Book*, paying $50,000 at auction for what has become a collector's item.

Photographs by Kris Snibbe/Harvard Public Affairs and Communications


James Muller

Free Speech, the Bomb—and Donald Trump

A Harvard cardiologist on the unlikely alliances that shaped a global movement to prevent nuclear war

DR. JAMES MULLER, a young Harvard cardiologist in the 1970s, was standing in a parking lot outside Boston's Peter Bent Brigham Hospital when he first imagined Russian and American doctors joining forces to oppose nuclear weapons. It was an idea as improbable as it was urgent: that physicians on opposite sides of the Iron Curtain could work together to cool the nuclear arms race.

The organization that grew from that moment—International Physicians for the Prevention of Nuclear War (IPPNW)—was awarded the Nobel Peace Prize in 1985 and helped reduce the world's nuclear arsenal from more than 50,000 warheads to about 13,000 today. Along the way, the IPPNW facilitated one of the more surprising diplomatic side stories of the Cold War era, in which a young real estate developer named Donald Trump, deeply anxious about the threat of nuclear war, turned to the IPPNW—and met with Muller's mentor Bernard Lown in New York—for help in reaching Mikhail Gorbachev.

Decades later, Muller believes that story holds lessons for today's debates about the threat of nuclear weapons, the role of universities, and the freedom of scholars to tackle issues far beyond their laboratories. He credits Harvard's tradition of academic freedom for giving him and colleagues like Lown, Eric Chivian, and Helen Caldicott the space—and the credibility—to organize a global movement that influenced world leaders, defied official U.S. government policy, and reshaped the public understanding of nuclear risk.

In this conversation, Muller, who remains a senior lecturer at Harvard Medical School, retraces that remarkable journey—from a flash of inspiration in a hospital parking lot, to secret meetings with Russian doctors and heads of state, to an unexpected connection with a future U.S. president—and shares why he believes the power of open, independent inquiry still matters today. (This conversation has been edited for length and clarity.)

—The Editors

Harvard Magazine: Can you take us back to the moment when you first heard that Donald Trump, then a real estate developer, wanted the IPPNW's help to meet Mikhail Gorbachev? What did that reveal about Trump's thinking on nuclear weapons at the time?

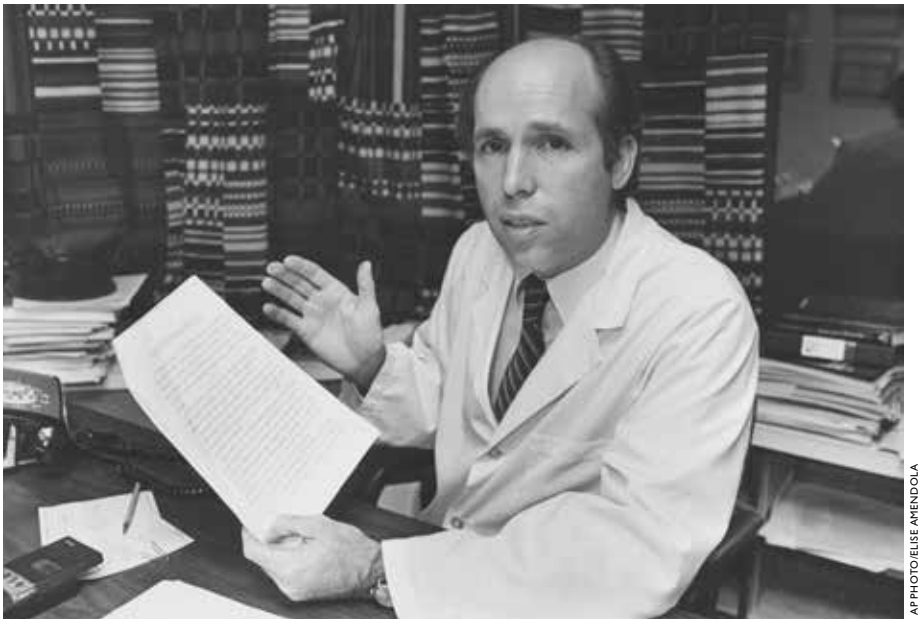
James Muller: I believe that President Trump sincerely wants zero nuclear weapons. I don't agree with his methods, but I do agree with that goal. Back in 1986, he was already anxious about the threat. He asked for help, and Bernard Lown, my mentor, met with him in New York and ultimately connected him with Gorbachev. It's quite interesting: [Ronald] Reagan said he was for zero, [Jimmy] Carter said it while building more warheads, but none really proposed practical abolition. Ironically, the only president who offered a real solution was [Harry S.] Truman, who, after Hiroshima and Nagasaki, proposed that all nuclear weapons be eliminated under United Nations control. That "Truman-Baruch proposal" still makes sense today.

HM: What was your understanding, then and now, of why Trump, a businessman, cared so deeply about nuclear disarmament?

JM: I think it goes back to his uncle, John Trump, who was a brilliant physicist at MIT. Trump often says that his uncle taught him about the dangers of nuclear weapons. So, he grew up with that awareness. Of course, there's also the less flattering take: the nuclear issue offers a kind of ultimate power, and Trump gravitates toward power. But I take him at his word on this—he wants zero nuclear weapons, which is something I respect.

HM: You've described the spark for organizing American and Russian doctors

Photograph courtesy of Brigham and Women's Hospital



AP PHOTO/ELISE AMENDOLA

PHOTOGRAPH COURTESY OF JAMES MULLER

Above: Muller holds a letter in 1983 from Soviet leader Yuri Andropov, agreeing to freeze nuclear weapons production. Left: John Pastore, Muller, David Greer, Yevgeniy Chazov, Bernard Lown, Eric Chivian, and Herbert Abrams (from left to right) attend the 1985 Nobel ceremony.

against nuclear weapons happening in a Brigham Hospital parking lot. What did that moment look like?

JM: I was walking between my office and the hospital, thinking about patients I'd treated—especially burn victims. I'd lived in Moscow in 1967 and again in 1975, and I knew how deeply the Russian people opposed war. It struck me: maybe our Russian colleagues hated nuclear weapons as much as we did. I shared the idea with Bernard Lown, who wrote to his contacts in Moscow. It took some time, but eventually Dr. Yevgeniy Chazov, Brezhnev's doctor and my mentor when I worked in Moscow, agreed to join forces. That was the beginning of IPPNW.

HM: How did your time studying in Moscow and learning Russian—notable, given the recent focus on international students—shape your belief that Russian doctors would want to collaborate?

JM: It was pivotal. I studied Russian at Notre Dame because my father said, "They put Sputnik up there—study Russian!" Then, while studying medicine at Johns Hopkins, I spent six months at a Moscow hospital doing cardiac research. When I would walk around the streets, I would not see men of a certain age, or I'd see people with war injuries. I saw how the Russian people, having lost 20 million in World War II, deeply feared war. When I was there in Red Square, I'd watch missiles roll by aimed at my own family back home. It drove home the urgency of finding ways to build bridges.

