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PUTTING FAITH IN FRIENDSHIP

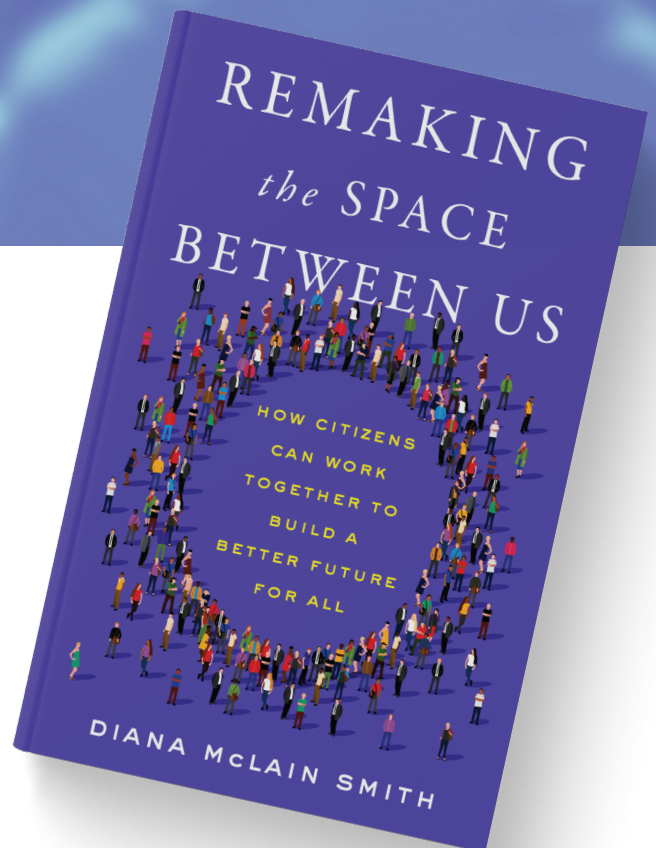
EXCERPT FROM

Remaking the Space Between Us

DIANA McLAIN SMITH

This essay is from *Remaking the Space Between Us*, a book of essays that will inspire and empower you to work across divides for a better future for all, not just some. That may strike you as a stretch, but the stories you read in this book prove that it is possible; indeed it is already happening as the tens of thousands of citizens showcased in this book demonstrate. A powerful new movement is afoot. Join us!

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ESSAY 16

Putting Faith in Friendship

During my senior year in high school, my social studies teacher, Mr. Schuler, held a mock United Nations exercise. I got to be Yugoslavia.

As conflict expert Peter Coleman would predict, once I was assigned to Team Yugoslavia, I felt great affection, even loyalty, toward the country and a good deal of respect for its president, Josip Broz Tito, whom I got to play. I especially admired Tito's efforts to forge a multiethnic community with widespread intermarriage and integrated housing. But as a rebellious teenager, it was his moxie toward Soviet Premier Josef Stalin that most captured my imagination. Immediately following World War II, the two leaders continually wrestled over how independent from the Soviet Union Yugoslavia got to operate. At the height of their conflict, Stalin sent several assassins to kill Tito. In response, Tito sent Stalin a letter. "Stop sending people to kill me," he ordered. "We've already captured five of them, one of them with a bomb and another with a rifle... If you don't stop sending killers, I'll send one to Moscow, and I won't have to send a second."¹ In 1949, Yugoslavia broke free from the Soviet orbit, exiting its satellite system and launching the Non-Aligned Movement.

Forty years later, ten years after Tito's death and shortly after the breakup of the Soviet Union, I was saddened to see Yugoslavia collapse and its four major ethnic groups—the Serbs (Orthodox

Christians), the Croats (Catholics), the Bosniaks (Muslims), and the ethnic Albanians (also Muslims)—descend into war stoked by latent ethnic tensions.

