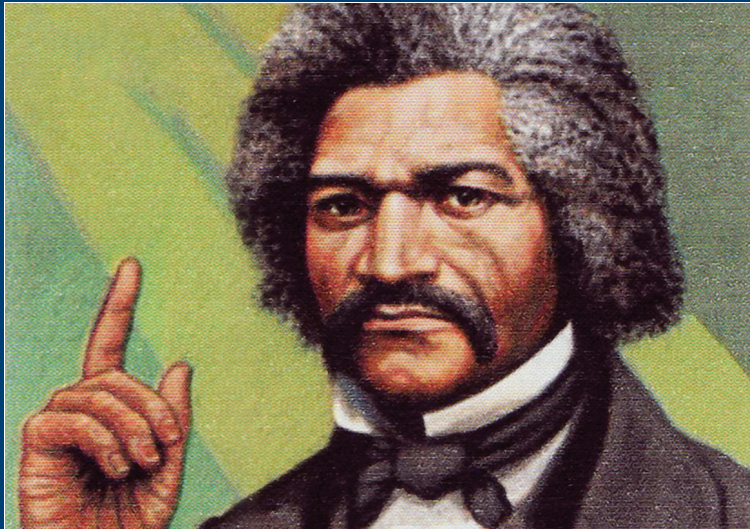


Bulletin

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SUMMER 2019
VOL. LXXII, NO. 4



Morton L. Mandel Public Lecture
**A Conversation about
Frederick Douglass**

featuring David Blight and Robert Stepto



**Award for Excellence
in Public Policy and
Public Affairs**

Acceptance Remarks by Ernest J. Moniz

The Rumford Prize

Acceptance Remarks by Edward Boyden

ALSO : *Safe Spaces, Brave Spaces: Diversity and Free Expression in Education*
 John Palfrey in conversation with Martha Minow
Dædalus Explores Processes of Inequality
Science During Crisis: Best Practices, Research Needs, and Policy Priorities

Select Upcoming Events

AUGUST

27th

St. Louis, MO

*An Evening at the Missouri History Museum :
Connecting History Exhibits to Our Community*

Featuring: **Frances Levine** (Missouri Historical Society)

SEPTEMBER

17th

Seattle, WA

Seattle Members Reception

25th

House of the Academy

Cambridge, MA

Social Reception

OCTOBER

11th-13th

Cambridge, MA

Induction Weekend

11th – Celebrating the Arts and Humanities

12th – Induction Ceremony

13th – Annual David M. Rubenstein Lecture, featuring **Anna Deavere Smith**, Actress, Playwright, Teacher (New York University)

29th

Chapel Hill, NC

Research Triangle Members Reception

30th

House of the Academy

Cambridge, MA

2019 Distinguished Morton L. Mandel Annual Public Lecture

Featuring: **Michael McPherson** (formerly, the Spencer Foundation) and **Sandy Baum** (Urban Institute)

NOVEMBER

8th

House of the Academy

Cambridge, MA

The Age of Living Machines: How Biology Will Build the Next Technology

Featuring: **Susan Hockfield** (Massachusetts Institute of Technology)

17th

Los Angeles, CA

Los Angeles Members Reception

18th

Seattle, WA

Writing into the Sunset

Featuring: **Annie Proulx**, Short Story Writer and Novelist

For a full list and up-to-date information, please visit www.amacad.org/events.

From the President



David W. Oxtoby

One of the great strengths of the Academy is its ability to bring together members with other experts from many disciplines and professions to explore contemporary challenges, identify solutions, and offer ways forward to advance the public good.

One such contemporary challenge is the tension between the essential values of freedom of expression and of diversity and inclusion. From my perspective, educational institutions have both the opportunity and the responsibility to resolve that tension. One Academy project, the Commission on the Future of Undergraduate Education, addressed this issue in its final report:

As students engage in civic practices and discourse, this will inevitably give rise to competing ideas and positions on a variety of political and social issues. Vigorous debate must remain a bedrock value across undergraduate education. Rather than shielding students from points of view that some might find uncomfortable, educational institutions should actively promote discussion and debate. All members of the campus – faculty, staff, and administrators – have an important role to play by encouraging students to develop the confidence and skills to express themselves; to actively listen to all perspectives; to argue for, defend, and sometimes change their positions based on evidence and logic; and to fully appreciate the democratic principle of allowing citizens to speak their minds without fear of retaliation. Conflict and disagreement are inherent in debates that matter, but the environment within which debate occurs shapes the ability of all participants to engage productively. Colleges and universities need to foster the conditions for the open and constructive exchange of ideas while maintaining a safe environment for all to pursue their education. This is no easy feat, but American campuses are the right places to demonstrate to the wider world how this can be done. Indeed, colleges and universities are one of the few places where diverse people with different views learn to work and reason together.

In May, John Palfrey (Head of School at Phillips Academy Andover and incoming President of the John D. and Catherine T. MacArthur Foundation) spoke at the Academy about diversity, equity, inclusion, and free expression on school campuses. He emphasized that citizens need both coping skills and deliberative skills; they need to know how to work across difference. Educational institutions provide the settings in which to foster these skills – a theme that resonates with the work of the Academy’s Commission on the Future of Undergraduate Education. John Palfrey’s presentation and discussion with Martha Minow are featured in this issue of the *Bulletin*.

Each year, the Academy elects a new class of members, thereby honoring extraordinary achievement and upholding the ideals of research and scholarship, creativity and imagination, intellectual exchange and civil discourse, the relentless pursuit of knowledge in all forms, and its application to policy. This spring the Academy continued that tradition by electing a new group of Fellows and International Honorary Members and by presenting two awards: The Rumford Prize for Physical Science, one of the oldest scientific prizes in the United States, awarded this year to six scientists for the invention and refinement of optogenetics; and the inaugural Award for Excellence in Public Policy and Public Affairs. Edward Boyden’s acceptance remarks on behalf of all the Rumford Prize awardees is featured in this issue of the *Bulletin* as are the remarks of Ernest Moniz, the thirteenth United States Secretary of Energy, accepting the Award for Excellence in Public Policy and Public Affairs.

As detailed in the pages that follow, the Academy continues to pursue the vision established by its founders more than two centuries ago, electing members of high achievement and convening them to address the most pressing challenges facing the nation and the world. I welcome your involvement in our work and hope you will join us in continuing the Academy’s legacy of service.

David W. Oxtoby

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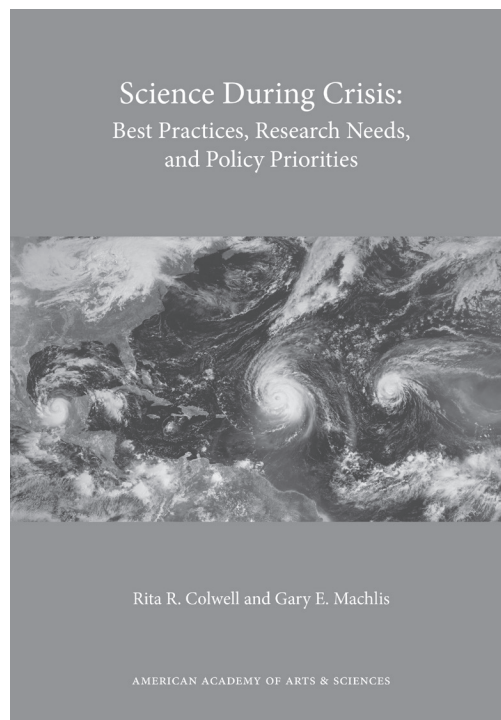
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New Academy Report on Science During Crisis: Why Does it Matter?

Since 2014, the global community has experienced more than 1,600 disaster events causing more than 75,000 deaths and an equivalent of 917 billion USD in damages.¹ Weather and climate disasters – along with natural hazards, such as earthquakes, public health crises, and human-caused contaminant spills – threaten human lives and pose challenges to relief efforts, to the restoration of ecosystems, and to the rebuilding of communities. Science – biological, physical, social, behavioral, cultural, engineering, and medical, as well as interdisciplinary geohealth – plays an important role in response and recovery and can contribute immensely to disaster prevention. For example, science has provided essential data during disasters in the United States, from the Deepwater Horizon oil spill in 2010, to Hurricane Sandy in 2012, to the Zika virus epidemic in 2016, to the Kilauea eruptions of 2018.² And yet, limited attention has been given to the application of science during disasters, including data collection, science communication to and with decision makers and citizens, and the integration of scientists into crisis response teams.

The Report: A Call to Action

To address this area of need, the Academy published *Science During Crisis: Best Practices, Research Needs, and Policy Priorities* on March 19, 2019, as a part of the Public Face of Science initiative, which is funded by the Gordon and Betty Moore Foundation, the Alfred P. Sloan Foundation, and the Rita Allen Foundation. The report suggests best practices for improving the use of science during crisis, topics to include in a research agenda, and policy recommendations for how to improve science during crisis. These recommendations are the result of findings discussed at an April 2017 workshop held at the House of the Academy on best practices for crisis response in the United States. The workshop convened a wide range of experts, including policy-makers, scientists, and representatives from NGOs and was chaired by the co-authors of the report, Rita R. Colwell (Academy member; former Director, National Science Foundation; and Distinguished University Professor, University of Maryland) and Gary E. Machlis (former Science Advisor to the Director of the U.S. National Park Service; and University Professor of Environmental Sustainability, Clemson University).



At its core, the report is a call to action for federal, state, and local agencies, academic institutions, professional organizations, and stakeholders who rely on and use science during crises. With increased population growth and the impact of climate change, future climate and weather disasters are predicted to be more frequent, severe, and deadly. It will be essential, therefore, that science is used to aid in the prevention and recovery of these disasters, and it will be particularly important for the communities most affected. The report has received a very positive reception and the Academy is hopeful that the recommendations will help inform best practices, research needs, and policy priorities.

Outreach in Washington, DC

On March 19, 2019, the Academy released the report at a launch event held at the National Press Club in Washington, DC. The event, covered by CSPAN, featured co-authors Rita Colwell and Gary Machlis, as well as Brad Kieserman, Vice President for Disaster Operations and Logistics at the American Red Cross, and David Oxtoby, President of the American Academy. Mr. Kieserman commented on the importance of the recommendations, in particular the recommendation to employ a science advisor within disaster response organizations. At the event, Academy member Marcia McNutt, President of the National Academy of Sciences (NAS), similarly emphasized the importance of the report and spoke about how the NAS

1. Swiss Re Institute, *Annual Sigma Reports* (Zurich, Switzerland: Swiss Re Institute, 2014–2018).

2. <https://agupubs.onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/full/10.1029/2019GH000207>.

Science During Crisis: Best Practices, Research Needs, and Policy Priorities

Recommendations for improving best practices:

1. Federal, state, and local agencies should have available emergency funds for science during crisis.
2. The emergency response and scientific communities should expand joint training and outreach/education.
3. At the onset of a crisis, a central, curated clearinghouse – developed in advance – should be activated to collect, disseminate, and coordinate relevant scientific information.

Topic areas for recommendations for a research agenda:

1. Establish baseline information;
2. Understand cascading consequences to document and predict the complexity of environmental and social disasters, and to improve response and rebuilding strategies;
3. Address divergent scientific opinions, data, and results during crisis;
4. Communicate science during crisis;
5. Assess how science-based decisions are made.

Policy recommendations to improve science during crisis:

1. State governments should create a Chief Science Officer position to facilitate science during crisis.
2. FEMA should refine language referencing the Science and Technology Advisor position outlined in the 2017 National Incident Management System (NIMS) revision, as well as associated supplemental guidance and tools.
3. Publishers of scientific journals and books should develop and implement policies that improve accessibility of scientific information during a crisis.
4. The scientific community should develop a code of conduct that addresses ethical and professional practices to which scientists engaged in science during crisis would adhere.
5. Federal agencies and academic institutions should ease and/or expedite administrative restrictions on collaboration, information sharing, and data collection to enable more effective science during crisis.

and the American Academy might collaborate in the future to further address this topic.

Following the release event at the Press Club, the report was discussed at a briefing held at the U.S. House of Representatives' Rayburn House Office Building, sponsored by Representative Eddie Bernice Johnson of Texas, Chair of the House Committee on Science, Space, and Technology. The report's authors along with Academy staff also met with the legislative staff for the House Committee on Science, Space, and Technology, the Senate Committee on Homeland Security and Governmental Affairs, and with several individual Senate offices.

Prior to the report's release, the authors and Academy staff briefed senior disaster personnel from several federal agencies, including the White House Office of Science and Technology Policy, the National Oceanic and Atmospheric Administration, the U.S. Geological Survey, the Federal Emergency Management Agency, and the Department of Health and Human Services. Several

officials expressed particular interest in the recommendation for FEMA to “refine language referencing the Science and Technology Advisor position outlined in the 2017 National Incident Management System (NIMS) revision, as well as associated supplemental guidance and tools” and for “[f]ederal agencies and academic institutions [to] ease and/or expedite administrative restrictions on collaboration, information sharing, and data collection to enable more effective science during crisis.”

Additional Post-Release Activities

Following the release of *Science During Crisis*, the report was featured in an editorial, “Science During Crisis” published in April 2019 in *Science*, the journal of the American Association for the Advancement of Science (AAAS), and in a commentary, “The Role of GeoHealth in Science During Crisis,” published in May 2019 in *GeoHealth*, a journal of the American Geophysical Union.



Gary Machlis provided an overview of the recommendations in *Science During Crisis* at the release event held at the National Press Club on March 19, 2019.

Gary Machlis presented the report's findings at a June 2019 workshop on Multi-Hazard Data Science, held at the University of California, Davis and co-sponsored by the University of California system and the Association of Pacific Rim Universities hub at Tohoku University in Sendai, Japan. The report will also be featured in sessions at the upcoming International Conference on Disaster Management and Human Health Risk: Reducing Risk, Improving Outcomes in Ancona, Italy, in September 2019, and at the 2020 AAAS Annual Meeting in Seattle in February 2020.