HM: And that relationship with Chazov—did it help?

JM: Tremendously. Chazov was my teacher. I translated his book on heart attacks into English. I also wrote an article about Chazov being one of the first people to treat heart attacks with clot-dissolving drugs. So, he knew all of that. When we first met to launch IPPNW, the situation was tense—Russia had invaded Afghanistan, and many American doctors wanted nothing to do with Soviet colleagues. But we agreed: this would be a single-issue effort. No politics—just the shared goal of preventing nuclear war.

"When I was there in Red Square, I'd watch missiles roll by aimed at my own family back home."

HM: Why did you believe that physicians could bridge the Cold War divide?

JM: Doctors everywhere want the same thing: money spent on health, not weapons. We saw it as a public health issue—who else was speaking for the billions who'd be annihilated in a nuclear war? The physicists who built the bombs told us: "Forget politicians. We've been whispering in their ear for decades, and they keep building more nuclear weapons—go straight to the public." And so, we did. We spoke plainly about burns, crush injuries, radiation sickness. Helen Caldicott, then a pediatrician at Harvard Children's Hospital, gave unforgettable talks—one-third of her audience would walk out committed to fighting nuclear weapons.

HM: Did you ever think your work might run into trouble with Harvard or the government? You never received any pushback from a professor, a dean, or an administrator?

JM: Never. The dean of the medical school at the time wrote a letter in support of us. The Harvard environment was marvelous. Academic freedom was like air—you didn't think about it because it was just there. Harvard's stature was invaluable. When we wrote to other medical schools, they picked up the phone because we were from Harvard. The *New England Journal of Medicine* published what we wrote. The Countway Library even has an exhibit on IPPNW—including my handwritten script for a broadcast that reached 100 million Russians.

HM: Looking back, what concrete changes came from IPPNW's work?

JM: The most obvious is the reduction of the world's nuclear stockpile from 50,000 to about 13,000 warheads. That wasn't just treaties—it was also public pressure. Jimmy Carter was promoting the MX missile—he'd been a nuclear submarine engineer and

"Talk and listen in an earnest, genuine way"

New Harvard Alumni Association president wants to keep building community.

Will Makris

If there's one thing Will Makris, Ed.M. '00, learned from four decades of working at New England's business schools, it's this: "Don't give an opinion too quickly. Listen a little bit longer." Amid an especially tumultuous time, he's been emphasizing this approach to alumni and other members of the University community since becoming president of the Harvard Alumni Association (HAA) on July 1.

As the University continues its multifaceted fight with the Trump administration, students, faculty, and alumni have also been active in protests and debates over political issues, including Israel's war in Gaza. Staying informed on the issues facing the University is important, Makris notes, and advises alumni to visit Harvard Looks Forward, an online resource page run by the HAA. Makris advocates for the crucial role of higher education in society and for the common ground that unifies the wider University community. "We want to talk and listen in an earnest, genuine way," he says, "and ask a lot of questions. Because that builds community and involves people in dialogue."

Making those kinds of connections with people and expanding his own sense of learning is exactly what led him to serve Harvard. After graduating from the Harvard Graduate School of Education (HGSE), he "was completely energized" by a Harvard Club of Boston event with the school's dean. His offer to help led to various roles, including cochair of the HGSE Recent Alumni Council and appointed director from HGSE to the HAA board, before becoming HAA's vice president of University-wide alumni affairs. (He is also a director of *Harvard Magazine*.)

Throughout those years, this work was informed by his professional career. Most recently, Makris served on the admissions committee and as an adviser for the MIT executive M.B.A. program at the Sloan School of Management. Prior to that, he'd been associate dean of M.B.A. admissions at Babson College and worked as a manager of Northeastern University's executive M.B.A. programs.

Higher education has been central to his own family, as well. "What has been my journey came from my grandparents' journey [as Greek immigrants], coming here, to a new country, in pursuit of the promise of education," he says, "and then raising that next generation of learners." After settling, his grandfather George Culolias opened The Tasty Sandwich Shop—the beloved luncheonette in Harvard Square that dished up food from 1916 to 1997. Makris's mother, Helen C. (Eleni) Makris, was in the Radcliffe Class of 1950, and two of his uncles are Harvard graduates. His father, George "Moose" Makris, went to Northeastern University and then returned there to work in the athletic programs and fundraising for 46 years.

Harvard alumni also understand the value of higher education in their lives, Makris says. "I am a Harvard graduate," he adds, "and people can be shy about saying that. But it's very important today to activate around the importance of higher education. I feel this is what I am doing—and now alumni can, too."

—NELL PORTER BROWN

was in favor of building more nuclear weapons—and there was a plan to put nuclear weapons into Europe, which is why all the European doctors came to our first meeting in Washington, D.C. Jonas Salk, the polio vaccine pioneer, also joined our first big meeting in 1981. We helped advise *The Day After*, the 1983 TV movie that forced people to imagine what nuclear war really meant. There was a march of a million people in New York City, I think in '83.

And the Nobel Prize? Well, that was quite a story. During the press conference, a Russian reporter collapsed. I gave him mouth-to-mouth resuscitation, Jennifer Leaning from the Harvard School of Public Health performed an intubation on the floor, all on live TV. Americans and Russians working together, and we saved this person's life—it was a metaphor for what we were trying to do for the world.

HM: You've described the nuclear threat as a "dragon" that disappears and reappears every few decades. Why does it feel urgent again now?

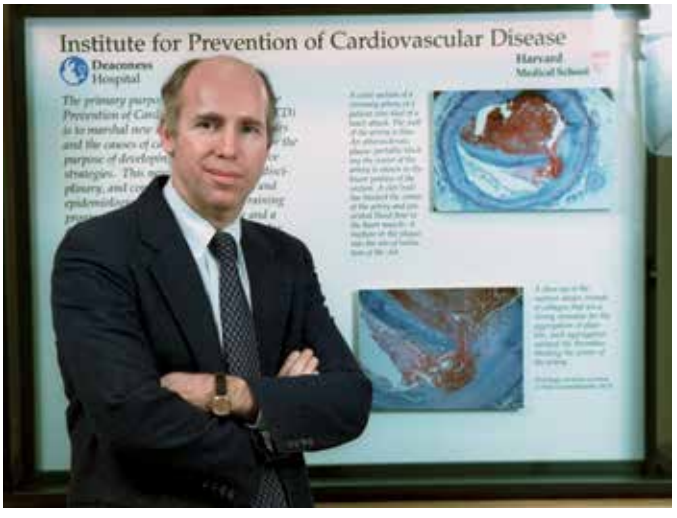
JM: I do think it's a dragon that lives in the jungle and is only visible every once in a while. It was visible in the '80s. It was visible in 1946 after Hiroshima and Nagasaki—that's why Truman proposed abolition. Today, it's visible again because of AI, Ukraine, North Korea, and the fragile nature of global cooperation. Add to that climate change, which indirectly fuels conflicts between nuclear-armed states. The threat is persistent, and it only takes one mistake. Annie Jacobsen's book on nuclear war imagines how easily things could escalate. Helen

Photograph by Veasey Conway/Harvard University

Caldicott used to say that the only way we'll ever get on the right track, unfortunately, is for another nuclear bomb to be set off and kill a million people. Then maybe humanity will summon the will to do what needs to be done. [Annie Jacobsen's *Nuclear War: A Scenario* was first published in 2024.]

