(te•kün) To mend, repair and transform the world.

TIKKUN

CHANUKAH SUPPLEMENT

PAUL KRASSNER ON
TIM LEARY
DANNY GOLDBERG ON
FAITH & COMPASSION

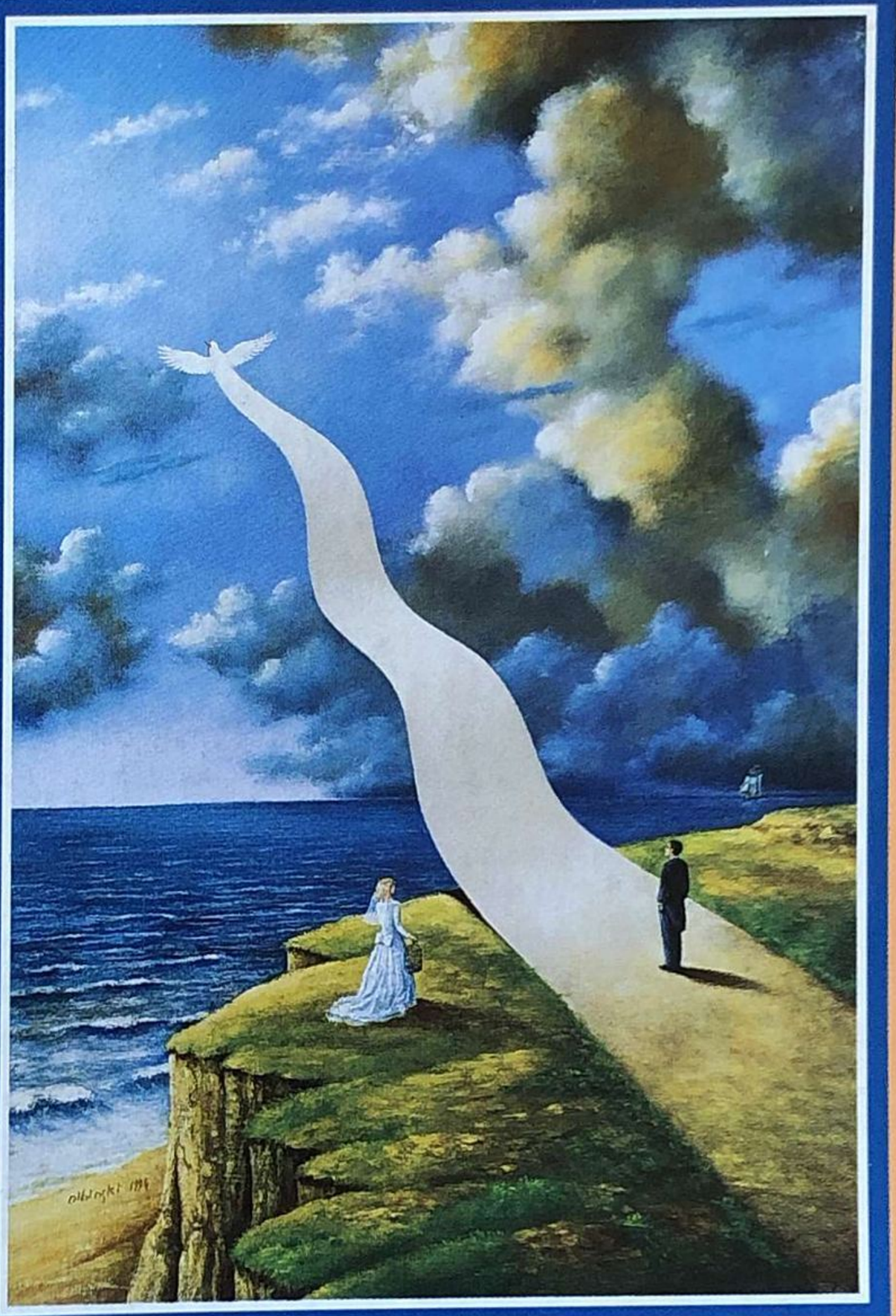
A BIMONTHLY JEWISH CRITIQUE OF POLITICS, CULTURE & SOCIETY NOVEMBER/DECEMBER 1999 $5.95

Hope or Despair?

LESSONS FROM THE LAST MILLENNIUM

Martin Jay • Natalie Zemon Davis
David Biale • Omer Bartov
Michael Lerner and Peter Gabel

KEN WILBER on Baby Boomeritis



PUBLIC JOURNALISM
Jay Rosen

HUMAN RIGHTS
Carroll Bogert

NO TO FISH-ITARIANS
Richard H. Schwartz

JUDAISM AND EROS
Mordechai Gafni

Plus:

Saul Landau on Pinochet, Jerome Slater on Israel,
and Shepard Forman on East Timor
Andrew Furman and Sanford Pinsker on American Jewish Writers
Thom Hartmann on Environmentalism

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Hagar: After the Commune Collapsed

Two women one man
didn't seem such an odd idea.
Weren't we all brothers
and sisters together?
in spite of our different skins eye-shapes cheekbones
class backgrounds: what our parents saw
when they looked out their windows
(those who had windows to peer from),
what they wanted for us?
None of that mattered!
We could do other things:
rearrange maps end wars
even have babies

who would belong to God
or the Spirit of Revolution or everyone at once.
None of us practiced ownership.
Those who want nothing (we said)
can never be deprived.

In the outside world
of scowling, suited men and brittle, terrified women,
I was considered a "slave."
That was a fiction.
In our world, we owned no titles
no leaders no systems of conquest or dominion
no fathers no mothers
we were all children.

But then our own children came: mine, hers.
And with them emotions
we thought we had disowned:
jealousy rage the need to triumph,
the need to humiliate.

The thing that hurt most
was losing her:
the person I loved most,
the one who knew my secrets
as I knew hers.
I admit I said a stupid thing
in a fury of stupidity.
I didn't expect her
to turn into her mother:
that wax matriarch whose pale glare
turned children and servants to stone.

He married her, of course.
She was the one
he could take home to his parents
(an honor I could do without).

She had the right accent skin tone vocabulary.
This, I understood.
But why did they release me
into the desert
with the boy who was one-third mine,
one-third his, one-third hers?
(That was our fantasy.)