The American ambassador to Yugoslavia at the time, Warren Zimmermann, had a front-row seat to the country's demise. In an especially eerie paragraph in a 1995 *Foreign Affairs* article, he distilled what he learned:

"The breakup of Yugoslavia is a classic example of nationalism from the top down—a manipulated nationalism... The manipulators condoned and even provoked local ethnic violence in order to engender animosities that could then be magnified by the press, leading to further violence... Nationalist "intellectuals," wrapped in the mantle of august academies of sciences, expounded their pseudo-history of the victimization of Serbs (or Croats) through the ages... Worst of all, the media, under the thumb of most republican regimes, spewed an endless daily torrent of violence and enmity. As a reporter for *Vreme*, one of the few independent magazines left in the former Yugoslavia, said, "You Americans would become nationalists and racists too if your media were totally in the hands of the Ku Klux Klan."²

1 Roy Medvedev, *The Unknown Stalin*, 2004, cited in Wikipedia's biography of Tito, <https://rb.gy/y0u1o>.

2 Warren Zimmermann, "The Last Ambassador: A Memoir of the Collapse of Yugoslavia." Originally published by *Foreign Affairs* in March 1995, *Foreign Affairs* republished it in their *Summer Reads* newsletter on August 8, 2023.

The modern-day shots heard round the world

As far away in time and space as present-day Pittsburgh is from Yugoslavia in the early 1990s, the antisemitic mass murder of eleven Jews at Pittsburgh's Tree of Life synagogue in October 2018 evokes that earlier time and distant place, complete with nationalist manipulators, aided and abetted by a far-right media pitting race against race and religion against religion.

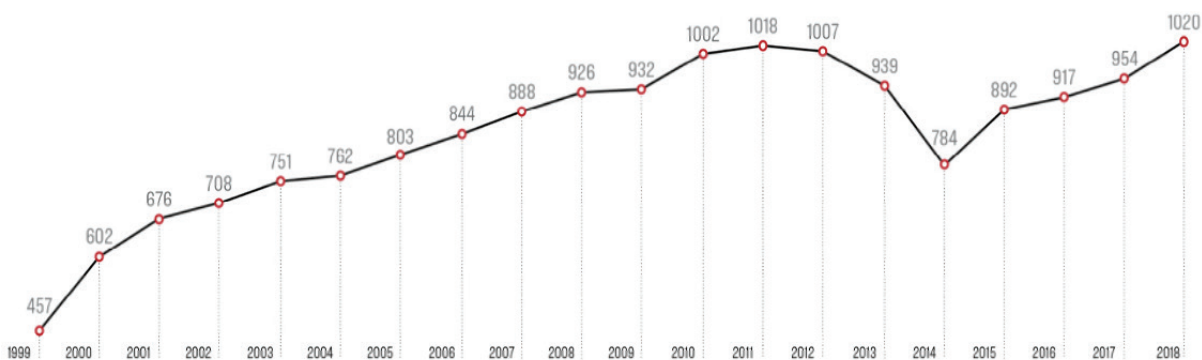
Pittsburgh sits in the southwest corner of a battleground state in the eastern part of the United States, a stone's throw from Ohio in the Midwest and from West Virginia in the South.

Like a number of cities in the East, my hometown of Boston among them, it is known for its historic love of liberty and its historic practice of segregating demographic groups into different neighborhoods. Most Black families in Pittsburgh live in the Hill District, most Jewish families in Squirrel Hill, most upper-crust White families in the mostly Catholic Shadyside neighborhood, and so on. Divided by the Allegheny, Monongahela, and Ohio

riders, Pittsburgh is known as the City of Bridges, with 446 bridges connecting its geographically and demographically divided neighborhoods.

Into the kindling of such divides, hate groups have been tossing one match after another in the hope of turning a failed melting pot into a toxic cauldron. Since 1999, the U.S. has seen a 55 percent rise in these hate groups, with a brief decline during Obama's presidency followed by a sharp incline during Trump's. The vast majority of these groups adhere to some form of white supremacist ideology, as do many nationalists. "Nationalism is by nature uncivil, undemocratic, and separatist," wrote Zimmermann of the rising nationalism in Yugoslavia as it was imploding, "because it empowers one ethnic group over all others." By 2018, the year of the Tree of Life attack, White nationalist groups had jumped from 100 to 148 nationwide, an increase that drove uncivil discourse, undemocratic actions, and separatist talk deep into the public culture.³ Three months after the attack, Southern Poverty Law Center's president, Richard Cohen, noted how hate was fraying the social fabric of our country.