Science During Crisis: Best Practices, Research Needs, and Policy Priorities is available on the Academy's website at <https://www.amacad.org/publication/science-during-crisis>. ■

Water in Our Future

On June 19–20, 2019, the Academy convened an Exploratory Meeting in Boston, MA, on “Water in Our Future.” The participants included water program officials, water policy experts, research scientists, and scholars in the humanities and sciences from the United States and around the world. The meeting was organized to help identify key questions related to water security and to inform how a potential Academy project might make a contribution in this area.

Academy members **Geraldine Richmond** (Presidential Chair and Professor of Chemistry, University of Oregon) and **Allen Isaacman** (Regents Professor of History, University of Minnesota, and Extraordinary Professor, University of the Western Cape) chaired the meeting, which focused on three topics: Basin Development and Impact Assessments; Water Availability and Safety in Urban and Rural Areas; and Large Dams and Ecological and Social Impacts. The meeting included breakout sessions in which small groups of participants discussed each topic.

Basin Development and Impact Assessments

Jackie King (Academy member and Extraordinary Professor at the Institute for Water Studies, University of the Western Cape) opened the workshop with a discussion on basin development and impact assessments. She presented the three pillars of sustainable development: ecological integrity, social equity, and economic wealth. Impact assessments, most commonly in the form of Environmental Impact Assessments (EIAs), but also including Environmental Flow Assessments (EFAs), Cumulative Impact Assessments (CIAs), and Strategic Environmental Assessments (SEAs), are a key tool for promoting the pillars of ecological integrity and social equity. Professor King proposed that the scale of water-resource developments is now so large that detailed environmental and social structure assessments are “urgently needed as an early input to decision-making.”

Many related issues were raised in the ensuing breakout discussions. Participants in one group discussed the importance of performing impact assessments before committing to dam construction instead of alongside approved dam construction. They proposed that the Academy could assess case studies of good management and work to increase data sharing as a means to a more systematic assessment system. Bringing diverse stakeholders to the table was a consistent theme, including financial stakeholders and marginalized voices. A second group was concerned about retrospective work on how good impact assessments typically are in their predictions. This group wondered whether it would be better to move from a system of economies of scale to a system of economies of flexibility, in which the ability to delay or adjust construction would be more valuable. Finally, a third group identified

several key areas of improvement in impact assessments, such as increased transparency of how they are made; increased, independent funding for early assessments; transboundary input from all affected countries; and the increased involvement of international organizations at early stages of impact assessment.

Water Availability and Safety in Urban and Rural Areas

Rita Colwell (Academy member and Distinguished University Professor, University of Maryland) and **Antar Jutla** (Associate Professor of Civil and Environmental Engineering, West Virginia University) spoke about water availability and safety in urban and rural areas. Professor Colwell discussed issues regarding the spread of waterborne diseases as well as the challenges of delivery of safe water for use. The primary challenge is to supply adequate safe drinking water to the 7 billion people living on the planet now – and the 10 billion people who will soon be on the planet. Meeting this challenge will require major investments in civil infrastructure construction and maintenance as well as improved strategies to working with diverse cultures and understandings of water. For example, Professor Jutla discussed work in which researchers were able to predict a cholera outbreak in Yemen four weeks ahead of time based on prior outbreak patterns and their analysis of complex social and meteorological factors.

Following the breakout group discussions, there was consensus around interest in a future Academy project on clean drinking water in the United States and to bring in some international cases for comparison. Areas of interest included issues of lead, plastic, and agricultural contaminants, as well as issues regarding septic tanks. Attendees emphasized the importance of thinking beyond diagnosis and identifying actional steps for governments and people, especially as climate change and population growth generate further instability.

Large Dams and Ecological and Social Impacts

Allen Isaacman spoke about large dams and their ecological and social impacts. Isaacman acknowledged the many benefits of dams for humanity but also highlighted the challenges related to dam development, management, and decommissioning,



Left to right: **Annette Huber-Lee** (Stockholm Environment Institute), **Sylvia Tramberend** (International Institute for Applied Systems Analysis), **David Oxtoby** (American Academy), and **Muchapara Musemwa** (University of Witwatersrand, Johannesburg)

especially those that disproportionately affect the world's rural poor and women. As irregular water distribution throughout the world leads to water being increasingly contested, privatized, and commoditized, Isaacman argued that the twenty-first century will be a century of struggle over water rather than petroleum, and that inequities in water distribution will lead to increased levels of tension and conflict.

Following breakout discussions, participants discussed the major challenges of large dams in a new era, both regarding construction of new dams and management and decommissioning of existing dams. Many of these new contexts will require much more research to fully understand, including climate change; rapidly increasing construction; changes in active management capabilities; a shifting funding landscape; and increased numbers of transnational concerns.

Emerging Themes and Next Steps

Many of the participants expressed alarm at the rapid pace of dam-building and about the ecological and social impacts of this construction, especially in a context in which impact assessments are not fully robust or used early in the process of commissioning a new dam. In addition, the participants raised concern about the global lack of access to clean water in many locations, including portions of the United States. All of the discussions at the meeting will help to clarify and shape future research and policy development regarding water in our future. ■

The exploratory meeting on Water in Our Future was made possible through a generous gift from John E. and Louise Henry Bryson and by additional support from William Rutter.

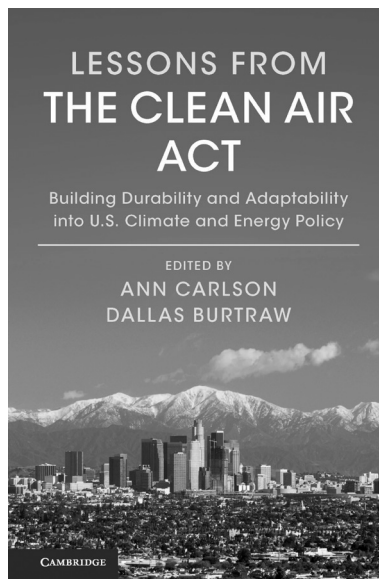
Lessons from the Clean Air Act: Building Durability and Adaptability into U.S. Climate and Energy Policy

In September 1955, Los Angeles recorded its worst ozone level ever. At the time, the *LA Times* reported stories of motor-cycle messengers donning surplus WWII gas masks as they moved about the city. The city's skyline would disappear with the arrival of each September heat. The extreme pollution drove the creation of the Clean Air Act (CAA), first passed by the United States Congress in 1963 and amended in 1970 and 1990. Over five decades, the CAA has become a venerable, living institution that has been highly successful in improving the environment around the country. Its success results from its durability and flexibility, two concepts that often seem to be in opposition yet may be essential to establishing successful climate and energy policy.

A new edited volume from the Academy, *Lessons from the Clean Air Act: Building Durability and Adaptability into U.S. Climate and Energy Policy* (Cambridge University Press, 2019) examines the Clean Air Act's successes – and failures – and identifies lessons for improving future climate and energy policy-making in the United States at the federal and state levels. The chapters, authored by seven prominent scholars of climate and energy policy, emphasize how policy solutions will need to be sufficiently *durable* to produce emissions reductions over the course of decades, long after the end of the political coalition that led to their adoption.

But durability alone will not suffice. Policies will need to be *adaptable* to new scientific, technological, and economic information. Additionally, to achieve the largest possible reduction in emissions at the lowest possible cost, policy will need to be *flexible* to allow regulators and regulated entities to meet targets by a variety of approaches, informed by their own knowledge and experience. The contributors to *Lessons from the Clean Air Act* argue that well-designed policy should reflect and account for all three characteristics simultaneously.

On June 10, 2019, the Academy, in partnership with Resources for the Future, marked the release of *Lessons from the Clean Air Act* with an event held at the Carnegie Institution for Science in Washington, DC. The book's editors and contributors discussed how the conclusions presented in the publication could be used to guide the creation of effective energy policies at all levels of government. Ann Carlson (University of California, Los Angeles School of Law), coeditor of *Lessons from the Clean Air Act*, outlined the importance of durability, adaptability, and flexibility across the five book chapters. She also highlighted an additional attribute of successful policy implementation: independent agency discretion, whereby Congress delegates some authority to an expert agency, such as the Environmental Protection Agency, to allow a policy to be regularly



updated without the need for new legislation. Such agency discretion underpins the adaptability and flexibility that is a critical part of the CAA's success.

Coeditor Dallas Burtraw (Resources for the Future) stressed the important role of regulatory process in agency discretion, saying, "it is not so important to legislate a number as it is to legislate a process" for developing new policies. Future climate and energy policy will need to be updated periodically to account for new technologies, unanticipated effects of global warming, or unexpected success in bringing down emissions. While it might be politically necessary to set a specific numerical emissions target through legislation, any such number may become irrelevant over time, as happened with sulfur dioxide (SO₂) cap and trade targets under the Clean Air Act.

Book contributor Barry Rabe (University of Michigan) spoke about the role of federalism in the durability and adaptability of tailpipe emissions standards under the CAA. Most notably, the state of California has the exclusive ability to apply for waivers that allow the state to establish emissions standards that are stricter than federal regulations. Even though the federal government maintains regulatory authority that preempts policies enacted by all other states, California's large share of the automobile market gives it the power to drive emissions reductions faster than might be possible without the waiver program. For future climate policy, the California waivers could provide a model whereby federal policy imposes some form of preemption on a national basis yet provides a leveraged role for a state to push beyond federal standards.

Former U.S. Congressmen Henry Waxman and Phil Sharp recounted stories of amending the Clean Air Act and failed attempts to pass comprehensive climate legislation. Waxman stated that the 1990 Amendments were only designed to cover a period of approximately ten years, with the assumption that they would be amended



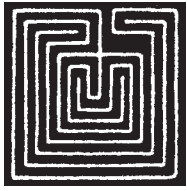
Former U.S. Congressmen Phil Sharp and Henry Waxman

again within that timeframe. He endorsed the idea of delegating authority to an expert agency but cautioned that making decisions at the legislative level requires bringing allies onboard, including both Democrats and Republicans. Waxman said, “the key is changing the political dynamic, and until that happens all the good and creative ideas in the world won’t make much of a difference.”

The final session of the event was a panel discussion moderated by book contributor Joseph E. Aldy (Harvard Kennedy School) and it included climate and energy policy experts Jonathan Z. Cannon (University of Virginia School of Law), Megan Ceronky (Center for Applied Environmental Law and Policy), Jeffrey Holmstead (Bracewell LLP), and Vickie Patton (Environmental Defense Fund). Patton explained how changes to the Clean Air Act came about in part through action made possible by the rule of law, including both citizen and state lawsuits. Such mechanisms have been essential to the success of the Clean Air Act and will be a critical component of any future climate policy. Aldy responded to the idea of agency delegation by noting that a central climate policy proposal is a carbon tax, and that tax policy is entirely legislatively driven. Additionally, it is unclear how the implementation of a comprehensive carbon pricing regime, such as a carbon tax, would be divided between the Treasury Department, the Internal Revenue Service, and the Environmental Protection Agency. Holmstead countered that the costs of implementing the CAA have been too high, and that in the future industry will not support legislation that delegates significant authority to the Environmental Protection Agency.

Lessons from the Clean Air Act is the final publication from the Academy’s Alternative Energy Future project, cochaired by Academy members Maxine Savitz (Honeywell, Inc, retired) and Granger Morgan (Carnegie Mellon University). The project has examined the legal, social, and economic factors that can either inhibit or facilitate transformative change in the U.S. energy system. Beginning with the 2011 Academy report *Beyond Technology: Strengthening Energy Policy Through Social Science*, and continuing with the publication of two *Dædalus* issues and workshops co-organized with the U.S. Department of Energy and the New York State Energy Research and Development Authority (NYSERDA), the Alternative Energy Future project has highlighted the value of social and behavioral sciences for developing effective energy policy and programs, and recommended strategies for enhancing collaboration between scholars and policy-makers.

Lessons from the Clean Air Act: Building Durability and Adaptability into U.S. Climate and Energy Policy was made possible by the Alfred P. Sloan Foundation, which supported the research with generous funding. Additionally, the Kresge Foundation funded a series of workshops that allowed for review of the book’s conclusions by scholars and state and local policy-makers. The book is available for purchase from Cambridge University Press at <https://www.cambridge.org/us/academic/subjects/law/environmental-law/lessons-clean-air-act-building-durability-and-adaptability-us-climate-and-energy-policy/>, and an executive summary is available from the Academy at <https://www.amacad.org/publication/lessons-clean-air-act>. ■



Dædalus Explores Processes of Inequality

Rising inequality is one of our most pressing social concerns. And it is not simply that some are advantaged while others are not, but that structures of inequality are self-reinforcing and cumulative; they become durable. The societal arrangements that in the past have produced more equal economic outcomes and social opportunities – such as expanded mass education, access to social citizenship and its benefits, and wealth redistribution – have often been attenuated and supplanted by processes that are instead inequality-inducing.

Two claims develop out of these conversations: First, the need to explore linkages, both temporal and across levels of analysis, that may illuminate the sources of durable inequality. And second, the need to focus on relatively underexplored aspects of contemporary social inequality: more specifically, the relationship between distribution and recognition as intertwined dynamics producing and reproducing inequality.

The Summer 2019 issue of *Dædalus*, “Inequality as a Multidimensional Process,” guest edited by Michèle Lamont (Harvard University) and Paul Pierson (University of California, Berkeley), draws on a wide range of expertise to better understand and examine how economic conditions are linked, across time and levels of analysis, to other social, psychological, political, and cultural processes that can either counteract or reinforce durable inequalities. The essays also provide an agenda for future research and identify significant policy implications.