HM: Do you think Helen is right about that?

JM: That's a tough question. I hope Helen is not right. This is a question for humanity. How smart are we? How good is our collective will to do the right thing? Can we see that this is such a horrible threat that we have to find a multinational solution at a time when the world is heading towards nationalism?



AP PHOTO/JULIA MALAKIE

Muller in 1991, posing in front of a display explaining the risks associated with vulnerable arterial plaques

HM: What lessons does your story hold for younger scientists and physicians about the power—and fragility—of academic freedom?

JM: First, the freedom to oppose government policy. No one needed 25,000 nuclear weapons, yet we had them. Second, the freedom to bring in international students. My research on heart attacks [Muller discovered that clotting is the reason more heart attacks occur in the morning] relied on fellows from Australia, Japan, Germany. Third, the funding from the government to pursue independent science. These conditions allowed us to challenge the arms race, and to make medical discoveries—like the "vulnerable plaque" that can trigger a heart attack, a term that ironically comes from my arguments with the Pentagon about "vulnerable" missile silos.

HM: If you could say one thing to both Harvard and Trump today about the connection between your anti-nuclear work and Harvard's role, what would it be?

JM: I prefer not to call it anti-nuclear; Jonas Salk taught us to frame it positively—this is work for the prevention of nuclear war. I'd say this: the academic freedom that Harvard defends so strongly has helped move the world closer to Trump's stated goal—zero nuclear weapons. That freedom has global consequences. Harvard's motto is *Veritas*—truth—and in this age of misinformation, it's needed more than ever.

HM: Do you think we're capable of getting to zero?

JM: The only real solution remains the same as Truman proposed in 1946: global abolition under United Nations control. It's not the U.S. or Russia alone—it must be the world acting together. It sounds idealistic, but so did the idea of American and Russian doctors working side by side when I first stood in that parking lot.

THE UNDERGRADUATE

Baby, Maybe?

On career ambition and pronatalist pressure

by YASMEEN A. KHAN

In the summer of 2024, I spent a lot of time thinking about what it would be like to have a baby.

I was living in my parents' house in Spring, Texas. I was back home because I had struggled to secure a summer internship in media or journalism, the industries I'd hoped to work in after graduating. Almost daily, my mother and I fought about my choice to pursue writing. I countered all her arguments, but I was just as concerned as she was. I worried that I had wasted my time at Harvard by pouring all my energy into something I no longer felt I was particularly good at.

I tried to blunt the edge of my anxiety, and I ended up running again and again into motherhood. I turned on the television and watched politicians rant about childless cat ladies. I flipped through Instagram Reels and watched glamorous stay-at-home mothers bake sourdough bread from scratch. I listened to "Juno," Sabrina Carpenter's horny pop song about getting knocked up. I watched *Juno*, the 2007 movie referenced in Carpenter's song, and cried hysterically when the title character delivered her baby. I bopped to Charli XCX's *Brat*, the defining album of that summer, and I found myself stuck on the penultimate track, where Charli wonders: *Should I stop my birth control? / 'Cause my career feels so small / In the existential scheme of it all.* I had recurring dreams about being pregnant with a baby girl. I would wake from these dreams in my childhood bedroom, in a state where abortion had effectively been banned since 2022, and I would think: "Maybe I am a bad writer. But maybe I could make a good mother."

Earlier that year, in a women, gender, and sexuality studies course, I was introduced to a *New York Times* article by reporter Louise Story about Ivy League women and motherhood. In October 2005, Story reported that many women in the Ivy League aspired to be stay-at-home mothers. Then a recent Yale graduate, Story spoke to 138 women at her alma mater and found that 60 percent planned to cut back on work or stop working entirely when they had children. Underlying the article was an age-old question: Can women really balance their careers with motherhood? Or, as it's still often phrased: Can women have it all?

Some of Story's sources framed the young women's desire to stay at home as a flippant response to the efforts of second-wave feminists. Second-wave feminism, which began in the 1960s and ended in the early 1980s, had created a place for women in the public sphere. Mass movements against rape and domestic violence had provided women a way out of abusive relationships. The contraceptive pill appeared in 1960; *Roe v. Wade* was decided in 1973. Federal legislation prohibited sex-based wage discrimination and gave women the right to apply for credit cards and mortgages in their name. In 2005, the fact that women could choose domesticity—rather than be coerced into it—was a comparatively recent development. Still, Story's sources took that choice for granted.

In recent years, the accomplishments of second-wave feminism have come under fire. *Roe v. Wade* was overturned in 2022. In his concurring opinion in that decision, Justice Clarence Thomas called on the Supreme Court to "reconsider" its past rulings codifying access to contraception. The right-wing attack on reproductive rights has been accompanied by a proliferation of pronatalism: think pieces on declining birth rates, influencers warning about the dangers of birth control, Elon Musk and his bevy of baby-fevered tech bros. Of course, wanting to have children doesn't make someone a pronatalist. What makes the ideology distinct is the way it presents having children as a moral imperative.

When I was living at home in 2024, I spent a lot of time with my mother, who stopped working when I was born. She had dedicated a large part of her life to raising me and my younger sister, who graduated from high school a few months ago. Now that we've grown up, my mom has had to figure out a new routine, after 20 years of structuring her schedule around ours. She doesn't regret her decision—but, in recent years, she's mentioned that she would have liked to work part-time if remote work had been an option when I was born.

I would wake from these dreams in my childhood bedroom, in a state where abortion had effectively been banned since 2022.

My upbringing shaped my views on work and motherhood, and I wanted to know how my classmates' backgrounds had influenced theirs. This summer, I sent out a call for interviews on house mailing lists for Eliot, Winthrop, and Quincy. Although my sample size was nowhere near as large as Story's, the classmates I spoke with surprised me with their confidence in their ability to balance motherhood and careers.

Mai Hoang '25 will begin her first job this fall investing in the global energy transition. She hopes to have a family later, while continuing to work. She's inspired, in part, by her own mother, who worked throughout her childhood. Hoang grew up in Ho Chi Minh City, in Vietnam, and she says it was common for urban, middle-class families to rely on relatives and professional caregivers to help raise their children. She also recalls a more porous cultural boundary between family and the workplace. If Hoang's mother needed to work late, she would bring her daughter to the office. "I really loved hanging out at my mom's office, because it was fun seeing her dressed up nice and in a different role than she was at home," Hoang recalls.