Table 24.1: The Rise of Hate Groups⁴



³ Robert Hariman, "Public Culture," December 2016: "public culture refers most broadly to the dynamic negotiation of beliefs, values, and attitudes regarding collective association through media and other social practices that are defined by norms of open access and voluntary response." For more, go to <https://rb.gy/b5hoo>.

⁴ "Hate Groups Reach Record High," SPLC Report, February 19, 2019.

“Knitting [our social fabric] back together will take the efforts of all segments of our society—our families, our schools, our houses of worship, our civic organizations and the business community.”

At the forefront of those efforts are the citizens of Pittsburgh and the national, citizen-led organization Not In Our Town (NIOT), founded after the PBS film of the same name. In the wake of the deadliest antisemitic attack in the history of the United States, NIOT’s founder and independent filmmaker, Patrice O’Neill, and her filmmaking team went to Pittsburgh to document the city’s response to hate, as they had earlier gone to Billings, Montana.⁵ The result is *Repairing the World*, a documentary that follows Pittsburghers over three years as they picked up the shards of their collective trauma and used them to build hundreds of relational bridges across lines of difference, showing those who would harm them: “We are stronger than hate.”

Repairing the World tells a story that is at once devastating, moving, inspiring, and most of all, necessary. It opens with David Shribman of the *Pittsburgh-Post Gazette*: “I didn’t hear the shots the first time. I hear them all the time now... So many of us, whether Jewish or not—whether from Squirrel Hill or not, whether in Pittsburgh that morning or not—hear those shots still. They were the modern-day shots heard round the world in our contemporary crisis of hurt and hate.”⁶

An ugly day in the neighborhood

Squirrel Hill is known as a quiet neighborhood, home to the late Fred Rogers, host of a children’s educational program called *Mister Rogers’ Neighborhood*. His show lasted thirty-three tumultuous years, beginning in 1968 during the civil rights and anti-war movements and lasting until 2001, the year of the 9/11 attacks. The power of friendship, so well exemplified by Fred Rogers, would prove essential to his hometown after October 27, 2018.

On that day, an unassuming, overweight, slightly graying forty-six-year-old man entered the Tree of Life synagogue and opened fire with an assault rifle and three semiautomatic pistols. A few days before, Columbia University and the Anti-Defamation League had each reported an increase in antisemitic postings on Twitter and Instagram.⁷ On the morning of the attack, the shooter himself had posted a message on the web: “I can’t stand by and watch my people get slaughtered,” he wrote. “Screw your optics, I’m going in.” By the time the assailant surrendered to the police, eighty-three minutes after entering the building, he had killed eleven of the twenty-two people in the building and wounded six, some old enough to have survived the Holocaust. In the intervening time, police overheard him say, “All these Jews need to die.”

Twenty-two people from three congregations were preparing for worship that day. Among them were Andrea Wedner and her mother, Rose Mallinger, 97. Every Saturday Wedner and her mother would join others for Shabbat Saturday morning service at the Tree of Life, where each week Rose would read the prayer for peace.⁸

5 See Essay 10: “Taking a Stand.”

6 From *Repairing the World: Stories from the Tree of Life*, a film and community engagement project. <https://repairingtheworldfilm.org>.

7 David Ingram, “Attacks on Jewish people rising on Instagram and Twitter, researchers say,” NBC News, October 27, 2018, <https://rb.gy/mnuit>; Annabelle Timsit, “The Pittsburgh shooting is the culmination of an increase in anti-Semitism in the US,” Quartz, October 27, 2018, <https://rb.gy/3ujjp>.

8 Based on Wedner’s trial testimony as reported by Toby Tabachnick, “Prosecution rests in first phase of synagogue massacre trial,” *Pittsburgh Jewish Chronicle*, June 14, 2023.

Wedner heard what sounded like a high shriek, then gunshots in the hallway outside the Pervin Chapel in the Tree of Life building.

“My mother looked at me and said, ‘What do we do?’ in a very scared voice,” Wedner recalled in her testimony at the attacker’s trial.

“My mother couldn’t have run, and we didn’t know if there were other people shooting.”