Fantasy and a token
(my smart son reminds me)
will get you a subway ride
into the wilderness,
not into the middle class.
Abraham and Sarah
(as they call themselves today)
keep a nice house in a good suburb.
Their Isaac's a college professor.
His wife's a CEO
of a rising corporation.
One of their boys wins prizes at Science Fairs.
The other, they don't talk about.

Sometimes I dream of Sarai.
We're together in our long hair and bare feet,
mashing mint leaves for tea,
fixing the Multilith,
watching frogs leap in the creek
while the men argue theory.

Sometimes I imagine
our children's children will meet:
one reads a poem the other writes,
one takes a class the other teaches,
one walks into the restaurant
and eats food cooked by her cousin.

What will happen then?
Will they fall in love?
Become friends?
Plan a city together?

Ishmael says, "Mama, give it up.
The commune has collapsed.
The past lives on in the present
a wound that won't heal. That's all.
I don't want a father who can't help me.
I don't want a brother who won't see me.
I don't want your dreams."

—Enid Dame

TIKKUN

A BIMONTHLY JEWISH CRITIQUE OF POLITICS, CULTURE & SOCIETY VOLUME 14 NUMBER 6



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The Shape of Intimate Illusion, 1994, by Rafal Olbinski. Serigraph. Courtesy of Patinae, Inc.

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Golden Age, 1987, by Alexander Sitnikov. Oil on canvas. Courtesy of International Images, Ltd.

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Letters to the Editor

Memos to Barak

To the Editor:

The professors who wrote "Memos to Barak" (September/October 1999) are an arrogant group of dreamers. They disdain the Israelis, seeing in them aggressive, boorish, parochial racists unable or unwilling to make peace with their defenseless victims—Palestinian Arabs. They see themselves enlightened guides who have the duty to lead the stubborn Israeli herd to the "shimmering heights" of their humanistic utopia.



The professors are blind to the reality of the Jewish life—the need to struggle for our place under the sun. How insulting is their sermonizing! How bizarre are their demands!

Professor Yiftachel wants no more and no less than a creation of a "new entity—the Israeli people," since the "prevalence of Jewishness over Israeliness" has resulted in "disproportionate power of the Orthodox Jewish groups."

For Professor Green, the Jews still represent the "values of our ancient prophets." However, he does not want us to be "just another nation," but a "kingdom of priests" who serve the "altar of humanity's highest values."

Professor Slater believes that the peace between Israelis and Arabs will come when "Palestinian territorial, economic, and psychological needs" are satisfied. About the psychological needs of the Arabs we learn from Mrs. and Mr. Kanaaneh, who want Israelis to "demilitarize" since "the war-preparedness" causes "alienation and antagonism" between Jews and Arabs.

Like any other nation, we, the Jewish people, have national desires. To be a "kingdom of priests" and to "serve humanity's highest values" are not among them. Our desire is to have a state that will satisfy our own territorial, economic, and psychological needs. In the first place we must care about ourselves. Nobody will do that for us. We must demand that our dreamers stop feeding the world with false hopes the Jewish people cannot fulfill.

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LETTERS

The professors are eloquent people. They entice some of us to believe in their dreams. But there might be a good way to "get real." Let TIKKUN ask the professors to write one more memo—a "Memo to Arafat." Moreover, let TIKKUN ask Palestinian intellectuals to write a "Memo to Arafat." What an eye-opener that would be!

Will TIKKUN have the guts to do it? Let us hope they will. And the rest of us will read the "Memos," compare them, get the feeling for the real world, and, hopefully, stop dreaming.

FAIVUS BRAUER
Fair-Lawn, NJ

Editor responds:

Please see the article by Palestinian Human Rights Monitoring Group activist Bassem Eid in the May/June 1998 issue—a powerful critique of the Palestinian Authority's human rights abuses.

ADHD—Whose Disorder?

To the Editor:

Your cover story in the July/August 1999 issue of TIKKUN ("Whose Order is Being Disordered by ADHD?" by Thom Hartmann) is misleading to the public and insulting to the thousands of individuals who deal with ADHD in their lives.

Impulsivity, distractibility, and decreased social awareness cause monumental barriers and pain to people with ADHD, who must expend tremendous energy coping with daily situations that most people take for granted. To imply that spending one's childhood struggling with organizational or perceptional difficulties is somehow desirable or creative is ridiculous. I doubt these traits were positive for the "hunters" of olden days, since such traits are not synonymous with risk taking, quick decision making, or enjoyment of nature, as Mr. Hartmann suggests.

Whatever the causes of ADHD, no reputable educator or psychologist makes judgments about "evolutionary inferiority" or predictions about contributions that people with ADHD can or cannot make. Nor do we have the leisure to philosophize about the pressures of our "dysfunctional" society. We are too busy creating and updating alternative learning systems and supports to enable success for people with ADHD in this complex, fast-moving society—and applauding the successes of our clients and their families.

RITA SCHWARTZ
Special Education Coordinator
Colorado Agency for Jewish Education
Denver, CO



Children of a Vanished World
ROMAN VISHNIAC
Edited by Mara Vishniac Kohn and Miriam Hartman Flacks
Between 1935 and 1938 the celebrated photographer Roman Vishniac explored Eastern Europe, capturing life in the Jewish *shtetlekh*. With the publication of *Children of a Vanished World*, seventy of those photographs are available, thirty-six for the first time. The photos are accompanied by a selection of nursery rhymes, songs, poems, and chants for children's games in both Yiddish and English translation.
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Thom Hartmann responds:

I thank Rita Schwartz for presenting so articulately the orthodox view of ADHD as a mental/educational "disorder." While I prefer to think that if more than 2 million children in the United States alone must take drugs daily to get through school then perhaps we should be looking at the schools/institutions/culture as part of the problem, I also appreciate and respect the perspective of the medical and educational establishment that these children are simply disordered/deficient and the fault/problem/blame is entirely theirs. Fortunately there is still room in our culture for concerned people to respectfully disagree.

THOM HARTMANN
Northfield, VT

Drugs and Judaism

To the Editor:

While it is self-evident that America's "War on Drugs" is a senseless, fraudulent, and proto-fascist exercise (one that could just as readily target Jews), Lawrence Bush advocates a more insidious danger in "Drugs and Jewish Spirituality" (May/June 1999).