Abigail Curtis's role models come from the Orthodox Jewish community, where she says raising children is seen as an honor. "Many Jewish families that I know have a wonderful balance with mothers having very full careers," says Curtis '26. "For me, that was a sign that I didn't have to give up my aspirations professionally in order to have a family."

Like Hoang, Curtis spoke about the importance of community support in raising children. "In religious Jewish communities, you're very supported when you have a child. People really do rally around you," she says.

Illustration by Anna Godeassi

To be clear, I am not suggesting that my classmates' role models are better than my own mother. She's one of the hardest-working people I know, and I look up to her every day. I mention my mother's comments about remote work—and the reality of working motherhood during the pandemic—because I think they expose some of the many ways American society has long been structured to make motherhood and a career incompatible. Curtis's and Hoang's experiences demonstrate how alternative community structures and cultural values can help mothers maintain a fulfilling career. Story's article, like many additions to the discourse surrounding work and motherhood, frames women leaving the workforce as a personal choice. I am not saying that it's impossible for a woman to choose domesticity. But those choices are often made in an environment designed to funnel women back into the home.

Can women have it all? The perennial question makes women sound gluttonous and silly—like toddlers who have just learned the word *more*. In Story's 2005 article, Yale Professor Cynthia E. Russett said that by giving up on their hopes of balancing career and family, Ivy League women were "turning realistic." Some of Story's student sources echoed Russett's sentiment. Cynthia Liu, then a 19-year-old sophomore, was quoted as saying matter-of-factly: "My mother has always told me you can't be the best career woman and the best mother at the same time. You always have to choose one over the other."

Pronatalists present motherhood as a marker of maturity. Elon Musk, one of America's prominent pronatalists, has obsessed for years over declining birth rates—in April, he dramatically tweeted that low birth rates would "end civilization." U.S. Vice President J.D. Vance has also suggested

Highlighting *Harvard Magazine*'s Fellows

Harvard Magazine welcomed Vivian Rong '27 to the editorial staff as the 2025 Summer Fellow. From President Alan M. Garber's Baccalaureate address during Commencement week to a student panel at the end of July, she contributed news and other stories as a full-time member of the staff.

Rong, a philosophy concentrator from Cherry Hill, New Jersey, is an editor-at-large of the *Crimson*'s magazine, *Fifteen Minutes,* and the president of the Harvard Undergraduate Creative Writing Collective. In the fall of 2023, she wrote one of the most read *Crimson* stories of that semester, "The Strange History of Fake Harvard Students."

This fall, *Harvard Magazine* will welcome Kate Kaufman '27 and Andrés Muedano '27 as the 2025-2026 Berta Greenwald Ledecky Undergraduate Fellows. Starting in the November-December issue, they will alternate as authors of the Undergraduate column and contribute articles about aspects of Harvard life.

Vivian Rong

Kate Kaufman and Andrés Muedano

Kaufman, a neuroscience and social studies concentrator from Holladay, Utah, is the cultural criticism and columns editor at *Fifteen Minutes*. Last fall, she coauthored "Viral Veritas," an investigation of students who earn money as "Harvard influencers" on social media. A former researcher in the Neurospirituality Lab at Brigham and Women's Hospital, she spent the summer as a "plant humanities" intern at the Harvard-affiliated Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection in Washington, D.C., writing a "plant narrative" about the history of St. John's wort.

Muedano, an aspiring science journalist from Mexico City, Mexico, is pursuing a self-designed program focused on the environmental humanities and the history and philosophy of science. Muedano writes for the *Crimson* and the *Harvard Undergraduate Research Journal* and contributes to the nonprofit news outlet *Inside Climate News*. This summer he attended Gull Island Institute, an immersive liberal arts program off the Massachusetts coast, where he worked at an oyster farm and studied social theory. He won an Artist Development Fellowship from Harvard's Office for the Arts to write a fictionalized version of his longform essay "The Scientist."

The fellowships are supported by Jonathan J. Ledecky '79, M.B.A. '83, and named in honor of his late mother. For updates on past Ledecky Fellows and links to their work, see **harvardmag.com/ledecky.**

Photographs by Stu Rosner

that falling birth rates represent a "civilizational crisis" and has proposed that people with children should be given more voting rights than those without. Birth rate anxiety frames having children as a responsibility to humanity. Musk's neglect of his own children and Vance's infamous disdain for childless cat ladies suggest that this responsibility falls primarily on women.

This conflation of motherhood and maturity also coincides with the tendency to characterize feminist demands for women's dignity as childish. Joan Didion exemplified the sentiment in 1972, when she accused second-wave feminists of wishing to "stay forever children." A girl becomes a woman when she gives up on fighting for the world she wants and comes to accept the world as it is—in other words, when she turns realistic.

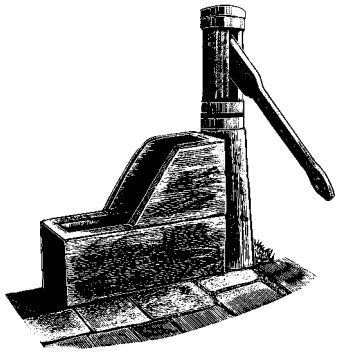
Many women harbor wild and expansive ambitions. At Harvard, to my delight, I see those ambitions on full display. Here, I've met a woman who aspires to become a U.S. attorney general. I've spoken to others who want to shape national public health strategy or to solve humanitarian crises as human rights attorneys. Their aspirations are not realistic in the statistical sense. Neither are mine: I want to write, I want to be read, I want to shape culture. Sure, I constantly question my ability to actually accomplish these things—but what 20-something-year-old doesn't? Pronatalism preys upon women's doubt by presenting motherhood as the safer option. This not only obscures the intensity of pregnancy and parenting—it pushes women away from their own potential.

I don't know if I want to have children. If I did, I know now that I would want to keep working. The most valuable thing I learned about myself as a teenager was that I could write. It materially changed my life and gave me a stable sense of identity. I can't imagine a future without it. I don't know if I or any of my peers will make it. But I couldn't forgive myself if I didn't try.

Asking whether women can "have it all" frames women as irrationally greedy for wanting what men have always had: the opportunity to have children without sacrificing their careers. If that's greed, then I'm guilty of it. I will always be a woman who wants it all.

Yasmeen A. Khan '26 is one of this year's Berta Greenwald Ledecky Undergraduate Fellows.

Birthday Candles



"Your wooden arm you hold outstretched to shake with passers-by."

OLD PAPER STUDIOS / ALAMY

This department exists to document and celebrate Harvardiana: Crimson places and people, their customs and crotchets, consequential and otherwise. But on rare occasions, the Pump may be permitted to toot its own horn—in this case, commemorating 85 years of publication in printed form, a longevity increasingly rare in this relentlessly digital era.

It was David McCord, A.B. 1921, A.M. 1922, who first pumped the handle on March 8, 1940, shortly after arriving as acting editor of the *Harvard Alumni Bulletin*. (Forgiving readers will note that this past spring was, um, a rather newsy one for the alma mater, and so might cut Primus some slack for missing the precise anniversary.) The *Bulletin* described the new department as "somewhat spasmodic," but it has mostly been continuous in appearance.