The volume features the following essays:

Inequality Generation & Persistence as Multidimensional Processes: An Interdisciplinary Agenda by Michèle Lamont (Harvard University) & Paul Pierson (University of California, Berkeley)

The Rise of Opportunity Markets: How Did It Happen & What Can We Do? by David B. Grusky (Stanford University), Peter A. Hall (Harvard University) & Hazel Rose Markus (Stanford University)

This essay describes the rise of “opportunity markets” that allow well-off parents to buy opportunity for their children. A recommitment to equalizing opportunities could be pursued by dismantling opportunity markets, by providing low-income parents with the means to participate in them, or by allocating educational opportunities via separate competitions among parents of similar means. Grusky, Hall, and Markus advocate for the latter approach, which would not require mobilizing support for a massive redistributive project.

“Superstar Cities” & the Generation of Durable Inequality by Patrick Le Galès (Sciences Po; National Centre for Scientific Research) & Paul Pierson (University of California, Berkeley)

The striking economic agglomerations emerging in affluent democracies are generating, reproducing, and expanding inequalities. Access to urban areas – the site of educational, labor, and marriage market advantages – is contingent upon access to housing, which is both a repository for wealth and a magnifier of wealth. This essay examines the capacities of four cities (New York, San Francisco, London, and Paris) to limit or ameliorate these new sources of diverging opportunity.

Membership without Social Citizenship? Deservingness & Redistribution as Grounds for Equality by Irene Bloemraad (University of California, Berkeley), Will Kymlicka (Queen’s University, Canada), Michèle Lamont (Harvard University) & Leanne S. Son Hing (University of Guelph, Canada)

Western societies have experienced a broadening of inclusive membership – legal, interpersonal, and cultural – at the same time they have experienced increased tensions around social citizenship and who “deserves” public assistance. This essay builds a layered explanatory framework highlighting group identity and threat for one’s beliefs and actions; cultural repertoires and notions of national solidarity; and ways elites, power, and institutions affect notions of membership and deservingness.

Failure to Respond to Rising Income Inequality: Processes That Legitimize Growing Disparities by Leanne S. Son Hing (University of Guelph, Canada), Anne E. Wilson (Wilfrid Laurier University, Canada), Peter Gourevitch (University of California, San Diego), Jaslyn English (Wilfrid Laurier University, Canada) & Parco Sin (University of Guelph, Canada)

Why is there not more public outcry in the face of rising income inequality? This essay responds to this question by considering social-psychological processes that dampen dissent, contending that rising inequality can activate the very psychological processes that stifle outcry. These, in turn, cause people to be blind to the true extent of inequality, to legitimize rising disparities, and to reject redistribution as an effective solution.



USA. El Paso, Texas. 2015.

The Difficulties of Combating Inequality in Time by Jane Jenson (Université de Montréal), Francesca Polletta (University of California, Irvine) & Paige Raibmon (University of British Columbia)

Disadvantaged groups face an impossible choice in their efforts to win policies capable of diminishing inequality: whether to emphasize their sameness to or difference from the advantaged group. This essay analyzes three cases in which reformers sought to avoid that dilemma and assert groups' sameness *and* difference in novel ways: in U.S. policy on biomedical research, in the European Union's initiatives on gender equality, and in Canadian law on Indigenous rights. In each case, however, the reforms adopted ultimately reproduced the sameness/difference dilemma rather than transcended it, due to, as the authors conclude, the failure to historicize inequality.

The volume also includes three commentaries:

Political Inequality, "Real" Public Preferences, Historical Comparisons & Axes of Disadvantage by Jennifer L. Hochschild (Harvard University)

This commentary considers the public's commitment to reducing inequality, the importance of political power in explaining and reducing social and economic inequities, and the possible incommensurability of activists' and policy-makers' vantage points or job descriptions.

New Angles on Inequality by Katherine S. Newman (University of Massachusetts, Boston)

This commentary considers two critical questions that arise in the volume: What explains the eruption of nationalist, xenophobic, and far-right politics and the ability of extremists to gain a toe hold in the political arena greater now than at any time since World War II? And how did the social distance between haves and have-nots harden into geographic separation that makes it increasingly difficult for those attempting to secure jobs, housing, and mobility-insuring schools to break through?

Process-Policy & Outcome-Policy: Rethinking How to Address Poverty & Inequality by Vijayendra Rao (World Bank)

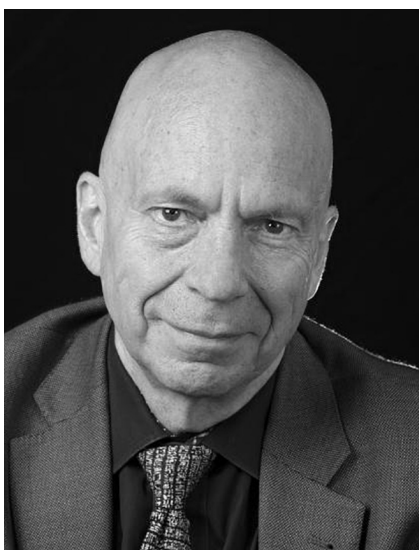
Process matters not just for diagnosing the causes of inequality, but also for how policy is shaped. The dominant paradigms for policy-making – neoliberalism, neo-Keynesianism, and neopaternalism – largely address inequality via “outcome-policies” that manipulate the levers of government and draw on randomized trials and “nudges” to change behavior, in a manner that is easy to measure but also easy to reverse. This commentary makes the case for a fourth paradigm, *reflectivism*, that shifts structural inequalities in an incremental manner, resulting in more lasting change.

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Morton L. Mandel Public Lecture

A Conversation about Frederick Douglass

On April 1, 2019, the American Academy and the Whitney and Betty MacMillan Center for International and Area Studies at Yale presented their first joint public program, which featured a conversation between **David Blight** (Class of 1954 Professor of American History and Director of the Gilder Lehrman Center for the Study of Slavery, Resistance, and Abolition at Yale University) and **Robert Stepto** (John M. Schiff Professor of English and Professor of African American Studies and American Studies at Yale University). The program, which served as the Academy's Morton L. Mandel Public Lecture, included a welcome from **Ian Shapiro** (Sterling Professor of Political Science and Henry R. Luce Director of the MacMillan Center at Yale University). **Crystal Feimster** (Associate Professor of African American Studies, History, and American Studies at Yale University) moderated the program. An edited version of the discussion appears below.

**Ian Shapiro**

Ian Shapiro is Sterling Professor of Political Science at Yale University, where he also serves as Henry R. Luce Director of the MacMillan Center for International and Area Studies. He was elected a Fellow of the American Academy in 2000.

I am delighted to welcome you here today for this joint venture between the MacMillan Center and the American Academy of Arts and Sciences. Let me say a few words about the American Academy. It was founded in 1780 during the American Revolution by John Adams, James Bowdoin, John Hancock, and others who helped establish

The Academy's founders believed that a strong republic must be grounded in open discourse, engage scholarship, and promote an informed and active citizenry.

the new nation. The Academy's founders believed that a strong republic must be grounded in open discourse, engage scholarship, and promote an informed and active citizenry. Over time, the American Academy's membership has expanded to include leaders in all fields and disciplines, many of whom work together through the Academy to address topics of both timely and abiding concern. The Academy now has about five thousand members in the United States, including two hundred or so in the New Haven area. The Academy holds meetings around the country and conducts research projects out of its home offices in Cambridge, Massachusetts, in the areas of the arts and the humanities, American institutions, science and technology, education, and global security.

Tonight's program is part of the Academy's Morton L. Mandel Public Lecture series, named in honor of the Jack, Joseph, and Morton Mandel Foundation's generous support of the Academy. Our event was organized by the Academy's New Haven Program Committee, a group of Yale-based

Academy members that convenes in partnership with the MacMillan Center periodic discussions and research presentations on issues of importance. It is my pleasure now to introduce our moderator, Crystal Feimster, who will in turn introduce the panelists and lead us into our discussion this evening. Crystal is an Associate Professor in the departments of African American Studies, History, and American Studies. So welcome again and thank you, Crystal.



Crystal Feimster

Crystal Feimster is Associate Professor of African American Studies, History, and American Studies at Yale University. In 2009 – 2010, she was an Associate Scholar at the American Academy.

Good afternoon and welcome. I want to begin by thanking the New Haven Program Committee of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences and Yale's MacMillan Center, especially Frances Rosenbluth and Ian Shapiro, for helping to organize this event. I have the honor and the great pleasure of introducing two of my colleagues, Professor Robert Stepto and Professor David Blight.

Robert Stepto is the John M. Schiff Professor of English at Yale, and a member of the Yale faculty in African American Studies and American Studies. He is the author of many publications, including *A Home Elsewhere: Reading African American Classics in the Age of Obama*; *Blue As the Lake: A Personal Geography*; and *From Behind the Veil: A Study of Afro-American Narrative*. This is Professor Stepto's last semester teaching at Yale. We celebrated him about a year ago, and many

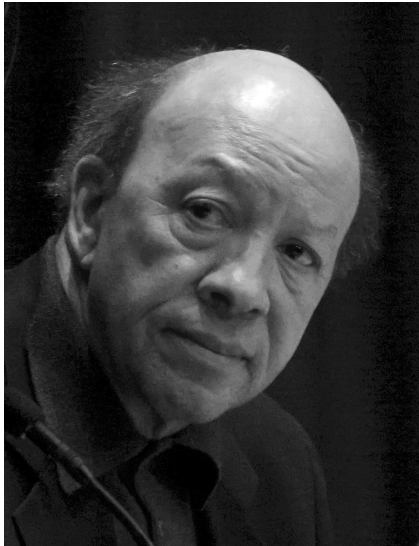
How did Douglass become a writer, what were his style and motivations, and how did he contribute to American literature more specifically?

of his students came back for that celebration. I have to say that my office is on the fourth floor with Robert and it is going to be quite sad when he is not moving through those halls. I'm hoping he is not going to give up his office any time soon.

David Blight is Class of 1954 Professor of American History and Director of the Gilder Lehrman Center for the Study of Slavery, Resistance, and Abolition at Yale University. He is the author of numerous books, including *A Slave No More: Two Men Who Escaped to Freedom*; *Race and Reunion: The Civil War in American Memory*; *Beyond the Battlefield: Race, Memory, and the American Civil War*; and, most recently, *Frederick Douglass: Prophet of Freedom*, which has been awarded the Gilder Lehrman Lincoln Prize and the Bancroft Prize. This evening we want to have a conversation about Frederick Douglass as a writer, literary scholar, and artist. As Professor Blight's mammoth biography of Douglass makes clear, there is much to discuss, ranging from Douglass's three autobiographies and the novella *Heroic Slave*, to his hundreds of short-form political editorials and thousands of speeches. In *Frederick Douglass: Prophet of Freedom*, Professor Blight writes, "The reason we remember Douglass is because he found 'the word.'" And as Professor Stepto has written, "Somehow, Douglass intuitively knew that to write and craft his story as opposed to telling it was to compose and author himself."

I would like to begin our conversation by talking about what made Douglass such a brilliant writer; in particular, how did Douglass become a writer, what were his style and motivations, and how did he contribute to American literature more specifically?

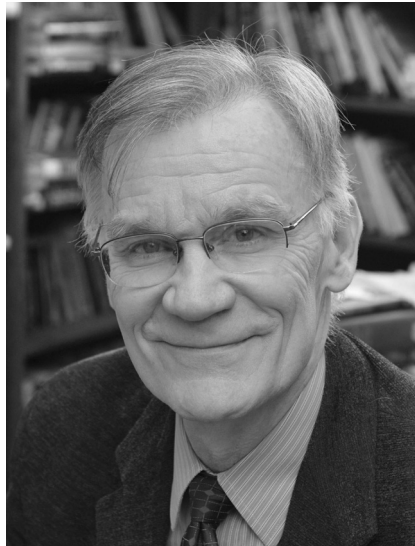
Both Professor Blight and Professor Stepto can speak as literary scholars and historians, but I also know that they are interdisciplinary scholars, working at the intersection of African American studies, history, English, and American studies. Let me turn things over to them, and they can choose to engage that question however they like.



Robert Stepto

Robert Stepto is John M. Schiff Professor of English at Yale University, where he is also a member of the faculty in African American Studies and American Studies.

It seems to me that Douglass was an extraordinary writer because of his relationship to words, and I am putting it in that sense because we are talking about someone creating himself through writing but also through the spoken word. One of the things that I have been thinking about particularly after reading David's latest book is Douglass's performance of words: performance in terms of writing text, but also performance in terms of the speeches he gave at anti-slavery rallies, in churches, and so forth. One thing that is very clear to me is that Douglass got a lot from biblical stories and biblical language. He found images, metaphors, rhythms, and so forth. Certainly, one thing that he got from the Bible were the various prophetic stories. I hope David will touch on this since he has written about it and the ways in which Douglass was a prophet through his mastery of words.



David Blight

David Blight is Class of 1954 Professor of American History and Director of the Gilder Lehrman Center for the Study of Slavery, Resistance, and Abolition at Yale University. He was elected a Fellow of the American Academy in 2012.

I started reading Robert's essays on Douglass when I was in graduate school. He wrote one essay in particular that I quote in my edition of the *Narrative* that showed that the text was what Robert called "a story of ascendancy" – going from slavery to freedom – and that the rhythm of the book, the movement of the book, the creation of the self in the book, and the character called Frederick Douglass were always ascending. And that is Douglass's great skill as the manipulative autobiographer that he was, always imposing the self on us that he most wants us to use.

As Robert just said, Douglass is all about words. We would not be talking about him if it were not for the words – millions of them in thousands of speeches and in three autobiographies. If you are a biographer, never trust anybody who writes three autobiographies because they are always

there in front of you, imposing themselves on you.