She then saw the shooter standing toward the back of the chapel, not far from where she and her mother were hiding under their pew, lying head-to-head.

“I saw a white male with light-colored or gray hair, with a light-colored jacket,” Wedner said, “and he was holding a big, long gun... I was frantic. I was scared as scared could be.”

Wedner watched as the man stepped closer and shot her and her mother.

“I saw my right arm get blown open in two places,” Wedner testified. Her mother was shot so badly Wedner doubted she could survive. After the shooter moved on, Wedner stayed where she was rather than leave her mother for a safer spot. When the SWAT officers finally came to escort her out of the building, she kissed her fingers and touched them to her mother’s skin. “Mommy,” she cried, then left for the hospital, where her husband finally found her. “I think Bubbe is gone,” she sobbed.

By evening, news stations reported that along with Rose Mallinger, the shooter had killed Joyce Fienberg, 75; Richard Gottfried, 65; Daniel Stein, 71; Melvin Wax, 87; Irving Younger, 69; Dr. Jerry Rabinowitz, 66; the couple Bernice, 84, and Sylvan Simon, 86; and the brothers Cecil, 59, and David Rosenthal, 54.

Afterward, ProPublica reporter A.C. Thompson said of the attack, “It was horrifying. It was

horrible, but it wasn’t at all surprising to me. Since 2015, I’ve been studying the resurgence of white supremacist activity in the United States.” While many discounted the proliferation of their social media threats and rage, Thompson took them seriously. “There’s just this onslaught of antisemitism and it’s all bound up in this resurgent white power movement.”⁹

Five years later, the shooter, a “fringe figure in the online world of white supremacist rage,” was found guilty and sentenced to death.¹⁰

The day you realize you’re neighbors

The day and night of the attack, spontaneous outpourings of support spread throughout the city. Wasi Mohamed, a member of the Islamic Center of Pittsburgh, was among the first to reach out. “We offered to do anything the Jewish community needed,” he recalled. “If it’s standing in front of their services and protecting them, if it’s buying groceries, if it’s showing up for every funeral and Shiva.” Whatever they needed, he told them, his center would be there.



9 Unless otherwise noted, the material for the remainder of this essay comes from a transcript of the documentary *Repairing the World*. I have edited some quotes for brevity.

10 The descriptor “fringe figure” comes from Lois Beckett, “Pittsburgh shooter was fringe figure in online world of white supremacist rage,” *Guardian*, October 30, 2018.

High school students organized a gathering at Forbes and Murray Avenues in Squirrel Hill on the evening of the attack. Hundreds of people from across Pittsburgh showed up, clustered together, holding candles, a few playing music and singing, others standing silently, almost everyone holding on to one another, many of them crying.

A young woman standing at the front of the gathering stepped forward and spoke into a microphone, “I am a different Jew today than I was yesterday.”

No one in Pittsburgh was the same as they were the day before. “Pittsburgh has always been a city divided by race and class exacerbated by literal rivers,” *Pittsburgh Post-Gazette* columnist Tony Norman said. “For the first time in my memory, so many neighborhoods coming together, shoulder to shoulder, mourning together, weeping in each other’s arms, we realized that we were neighbors on that awful day.”

Redefining what it means to be a neighbor

“The tragedy was like a death in our family. It occurs and everybody has a flurry of activity,” said David Shribman of the *Pittsburgh Post-Gazette*. “Then thump, the activity is over, and the reckoning with the depth of the problem begins. How do we deal with this as a society? How do we deal with the few who are intent on causing harm and hatred for the many?”

Wasi Mohamed knows a lot about the depth of the problem. “Something that is always in the back of my mind any time I am at prayers on a Friday is something could happen. The Muslim community is no stranger to this kind of hatred.”

Journalist Tony Norman could relate. “To be a Black newspaper columnist in Pittsburgh is to be well acquainted with hate in this region. There’s a

lot of it, and it isn’t acknowledged nearly enough. It is not an abstraction to me. It comes to me before dawn in the form of calls to my office phone, usually a string of racial epithets let loose on the world like a scabrous jazz solo.”