The Pump has weathered well as an outpost of the archaic and the arcane. That reflects its founder's genius, expressed as only McCord could, when he envisioned "a corner reserved for random comment, for the stray line of Harvard verse, the pleasant non-sequitur of academic observation, the simple fragment or phrase; a niche for the simple story unadorned, for epigram, for the biographical paragraph, for lines from the leaves of some forgotten notebook, for antiquarian illumination," and more. Amid the rising scale and complexity of organizations like the University, the drive for technological efficiency in everything from its payroll to its pedagogy, and other modern annoyances, the Pump persists as an outpost where Harvard traditions get their due, and the human comedy of the place is rewarded rather than rebuked.

No one has matched McCord in the verse department, as when he captured New England winter economically on March 15, 1940: "In Boston when it snows at night/They clean it up by candle-light;/In Cambridge, quite the other way,/It snows and there they leave it lay."

Still, the Pump has soldiered on in his spirit. What better account of Harvard's sometimes maddening pursuit of perfection than the September-October 1983 column on the *three hundred* or so designs for the guardhouse at Johnston Gate and Harvard Hall by Graham Gund, M.Arch. '68, M.A.U. '69 (who died this past June 6, in Cambridge)? (The piece concluded with *The Harvard Crimson*'s letter on the result from Raggedy Ann and Andy, who inquired about renting the place given the tight housing market.) Is there a more memorable take on the raw (pun intended) silliness of streaking than the April 1974 compendium of footnoted reports, including "*Lessons in gross anatomy*. A Harvard Medical School anatomy examination was interrupted by two streakers wearing surgical masks"?

One random observation from January-February 1986 conveys just how long it took to build this special center of academic excellence. When the last old white pine to the east of University Hall was felled by Hurricane Gloria in September 1985, Primus consulted Samuel Eliot Morison's history and discovered President John Thornton Kirkland's order to plant the grove in 1857—"to screen the long, low outhouse that sheltered the privies."

Another, from July-August 1996, uncovers what lies at the core of the place's mission:

"The log of the Harvard University Police Department, published weekly…is usually a recital of trespassing incidents, disturbances of the peace, and the dispossession of bicycles, laptop computers, watches and wallets from overly trusting or distractable members of the…community. This recent entry provided a pleasing change of pace:

'Screams were heard at Adams House. Units were dispatched, and upon arrival they found a person screaming for joy. The subject had been admitted to graduate school.'"

Speaking of birthdays, there are now those in the land who seem determined to keep Harvard from reaching its four hundredth anniversary, in 2036—or at least to make the occasion far from celebratory. Like Primuses I-V, this one takes heart from the University's traditions and values, and the people who uphold them. It says here that the old place will have reasons aplenty to light 400 candles, proudly, 11 years hence. None too soon to prime the pump.

—Primus VI

Above: David McCord in his Wadsworth House office in 1963, when he was the executive director of the Harvard College Fund

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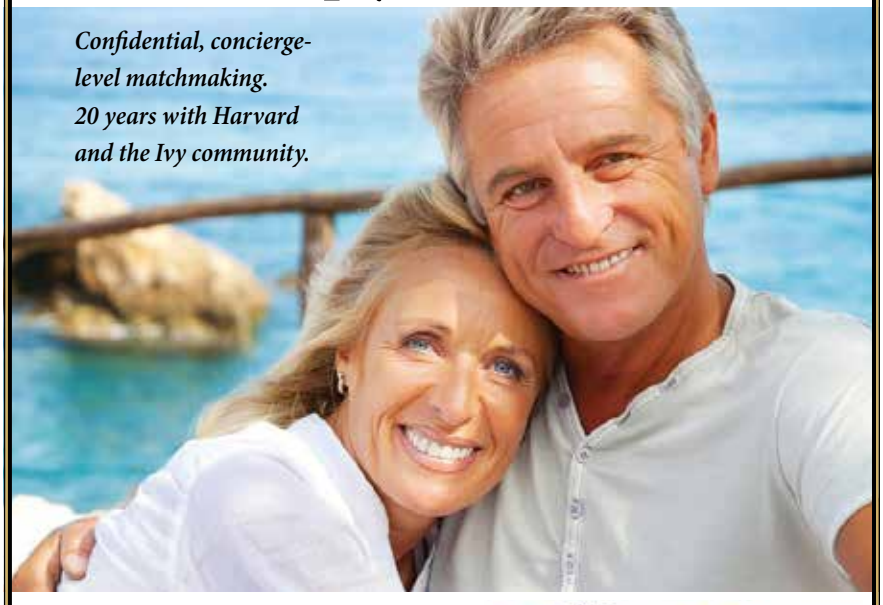

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executive education program in national security. My impression of the University and its values is captured well in the following excerpt from President Larry Bacow's remarks to the graduating class of 2022:

"Today I want to challenge you...to ensure that the opportunities afforded by your education do not enrich your life alone...Please be known at least as much for your humility, kindness, and concern for others as for your professional accomplishments. Recognize the role that good fortune and circumstances have played in your life, and please work to extend opportunity to others just as it has been extended to you. *That* is how you will sustain the pride and joy you feel today. And that's the truth."

Douglas Johnston, M.P.A. '67, Ph.D. '82
Alexandria, Va.

I enjoyed your excellent coverage of the 374th Commencement, which in the table of contents was summarized as "A University united." As an Extension School graduate present that day, I can attest to that feeling of unity. In reflecting on the day, I wonder whether Harvard might benefit from more actively sharing the mission and impact of the Extension School with policymakers and the wider public. My fellow graduates balanced studies with significant work and family commitments, and on Commencement Day I learned that nearly 10 percent of this year's 1,300 Extension School graduates are active-duty or veteran service members, and that we come from all 50 states.

We live in a time when the public's understanding of Harvard's mission, makeup, and impact is being tested. Alongside all the important research and scholarship undertaken within the University, the Extension School stands as an important further example of the contribution Harvard makes to our fellow citizens. Perhaps sharing this lesser-known aspect of our University may help Harvard prevail and flourish.

Victor P. Seidel, A.L.M. '25
Needham, Mass.

DEMOCRACY AND AUTHORITARIANISM

I was both fascinated and uplifted by Lydialyle Gibson's article on Erica Chenoweth (page 32). I had vaguely heard of something called the "3.5 percent rule" but had little idea of the context or who came up with it. To me, the recent mass demonstrations against Trump and other autocrats are an encouraging sign. People exhausted from opposing just the first five months of "Trump administration *redux*" should not give up or give in to complete despair. Yes, Trump and his cronies will likely commit further damage (or certainly try) to the U.S. democratic institutions and traditions, but we can almost see the end of that tunnel now. Reading about Professor Chenoweth and their work was truly a halogen-bright spot in what has been a bleak year.