For historians, there is a lot to consider. We might discuss how he came by his literacy. He seized literacy as a boy. And then as an early teen, he discovers the *Columbian Orator*, a book of speeches but also especially a manual of oratory that he has in his hands by the time he is twelve years old. This is the most important possession he ever had in slavery. He gains a further kind of literacy from gathering anything he could find to read and then by listening to sermons. He learns a type of sermon language, that King James language, as a kid first and then as a teenager – he names four churches in Baltimore that he attends while he is still a teenage slave. He not only seized literacy, he weaponized words.

But it took him time. He doesn't come out of slavery a fully formed orator and certainly not a fully formed writer – that takes time for anybody. But he was proud of himself as a writer. In fact, there is a letter that he wrote about his first published article. It is in the late fall of 1844, he is just about to start writing the *Narrative* in his little cottage up in Lynn, Massachusetts. He writes to an editor who has just accepted a short article of his, and the letter ends with a line that goes something like, "Oh, but to write for a book," which was his way of saying, "I wonder if I could write a book." I am sure many of us in this room will never forget writing your first book and what it looks like and the altar you made for it in your home or your apartment – that's what I did and still do. But, oh to write for a book. And here was a very young man, twenty-six years old, a former slave. Black people were not supposed to be people of literacy, people of literature. "Could I write a book?" Could he ever. And that winter, he sits down and writes the greatest slave narrative.

Robert Stepto

You are correct that he was very clear that it wasn't enough to be able to read; you needed to be able to write as well. He wrote that essay in 1844, then the first *Narrative* comes out in 1845, and soon thereafter he started talking about a newspaper. And that came before *My Bondage and My Freedom*. The writing was very important in that regard. I also want to mention that he was also creating himself, if you will, through his speaking. One of the things that has been on my mind lately – and I'm really surprised I hadn't thought about it earlier – is that Douglass is speaking and writing, performing words, and creating himself. And when I say perform, I am also talking about how he dressed himself, which we know something about by looking at his photographs. He is doing all of this during the period in which minstrelsy is being created and is coming about in this country.

Think about how he was presenting himself and the portrayal of race, which is different from what was in the minstrel shows –

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that was something to see and something to contrast. The first minstrel group, the Virginia Minstrels, was created in 1843. Now, connect that date with when Douglass was writing his first autobiography in 1845, speaking in churches in New Bedford and elsewhere, and creating the newspaper.

Let me add a couple of other things. We learned in *My Bondage and My Freedom* that sometime after his mother passed away, he discovered that she was literate. What does

Where does this brilliance with oratory come from? He's not born that way, but he is already doing this while he's a slave. He takes his *Columbian Orator* . . . and uses this manual to teach his buddies on the Freeland Farm, one of the places he was hired out to on Sunday afternoons when he was seventeen or eighteen years old. They would go off in a brush arbor and he would teach them oratory, and then they would recite. So, he was already practicing.

that mean for him not only to discover that an African American was literate, but that that person was his mother? What would it mean to him on some level that he is part of the next literate generation, that he was not some kind of anomaly?

Let me mention another elder who was important in this story, whom he describes in *My Bondage and My Freedom*. That person is Uncle Lawson, a black man he meets

to make a living. He was a Bible fanatic and yet he wasn't fully literate. When he discovered this teenage kid who could read well, according to Douglass, he sat him down for hours and they would read out loud the Old Testament. Douglass doesn't understand the Book of Job, if that is what he's reading. He doesn't understand Isaiah or Jeremiah, but he's reading, and the cadence of that language is getting into his head as he reads with this old man.

Let's talk a little more about the *Orator*. Where does this brilliance with oratory come from? Again, he's not born that way, but he is already doing this while he's a slave. He takes his *Columbian Orator*, this amazing book, this compilation put together in 1797 by Caleb Bingham, a Connecticut schoolmaster who ended up at Dartmouth and then in Boston. He published *The School Reader* in 1797. It went through twenty-eight or so editions over seventy-five years. It was even published: there is a Maryland edition that was published in the slave state. Most of the speeches are out of the Enlightenment tradition. There are some speeches from antiquity – Demosthenes is in there; Cicero is in there – but it is mostly speeches from the British and American Enlightenment about things like liberty and equality. The book has a twenty-page introduction

when he gets to Baltimore. One of the things I suggested in writing about the *Narrative* was that in meeting Uncle Lawson, this was an opportunity for him to find a black father and to go to church with that black father and to be literate with that black father.

David Blight

In *Bondage*, he calls him Father Lawson. That is terribly important. He encounters this Charles Lawson, who drove a cart to try

Douglass writes and speaks in a language that sometimes just hits you between the eyes, with a metaphor, a single sentence, or a paragraph that transmits you somewhere. You cannot read Douglass and not see the Bible, especially the Hebrew prophets.

that is a manual on oratory. It is a kind of how-to. It tells you how to gesture with your arms, your shoulders, and your neck and then how to modulate your voice from lower to higher tones. It tells you how to build to crescendos, and it has a whole section probably from Aristotle about how the orator must reach a moral message, must meet the heart and the spirituality of the audience. Douglass used this manual to teach his buddies on the Freeland Farm, one of the places he was hired out to on Sunday afternoons when he was seventeen or eighteen years old. They would go off in a brush arbor and he would teach them oratory, and then they would recite. So, he was already practicing. But what does every kid want? Every kid wants to learn what you are good at so you can be better than the other kids. Dribble behind your back or in his case it was oratory. By the time he comes out of slavery at age twenty, he has already practiced this. What is he doing in New Bedford by the time he is twenty-one? The local AME church has him preaching and that is where he gets discovered two years later by some Garrisonian abolitionist from Boston. “Boy, there’s this young black guy down at that AME church in New Bedford. You got to go see this kid.” He is still not fully formed, but when he does get hired and paid meager wages in 1841 by William Lloyd Garrison’s organization, he goes out on the anti-slavery circuit, and he is twenty-three years old. He is on the road with this troop of abolitionists and his most famous speech in

those first few years is a speech that became known as “The Slaveholder’s Sermon.” This was Douglass mimicking a slaveholding preacher, using those passages from the Bible: slaves be loyal to your masters and so on and so forth. He would perform. He would mimic accents. He would prance around the stage, and it was a good performance. Abolitionist meetings would always be organized around or against a resolution, whatever the six resolutions were that day, and frequently – I have numerous press accounts of this – someone in the audience shouts out, “Fred, do the sermon.” And he performs the sermon and the audiences would be weeping and laughing and clapping, and that is how he takes the abolitionist oratorical platform by storm. At the beginning, he seems to be second fiddle to Abby Kelley, who was the first real woman star of the abolitionist circuit, but within a couple of years, he becomes the marquee and it would sometimes be a problem because other abolitionists didn’t always like to appear with him because he was just too good.

Crystal Feimster

Professor Stepto, if I remember your research correctly, you make the point about the shift: from performing the abolitionist work to writing the book. You make the argument about the power of the written word and what he does with that written word that he is not able to do in those abolitionist performances. I am wondering if you could speak to what was at stake for him not

just to stick with those performances but to have the written word on the page.

Robert Stepto

Let me begin by mentioning and perhaps reminding you that a famous woman in his autobiographies, an abolitionist, came up to him and said in so many words, “You know, you need to sound more like a slave. You’re going too far. Get a little more of the plantation into your speech and all of that.” If I’m not mistaken, he admits hearing that specifically from a Garrisonian and I’m sure that that had something to do with why he eventually moved away from the Garrisonians. There were lots of reasons, including political reasons and so forth, but I would say, among other things, that part of his response to people saying to him, “Why don’t you sound more like a slave?” was first, he wasn’t going to do that, and second, he was going to write, which most slaves were not doing.

Crystal Feimster

Professor Blight, one thing that you mentioned is the business about Douglass being attracted not just to the Bible, but specifically to the prophets, to Isaiah and Jeremiah and so forth, and having them serve as models for him in certain respects. Could you talk about Douglass and prophecy?

David Blight

One of my problems in writing the book *Frederick Douglass: Prophet of Freedom* over many years was coming to some sense of confidence with using the word prophet. “Prophet” is a big word and you don’t throw it around loosely. Douglass writes and speaks in a language that sometimes just hits you between the eyes, with a metaphor, a single sentence, or a paragraph that transmits you somewhere. You cannot read Douglass and not see the Bible, especially the Hebrew prophets. With a few exceptions, his speeches always have

something from Isaiah, Ezekiel, Jeremiah, or Amos; something from the New Testament, but usually from the Old Testament as well, where Douglass learned his storytelling. The cadences of his voice are in the stories of the Old Testament. He made Exodus his own story, but this hardly makes him unique. Americans have been doing this ever since they have been Americans.

I don't have any formal theological training and I had wished many times in the course of working on this book that I could get a year off to do nothing but read theology. So, I asked a few theologian friends what I should read on the Old Testament. One friend said to read Abraham Heschel, especially his great book called *The Prophets*, written in the 1950s. The first chapter has a hundred different ways of defining a prophet. Heschel's template, of course, is the Hebrew prophets, but he was also reflecting on modern prophets. What Heschel helped me understand is that a prophet is not just somebody who predicts; prophets are often wrong. Prophets are human and they speak in words one octave higher than most of us can comprehend, and they find those words and the right timing and place to shatter us.

There are many other definitions that I took from Heschel as well as from Walter Brueggemann and Robert Alter, who wrote a terrific book about how the King James version of the Bible is the American text of the nineteenth century that many American writers – think of Melville, Lincoln, and others – owed their prose style to. Douglass would sometimes use direct biblical quotations, sometimes just paraphrases, and sometimes just single phrases from the quotations. What Douglass found in the Old Testament was storytelling and metaphor, as well as ancient authority and power for the claims he is trying to make about this American experiment, which is failing. One of the biggest themes in my biography is how steep Douglass was in the Bible and

how his rhetoric and politics owe so much to the storytelling of the Old Testament. At one point, I even did a survey of which book of the Testament got used the most in his major speeches. Isaiah always comes up first, maybe because it is the longest book in the Bible, and Jeremiah is second.

Douglass would use the famous line in Isaiah, "There's no rest for the wicked," which comes out in different ways, forms, and uses. He used that over and over again when talking about slaveholders.

Robert Stepto

You have just reminded me of something that I read in your book: "For black Americans, Exodus is always contemporary, history always past and present." That passage really struck me because Exodus certainly was always contemporary for Douglass, but, in fact, it is contemporary for us now.

What Douglass found in the Old Testament was storytelling and metaphor, as well as ancient authority and power for the claims he is trying to make about this American experiment, which is failing.

David Blight

He is an exiled son, and when he thinks he has transcended that, he learns that he hasn't.

Robert Stepto

Another thing that struck me is when you write about how Douglass employed, especially in the second autobiography, all manner of blood metaphors for the nature of African American history. Consider such phrases as "history that might be traced with a trail of blood" or, and here I am quoting Douglass directly, "Slavery put thorns under feet already bleeding." The blood metaphors go on, and it is very graphic.

David Blight

In the first autobiography of 1845, he portrays a fight he has with Edward Covey, this overseer to whom he's hired out, and it is the pivot of the book, no question. He spends about eleven pages on it in the *Narrative*. He spends thirty-five pages on it in *Bondage and Freedom* ten years later when he is thirty-seven years old and in the middle of the political crisis over slavery. He has broken from the moral Garrisonians, he has embraced the politics of anti-slavery, and he has even begun to embrace the possible uses of violence. And in the two pages in which he actually describes the combat with Edward Covey, there are fifteen uses of the word blood. Douglass is using the autobiography to attack not just the hypocrisy of the American nation, but its very existence. And he doesn't know what is coming. He is a prophet who cannot predict any

better than the next, but blood metaphors are all over that book. He is desperate by the middle of the 1850s for solutions that are out of grasp and yet he uses the literary form. He makes a literary act into a political act through autobiography as well as or better than any American who wrote a memoir in the nineteenth century, and perhaps any American who has ever written a memoir.

Robert Stepto

One of the things that occurs to me as you remind us of all these things is that Douglass, as time went by, learned a certain meaning and substance for what I am going to call the V words: victory, violence, and the vote.

Crystal Feimster

David, you have said about autobiography, and I want to quote you: “A great autobiography is about loss, about the hopeless but necessary quest to retrieve and control a past that forever slips away. Memory is both inspiration and burden. Method and subject, the thing one cannot live with or without. Douglass made memory into art, brilliantly and mischievously employing its authority, its elusiveness, its truths, and its charms.” Would you talk a little bit about what makes Douglass’s second autobiography so brilliant and how he is using memory not only as a method, but as a strategy?

Douglass has come to believe that slavery cannot be destroyed without somehow altering the law, political institutions, and political will.

David Blight

First, thank you for reading the book so carefully. *Bondage and Freedom* is four times as long as the *Narrative*. He is a much more mature writer by then. Just a quick aside, every major speech of Douglass’s is in the form of a text. They are all written. And by the 1870s and 1880s, they are in typescript. He wasn’t an orator who just spun things off the top of his head. In fact, I’m absolutely convinced Douglass didn’t know what he thought about something until he went to his desk and he wrote it.

Bondage and Freedom is a more political autobiography. That sounds rather vague, but he is writing it after he has become a political abolitionist. He embraced, first, the Free Civil Party and then the Liberty Party and he is now trying to understand how to embrace the new Republican Party. He has come to believe that slavery cannot be destroyed without somehow altering the law, political institutions, and political will. He doesn’t exactly know how that is going to

happen and he is not comfortable yet with the Republicans, but it is a book that is arguing with American voters.