In recent years, that scabrous solo has been accompanied by a cable news chorus oozing hateful talk 24/7. At the time of the mass shooting, Fox News Channel and Fox and Friends commentators were routinely venting their spleens:

“People are coming into our country *illegally*.”

“That’s an *invasion*. It’s not a caravan. It’s an *invasion*.”

“And the angry mob that’s coming.”

“Individuals are invading our country, and *something needs to be done about it*.”

In his research, PublicSource journalist Richard Lord discovered that the attacker had dropped out of the real world and into a virtual one, leaving a digital trail of his “descent into this world of antisemitic conspiracy theories and anti-immigrant sentiment that was becoming more and more a part of the normal political discourse in 2017 and 2018.” When that discourse began calling immigrants “invaders,” a soon-to-be-mass-murderer took to social media to post his reaction: “I have noticed a change in people saying ‘illegals’ that now say ‘invaders,’ I like this.”

Wasi Mohamed knew that a problem this deep and widespread would require them to do more than just support one another in vigils. To the few seeking to harm the many, they would have to prove that they were “stronger than hate,” as Pittsburghers put it. To Rabbi Ron Symons of the Center for Loving Kindness, that meant redefining what it means to be a neighbor:

“It’s not just about someone who lives next to you. A neighbor is someone who you actually have a moral responsibility towards and who has a moral responsibility towards you.”

Over the next months, as one national crisis after another swept the nation, Pittsburgh had plenty of chances to redefine the meaning of neighbor in terms of our moral responsibility toward one another.

In May 2020, a video was circulated nationwide, capturing Minneapolis police officer Derek Chauvin impassively kneeling on George Floyd’s neck until he killed him. Tim Smith, the pastor of the Keystone Church in the Hazelwood neighborhood of Pittsburgh, called on his neighbors throughout Pittsburgh. “Right now, the house that’s on fire are the houses of Black people. There are some things that we need to fix. We’re going to have to combine our networks to get this job done.” He then recounted, “I reached out to my clergy friends, my Jewish friends, saying ‘come and stand with us so that we as the faith community can make a statement.’”

During the same time, Allderdice High School held discussions on antisemitism and racism in their civics classes. “It was an open dialogue with no judgment,” one African American student said of the conversation. “That’s important, especially for young people, because if you don’t get that when you grow up, you’re just back to self-segregation because you’re not comfortable with people you normally wouldn’t talk to.”

Once the pandemic settled over the country and rumors of its origins spread misinformation and anti-Asian hate across the internet, the Asian American community came under threat. “For the Asian American community, the pandemic has been really, really hard,” said Marian Lien of Pittsburgh’s St. Edmunds Academy. “In a local market, I was told that I should be shipped off with the virus back to



“What is happening to the country we call America? What is happening to our democracy?”

—Esther Bush, CEO, Urban League of Pittsburgh

China. There’s not one Asian American or one Asian immigrant right now who doesn’t have that kind of a story.” Only this time, neighbors showed up. “Within hours, our Jewish community immediately called me and said, ‘Tell us what you need.’”

In the years following the 2018 attack, neighbors reached out to neighbors across historic divides, again and again—and not just in crisis. They reflected together in citywide and national panels, at the Eradicate Hate Global Summit, in Congressional hearings, in city reports on the impact of gender and race.

In each case, they asked some form of the same question: *In a time of division, what will it take to stand together and stand up to hate? What can you do to stand up to hate?*

Building a better future out of relationships stronger than hate

Looking back, Wasi Mohamed summed up his experience: “The story of what happened starts with some of the worst pain you can imagine and ends with some of the best and closest relationships I could have ever hoped for.”

Journalist Tony Norman had a similar experience. “The Tree of Life and George Floyd in a very horrific, ironic way made it possible for people to be vulnerable with each other. They forced people to cross bridges that they weren’t comfortable crossing. And once people got into the habit of crossing bridges, you began to see a new spirit emerge.” Later on, he adds, “It really does feel like something has changed. The metaphorical and literal bridges are being crossed.”