Curtis Krechevsky, J.D. '82
Westborough, Mass.

The article on Professor Erica Chenoweth's work documenting whether violence or nonviolence has been more successful in overthrowing "oppressive regimes" was fascinating. But I was surprised that the author stressed that this analysis can be useful for those opposing democratically elected governments. It would appear that Chenoweth's research can be used to make democratic elections worthless, since if the losers claim the winner is "oppressive," they can cancel the election by mobbing streets and highways, engaging in boycotts, etc., and overturn this "oppressive" regime. The favorable presentation of this hijacking of Chenoweth's research is so obvious, one must assume the article's author seems quite pleased with its anti-democratic utility. I hope Professor Chenoweth is not so pleased.

Paul M. Meo '61
Lottsburg, Va.

My stomach turned when I read the gratuitous and sexist physical description of Professor Chenoweth. Their hairstyle and clothing choices are not relevant to the content of the article. I am livid on their behalf and appalled at the sloppy journalism of *Harvard Magazine*.

Renee Kaufman, M.L.A. '05
San Francisco

FRANKLIN STOVE R&D

Regarding Joyce Chaplin's article, "Ben Franklin's Project," in the May-June issue (page 37), the author missed the opportunity to expound on Franklin's ingenious application of the scientific method—starting with a hypothesis—and research and development, by testing models in his own home. In this way, he advanced each stove's design toward the most efficient outcome. Franklin sought to create an efficient heating solution during a time of decreasing natural resources.

Sheryl Manganaro, A.L.B. '07, A.L.M '15
Newton Center, Mass.

AN ORANGE A DAY

An interesting article about citrus, the microbiome, and depression ("Can an Orange a Day Stave Off Depression?", page 9). Here's my concern: I think the average daily serving of oranges during the time frame in question was a glass of orange juice at breakfast. As I recall, a smallish glass of orange juice is the result of squeezing three or more oranges. If my recollection is correct, then one orange a day will not equal the amounts that were probably actually consumed by the study subjects. On the other hand, if we consume an orange "pulp and all" instead of squeezing three, we will derive certain other benefits. Happy breakfasting! (Maybe eating breakfast reduces depression.)

Anne Vohl, J.D. '71
Reno, Nev.

PONY PLUNGES

Regarding the article "Pony Plunges" (page 64), I recommend that your readers view *The Cowboy and the Queen* (2023), a documentary available on Amazon Prime. The program features the equestrian rider and trainer Monty Roberts and the "nonviolent," clearly effective horse training methods he has employed and promoted over the course of several decades in both the United States and abroad. This brief segment and other material chronicling man's historically inhumane treatment of horses begs the question of how the horses in the Atlantic City diving horses act fared, a subject that wasn't addressed in the article.

Howard Chatterton '69
Bruce, Wis.

ERRATA

In "The Professor Who Quantified Democracy" (page 32), the Serbian group mentioned in the last paragraph is "Otpor," not "Optor." The article about "International Students" (page 30) includes a pie chart that incorrectly shows that 37 percent of the students at the T. H. Chan School of Public Health are international. The accompanying text gives the correct percentage: 42. And in "Harvard Cambridge Scholars" (page 42), Van Tran '25 of Kirkland House is incorrectly identified as Van C. Tran. There should be no middle initial. We regret the errors. ▽

 (continued from page 39)

tomorrow's employees." But during the *AAUP v. Rubio* trial this summer, in which a group of professors sued the government for attempting to deport international students who had engaged in pro-Palestinian speech and activism, a senior Department of Homeland Security official testified that the government used Canary Mission's list of names to figure out whom to investigate and potentially deport.

GUILLETTE SAYS THAT THE NATION "NEEDS" TO KNOW THE IDENTITIES OF HARVARD STUDENTS "WHO ARE OPENLY RACIST AND OPENLY DEFEND VIOLENCE."

Many of the Harvard students whose names were exposed after October 7 knew their activism might invite unwelcome exposure. The student group Harvard Divinity School Jews for Liberation was profiled in a 2022 *Crimson* article that discussed the group's "work to decouple Judaism and Zionism"; before publication, members had talked about potential backlash.

Clyve Lawrence '27, the cofounder of the student group African and African American Resistance Organization, says that when his club endorsed the October 8 letter, he knew that as a public leader, he might face criticism. Lawrence says he was "willing to defend" the letter and his beliefs.

Even students who understood the risks were sometimes surprised by the truck and the doxxing efforts. One Jewish Divinity School student, who asked to remain anonymous due to concerns about online harassment, recalls struggling to catch their breath—then bursting into tears—when friends texted them that Canary Mission had launched a page for them.

The influx of outside messages drained students' time and energy. One doxxed Harvard Kennedy School student who graduated before the October 7 attacks says that they had to "figure out how to remove random websites on the internet, whereas [they] could have been more focused on...activism related to Gaza." In late October 2023, Harvard provided doxxed students access to DeleteMe, a service that removes information from websites that sell personal contacts, but Fjeld says that DeleteMe is much more effective when used before doxxing occurs. "Once the information is out there," Fjeld says, "there's actually not a lot you can do."

Several doxxed students expressed frustration with Harvard's response. Some felt that then-President Claudine Gay should have condemned the trucks more quickly and forcefully. Others felt that the office set up to assist doxxed students was not particularly helpful.

And even some people who have raised concerns about campus antisemitism have suggested that the doxxing went too far. Former president Lawrence H. Summers, who criticized the October 8 letter and maligned the University for not strongly, publicly, and quickly condemning the terrorist attacks, posted on X on October 11, 2023, asking that "everybody take a deep breath...This is not a time where it is constructive to vilify individuals and I am sorry that is happening." (Bill Ackman, who called for the naming of student activists, declined to comment, referring *Harvard Magazine* to his past statements instead.)

Guillette, like doxxers of the past, has made mistakes. When he initially created websites for students he had named, each website said the student had "signed this hateful, antisemitic letter." But several of those students had graduated before October 7 and were no longer involved in their clubs. Now, a typical website for a named student says the individual "was a leader of an organization that signed." Guillette says he removed the names and websites of students who reached out individually to apologize and rescind their signatures.

He also says that, in the weeks after he launched his truck, he was doxxed himself. His address was leaked and, 13 times, he was "swatted": police arrived at his house after people who disliked his actions falsely reported crimes at his home address. He and his wife spent more than a month living in hotels and had to lock their credit, since doxxers had publicized his Social Security number and people were applying for credit cards in his name.

But while Guillette was get-

Video billboard trucks at Harvard featured names and faces, cartoons, and calls to action.

Photographs by Joseph Prezioso/AFP via Getty Images

ting swatted, he was simultaneously bringing video trucks to students' addresses and to Elmwood—used as a residence by Harvard's president—where Claudine Gay lived. (Guillette did not view the trucks at Elmwood as a violation of privacy because it was "University property," he says, "not a private residence." And he says he draws "an important distinction" between himself and those he considers to be doxxers, since Accuracy in Media does not publicize addresses or show the fronts of people's homes.) The swattings did not dissuade Guillette from pursuing his work, he says: "We taught these radicals a lesson that there will be accountability for their racist actions, and we won."