In addition, he has begun to embrace violence and the possible uses of violence. He never had a theory of how violence was supposed to overthrow slavery. He had a long relationship with John Brown. By my count, they met eleven times, but he had the good sense not to join John Brown in 1859. *Bondage and My Freedom* reads, at times, as a story anticipating possible violence in the country. This is what he argued in his famous Fourth of July speech just a few years earlier. *Bondage and My Freedom* is an update of the

Narrative. In it he recounts ten more years of his life—he wrote the first *Narrative* before he goes to England. He tells the story of how Ireland, Scotland, and England transformed him, brought him a whole new set of friends and financial supporters whom he has never given full credit to, particularly Julia Griffiths, who became his assistant editor and made his writing life possible in some ways. He has emerged as a political and constitutional thinker, and he talks about that transformation by telling tales of his life. He now has a revolutionary voice that is warning the country. That voice will change again, in his third autobiography, *Life and Times*, some thirty years later, and give way to a flattened gilded age, of a man summing up his life.

Five thousand copies of *My Bondage and My Freedom* sold in the first two days, which says something about Douglass’s notoriety and fame; it sold eighteen thousand copies in the first three years. That is an incredible feat in the nineteenth century, especially for

a book that is 460 pages long. And he sold each copy for one dollar. He would take two of his sons with him on the road when he was giving speeches and they would sell the book among the audience. Douglass had to be a great marketer, because this is how he was making a living from 1841 when he goes on the lecture circuit to 1877 when he gets his first federal appointment in the District of Columbia from President Hayes. He never made a dime except by his voice and his pen, and his British and a few American financial supporters. Yes, he had some patrons. He didn’t always give them credit except privately. I always tell my students that being an abolitionist is not a good career move.

Robert Stepto

I would like to go back for a minute to the blood imagery and the blood metaphors. One thing that I forgot to mention is that Douglass talks about how people were harmed. There is a fascinating early moment in *My Bondage and My Freedom* when he mentions a white woman by the name of Ms. Lucretia. He remembers her for two distinct reasons. First, she would give him a piece of bread and butter every now and then, especially if he came up to her window and sang. And second, he got into a fight, I believe, with another young man named Ike and he specifically tells us that Ms. Lucretia was the one who brought him inside and cleaned him up. So that is another side to all of it. There are the people who spill your blood, but there are also the people who will clean you up and Ms. Lucretia is remembered in those terms.

David Blight

And there are ways, Robert, in which he came to trust women in his life that he did not necessarily trust men. I mean that is not always an easy claim to make, but he developed trusting relationships with women

more than he ever did with men. And it may not just be Lucretia who brought that about, but he does say that she is the first white person who ever invited him inside.

Crystal Feimster

In thinking about the blood metaphor, he opens the first *Narrative* by talking about the blood of his Aunt Hester. Would you say something about how that gets worked out in his writing and his politics.

Robert Stepto

Let me begin by saying that when you think of the full range of his career and what he would write, it is very striking that the first autobiography would begin with what happened to Aunt Hester, that that kind of atrocity would be there. You might even say it is sort of a scripted moment. I'm supposed to tell you about slavery. Let me begin with how my Aunt Hester was beaten by her own master, who might have been her father.

Crystal Feimster

And this is the moment when he realizes his enslavement, with her blood dripping onto the floor.

Robert Stepto

What I was trying to suggest a minute ago is that when he begins the next autobiography and then the last one, he doesn't begin with Aunt Hester. Though interestingly enough, in the beginning of *My Bondage and My Freedom*, he does once again start with family. He begins with his grandmother and grandfather, with whom he lives. Grandmother is the mother of five daughters, one of whom is his mother, and all five daughters are on a plantation somewhere. None of them are living with him.

David Blight

He is an orphan, and even though he never used the term, it is a central fact of his life.

He experienced or saw every kind of savagery and he comes out of slavery with tremendous rage. Since we are talking about literacy and the power of words, his great luck is that he became such a genius with words because he could process that rage into language.

This is where the loss idea that you brought up comes in; all memoirs are about retrieving loss – our lives are lost somehow but if we write a memoir, we are trying to retrieve and then manipulate our reader at the same time. He has a great deal of loss and a tremendous scarring of his soul, psyche, or mentality – whatever we want to call it. I don't try to overthink that, but he experienced or saw every kind of savagery and he comes out of slavery with tremendous rage. Since we are talking about literacy and the power of words, his great luck is that he became such a genius with words because he could process that rage into language. If he didn't do that, what would he do with that rage?

Robert Stepto

We all know how rage can shut people down. But Douglass found an energy and an eloquence in it. I'm glad you made the point about him being an orphan. What goes on in the early pages of that second *Narrative* is how bereft he is: no family, no home. And finding out that in a year or two he is going to be taken on a twelve-mile walk, where he will become a slave on a plantation. Part of what he tells us in that story is his grandmother's role in taking him there and then once she is certain that he is playing with his siblings and cousins, she leaves. And indeed, he finds out that she has left when one of the children says, "You know, Granny's gone." And with that, he begins the rest of his childhood abandoned, which leads me to think about the family that he and Anna

Murray created, five children, and what they were trying to do. One of the things that is gratifying is the whole idea that they created a family and that they were married for forty-four years before she passed away. On the other hand, as you learn about his life story, you realize how little time he spent at home. Some of his speaking tours would take a year and a half or more. So, it is a little disconcerting to think about how he created a family, but he wasn't there very much.

David Blight

I used to call him the absent father for abandoning his children. And then a friend said that I should not be judgmental; that is what men had to do in the nineteenth century. On the question of the Wye Plantation, there has always been a lot of mystery about whether Douglass was making that up. We know a great deal about what he made up and what was truthful because of a book by Dickson Preston called *The Young Frederick Douglass*, published in 1980.

The people who now own the Wye Plantation, which is still there – same house, some of the same outbuildings – are the fifth-generation direct descendants of the Lloyds. They have now, finally, embraced Douglass. They are proud of the fact that the most important person from the state of Maryland in American history was a slave on that land. And the kitchen house in which he watches as Aunt Hester is beaten is now a very fancy remodeled apartment, but the fireplace is still there and so

is the crawl space next to it where he hid. I have been privileged to stay there twice, sitting in front of the fire. Among the many nature metaphors in his autobiographies – there are water metaphors, fowl metaphors, flower metaphors, and so on – Douglass describes walking around the Wye Plantation when he is seven years old and watching the black birds and imagining himself on their wings. They would always land in the trees and then away they would go, and he would wish he was on their wings.

One morning, very early, I saw thousands of black birds and thought, “He didn’t make that up.” And then there are the sailing ships on the Chesapeake. He didn’t make that up either. Sometimes there is that amazing moment when you realize in literature that some metaphors are not just metaphors. Douglass had an uncanny memory, which was not always accurate, but nobody’s memory is always accurate. One of the things you need to do if you study this person is to understand what do we actually remember from childhood. He engaged in a great deal of effort to reconstruct his childhood and he gets almost every name, place, and timing correct. But the storytelling he puts in it is his own.

Crystal Feimster

I would like to read one last quote that lines up with something that Robert wrote: “Douglass is remembering places and names and, in some fundamental ways, wrestling control of those memories by handling them and in that sense, owning the names of the people who once, in effect, owned him.”

Robert Stepto

A very important feature of his first autobiography is when he mentions names. He names the plantation owners and the overseers, and even describes the evil overseer, Mr. Severe. And then he names Gore, who

replaced Severe after he was fired for not being profane.

David, among others, has mentioned that Frederick Douglass was the most photographed American of the nineteenth century and I think there are lots of things to think about why that happened, how that came to be, and why indeed he wanted to be photographed. ■

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To view or listen to the presentations, visit www.amacad.org/events/conversation-about-frederick-douglass

The Rumford Prize: Acceptance Remarks by Edward Boyden

On April 11, 2019, the American Academy of Arts and Sciences presented the Rumford Prize to six scientists for the invention and refinement of optogenetics. The awardees are Ernst Bamberg, Professor and Director of the Department of Biophysical Chemistry at Max-Planck Institute of Biophysics; Edward Boyden, Y. Eva Tan Professor of Neurotechnology, Associate Professor of Biological Engineering and Brain and Cognitive Sciences at MIT's Media Lab and McGovern Institute for Brain Research, and Co-Director of the MIT Center for Neurobiological Engineering; Peter Hegemann, Professor and Head of the Department for Biophysics at Humboldt University of Berlin; Gero Miesenböck, Waynflete Professor of Physiology and Director of the Center for Neural Circuits and Behavior at the University of Oxford; Georg Nagel, Professor at the University of Wuerzburg (Bavaria); and Karl Deisseroth, D. H. Chen Professor of Bioengineering and of Psychiatry and Behavioral Sciences at Stanford University. Lucia Rothman-Denes, A. J. Carlson Professor of Molecular Genetics and Cell Biology at the University of Chicago, introduced the prize recipients and presented the award. Edward Boyden accepted the award on behalf of all the prize recipients. An edited version of his acceptance remarks appears below.



Edward Boyden

Edward Boyden is the Y. Eva Tan Professor of Neurotechnology, Associate Professor of Biological Engineering and Brain and Cognitive Sciences at MIT's Media Lab and McGovern Institute for Brain Research, and Co-Director of the MIT Center for Neurobiological Engineering. He was elected a Fellow of the American Academy in 2017.

One of the big questions in neuroscience is to understand how the activity of specific cells contributes to a pathological state of the brain, or how controlling the activity of specific cells might help overcome a disease state.

On behalf of all six awardees, let me say how honored we are to receive the Rumford Prize and how grateful we are to the prize jury. It is exciting to see this kind of interdisciplinary work – which goes from microbiology, to neuroscience, to biophysics, to medicine, and everything in between – recognized. Our research is very collaborative. Many of us have worked together as colleagues or as collaborators to try to bring forward the insights being recognized today by the Rumford Prize. Let me also take a moment to personally thank my family, and especially my wife, who has been incredibly supportive throughout the years, and without whom nothing would be possible.

I have been asked to say a few words about what optogenetics is and the impact it is having. It may be useful to start by explaining why it is hard to understand and

repair the brain. In the brain, we have many kinds of cells: small cells and large cells, excitatory cells and inhibitory cells – perhaps hundreds, or even thousands, of cell types. And these cells change in different ways in different disease states. Brain diseases affect perhaps a billion people around the world, and none of these diseases can be fully cured – and the treatments that do exist are partial and often have side effects. Thus, one of the big questions in neuroscience is to understand how the activity of specific cells contributes to a pathological state of the brain, or how controlling the activity of specific cells might help overcome a disease state.

Now to compound this complexity even further, there are two other major reasons the brain is so complex. One aspect is the spatial complexity of the brain. In a cubic

millimeter of the brain, you have about a hundred thousand cells called neurons, with about a billion connections between them called synapses. And that's just in a cubic millimeter. Another aspect is that brain cells operate at very high speeds, biologically speaking. They operate with electrical pulses that occur inside the cells that last only a thousandth of a second. So the brain presents incredible spatial and temporal complexity.

The impact of optogenetics has been very broad in neuroscience, where it has been used to causally investigate how neurons contribute to behaviors and pathological states in organisms such as the worm *C. elegans*, the fruit fly *D. melanogaster*, the zebrafish, and the mouse.

Optogenetics lets us confront this issue by letting us manipulate the electrical pulses that brain cells generate, with spatial and temporal precision. If we activate these electrical pulses in specific brain cells, we can figure out how they trigger or sustain behaviors, pathological states, or therapeutic states. If you turn off the electrical pulses in specific brain cells, we can figure out what they are needed for – are they important for a memory, or for a seizure, or for Parkinsonian symptoms, for example.

So how does optogenetics work? Well, it turns out that all over the Tree of Life you can find these amazing natural proteins called opsins. We have some opsins in our own eyes that convert light into signals that our brain can understand. My colleagues and I have discovered, or used for neural control, opsins from species ranging from algae, to fruit flies, to bacteria, to fungi. In optogenetics, we put the genes that encode for opsins into neurons, using tricks from

the field of gene therapy, and then the neurons produce the opsin protein. Then, when we shine light on the neurons, the opsins convert the light into signals that in turn control the neuron's electrical activity.

The opsins used in optogenetics operate in a way that is different from how the opsins in our eyes work: they can convert light into signals repeatedly, without needing the complex apparatus in our eyes that keeps opsins going.

Second, some of these opsins can convert light directly into electrical signals, without a signaling intermediate. Some of the laureates of the Rumford Prize today were the key people to discover light-driven ion channels in algae, and to characterize them. Some of the others amongst us discovered that they could be used to make brain cells controllable by light.

A lot of serendipity was involved in optogenetics. First, these molecules might not have worked in delicate brain cells, but they did. Second, they might not have had the right speed and efficacy to mediate the fast, strong electrical signals that occur in brain cells, but they did. Finally, in mammalian brain cells we were very lucky that a chemical cofactor, all-trans-retinal, which is needed to make the opsins work, is present in quantities large enough that no additional chemical supplementation is needed.

The impact of optogenetics has been very broad in neuroscience, where it has

been used to causally investigate how neurons contribute to behaviors and pathological states in organisms such as the worm *C. elegans*, the fruit fly *D. melanogaster*, the zebrafish, and the mouse. In mice, one can use gene therapy vectors to express opsins in specific cells in the brain. Then implanting an optical fiber into the brain, with the other end connected to a computer-controlled laser, lets you stimulate those cells in a temporally precise way.

For example, you can activate a cell or set of cells in the mouse brain and see whether that is sufficient to trigger a sensation, such as a visual sensation or an auditory sensation. You can activate a set of cells and figure out what kinds of movements they control. And you can activate or silence sets of cells and see what kinds of disease or health-promoting states result. For example, people have found that putting these opsins into certain cells in the mouse brain, and then turning them off, can reduce the severity of a seizure in mouse models of epilepsy. People have found cells in the mouse brain that you can stimulate to alleviate the symptoms of Parkinson's disease, in mouse models of Parkinson's. People have found cells in the mouse brain that, when silenced, impair memory or that when activated, trigger the recall of a memory. Perhaps thousands of neuroscientists are now using these tools to understand behaviors and diseases.