So how did Pittsburghers manage to cross bridges so many in our nation fear to cross? “The goal of preventing hate and violence pulls people in,” *Repairing the World* producer Patrice O’Neill told me in an interview. “It gets them working together, especially people who aren’t in polarized camps.” O’Neill has been using her documentaries to engage communities ever since the 1995 PBS film *Not In Our Town*. She sees her work as part of a movement among journalists to engage communities in the story-telling process, so they can create “restorative narratives” that help communities recover from the crises or disasters most news outlets just report.¹¹

A consistent theme runs through O’Neill’s work: the power generated by citizens when they come together and work toward a common goal. It is the kind of power generated by nuclear fusion rather than fission. Whereas fission splits one heavy, unstable nucleus into two lighter nuclei,

fusion releases vastly greater amounts of energy by bringing two light nuclei together.¹² In her book *Civic Fusion*, mediator extraordinaire Susan Podziba illustrates how even communities riven by divisive value conflict can come together through a process akin to fusion to achieve a common public policy goal.¹³

In Pittsburgh, the Tree of Life attack taught a lesson about fusion that we still have to learn as a nation. When you live separate lives in segregated communities, it is hard *not* to put your community’s interests above all others, even when it undercuts your power as a citizen to create a better future. Jasiri X spoke to how he learned that lesson at an event that brought different communities together to reflect on what they learned from the Tree of Life attack: “I was in the Black community, and I was about Black issues. I now understand white supremacist violence is not just a Black or Brown issue; it’s a Jewish issue as well. And if we’re all under attack by this white supremacist violence, why shouldn’t we be in solidarity?”

Where true safety lies

Wasi Mohamed believes the different communities across Pittsburgh can sustain the bonds they forged after the attack and build a more unified city, even a more unified country. It will no doubt take Fred Rogers’ talent for friendship and his ability to bond with a wide range of people of all ages and types. But if his hometown is any indication, that rare ability and talent can be forged most quickly and deeply in the heat of the moment when necessity requires it, when, as Norman put it, ***people are forced to cross bridges until they get in the habit of crossing bridges.***

11 For more, see Essay 10: “Taking a Stand” and Essay 19: “Rewriting the News That’s Fit to Print.”

12 “Fission vs. Fusion—What’s the Difference?” Duke Energy Information Center, May 2021, <https://rb.gy/eca3v>.

13 Susan Podziba, *Civic Fusion: Mediating Polarized Public Dispute* (American Bar Association, 2013). For examples, go to <https://www.podziba.com/projects>.

“Ensuring these relationships grow, that is the way we truly become stronger than hate.”

—Wasi Mohamed

Wasi Mohamed put it this way: “True safety is not going to be through having weapons. It is going to be through changing the sentiment in this country, and relationships are the foundation on which all of that is built. I’m looking for a place that has people I know I can stand with, that will dig the trenches with me, and prepare for anything that’s coming, together. Pittsburgh’s that place.”

Like all of us, the people of Pittsburgh just want to be safe. After witnessing the Tree of Life massacre, every instinct is telling them to seek that safety in relationships, not guns.

The story of Yugoslavia’s descent into inter-ethnic conflict and war, driven by a campaign of nationalist propaganda that too few resisted, is a cautionary tale. By the time all was said and done, the Yugoslav Wars became the deadliest armed conflict in Europe since World War II, resulting in somewhere between 130,000 to 140,000 deaths, the largest refugee and humanitarian crisis in European history, and war crimes that included genocide, crimes against humanity, and mass wartime rape.

If we do not resist these same divisive nationalist efforts in our own country, if we let the tight insular space within groups and the gaping distance across groups devolve into violence, we will likely go the way of Yugoslavia. If we choose instead to redefine the space between us by opening the space within our own groups and closing the distance among them—as so many in Pittsburgh did—we can repair the world and build a better future together.

After the Tree of Life massacre, sixteen-year-old Peyton Klein founded the Global Minds Initiative to move the world in that direction. The attack convinced her that nothing is more important or more powerful than creating a sense of belonging and community:

“Tikkun olam is a Hebrew concept. It means to repair the world, to make the world a better place. While we are not required to complete the task, we are not absolved from trying.”

The story continues...