Admittedly, and to my eternal sorrow and shame, I write from the perspective of having committed a particularly heinous murder nearly twenty-five years ago while in a state of heroin-induced psychosis, but, like Mr. Bush, I too have enjoyed pleasant and ostensibly enlightening hallucinogenic experiences. Unlike the "Just Say No" crowd, I am also able to differentiate between reasonable use and abuse of substances deemed illicit by our federal and state governments; nevertheless, I believe that consciousness altered by drugs can result in, at best, only a virtual spirituality, and therein lies the danger to Jewish life.

Spirituality not based on Torah, no matter how soothing or benign, is something other than a life guided by Torah. Such a construct—call it mysticism or whatever—if permitted as the norm of Jewish life, will eventually relegate Torah to a reference point from which one may pick and choose, sans the study and devotion by which Torah is experienced as a complete fulfillment of spiritual desire.

The insanity and destructiveness of the "War on Drugs," which is wholly antithetical to any concept of justice within Judaism, in no way legitimizes even esoteric drug use as a substitute for wisdom gained through Torah.

ROBERT GERSON
Bayside State Prison
Leesburg, NJ

Restorative Justice

To the Editor:

Restorative Justice (September/October 1999) has a great deal to recommend it. However, we need to start with the facts about the American criminal justice system. Communitarian thinkers are fond of deploring its adversarial bent. But in fact the adversary system—trial, evidence, record, and appeal—is a minuscule part of what really happens in American courts. It is true that, as David Lerman says, 90 percent of all criminal charges result in a conviction. However, he neglects to mention that 85 percent of those charges are resolved by plea bargaining. Plea bargaining is a fundamentally inquisitorial process. It is driven not by an impartial judge, but by a prosecutor, who gathers inculpatory evidence and then uses it to bargain the defendant into pleading guilty to something, almost anything, to save the state the trouble of proving its case.



All plea bargaining already includes at least a rudimentary attempt at requiring the defendant to "take responsibility" for some sort of criminal behavior. If "taking responsibility" were sufficient to transform the criminal justice system, that transformation would have happened long since. Most critics of the adversary system of criminal justice object that it puts evidence before truth, and both before the needs of the victims. But in fact the inquisitorial system of plea bargaining puts administrative convenience and economy before evidence, truth, and the needs of the victims. It often results in requiring the defendant to "take responsibility" for acts s/he has in fact not committed (even though s/he may have done something else just as illegal and just as bad) to save the state the trouble of proving the acts s/he did commit. The defendant can scarcely be blamed for seeing the whole arrangement as a charade, and feeling no real responsibility whatever for his or her real criminal actions. This is one of the reasons convicted defendants are unlikely to be rehabilitated by their experience in the system.

Restorative Justice, then, has to get past not only the official adversarial elements of the American criminal justice system, but also the real-life inquisitorial elements of the plea bargaining system that really makes law enforcement work (to the extent that it works at all.) To do that, we probably need to stop taking at face value the claims of common-law systems to adversarial fairness and judicial impartiality, and look more closely at other people's inquisitorial systems (such as those in civil law jurisdictions in Europe, Japan, and Latin America) and at the fate of Restorative Justice in those systems.

MARIAN H. NEUDEL (ESQ.)
Chicago, IL

David Lerman responds:

I agree with some of Ms. Neudel's comments. Prosecutors are indeed vested with great power. We shape the tenor of a case by the level and number of charges issued. Prosecutors who routinely "pile on" charges in order to wrest a plea after wearing a defendant down walk an ethical tightrope.

However, Ms. Neudel's comments about defendants' accountability are somewhat contradictory. She argues that if "responsibility taking" were sufficient to transform the system, the transformation should have already occurred because the system already does make efforts to achieve defendant responsibility. This implies a belief that the manner in which defendants take responsibility today is positive. However, that is not the case, because the current system's "responsibility taking" is accomplished through the highly formalized court process, generally devoid of genuine discussion of the circumstances and background prior to the act and the harm caused to the victim and the community as a result of the act. I think Ms. Neudel realizes this when she characterizes defendants' views of the system as a "charade."

I know very little about the legal systems of Europe and Latin America. However, the Japanese criminal system does allow for the opportunity for repentance/forgiveness between the key players. While focusing on other countries' legal systems as models might be educational, Restorative Justice principles call for attorneys to relinquish some of the grip they have on the justice system. Looking to rituals or systems of relations between people, e.g., the notion of approaching a person you have wronged as is done for Yom Kippur, or conferencing through a circle process as is done among many first-nation peoples, is probably more educational than simply looking at other systems operated by lawyers if we wish to truly pursue a more humanistic approach to criminal justice.

DAVID LERMAN
Milwaukee, WI

Woman Unbound

To the Editor:

I am always enlightened or invigorated by reading Dr. Arthur Green, and looked forward to more of his wisdom in the September/October 1999 issue of TIKKUN. Therefore, I was especially horrified to see the illustration that accompanied his article, a women bound as though for sexual use or torture. I couldn't find any connection to such a drawing in the article, and couldn't imagine why it would appear in the magazine in any case. Please explain the use of the drawing and your decision to include it.

RABBI ELLEN LIPPMANN
Brooklyn, NY

Editor responds:

Both nature and female sexuality have been considered dangerous and in need of constraint. In Michael Berkowitz' art, however, the power of the female form far exceeds the constraints with which she is bound. This seemed a match for Green's piece, which focuses on releasing the equally powerful forces of nature from human control.

—JO ELLEN GREEN KAISER

Soulful Schools

To the Editor:

In his "Response to Valde," Leonard Fein (September/October 1999) says, "The public schools I attended, just as the public schools of which Paul Goodman and Edgar Friedenberg and a host of others wrote, were about as unsoulful as my living room couch." It is obvious that Fein is a victim of his unsoulful education. He places the blame on the inadequacies of the teacher when in truth it is the inadequacy of the system that deserves the blame. Classes on spiritual awareness are just as important as math and English and need to be added to the curriculum. Guidelines for these classes should be established by experts in psychology, spirituality, and education.

Fein asks, "How can we ask schools to embody a 'moral awareness' that is absent in the society in which the school is embedded?" This is a case of putting the cart before the horse. The consciousness of our society is expanding to a greater understanding of spirituality. In order to perpetuate that growth, to put an end to violence among our youth and to repair our damaged ecology, we must begin with our children. The time for the evolution of our educational systems is at hand. Yes, of course it would help to have smaller classes and better-paid teachers, but there are other more important issues. We need to change the direction of public school education away from materialism and towards spiritual sensitivity.