After their names were shared, students were hounded through their social media pages, direct messages, email, and print mail. Some lost jobs, including one with the law firm Davis Polk, which announced the withdrawal of a student's offer 10 days after the Hamas terrorist attacks. Others changed their job searches. The Kennedy School alum, an international student who no longer lived in the U.S. by October 7, was advised not to return to the U.S. because being detained could jeopardize future visa applications; instead, the former student is working abroad and relying on friends to slowly retrieve items they left behind in the U.S.

Some students had less difficulty. The Jewish Divinity School student sought postgraduate employment in the Jewish nonprofit space and often discussed the doxxing in job interviews. Many organizations offered jobs anyway, and the former student now works for a Jewish social justice group.

But doxxing had a discernible effect on Harvard's campus. Students viewed each other with increased skepticism. Phones became weapons. Protesters frequently donned blue surgical masks—unprotected faces could be posted online, and students were sometimes doxxed for mere attendance at protests. Around the edges of demonstrations, student marshals in neon vests patrolled, ensuring that onlookers did not photograph faces.

And one early confrontation became physical. When an Israeli first-year business student filmed students as he walked through an October 18, 2023, protest, demonstrators surrounded him with raised keffiyehs and vests, and two graduate students allegedly physically assaulted him.

One week after the October 7 terrorist attack, pro-Palestinian supporters gathered on the Widener Library steps. Notably, most were masked.

The pair were charged with assault and battery, but in April 2025, a Massachusetts judge ruled that they will not face trial and instead will take an anger management course and do community service. In a lawsuit filed against Harvard in July, the Israeli student said that his alleged attackers were also rewarded with a Harvard Law Review scholarship and a class marshal role at graduation—and that Harvard did much more to protect the doxxed students than it did to shield Jewish students from harassment.

AFTER OCTOBER 7, THE CLASSROOM "BANTER WAS GONE…EVERYONE WAS STRESSED AND ON THEIR TOES. PEOPLE WERE PICKING SIDES."

Doxxing chilled the classroom, too, students have said. One student quoted in the University's anti-Muslim, anti-Arab, and anti-Palestinian bias report said that after October 7, the classroom "banter was gone…Everyone was stressed and on their toes. People were picking sides."

Students also noted that some of the information Canary Mission published on its website contained material that only Harvard students could access, which means students were exposing one another. Peer trust eroded. Of the 21 students and alumni still listed by Accuracy in Media, only four were willing to speak with *Harvard Magazine*, even anonymously.

Activists like Guillette consider that a victory: a way to push views they see as harmful to the margins of acceptable speech. But in some cases, the doxxing at Harvard encouraged pro-Palestinian protesters to keep going. After Clyve Lawrence got doxxed, he concluded that "short of physical, actual harm…this is basically the worst it will ever get in my organizing." The attention was stressful and uncomfortable, he says, but he made it through.

Lawrence still wants to protest—maybe more now than ever. He is confident that his beliefs, which some presently consider fringe, will become the accepted norm within a few years. He says that his page on the Canary Mission website, intended to shame him for his pro-Palestinian stances, will one day become a badge of honor, "a document of the actual level of harassment that I and others were facing."

"The irony of harassment online," Lawrence says, "is that when you do it, it has the chance of actually emboldening your opponents…I feel more empowered than ever to support Palestine."

Photograph by Rick Friedman/Alamy Images

TREASURE

A Painting Gets a Bath

Water and sunlight help to preserve a Harvard Art Museums classic.

THREE LINES, bent and blue, were painted on a creamy canvas in a day. Kenneth Noland's 1964 abstract sensation *Karma* helped define "a distinctive voice in American painting" that deviated from the European standard, says Houghton curator of modern and contemporary art Mitra Abbaspour.

Noland gifted *Karma* to the Harvard Art Museums in 1965. But problems quickly emerged. The untreated canvas grew unevenly darker, and several irregular discolorations became more noticeable—so much so that the museum stopped displaying the painting in 2004. Conservators faced a dilemma: the technique that makes the work notable also made it difficult to refurbish.

There are two reasons *Karma* is hard to maintain. First, it is massive: 12 feet long and 8.5 feet tall. Second, Noland's technique—applying a single round of synthetic paint that stained the canvas, seeped into it, and bled through the back—makes *Karma* materially more similar to a textile than a painting. Whereas traditional paintings (made with multiple layers of paint that lay on top of a canvas, rather than meshing with it) can be touched up with hand-rolled swabs and locally applied solutions, massive stained paintings like *Karma* can be harmed by such treatment.

The museum staff was befuddled until associate paintings conservator Ellen Davis presented an idea. As a graduate student at the State University of New York at Buffalo, Davis had researched a restoration technique that harnessed the power of the sun.

In September 2024, museum staffers wheeled *Karma* outside on a custom rig, removed it from its wooden stretcher, and laid it on a wheeled plywood board in front of the Winter Garden. For three and a half hours, as a group of students, faculty, staff, and passersby looked on, Davis sprayed the massive artwork with filtered water through a garden hose. The water pressure was strong enough to soak the water-resistant fabric, but gentle enough to prevent tearing.