The basic science knowledge about the brain that emerges can directly inspire new therapies. Let me give an example, a recent study led by a collaborator at MIT, Li-Huei Tsai. She has been working on Alzheimer's disease. She used one of the opsins called channelrhodopsin-2, one of the molecules that several of my fellow laureates discovered, to activate the brain at a specific frequency, namely, 40 times a second, or 40 Hz. This frequency is sort of a magical frequency in neuroscience – for example, synchronized electrical activity at this

A lot of the big inventions and discoveries in biology come about by looking at specific biological systems and borrowing molecules or functions, adapting them for other purposes.

frequency goes up during attention. In patients with Alzheimer's disease, electrical activity at this frequency goes down.

So her lab asked the question, can you boost these oscillations to repair Alzheimer's? And amazingly, in mice genetically engineered to get Alzheimer's-like symptoms, optogenetic stimulation of the brain at 40 Hz helped. They had lower levels of amyloid, lower amounts of phosphorylated tau, and other improved symptoms. Helped by Emery Brown, an expert on brain rhythms, the teams wondered if you could drive 40 Hz neural activity noninvasively. This is where you go from the basic science discovery to the design phase. And indeed, the teams went on to figure out that you could induce 40 Hz brain rhythms through visual stimuli and auditory stimuli. Now, Li-Huei and I co-founded a company to do human trials of blinking lights and clicking sounds to see if they can treat Alzheimer's disease. It could fail—lots of things fail when going from mice to humans. But we should give it a try. And at the very least optogenetics has helped reveal a new modality to be explored for neural therapeutics.

In summary, these technologies are now in use by thousands of researchers all over the field of neuroscience to study behavior and disease, and how to remedy disease. Many powerful discoveries have been made by this year's laureates. Some of us discovered opsins and figured out how they work. Some figured out how to make opsins better by mutating them. Some discovered how to use opsins to control neurons and to turn brain cells on and off. As you can see, a

lot of important interdisciplinary crosstalk has been at play between the molecules, the physics, the cells, and the applications.

One of the other things that is important to point out is that these molecules come from the natural world. And that is both a testament to the importance of ecology and to the idea that a lot of the big inventions and discoveries in biology come about by looking at specific biological systems and borrowing molecules or functions, adapting them for other purposes. And this is true not just about optogenetics, but for other revolutionary technologies like CRISPR and fluorescent proteins, which also borrow molecules from the natural world to enable biological processes to be seen and controlled. Understanding the natural world, and being open to serendipity, are important: you never know where a discovery might lead over the years.

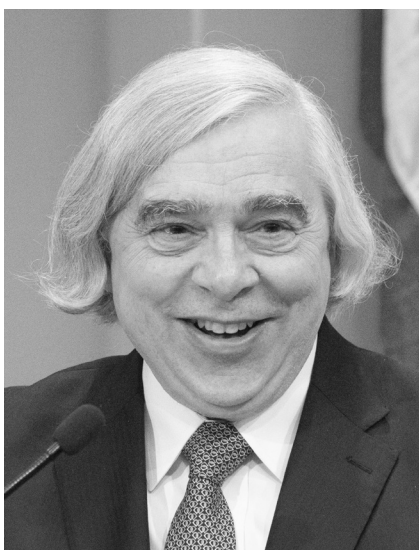
Let me end by saying again on behalf of my fellow awardees, how truly honored we are to receive the Academy's Rumford Prize. Thank you very much. ■

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Award for Excellence in Public Policy and Public Affairs: Acceptance Remarks by Ernest J. Moniz

On April 11, 2019, the American Academy of Arts and Sciences presented the inaugural Award for Excellence in Public Policy and Public Affairs to Ernest J. Moniz, the 13th Secretary of Energy of the United States. Ashton Carter, who served as the 25th Secretary of Defense of the United States and is the current Director of the Belfer Center for Science and International Affairs at Harvard Kennedy School, introduced Secretary Moniz and presented the award. An edited version of Secretary Moniz's acceptance remarks appears below.



Ernest J. Moniz

Ernest J. Moniz is President and Chief Executive Officer of the Energy Futures Initiative as well as Cochair of the Board of Directors and Chief Executive Officer of the Nuclear Threat Initiative. He is the Cecil and Ida Green Professor of Physics and Engineering Systems Emeritus at MIT. He served as the 13th United States Secretary of Energy. He was elected a Fellow of the American Academy in 2013.

I am honored to receive the inaugural Award for Excellence in Public Policy and Public Affairs. The Academy's history in this area goes back nearly a quarter millennium and so it is quite special to be the inaugural recipient.

As a simple New England physicist, my engagement in public affairs and public policy really started and was pushed by

Serving as Energy Secretary gave me a chance to apply a scientific manner of thought to important problems, especially in the area of global affairs. And the reason that the opportunity was present was because I served for a President who had among his highest priorities two of my mission areas – the clean energy climate mission and the nuclear security mission.

someone very close to this Academy: Herman Feshbach, my mentor at MIT and also president of this Academy from 1982 until 1986. At that time we were deeply involved in the Cold War; it was also a period when the architecture of nuclear arms control was forming. Many in this room knew Herman quite well and will understand when I say that his way of encouraging my participation in public affairs issues was to threaten me! He had a very charming way of threatening people.

During that period of the Cold War and the formation of the arms control architecture, Herman was not only a proponent of but also a doer of real dialogue and interaction with the Soviet Union. He was a great supporter of Sakharov and the refuseniks. He was dedicated to the dialogue, to the scientific exchange, and to scientific exchanges more broadly as being fundamental to what we would call today risk reduction in terms of what was a very challenging situation with the Soviet Union.

My time serving as Energy Secretary in the second Obama term was a special opportunity to get more deeply engaged in public affairs and public policy. At the time, the whimsical description of the Department of Energy was the Department of Weapons and Windmills, Quarks and Quagmires. The weapons part is certainly understandable. The Department is the steward of the nuclear stockpile, but it also takes the lead in many aspects of the global nuclear non-proliferation program.

The windmills are a reference to clean energy and the Department's responsibilities to address climate change. The quarks refer to the fact that the Department is the largest supporter of basic science, especially in the physical sciences, and provides many of the large research facilities that serve thirty thousand scientists in the United States every year. The quagmires are a reference to cleaning up the mess of the Cold War: that is, the environmental mess that we have in many locations.

The American Academy has major programs on energy and the environment, on global affairs, and on science and technology, which map very closely to the diverse set of activities at the Department of Energy. But when you look at the mission of the Department and at the way the Department exercises its responsibilities in those areas, it is really a science agency. The Department is concerned about science and the application of science and technology to these sets of problems that may seem in many ways to be disconnected.

Let me give an example. We have not tested our nuclear weapons in over a quarter century, and that becomes a science problem. The Department of Energy is the science agency that addresses these important problems.

Now, having said that, serving as Energy Secretary gave me a chance to apply a scientific manner of thought to important problems, especially in the area of global affairs. And the reason that the opportunity was present was because I served for a President who had among his highest priorities two of my mission areas – the clean energy climate mission and the nuclear security mission.

In terms of nuclear security, President Obama launched a series of what turned out to be four biannual nuclear security summits, putting the rather arcane issues of nuclear material security and the like on the agenda with roughly fifty national leaders in attendance. These summits led to some action, which the Department of Energy had much to do with in terms of execution, of eliminating, for example, nuclear weapons and usable materials in many countries. It was a focus area for the President, and for me an enormous opportunity.

In addition, there was the Iran negotiation in the nuclear security arena. Graham Allison, who is here tonight, has been very forward-leaning in terms of advocating for the science statesman idea. I think the Iran

We need to think about strategic stability in a new age, driven by new technical issues such as cyber risks in the command and control system. We need scientist-to-scientist discussion. We need military-to-military discussion. We need diplomat-to-diplomat discussion.

negotiation was a chance to really exercise that opportunity.

It is interesting that President Obama did something very unusual; he appointed two Cabinet members – the Secretary of State and the Secretary of Energy – as co-negotiators with their counterparts. It was a “let’s get this done” attitude as opposed to worrying about the protocols and formalities.

The other example in parallel, of course, was the clean energy climate agenda: the Paris Agreement. But what is less recognized is that while the Paris Agreement in terms of CO₂ emissions reductions was by definition the last act of the Paris meeting in December of 2015, the first day of the Paris meeting was actually the announcement made by the national leaders. It was called Mission Innovation, with a capital M and a capital I. And this is where the Department of Energy had a chance again to really take a leadership role and eventually pull together twenty countries to sign on to a very aggressive commitment to develop the clean energy solutions for climate change.

What I think is notable is that this was a statement that technology innovation in clean energy is at the core of the solutions to climate change. That was a very important realization and a chance for us to do a little science statesmanship.

If you look at the climate agreement, which aims to make reductions in CO₂ emissions essentially voluntary in the 2030 timeframe, everybody knows that is not a

solution to the climate problem. As I previously mentioned, the Iran agreement was not the grand agreement in which every problem that we have with Iran is going to be solved, as opposed to addressing the important nuclear weapons problem and getting it off the table as a foundation for doing more.

We could not have a grand bargain because the agreement with Iran was not just between the United States and Iran. We were the face-to-face negotiators, but we were representing other countries. Ourselves, plus three in Europe – Germany, France, and the United Kingdom – and Russia and China. This was after Crimea, so we already had a tough relationship with Russia, but we could compartment it and take an important step toward a solution with Iran.

For both the climate negotiation and the Iran negotiation, we followed a pragmatic, step-by-step approach. In neither case was this viewed as the end of the line. Quite the contrary. It was reaching a very important risk reduction step on the way to what we would do later.

Currently we hear a lot about “going big.” There is a misconception that going big means having a vision. Step-by-step needs vision because, in my view, a long-range plan is often a whole set of short-range plans, but they better aim in the same direction. And that requires a vision to get it done. Unfortunately, right now, in neither of those two cases are we seeing the next steps being taken.

The real issue is rolling up your sleeves and working to get pragmatic solutions that go, in this case, toward lower carbon and give you the chance of building the political coalitions around low carbon and social equity that we will need to make progress.

That is a brief description of some of what I was doing at the Department of Energy, but clearly, we haven't stopped in the last two years. In the private sector we have additional tools that we can use because we all need to keep trying to contribute.

In Tom Friedman's column yesterday, he mentions the Clean Real Deal. We have magical thinking on the right, like climate denial, and magical thinking on the left, with scientifically and politically impossible solutions put forward. The real issue is rolling up your sleeves and working to get pragmatic solutions that go, in this case, toward lower carbon and give you the chance of building the political coalitions around low carbon and social equity that we will need to make progress. This is being advanced by the Energy Futures Initiative, which I helped establish in 2017.

Going back to Herman Feshbach, we need dialogue. We have never had such a poor level of dialogue as we have right now with Russia. It is not because they are not our friends that we need dialogue. It is because they and we have over 90 percent of the nuclear weapons. We need to think about strategic stability in a new age, driven by new technical issues such as cyber risks in the command and control system. We need scientist-to-scientist discussion. We need military-to-military discussion. We need diplomat-to-diplomat discussion. We need to have that web of dialogue that is absent today. And that paralysis exposes us to

the risk of terrible miscalculations escalating from other incidents. We are addressing this at the Nuclear Threat Initiative.

Let me conclude by saying again how honored I am to receive this award. It will give me added inspiration to take some steps forward on the way to longer-term solutions. ■

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To view or listen to the presentation, visit www.amacad.org/events/2019/awards-ceremony

Safe Spaces, Brave Spaces: Diversity and Free Expression in Education

On May 7, 2019, John Palfrey (Head of School at Phillips Academy Andover and Incoming President of the John D. and Catherine T. MacArthur Foundation) spoke at a gathering of Academy members and guests about the intersection between a growing commitment to diversity, equity, and inclusion and the tradition of free expression on school campuses. The program, which served as the 2081st Stated Meeting of the Academy, included a welcome from David W. Oxtoby (President of the American Academy). Martha Minow (the 300th Anniversary University Professor at Harvard University) participated in a conversation with John Palfrey following his opening remarks. An edited version of his remarks and of his conversation with Martha Minow appears below.



John Palfrey

John Palfrey is the Head of School at Phillips Academy Andover and Incoming President of the John D. and Catherine T. MacArthur Foundation.

Thank you for the invitation to be here and to all of you for gathering in person to have this conversation. I am thrilled to be at the House of the Academy, in part because of the founding values of this institution and how directly they tie to our topic this evening. From the Academy's founding in 1780, the purpose of this institution has been to foster debate. In many ways, our topic this evening harkens back to the founding values of this country: of liberty,

How we imagine a world in which we have both liberty and equality in not just equal measure but together in the context of both education and in our civic sphere strikes me as one of the hardest problems for our country to face and yet one of the most important that we resolve.

on the one hand, which traces to our current debate about free expression; and of equality, on the other, which connects with our commitment to diversity, equity, and inclusion. These values have always been in tension, and they are very much so today. I believe we can resolve that tension in positive ways and, in fact, great institutions and great democracies do just that. But when and where we fail to do so, we come out in a much less good place. This institution, through events like this but also through publications such as *Dædalus*, has taken up this issue many times. The Academy has published issues of *Dædalus* since the 1960s on student protests, campus activism, and the role of diversity in university education. I thought of you, Dean Minow, when I looked at the *Dædalus* issue "American Education: Still Separate, Still Unequal." How we imagine a world in which we have both liberty and equality in not just equal measure but together in the context of both education and in our civic sphere strikes me as

one of the hardest problems for our country to face and yet one of the most important that we resolve.