GOLDIE GITTLE
Miami, FL

Student Social Responsibility

To the Editor:

In 1987, Humboldt State University (California) initiated the Graduation Pledge of Social and Environmental Responsibility. It states, "I pledge to explore and take into account the social and environmental consequences of any job I consider or any organization for which I work" (each student defines what being "responsible" means).

Dozens of colleges and universities have since enacted the pledge, at schools ranging in size from Earlham to Harvard to the University of Kansas. Graduates who voluntarily signed the pledge have turned down jobs they did not feel morally comfortable with and have worked to make changes once on the job. For example, some have promoted recycling at their organization and, in one case, a graduate helped to convince her employer to refuse a chemical weapons contract.

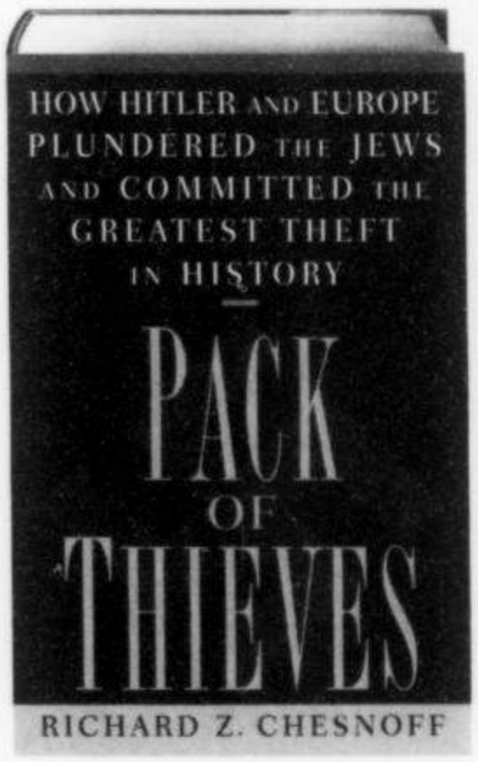
In 1996, Manchester College began coordinating the campaign effort, and models one form the pledge can take. At Manchester, the pledge is a community-wide event. Fifty to 60 percent of students (up to 60 percent of the graduating class in recent years) sign and keep a wallet-size card stating the pledge, while supportive faculty wear green ribbons at commencement and the pledge is printed in the formal commencement program. The pledge helps educate and motivate students to contribute to a better world, and can be a focal point for other types of consciousness-raising both on and off campus.

Though it might take several years to reach Manchester's level of institutionalization, it's not hard to get started. If one can just get a few groups/departments involved, and get some media attention on (and off) campus, others will become interested and build for the future.

Contact NJWollman@Manchester.edu for information/questions/comments; or write GPA, MC Box 135, Manchester College, 604 E. College Ave., North Manchester IN 46962. The campaign also has a website at http://ARES.manchester.edu/department/peaceStudies/gpa.html.

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Faith-Based Compassion

Danny Goldberg

A few days after Buford O. Furrow, Jr., allegedly shot up a California Jewish community and day-care center, the *Los Angeles Times* ran a Paul Conrad cartoon depicting the rifle-toting homicidal Furrow with the caption "Faith-Based Compassionate Conservative." The caption implicitly links a murderer to the probable Republican presidential nominee George W. Bush, a self-defined "compassionate conservative" who supports "faith-based solutions" to social problems. Although I've often admired Conrad's work, I found the cartoon politically unfair and in very bad taste. I didn't disagree at all when Dennis Prager, a Los Angeles-based conservative talk radio host, observant Jew, and champion of organized religion, lambasted the cartoon and lamented that no one on the Left would attack the outrageous unfairness of it.

Of course, there aren't any liberal talk radio jocks in Los Angeles—and for most of the political media establishment an attack on such an offensive cartoon would simply give it more attention—but for the record, as someone who happily identifies himself as a left-liberal, I hereby condemn the cartoon and any demonization of conservatives.

That same day, Prager quickly segued to another of his favorite subjects: the value of organized religion in helping society to be more moral. He often states that the average person would feel safer confronting a large group of people walking down the street if he knew they were coming from a prayer meeting as opposed to a secular meeting, and suggests that society's moral deterioration over the last twenty-five years is connected with the reduced general support of religion.

Here Prager and I part ways. There is far less anti-religious sentiment in the United States than there is pressure against people who are not members of mainstream Christian or Jewish denominations. Prior to Jesse Ventura's much condemned remarks questioning religion in *Playboy*, when was the last time a political leader said he or she was an atheist, agnostic, or believer in a minority religion other than Judaism?

The morality of a society is defined, in part, by how minorities of any kind are treated. The fact is that unselfish work is done by both religious and nonreligious people. The fact is that although some religious leaders are deeply spiritual and moral people, many are not. The fact is that there are all sorts of nonreligious groups of people walking down a street who would not seem menacing: people who are very well dressed, people who are mostly old, and, dare I say it, people who are leaving an ACLU meeting. Conversely, if you happen to be a doctor who performs abortions, there are groups coming from certain Christian prayer meetings that might be quite intimidating, as might be a group of burly Jewish Defense League members if you were an Arab American walking alone.

It seems to me that religion is at its best when addressing spiritual needs. It is one thing to celebrate moral, compassionate behavior that arises from spiritual traditions. It is quite different to suggest that government should transfer *its* moral obligation to specific religious organizations. The political rhetoric that spotlights faith and religious institutions often works as an excuse for less government spending on the social safety net. Voluntary donations simply don't fill the need for dealing with suffering. The word "compassion" is not a substitute for social programs. In addition, the channeling of public funds to religious programs—the political agenda of "faith-based" solutions—not only marginalizes people who do not believe in "approved" religions but will inevitably politicize religion further, which isn't conducive to a true spiritual environment.

TIKKUN has correctly written a lot about the need for liberals to understand and value spiritual traditions. It is just as important for those who are religious progressives to respect the legitimacy of those who answer to an inner call different from their own.