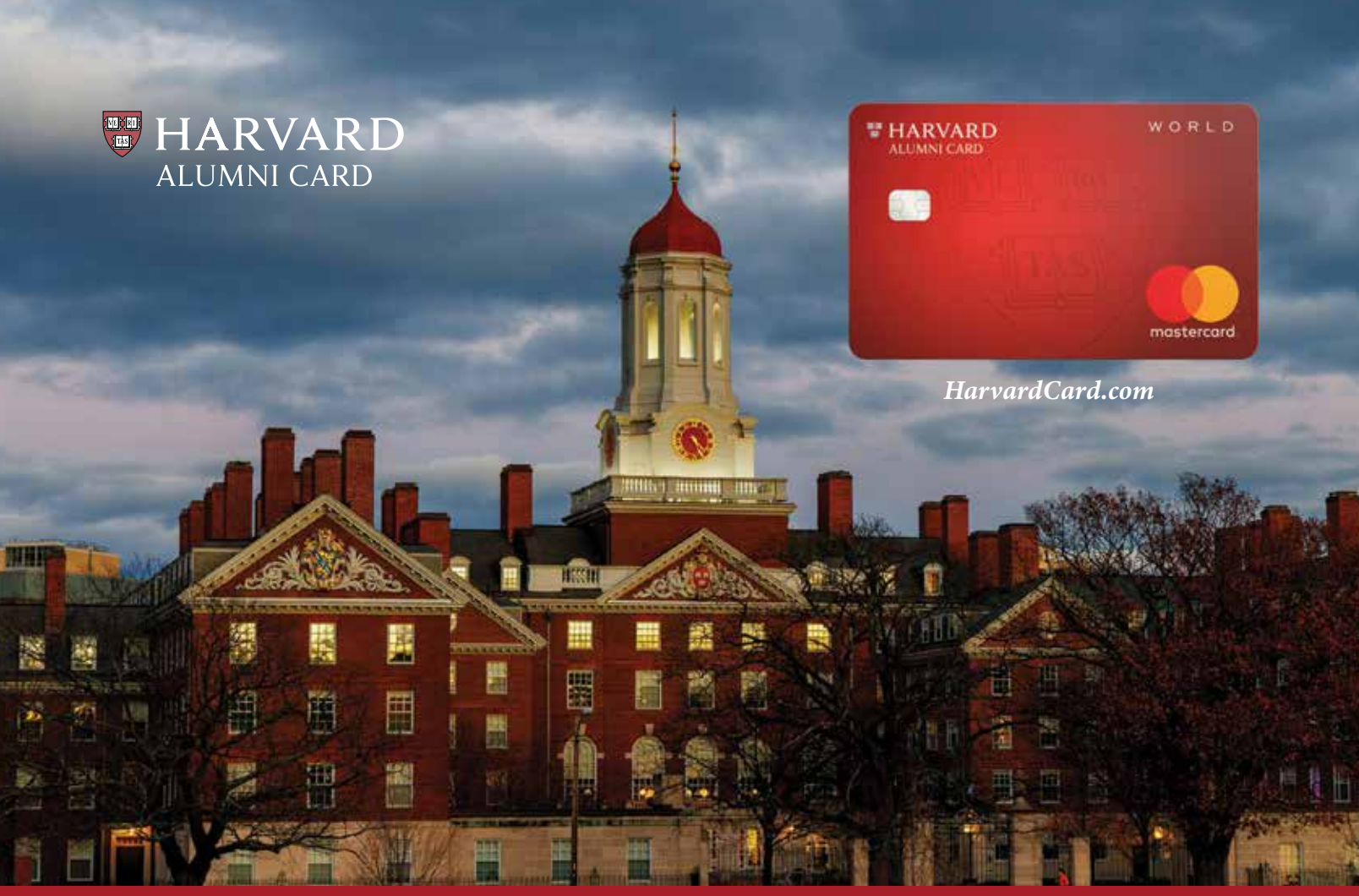
HM To watch a video of the Harvard Art Museums' restoration process, visit harvardmag.com/treasure-karma

Davis wheeled the painting across the lawn to follow the sun's path, ensuring the work stayed in the shade—direct sunlight would have been too strong. She had previously participated in treatments where, relying on time in the sun alone, paintings received excessive UV light and their canvas was over-brightened, subtly shifting from warm cream to slightly cool grey.

Following its bath and suntan, *Karma*'s canvas is once again evenly colored and on display on the museum's first floor. Despite years of study, Davis never learned why Noland called the piece *Karma*. But she has come to appreciate it, saying, "The good work that we did to take care of this—it feels like we all got a little good karma."

—MAX J. KRUPNICK

Photograph by Karen Gausch/Harvard Art Museums



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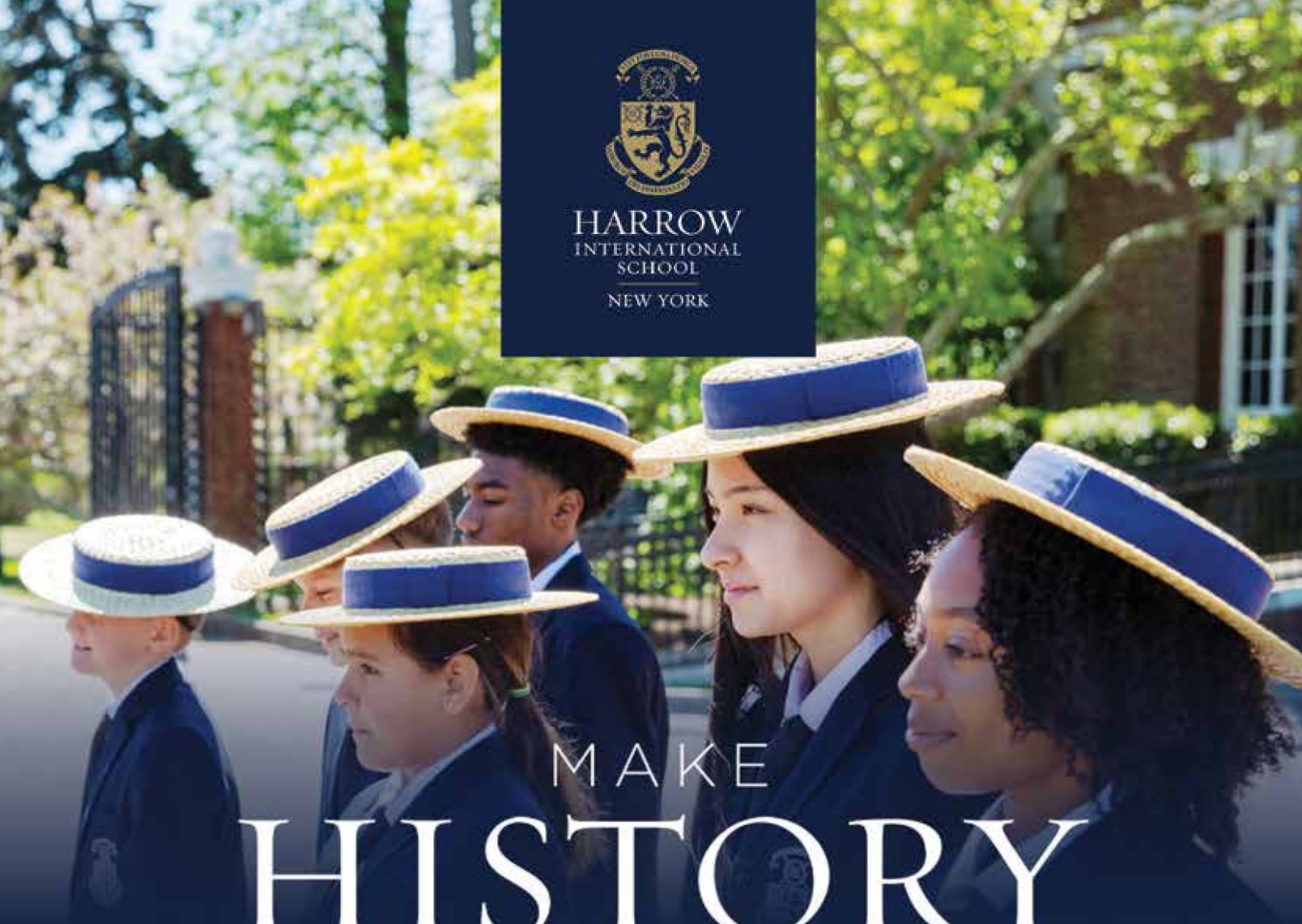

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