As the backdrop to our discussion, let me highlight some large-scale demographic trends. Depending on who you ask, the United States, most likely by 2055, will be a majority-minority country. There are many ways to describe this, but the point is we are becoming a more diverse nation. I take that to be a wonderful thing and it really does change, in many respects, the way in which young people who are coming into our universities are thinking about their community. And college campuses themselves, much as a school like Andover, are becoming increasingly diverse. Andover was founded around the same time as the Academy, in 1778. It started with thirteen white boys, one of whom turns out to have come from outside the country. Today, Andover is 1,100 students, about half of whom are white and half of whom are students of color – and

I believe that trigger warnings are simply good manners if they are used in an appropriate way. For instance, I, as a teacher, might use them in a certain setting if I am worried about a particular student or a group of students and the experience they are about to have. At the same time, I don't think it is a good idea to mandate them.

many of those students are mixed race, which is a growing trend at our school.

Similar things are happening on our university campuses. Between 1971 and 2015, there has been a 10 percent increase in the number of Asian American students enrolled in our schools, and the number of students who self-identify as mixed race has grown too – up to 12 percent in 2015. The Latino/Latinx population has experienced similar growth. Over time, it has become clear that our campuses have become increasingly diverse, and that is a wonderful and important thing.

These debates obviously play out in the headlines. We can consider the lawsuit by Asian students at Harvard that brought attention to private or elite colleges' admission policies as one example, but I think it is a sign of some of the challenges we face as we think of our universities as sites of political action. There are many ways to describe this Harvard lawsuit: on one level, it is an assault on affirmative action. And, at the same time, there are many complicated cross currents. Some people think the university has not been getting it quite right; others call for a change in policy or direction to ensure that students have the ability to come together in single sex clubs.

Let me begin with the idea of safe spaces. This may be the one that is most familiar to you because it has been most in the press. One of the best case studies that we have is

from the University of Chicago, the dean's letter from August 2016. You may have had this experience of either being a parent or a student and getting a letter from the dean welcoming you to the school year. Having been somebody who writes these letters, they are very boring to write, and they are even worse to read. But the dean's letter from the University of Chicago grabbed a lot of attention and it made these letters much more interesting, at least for a while.

The third paragraph of that letter reads, "Our commitment to academic freedom means that we do not support so-called trigger warnings" – we will discuss what those warnings are in a minute – "we do not cancel invited speakers because their topics might prove controversial, and we do not condone the creation of intellectual safe spaces where individuals can retreat from ideas and perspectives at odds with their own." This language created a debate among those of us who run schools about whether this is the right message to send to an increasingly diverse group of students who are arriving on campus. You can imagine the debate that ensued: some said this is precisely what we need; this is exactly the pushback against a series of overreaches by the left seeking to force a version of diversity, equity, and inclusion on these communities; and, in fact, it is an opportunity to stand up for robust debate. Others said this is the most unwelcoming thing

you could have sent, particularly if the student and parent come from an underrepresented minority group or is a marginalized member of a community. Saying that there should not be these types of safe spaces was exactly what you don't want to hear as you walk onto a campus.

One of the reasons this caused a particular kerfuffle is that the dean who wrote the letter, Jay Ellison, was in fact an advisor to a safe space on the Chicago campus: the LGBTQ space that called itself the Safe Space for that group of students. In my book, I make an argument that, in fact, we need to have some safe spaces on our campuses just as we need to have brave spaces. And I think the LGBTQ community that is created on many of our campuses is precisely the type of safe space that we should have. I think, likewise, we might say that speech rules apply in certain places, like a Hillel on a campus, where you do not allow hate speech. You would not have a member of the KKK walk into a space like a Hillel and say certain things in that environment. It strikes me that those are reasonable rules that you might set up for a safe space. Likewise, you might have a different set of rules in other places within a university. Those might be determined to be brave spaces: environments in which students would be expected to be exposed to things that would make them uncomfortable. Again, we can come back to that tradeoff. But I would make the case that we need safe spaces for our communities, just as we need brave spaces.

My second example is trigger warnings. The idea here is that before walking into a class or a lecture, the expectation would be that somebody would give you a warning that you might be triggered in a certain way. A classic example would be in an English class and you are told before you opened a book that there might be some violent rape scenes, for example, in the book. If you, as

a teacher, knew that one of the members of the class had experienced sexual assault at some point in their life, you might say that it is reasonable to warn somebody that they may be triggered by something they were about to read. Likewise, before you were to show a particularly graphic movie, you might offer a warning to a student before that happened. Of course, the reaction to trigger warnings has not been universally positive. There have been a number of articles and, in fact, a book on this topic called *The Coddling of the American Mind* that makes the case that this is precisely what we should not do; that, in fact, the idea that there should be somebody standing up and warning you about what you are going to experience rather than having people experience it and then debate it afterwards is the downfall of our civilization or, in a slightly simpler form, it is undercutting the academic integrity of our institutions.

I think trigger warnings have been a topic of debate because they suggest some infringement on intellectual freedom. Let's think about these trigger warnings: if you are requiring somebody to say something are you, in fact, undercutting the academic freedoms that a teacher has in their classroom? The way that I have treated this at Andover is I believe that trigger warnings are simply good manners if they are used in an appropriate way. For instance, I, as a teacher, might use them in a certain setting if I am worried about a particular student or a group of students and the experience they are about to have. At the same time, I don't think it is a good idea to mandate them. I cannot imagine telling a teacher you must use trigger warnings in a particular way or to require that they be used across an institution. And institutions have done all of the above. There have been requirements around trigger warnings, there has been a middle ground like the one I am suggesting, and there have been statements, such as the

University of Chicago's, that suggest you should not have trigger warnings and students should not expect trigger warnings.

My third example: microaggressions. This one may require a little more explanation. On our campuses, particularly as they have become more diverse, I hear both from students and faculty that at different times, there are slights that are expressed toward them in ways that are difficult to handle within the context of an academic community. A microaggression might be something that is said and experienced by some people in one way and by others in another way. An example that is often used is of President Obama being described as an articulate person. This statement may be experienced differently by an African American than by a white person. Why? Because there is a presumption that black people are not as articulate as white people. While that might have been a perfectly well-meaning

space. It may be that they experience these microaggressions along multiple dimensions. When you think about the way in which we lead our institutions and how we care about students, as we have more diverse sets of students, they experience their education in very different ways. This becomes complicated from a policy perspective. Do you ban microaggressions as you work toward a more inclusive and more equitable environment? There are many examples that I have experienced as an administrator in which you have to pull people in who have been part of one of these conversations and explain the extent to which these words that you might not have intended as being aggressive have had an impact on somebody that is very different than they might have had some time ago. For people who may have been involved in an example like this, I think it makes them feel like they are racist because they are being told that they

One of the most challenging topics over the last several years has been whether institutions should provide a platform for all speakers.

statement and the intent was simply to say that the president is well-spoken, how it is received and the impact of that statement may be quite different. That is an example of a microaggression.

Now, this may not be the best example because the president of the United States has a great deal of power. You could imagine somebody walking into a university setting or a school, where in that place that person has much less power. Importantly, what students will tell you is that this is also wrapped up in the concept of intersectionality: the notion that when somebody walks into an environment like a historically white male institution, that student feels or experiences the environment as being a marginalizing

have harmed somebody based on their race or they may feel that they are being told they are misogynist because they said something based on gender that they did not intend. At the same time, the impact is very real and for some people, the exhaustion and the way in which it affects their education is very different than it might have been decades ago. In some ways, I think we are pitting some of these values against one another.

My fourth example has to do with speakers who are not allowed on our campuses. One of the most challenging topics over the last several years has been whether institutions should provide a platform for all speakers. We have several recent examples: Charles Murray was invited by a

conservative student group to give a talk at Middlebury College. His appearance led to a physical altercation on the campus. Milo Yiannopoulos is a provocateur. He has a lot of topics on which he is controversial if not outright obnoxious. The challenge for university administrators who have had him visit their campuses, particularly if it is a state campus, is that you are bound by the First Amendment. At the same time, it ends

According to data from the Knight Foundation, high school support for the First Amendment is the highest in the last ten years, and it has been increasing.

up costing between half a million and a million dollars to pay for the necessary security to allow the speech to happen. An interesting question to consider is whether there is a requirement for a university to allocate half a million dollars or even a million dollars for security, whether that comes from state money, tuition dollars, or the endowment, to have a speaker come to campus, who many of the members of the community do not wish to hear. That is a tricky question, even though I have a very strong impulse to support the First Amendment rights of those both to hear and to speak on university campuses.

Chelsea Manning was offered a fellowship at the Harvard Kennedy School and then the fellowship was rescinded after some pressure, potentially from government sources. Christine Lagarde was invited to Smith College and then uninvited on the grounds that she represented capitalism or something of that sort. And these are just a few examples. Is it important that speakers who have controversial views be able to provide the provocation that they seek on a university campus? In general, the answer, of course, is yes. We certainly support this

on state university campuses, in part because the First Amendment requires it. It is a little trickier for those of us who lead private institutions.

There is an assumption that students are not supportive of having provocative speakers on their campuses. We have data from an organization called FIRE that found that 93 percent of students agree that schools should have a variety of guest speakers on

campus. I have found in my own environment at Andover that many of our faculty are less eager to have a wide range of perspectives represented among speakers, but students actually want a wider range. FIRE data also found that more than half of students (56 percent) agree that there are times when a college or university should withdraw a guest speaker's invitation after the event has been announced. And relatively few students feel that it is appropriate to disrupt a speaker when they come, although certainly when they do, it makes headlines.

My final example is the renaming of spaces and symbols on our campuses. I think one of the ways in which this topic plays out most visibly is the fact that we certainly have, on a campus like Harvard's or Andover's, virtually all our campus symbols representing white men. This is so for a variety of reasons: because of the leadership on these campuses, because of who the donors are, because of those we have honored. We have a local example: the debate over Harvard Law School's shield. As you may know, Harvard Law School was founded as part of the university. Thanks in part to a gift from the family of Isaac Royall to establish

either a chair in medicine or law, the university chose law. That chair grew into the law school. The chair still exists and is, in fact, used by a member of the faculty. A little more than a hundred years later, the law school adopted the Royall family crest as its shield. It turns out, however, that the Royall family generated the funds through slavery that ended up founding this chair and the law school. They were a plantation owning family. They were British by birth, but they created the funds on the backs of slaves, and it was those funds that then founded the law school and it is this family crest that the law school has been using. The holder of this chair for many years has given a really wonderful lecture about the Royall chair, talking about the family and its background. But this prompted a conversation about whether the law school should be using this shield. Martha Minow, dean of the law school at the time, did what I think any administrator should have done; she used it as an educational experience and as an opportunity to bring the community together around whether or not that shield should continue to be used.

The committee ended up with a split decision. Some of the faculty and students on the committee decided that the school should come up with a new shield and there were reasons why that was a good idea. Two members of the committee dissented: Annette Gordon-Reed, a faculty member and historian, and a student. They wrote a wonderful dissent that basically said you should not whitewash this particular piece of history. They recommended keeping the shield and using it as a teaching tool. I believe that the decision is now in the hands of the Corporation of Harvard. By the way, there is a beautiful monument at Harvard that looks at some of this history and this is a great example of how to handle this kind of a dispute.

I would like to share a few other facts. One of the unfortunate aspects of this topic

is the way in which the press has been describing this as a generation that hates free speech. Nothing could be further from the truth. I live with 1,100 students on a high school campus. I can assure you that the data that I am going to share with you are true. According to data from the Knight Foundation, high school support for the First Amendment is the highest in the last ten years, and it has been increasing, which I think is quite important to note. Students worry about what is happening in our country and in ways that I think are pretty savvy. They worry about freedom of speech, freedom of religion, freedom of the press, freedom for people to assemble peacefully, and freedom for people to petition the government. In each of these areas, they perceive that these rights are less secure.

In terms of protecting citizens' free speech rights and promoting an inclusive society that is welcoming to diverse groups, there is some good news here. What is interesting to me is the idea that free speech or free expression has changed from being the zone of the left to one that is absolutely the purview of the right. When I think about the most important speech in the nineteenth century about free expression, Frederick Douglass's speech, "A Plea for Free Speech in Boston," comes to mind: "We need to have the right to free speech so we can make the case for an end to slavery." If we think back to the 1960s, the Free Speech Movement at Berkeley was a group of radical lefties. Well, not exactly. One of the reasons why this is so complicated today is that for many of the administrators on campuses who are being pushed hard by their students, they are the same leftist radical students from the 1960s who are saying, "I'm the good guy! I believe in these things. This is really important." And yet, they are being perceived by students as being out of step with the moment that we are in.



Martha Minow

Martha Minow is the 300th Anniversary University Professor at Harvard University, where she has taught since 1981; she served as Dean of Harvard Law School for eight years. She was elected a Fellow of the American Academy in 1992.

Living with 1,100 high school students and serving as the chair of the board of the Knight Foundation, you live these issues in deep ways. Can you help us understand why it has become such a debate? You point out the disparity between the media's coverage and the high schoolers' perception. Why has it become this kind of lightning rod? Is it related to the polarization regarding diversity and inclusion versus free speech? Or is it because there is a generational divide between the administrators and the students? Why has it become such a big issue?

John Palfrey

I would say yes to all, and I would throw social media and technology into that mix. There is no doubt that since the election in 2016, administrators have found it harder to navigate these spaces. There are so many

more difficulties. People are on high alert in a variety of ways that have been polarizing. I think clearly the political moment is part of that, but I don't want to blame it exclusively on President Trump though his presidency has not made this easier. That is the elephant in the room. I do believe there is a generational divide. I think that students see older people as being out of step. Let me share an example, which really surprised me. As Head of School at Andover, when our students started talking about safety, I didn't really know what they were talking about. I thought they were saying we need more vans or shuttle buses in the evening to get them from place A to place B so that they would not be subject to physical harm of some sort, an important thing in and of itself. But in fact, they were talking about psychological safety. What they mean by unsafe is that they may be harmed psychologically.