Prager, Rush Limbaugh, and others love to ridicule liberals' claims of compassion, but they need to hold George Bush and other conservatives to the same standard. Their argument for school prayer seems to be that the value of a school symbolically affirming the spiritual construct of a majority outweighs the pain inflicted on those students whose families are different. How is that argument compassionate?

Look at recent actions by the ACLU, a favorite target of conservatives. In Southern California, the ACLU recently filed a lawsuit because schools in poor neighborhoods don't offer the same advance placement courses available in suburban areas. Last year, the ACLU won a lawsuit requiring the Los Angeles school system to repair decrepit school infrastructures after finding that schools in Compton had bathrooms that didn't work and no money for pencils or paper. Should not compassionate conservatives recognize that the ACLU provides a moral service in instances such as this even though it disagrees with the Pragers of the world about prayers in those schools? ❑

Danny Goldberg is co-publisher of TIKKUN.

FREE ASSOCIATIONS

by Michael Lerner

Thanksgiving: Making Gratitude Real



Gratitude doesn't come easy.

Celebration of the universe and gratitude for all that we have is one of the central themes of Shabbat. One reason why you can't really understand the spiritual depth of Shabbat unless you do the whole twenty-five hour process (and not just show up at a religious service) is that for most of us it takes twenty-five hours to let go of all the voices inside our heads that are continually screaming at us with messages about things that we *ought* to be doing instead of just relaxing, enjoying, and celebrating the universe.

That's why, over the centuries the most spiritually sensitive Jews developed a technology to allow us to get into this mind space. Their main message for Shabbat can be summed up thus: don't spend this time acting on the world or "getting things together"—don't cook, clean, shop, do chores, catch up on work, catch up on your email or computer or writing or phone calls or anything else—just relax, eat good food that you've made before Shabbat, have sex (within the context of a loving and covenantal relationship), open yourself to your own spiritual dimension and to the glory of the universe.

Unfortunately, the idea of really slowing down enough to celebrate all that is good in our lives and in our world doesn't fit with the pace of our daily lives, nor with the internalized messages that "you are not enough" and that "you haven't done enough." That's why so many Americans resist making Thanksgiving the spiritually rich holiday it has the potential to be.

Every year most Americans do everything possible to avoid the central focus on giving thanks, and instead manage to fill their time with parades, football games, preparations for the eating of an ill-fated turkey, and table conversation that is often embarrassed and too self-conscious to allow oneself to immerse in gratitude. The most courageous are those who start their dinner meal by saying, "let's go around and say something for which we are grateful," but even they seek to get through that moment quickly so that they can be their everyday selves again. To stay in that mode of gratitude for the whole meal, much less for the whole day, is almost unheard of in American life today.

Might it not be time to try to learn from Shabbat, and take some of the ritual and twenty-five hour focus that the Jewish spiritual technology has refined? For example, what if Thanksgiving started the evening before with a family ritual of celebrating the evening and the stars? What if the next day there was a no-television and no-shopping rule, and instead the day was dedicated exclusively to sharing with each other the good things that had been experienced through the past year? What if communities made sure to invite singles to gather together and share communal meals, and families all made a commitment to invite at least three to four single people, plus other couples, to expand their celebration beyond nuclear family dimensions? And what if the meals shared that day were all punctuated by singing, dancing, the reading of poetry, and music that had been selected for the ability to enhance our celebratory mode?

Could you make this happen? Try this year and let us know how it went. Tell us what you did and said, what obstacles you faced, and how it worked out.

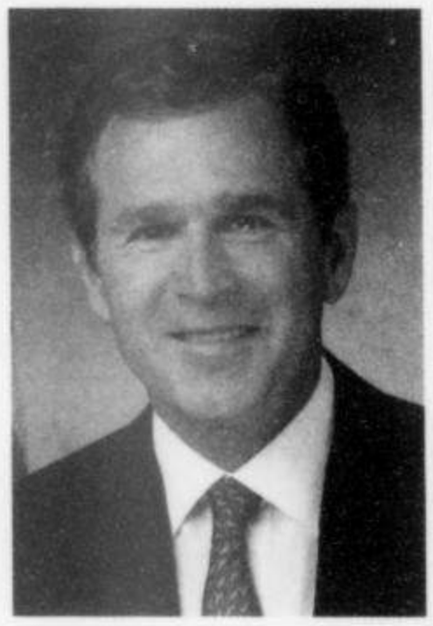
Stop the Judicial Murder of Mumia Abu Jamal

We don't support cop-killing and we don't know whether he's guilty or not. But one thing is clear to anyone who reads the judicial record: Mumia Abu Jamal was never given a fair chance to defend himself or prove his innocence. The trial was a travesty and he deserves another opportunity to be heard by a jury of his peers. Its so easy to get turned off by the overheated rhetoric of Jamal's ultra-lefty supporters that one is tempted to just close to the issue—there are so many injustices, why focus on this one? But this is a black man whose opposition to oppression and racism made him a marked man for the police of Philadelphia, and we who hate injustice have to let our voices be heard.

ILLUSTRATION BY LYNNE FELDMAN

George W. Bush's ... Compassion

George W. Bush's recent criticisms of those Republicans who care more for protecting wealth than for tackling America's abiding social ills deserves some praise. Mr. Bush's statements critiquing the Republicans in Congress for attempting to "balance the budget on the backs of the poor" and his statement on October 6, 1999 that "the strongest argument for conservative ideals ... is that they lead to greater justice, less suffering, more opportunity" give some substance to the slogan of "compassionate conservative."



If the presidential race in 2000 comes down to the question of whose strategy is best at generating more justice, less suffering and more opportunity, the choice of candidates won't be open and shut. In the Clinton years, the size of wealth owned by the poorest one-fifth of the population declined dramatically, while the disparity between rich and poor skyrocketed. Clinton has turned out to be a major boon for the rich even as he provided public legitimation for the elimination of welfare. Though the results sent stock markets soaring and the upper 20 to 30 percent of the population into a roar of approval as their lot improved, the rest of the population either stayed in place or did worse. Would Bush senior have done so much worse, particularly with the Democratic Congress he would have likely had as a counter-balance?

But before getting too breathless about Bush junior and his compassion, notice his opportunistic attempts to keep Pat Buchanan in the Republican party despite Buchanan's recent anti-Semitic statements about why it was not in the United States' interest to have gotten involved in the war against the Nazis. As the dramatic electoral surge of pro-Nazi forces in Austria in October reminds us, the question of including fascists in your coalition will sadly remain a pressing issue in the coming years.