The story of Pittsburgh, repeated for centuries across our nation and around the world, is not over. Hamas’ massacre of Israeli citizens in the name of Palestinian liberation, just three weeks before the fifth anniversary of the Tree of Life massacre, opened old wounds and resurrected old divisions. In Pittsburgh, Tree of Life Rabbi and survivor Jeffrey Meyers was disappointed that those who had reached out to him and his congregation after the 2018 massacre did not reach out after the Hamas attack on Israel. Nor apparently, did he reach out to them, some of whom might also have been hurting after Israel’s counterattack.

In Germany, where the shadow of the Holocaust still hangs over the nation’s conscience, most Germans sided with the Israelis.¹⁴ In the United States, where the shadow of slavery hangs over ours, many on the American left sided with the Palestinians subjugated in Israel much like African-Americans are in the U.S.. The question for you and me, then, is what role will you and I play in this cyclical story of violence and hate?

¹⁴ Susan Neiman, “Germany on Edge.” *New York Review of Books*. November 3, 2023.

Will we retreat to our own groups, take sides and become co-conspirators, or will we seek to interrupt the cycle by resisting the hate that hate evokes?

On October 25, 2023—two weeks after Hamas’ attack, in the midst of Israel’s counterattack, and two days before the 5th anniversary of the Tree of Life’s massacre—Robyn Sue Fisher of San Francisco chose love after someone smashed the front windows of her ice cream shop and spray painted “Free Palistin” (sic) on its storefront. Fisher is Jewish. No other nearby stores were targeted. The police are treating it as a hate crime.¹⁵

“At first I felt fear and then I felt anger and then I felt a deep sorrow,” Fisher said. “And then I felt empathy, and that’s how I got to love.”

Fisher wrote an open letter to the community. “This is a defining moment for us,” she wrote, “as a community, as leaders, and as parents of children who are watching us and learning from our actions. We cannot choose how others treat us, but we can choose how we respond. I CHOOSE LOVE. Now more than ever.”

As a part of that choice, Fisher decided to create a new line of T-shirts and sweatshirts that say “In the spirit of ice cream, I choose LOVE.” Proceeds will go, not to her pockets, but to San Francisco’s Courage Museum, set to open in 2025 and dedicated to “ending the public health crisis caused by violence, and the hate that fuels it.”

Fisher’s choice sparked a new cycle, one of love and support. Since she posted her open letter on her storefront and on her Instagram site, Fisher has received an overwhelming number of messages from friends and strangers alike. One came from another San Francisco small-business owner, a Palestinian American. “My support to you,” he

wrote. “No one that does that speaks for Palestinians. . . We are feeling unsafe as well and afraid to speak up. There’s love here. I choose that.” So too have many others. A GoFundMe campaign, launched by friends, has already raised \$70,000 to cover the store’s repairs and her employees’ lost wages.

“I’m more committed to keeping [Smitten Ice Cream] open than ever,” Fisher said. “I want to offer a message of resilience and love.” And if she met the person who attacked her store? Easy: “I would invite them to have some ice cream with me.”¹⁶

I doubt anyone better understands Fisher’s choice than Dan Leger. He was there the day a man full of hate attacked the Tree of Life and took from him the lives of people he loved. “Here is the hardest part,” he said afterward, “to learn to listen and to communicate and to help those who live in the prison of hate and isolation and bitterness and fear and to somehow learn to move beyond ‘I am right and you are wrong.’” The next essay offers insight and guidance on how.

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¹⁵ This account is based on Heather Knight, “San Francisco Shop Owner Responds to Hate Crime With Message of Love.” *New York Times*. Nov. 6, 2023.

¹⁶ Heather Knight, “San Francisco Shop Owner Responds to Hate Crime With Message of Love.” *New York Times*. Nov. 6, 2023.



REMAKING
THE SPACE
BETWEEN US

“ We forget that our power as citizens lies not just in our rights as individuals, but in our responsibilities as a people for working together to build a better future. ”

—Diana McLain Smith, Author, *Remaking the Space Between Us*



Diana McLain Smith

About the author

Diana M. Smith is a renowned thought leader who has led change efforts for 35 years in some of America's most iconic businesses and cutting-edge nonprofits. Her Leading Through Relationships (LTR)[™] approach has been used around the world to convert debilitating intergroup conflict into a constructive force for change.

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