I will add social media as the last example because some of these debates play out in an environment that is not very good. As enthusiastic as I am about social media and technology, it is not good for this kind of debate. And, in fact, it becomes much more disruptive and negative when it is in that environment. I have experienced a few times when I have said that we need to stop the online debate and bring it into a room and discuss the issue face to face.

Martha Minow

I am glad that you brought up social media. You are an expert in this field; you have studied how cyber-bullying and other issues have changed the experience of being a young person in the world. In your book, you use the word *disinhibition*. Would you explain that term?

John Palfrey

One of the things that I have learned about students and technology is this idea of the disinhibition effect, which I describe like

One of the things that I have learned about students and technology is this idea of the disinhibition effect, which I describe like this: imagine if there is a screen that is separating me from another person. I am much more likely to say something nasty and to be less inhibited if I am typing it into a screen than if I am seeing the person face to face.

this: imagine if there is a screen that is separating me from another person. I am much more likely to say something nasty and to be less inhibited if I am typing it into a screen than if I am seeing the person face to face. This may seem straightforward, but if you have ever sent an email and wished you could get it back quickly, that is an example of this disinhibition effect. It seems like old school stuff but it plays out very acutely, particularly in environments such as Snapchat, Instagram, or Facebook where students get into a debate and they say things that they simply would not say to their friend across the way. They are very quick to say these things in the context of an online debate.

Martha Minow

Could we develop a delay like “Are you sure you want to send that?”

John Palfrey

Gmail has such a delay. And I think other technologies are developing and putting these delays in place. That may be too subtle for some students, but in any event, I think it is a good idea.

Martha Minow

You helped to elaborate what the word safety means, but do you think that there is a conception here about safety that goes to mental health issues? Or is it really about microaggressions?

John Palfrey

I think both are true. I had a chance to spend some time with Howard Gardner, an Academy member, who has been studying higher education for a number of years. He said mental health is the number one thing that he is hearing now that is different for our students, and I completely agree with that in terms of the experience that students are having on our campuses and the way in which the requirement to support them is different. There is no doubt that anxiety, stress, toxic stress, depression, and suicide are up among American adolescents. And adolescence now extends well into the twenties by the findings of most psychologists and doctors. There is no question that this is a very important topic. It is also the case, based on the data I have seen, that students of color who are coming on our campuses have more acute cases of mental health challenges. So, these things are wrapped up together. I believe that the sense of what safety requires is part and parcel of a different experience that students are having. And I think that is partly the challenge that we face. How do we ensure that we have just as rigorous an intellectual debate and just as serious a commitment to excellence while also ensuring that we are looking after the well-being of our students? I believe it is possible and, in fact, important to do. But it is a sincere challenge.

Martha Minow

The issue of mental health among young people may, in part, reflect people’s greater comfort in saying that they are experiencing stress, that they are having anxiety. In some sense, it is a win in terms of reducing the stigma. But it may also reflect a degree of medicalization of some political issues. I wonder whether the language of safety is really a version of saying, “You can’t tell me I’m wrong because it is my own experience.” And isn’t that really, underneath the safe spaces argument, one of the deepest issues of people wanting, understandably, to have a place that they do not have to be constantly defending themselves but also having a sense that one of the ways to defend yourself is to retreat or to assert some subjectivity: this is my experience, you cannot criticize me.

John Palfrey

Yes, absolutely. In terms of safe spaces, one of the reasons I defend them so vigorously is I think everybody needs the equivalent of a kitchen or a hearth. At home, you have a space where people know who you are: you can be stupid, you can be right, you can be wrong, but you know that the people around you are going to treat you in a particular way, with a set of norms. Whether it is a boarding school like Andover or a college, students still need hearths and kitchens. They need places where they can retreat and recover. It is important to note that for some people, everything in these environments feels like a relatively safe space. That is certainly true for me; having a family that has gone to these schools for a long time, most of it feels pretty safe to me. I am well treated wherever I go. For other people, I think some environments feel very hard. And, in fact, it may feel like a brave space all the time. It is important, therefore, to provide the forms of support that we just haven’t provided as institutions in the past.

When you are with students or faculty who say, “You can’t understand my experience,” the truth is I cannot. But that is not to say that I don’t care.

Martha Minow

Would you comment on what the brave space is and what it takes to be brave? Do we need to teach people explicitly to be brave? Does that involve emotion management? Does it involve strategies about forms of speech and address? Does it involve taking care of the person who may be engaging in microaggressions?

the reasons why we want to have a diverse set of people on campus because you can get smarter. The conversation can be better. But too often, we pit diversity against free speech.

Martha Minow

But we also need to distinguish this kind of bravery from disinhibition. We really need to get smarter about that, too, because provocateurs like Richard Spencer and Milo Yiannopoulos are trying to upset people. They want the attention. It is a kind of disinhibition, but it doesn’t advance the dis-

critiqued from the kind of traditional First Amendment perspective.

Martha Minow

I want to highlight two things you say in the book that I think should be on billboards, if there are billboards anymore, across the country. You quote Stanley Fish as saying, “There is no such thing as free speech and it’s a good thing, too.” Perhaps people don’t understand this. We have always had time, place, manner, and other kinds of restrictions. The idea that free speech means no restrictions ever is ridiculous, certainly in educational institutions. You also say, “Just as I argue that obnoxious political speech must be tolerated to a degree, I argue that there should be a limit to the types and ways in which hateful speech may be uttered.” There is no real justification for hate and for expressions of hate.

There is no doubt that anxiety, stress, toxic stress, depression, and suicide are up among American adolescents. And adolescence now extends well into the twenties by the findings of most psychologists and doctors.

John Palfrey

I think all of that is involved, and we need to be thoughtful about the deliberative spaces that we create in our educational institutions, and to do that with real care. Charlie Nesson spends a lot of time thinking about those kinds of spaces that we create for kids and adults that allow us to have genuine deliberation. This is where there is a tie between what we do in the educational setting and the academy and the polity. One of the reasons I am passionate about this is if we can’t get it right for students in the context of an intentionally diverse environment that we create, where we can set some rules, then we are not going to succeed at the level of a democracy. It is crucial that we figure out how to do that. When we send people out as citizens, they need the skills to do this, both coping skills but also deliberative skills. They need to know how to work across difference. By the way, that is one of

discussion. My sense is that both of them have created problems for state institutions because they have rented space. Do you think institutions of higher learning should not rent space? Or is that retreating too far?

John Palfrey

It would seem to me that you could have a rule that said, “We won’t rent the space if it requires a million dollars in security.” One of the places in my book where I retreat from the traditional First Amendment line is that I look at the educational experience that students are having and I think there might be times when a private institution like Andover can make this decision but a public institution might be able to say this is so disruptive to the educational experience of students here that that might trump the free speech right that someone might assert to be able to speak there. That is the one place where I certainly could be

John Palfrey

I think that it is consistent with the values of our institutions about openness and tolerance, about diversity, equity, and inclusion and we need to find ways that that is not the experience that some of our students have on our campuses. ■

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To view or listen to the presentation, visit www.amacad.org/events/2019/safe-spaces-brave-spaces

Select Prizes and Awards to Members

Arden Bement Jr. (Purdue University) is the recipient of the 2019 Lifetime Achievement Award of the International Association of Top Professionals.

Lauren Berlant (University of Chicago) is the recipient of the Norman Maclean Faculty Award.

José Cabranes (United States Court of Appeals, Second Circuit) is the recipient of the 2019 Philip Merrill Award for Outstanding Contributions to Liberal Arts Education, given by the American Council of Trustees and Alumni.

Nancy Cartwright (Durham University, United Kingdom; University of California, San Diego) is the recipient of the Carl Gustav Hempel Award, given by the Philosophy of Science Association.

Pietro De Camilli (Yale School of Medicine) was awarded the 2019 Ernst Jung Gold Medal for Medicine by the Jung Foundation for Science and Research.

Karl Freed (University of Chicago) is the recipient of the Norman Maclean Faculty Award.

Denise Galloway (Fred Hutchinson Cancer Research Center) received the 2019 Seattle Association for Women in Science Award for Science Advancement and Leadership.

Naomi Halas (Rice University) received the 2019 ACS Nano Lectureship Award, given by the American Chemical Society.

Martin Jay (University of California, Berkeley) received the American Historical Association's Distinguished Scholar Award. He was also elected to the American Philosophical Society.

Gerald Joyce (Salk Institute for Biological Sciences) has been elected a foreign member of the Royal Swedish Academy of Sciences.

Robert Kraft (The Kraft Group) was awarded the Genesis Prize.

Emi Nakamura (University of California, Berkeley) was awarded the John Bates Clark Medal.

Alejandro Portes (University of Miami) received the 2019 Princess of Asturias Award in the Social Sciences.

Michael C. J. Putnam (Brown University) was given the Arete Award by The Paideia Institute for Humanistic Study.

Jeremy W. Thorner (University of California, Berkeley) received the American Society for Biochemistry and Molecular Biology's 2019 Herbert Tabor Research Award.

Stephen Joel Trachtenberg (The George Washington University) was inducted into the Washington, DC, Hall of Fame Society.

Anne Villeneuve (Stanford University) is the recipient of the 2019 Genetics Society of America Medal.

New Appointments

Frances Arnold (California Institute of Technology) was appointed to the Scientific Advisory Board of Conagen Inc.

Katherine Baicker (University of Chicago) was named to the Board of Directors of HMS Holdings Corp.

Lonnie G. Bunch III (Smithsonian Institution's National Museum of African American History and Culture) has been appointed Secretary of the Smithsonian Institution.

Heather Gerken (Yale Law School) was elected to the Board of Trustees of Princeton University.

Lynne E. Maquat (University of Rochester) was named to the Scientific Advisory Board of Expansion Therapeutics, Inc.

Nancy Peretsman (Allen & Company LLC) was elected a public trustee of the Mayo Clinic Board of Trustees.

Pamela Silver (Harvard University) was appointed to the Scientific Advisory Board of Conagen Inc.

Michael S. Turner (University of Chicago) was appointed Senior Strategic Advisor at the Kavli Foundation.

Select Publications

Poetry

Charles Simic (University of New Hampshire). *Come Closer and Listen: New Poems*. HarperCollins, July 2019

Fiction

Amy Hempel (Stony Brook Southampton). *Sing to It: New Stories*. Scribner, March 2019

Thomas Mallon (Washington, DC). *Landfall*. Pantheon, February 2019

Nonfiction

Christopher Benfey (Mount Holyoke College). *If: The Untold Story of Kipling's American Years*. Penguin Press, July 2019

Partha Dasgupta (University of Cambridge). *Time and the Generations: Population Ethics for a Diminishing Planet*. Columbia University Press, June 2019

Eric Foner (Columbia University). *The Second Founding: How the Civil War and Reconstruction Remade the Constitution*. W.W. Norton, September 2019

Amy Gutmann (University of Pennsylvania) and Jonathan D. Moreno (University of Pennsylvania). *Everybody Wants to Go to Heaven but Nobody Wants to Die: Bioethics and the Transformation of Health Care in America*. Liveright, August 2019

Paul Theroux (East Sandwich, Massachusetts). *On the Plain of Snakes: A Mexican Journey*. Houghton Mifflin Harcourt, October 2019

Exhibitions

Faith Ringgold (University of California, San Diego). *Faith Ringgold*. Serpentine Gallery, London, June 6–September 8, 2019

We invite all Fellows and International Honorary Members to send notices about their recent and forthcoming publications, scientific findings, exhibitions and performances, films and documentaries, and honors and prizes to bulletin@amacad.org. ■

Member Policies

Like many other organizations, the Academy has been reviewing its policies related to members accused of crimes or other inappropriate actions (e.g., sexual harassment, falsification of research results, intentional plagiarism, and other breaches in professional ethics or academic misconduct). While the Academy's 1780 charter and the current by-laws provide for expelling or disenfranchising members for cause, there is no record that the Academy has taken any action related to expelling a member nor any policy to guide the practice.

In October 2018 and April 2019, the Academy's Board of Directors adopted two policies: one related to any member convicted of a felony and another related to any member accused of inappropriate actions but with no record of a court conviction. Because the Academy does not have the capacity to conduct its own investigations, both policies rely on the actions of other organizations to trigger a review. In the case of a felony, the triggering mechanism is clear since a court is involved. In other cases, a review by the Academy requires an "institutional triggering event," which is an action by the individual's employer or a reputable third party. This might include disbarment, decertification, loss of tenure, or termination/resignation with a public understanding of the cause. In both cases, the policy calls for a review by the Membership Committee and then, if any action is recommended, the member has an opportunity to appeal before a final decision is made by the Board of Directors.

Both policies are available on the Academy's member website under Member Resources at members.amacad.org. If you have any questions, please contact Mark Robinson at 617-576-5023 or mrobinson@amacad.org. ■

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Bulletin Summer 2019

Issued as Volume LXXII, No. 4

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The Bulletin of the American Academy of Arts & Sciences (ISSN 0002-712X) is published quarterly by the American Academy of Arts & Sciences, 136 Irving Street, Cambridge, MA 02138. Periodicals rate postage paid at Boston, MA, and at additional mailing offices. Postmaster: Send address changes to *Bulletin*, American Academy of Arts & Sciences, 136 Irving Street, Cambridge, MA 02138.

The views expressed in the *Bulletin* are those held by each contributor and are not necessarily those of the Board of Directors and Members of the American Academy of Arts & Sciences.

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