Millennium Fantasies in Film & Book

American Beauty is a powerful film and its popularity an important reminder that alienation in American life is widely understood even if mainstream newspapers and television manage to deny its centrality. Though the movie never mentions the hunger for meaning or the spiritual crisis in American society, that's what it is addressing—and it does so in ways that are so compelling precisely because its humorous and caricaturish elements allow the viewer to be able to watch it without the discomfort that a more realistic depiction would generate. Unfortunately, following Hollywood's limits on even the best films, it presents no vision of hope or possibility, and certainly no sense that there are tens of millions of others who are similarly hungering for something more than the dominant culture offers. Thus, the audience is implicitly invalidated even as their deepest truths and hungers are revealed.

Equally troubling and equally brilliant, try A.B. Yehoshua's recent novel *A Journey to the End of the Millennium*. Set exactly a thousand years ago in France and the Rhineland, this is a story of the clash in values and lifestyle between Ashkenazic and Sephardic Jews struggling with the ban on polygamy. It's a story so rich and rewarding and told by such a master of fiction that we hesitate to mention the melancholia that limits its possibilities for ultimate transcendence. Despite that (as with *American Beauty*), the courageous willingness to depict the status quo with all of its murderous intensity and craziness is a contribution worthy of congratulations in a period in which emotional deadness is often the best we can get from fiction and film.

Said as Refugee

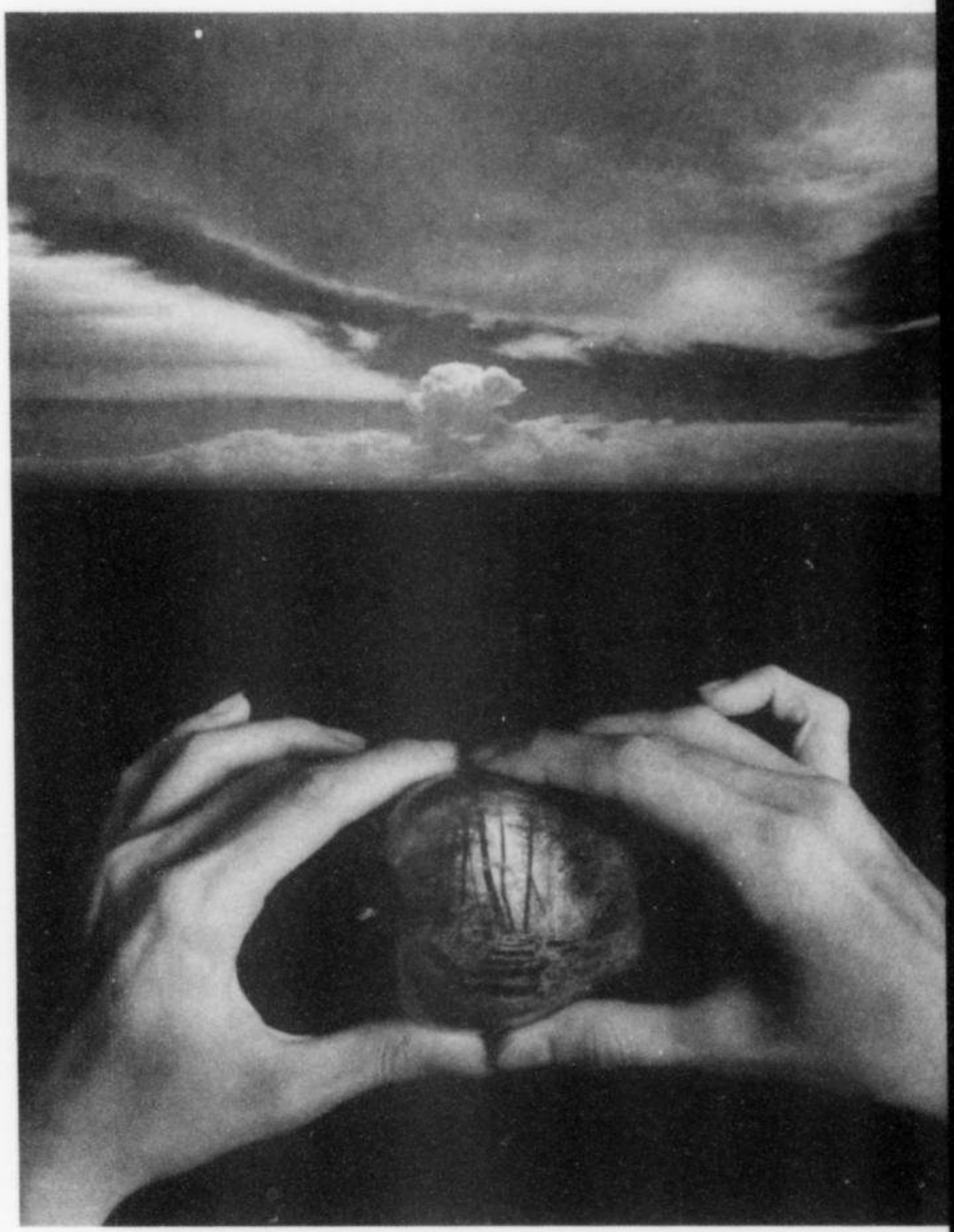
The recent attempt by *Commentary* magazine (in their Sept. 1999 issue) to discredit Edward Said as an authentic voice of Palestinians because he personally did not live in Palestine as a child (though most of his family were refugees) is as obscene as the attempts by various Holocaust revisionists to argue that many of the Jewish refugees were not really victims of the Holocaust but merely self-interestedly escaping a war zone. It's time to overcome the Jewish "veil of ignorance" under which we refuse to understand the suffering caused by our flawed but righteously-intentioned national liberation movement called Zionism, pointing only to our intentions and the good work of providing a homeland for Jewish refugees while screening out the painful consequences for hundreds of thousands of Palestinians.

PHOTO COURTESY OF GEORGE W. BUSH

Why We're Hopeful about the

NEW MILLENNIUM

Michael Lerner and Peter Gabel



PHOTOMONTAGE BY JERRY UELSMANN

Strictly speaking, it's not our millennium, and theirs doesn't start till 2001.

So what?

The cultural reality is that the year 2000 is emerging as a year in which fantasies abound and some serious reflection might be possible.

Unfortunately, serious reflection is likely to be drowned out by two kinds of voices. The first will be the flaky "salvation is at hand" voices that will range all the way from the born-again Second Coming types who are pouring into Jerusalem (some of them with rather destructive plans to wreak havoc in order to fulfill their interpretation of apocalyptic biblical predictions) all the way to the sweet New Age goodhearts who imagine magical powers in the millennium numbers. Anyone talking from the standpoint of hopefulness may quickly be assimilated into some variant of these "salvation is at hand" positions.

On the other hand, "intellectuals" will be doing their own reflecting, mostly on variants of the following theme: "We've learned from history that people who have utopian expectations produce social realities that are terribly destructive. So let's settle for what we have, maybe with some minor tinkering, because anything more is likely to lead us right back into the dynamics that produced fascism, communism, and other social movements that have wrought a huge amount of damage and pain in the history of the past 1,000 years."

There's a lot of truth to this perception, of course.

There is no denying the devastation that has been wrought in past centuries by zealots of every sort pursuing their visions by murdering others.

And yet, the intellectual approach also turns out to be a rather distorted way of understanding the past millennium and learning from its lessons.

The first corrective is this: a great deal of the pain intellectuals describe has been inflicted not by zealots, but by decent people who did what those with more power told them to do, and who never believed anything more than that they should try to fit into the established order of their society.

You might think we have in mind the "good Germans" who were merely following orders. It fits. But we also have in mind the tens of millions of us in advanced industrial societies of the world who live off the wealth of people in other parts of the globe and who think nothing of the impact our consumption and our waste has on the lives of others.

When we were first confronted with this kind of challenge, we said, "Oh, come on—you are not going to

compare the devastations of a Hitler or Stalin to the problems caused by the maldistribution of the world's wealth, are you? After all, the Hitlers and the Stalins were arguably responsible for the deaths of close to 60 million people between them!"

We were astounded to learn, and after three decades of knowing this still find it difficult to assimilate, that far more people are killed by the ordinary workings of a worldwide system of inequality than were killed by Hitler or Stalin. The reality we don't face is this: every year, over 30 million people starve to death or die of diseases that could have been prevented by providing access to adequate nutrition—while we throw away enough food to feed millions of them. These deaths are the result of what we call "structural murder," because no one in particular pulls the trigger, but the dead are just as dead.

The intellectuals who populate academia warn us to be realistic and to abandon our fantasies that we can change the status quo in any dramatic way. Yet that status quo has done more hurt than all the wars of the twentieth century combined. Whether we called it colonialism, imperialism, or the globalization of capital, the status quo of the twentieth century has generated vast suffering—without any utopian ideals to bolster it.

The message of despairing intellectuals: scale down your hopes for significant transformation.

Just doing business.

It was in the name of just doing business that in past centuries the United States brought tens of millions of slaves to this country; and it was in the name of just doing business that the U.S. government encouraged the genocide of the Indians. These acts were committed not in the name of utopia, but in the name of expanding American real estate.

The earliest colonizers were just doing business, and kept doing business before, during, and after some people's attempts to justify colonization in terms of the white man's burden. The economic domination of the world by colonial powers led to the brutalization of domestic populations in Central and South America, Africa, and Asia. In the latest evolution of the status quo, just doing business has led us to create a world system in which the top one-fifth of the owners of the world's wealth receive 78 times the average income of the bottom one-fifth—and this unequal distribution of wealth has been getting worse, not better. In the years since 1960, the share of the richest fifth in the world's income climbed from 70 percent to 85 percent, while the share of the lowest fifth decreased from 2.3 percent to 1.5 percent, and then down in 1994 to 1.1 percent.

It is true that the world has seen a reduction in illiteracy and infant mortality, and that is important and to be cheered. But what is also true is that tens of millions of people who used to eke out a living in the countryside, but within village communities that were supportive and in which people took care of each other, now have been forced out of their villages to huge cities like Cairo, Mexico City, or Karachi where they live in slums and have no one to provide them with a safety net of support. According to the World Health Organization, 800 million people today are half-starving and lack basic sanitation, and 1.2 billion lack access to clean water. So while the globalization of capital has made life better for an emerging middle class in many third-world countries, it has also made things considerably worse for a much larger section of third-world populations.

We are familiar with these vast inequalities from our own experience in the United States. Domestic examples are all around us—like the fact that the average CEO made 44 times the average worker's wage in 1965, but by 1996 that same CEO made 209 times the worker's wage. In fact, the average weekly earnings of production and non-supervisory workers in the United States, those below the managerial and technical grades, dropped in real terms by 17 percent between 1973 and 1995.

The richest 1 percent of the population owns 36 percent of all the wealth in our society. Yet we are sitting on the top of an iceberg, and the consequences for the rest of the world are far more destructive.

Of course, these consequences mostly happen in third-world countries where we don't see them—and so we feel comfortable denouncing those who talk about social change as idealists and warning them that they should tone down their fantasies and "be realistic."

Every day when we hear the intellectuals who run our universities preach at us from email and websites, when we listen to media "essayists" and news commentators, they all have a simple message: "don't get too outraged at injustice—because after all, we might get fanatic and … who knows what, perhaps put restrictions on the freedom of the economic marketplace?" That warning to stay away from too much idealism flies well with the upper 20 percent of the world's income earners. So no wonder that the voices we will hear as we enter this new millennium are less likely to be the voices of those calling for a transformation of the global economic system, and more likely those cautioning us to narrow our scope and not worry about the larger picture.

Yet being "realistic" actually translates into this message: stop being outraged at injustice and the pain that human beings are visiting upon other human beings! A growing number of people are beginning to recognize that the damage being done by the people who are "just doing business" not only is causing untold suffering to the poor of the world, but is destroying the environment. The unrestrained pursuit of wealth by corporations and by the upper

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HUMAN RIGHTS

A Jewish Perspective on East Timor



Graves of Fretilin members, killed and executed in the first years after the Indonesian invasion, along the Dili-Ainaro road.

PHOTOGRAPH BY JAN BANNING / IMPACT VISUALS

Shepard Forman

The last decade of the twentieth century has been marked by terror, as some ninety conflicts have erupted around the world. Largely intra-state in nature, but threatening regional peace and security as well as human consciousness, each in turn has attracted the attention of the international community. One by one, the United Nations and its member states have struggled to find appropriate formulas to deal with gross violations of human rights and massive humanitarian crises. Questions of sovereignty, national interest, and political will have plagued the responses to date. We have witnessed a few successes, notably in Namibia/South Africa, El Salvador, and Mozambique, and tragic failures in Somalia, Rwanda, Bosnia, and, most recently, in East Timor.

If ever there was a case for intervention under international law, East Timor represented it. Illegally seized by Indonesia in 1975 while in the process of de-colonization from Portugal, East Timor has suffered a quarter-century of horrendous abuse. In 1974, East Timor was just beginning to experience the promise of Portuguese de-colonization embodied in the "carnation revolution" that ended the Salazar dictatorship. Three fledgling political parties emerged within the colony to debate its future, a choice between continued allegiance to Portugal, independence, or accession to Indonesian rule.

With independence clearly in the ascendance, the Portuguese withdrew from East Timor, leaving their guns and garrisons at the disposal of independence partisans, and armed conflict soon ensued. Nearly routed, the pro-Indonesian party "invited" the Indonesian intervention that occurred massively and brutally in December, 1975. In the course of the invasion and the subsequent Indonesian occupation, over 200,000, or one-third of the East Timorese people, died. The remainder of the population was removed from their ancestral homelands in the mountains and relocated to "strategic hamlets" along the malaria-ridden coast where they have lived ever since on the meager largesse of Indonesia. Lands and jobs were distributed to transmigrants, those Indonesians transplanted from over-populated islands to the west, while the East Timorese were forced to assimilate to Indonesian culture and language.

Animist by tradition, divided into twenty-six distinct ethno-linguistic groups, the East Timorese had been isolated from neighboring Indonesian islands and their Dutch colonial masters during the 400 years of Portuguese rule. Although only a few spoke Portuguese or adhered to the Catholic Church during the colonial period, they converted in huge numbers after the Indonesian invasion to seek the protection of Bishop Carlos Ximenes Belo, the co-winner

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with independence leader Jose Ramos Horta of the 1996 Nobel Peace Prize for his efforts on behalf of the East Timorese people. A proud and brave people, they have endured half a millennium of cruel and despotic oppression. Resistance to the Indonesian invasion has been constant—in daily life, in occasional street demonstrations, through prayer, and in a simmering mountain insurgency led by the acknowledged leader of East Timorese independence, Alexandre (Xanana) Gusmäo. Hidden from public view through years of Indonesian closure, ignored by the great powers who sought to appease Indonesia or to profit from its markets, overshadowed by Cold War concerns and the struggle over apartheid, the East Timorese have struggled valiantly for their survival and their freedom.

Twenty-five years ago, my family and I took leave of anthropological field work in East Timor to spend Passover in Australia, where we participated in a Seder hosted by the Israeli Ambassador in Canberra. By chance, we sat across the table from an elderly couple, part of the Jewish diaspora from China, who remembered my wife's parents and grandparents from there and conveyed their memories to us and our young children. Coupled with the Seder and the reading of the Haggadah, I was reminded of what to me is central to Jewish life—a common history, a shared heritage, and the strength and resilience that has come from centuries of suffering and recovery.

When my family and I returned to Quelicai that spring of 1974, the small administrative post on Mate Bian mountain inhabited by a largely Melanesian people known as the Makassae, we came with the Passover spirit of renewal and a copy of the colorful Haggadah from our Canberra Seder. I still recall with wonder the afternoon at my desk when my elderly teacher, a Makassae sage and ritual leader known as Nanai'e Nau Naha, spotted our Haggadah. Unable to read or write in any language, he was struck by the drawings of our ancients, depicted not unlike himself, barefoot and in simple clothes. In leafing through the book, he could not help but notice the different print styles, or fonts, that described in Hebrew and in English our exodus from Egypt.

"What is this?" he asked, and I explained that it was the history of my people told in our ritual and our daily language at a meal designed to pass on our story from generation to generation. Could I write out their history in their ritual and daily language, he asked, so that his son would know what it means to be Makassae? I could, I said, recalling the linguistic course in which I had learned the art of phonetic script.

Nanai'e aborted my lesson that day and did not return for most of that week. When he did, he brought with him the elders from surrounding family compounds who examined the Haggadah and consulted in a Makassae so animated that I could not understand. Soon Nanai'e approached me, and with a twinkle and a smile that I had come to appreciate as a sign that my lessons were going well, he told me that I was to become the Makassae scribe. The elders had agreed that I should attend their marriage and mortuary rituals, record their myths and legends, and map their genealogy from Uru-Uato (Moon-Sun), their supreme (and only) deity, through generations of begats to Nanai'e and his only son. To do so was both a privilege and a sacred duty, since in Makassae ideology it was taboo to speak the names of the dead apart from a ritual offering. For that reason, Nanai'e insisted, when the job was done, when he had determined that I had learned all that I needed to know, my questions would cease. And I would sacrifice a ram "whose horns turned twice," at the ancestral burial grounds by Uru-Uato's house, thereby secreting once again the names of the dead.

The next five months were a rapture of learning. My camera, my tape recorder, my diary, and I attended births, marriages, and funerals. Occasionally, we were guests at the *umu gini*, the thirty-year-after-death dispatch of the soul of the departed to the land of the ancestors high on Mate Bian mountain. At the center of each of these rituals was the sacrifice of an animal and an offering of rice brought as a gift for that purpose, always accompanied by a communal meal. I diligently transcribed my tapes, annotated my descriptions, and stretched my genealogies across pieces of tracing paper that side by side extended across our small living quarters. One day, when I spotted a woman leading a goat to a neighboring hamlet, I explained to Nanai'e her relationship to the family of the dead man she was going to honor and why the gift had to be made. I described the intimate relationship between life and death, production and reproduction, that is the essence of Makassae belief, ritual, and everyday conduct. I unfolded my genealogical charts and traced for him the lineal connection between that woman and the dead man's family, all the way back to Uru-Uato. And he told me to stop, that I knew what I needed to know, and my questions became taboo.

A week later, we sacrificed my ram and the names were secreted again. I returned to simpler pursuits, studying the layout of rice fields and yam gardens, honing my Makassae, and teaching Nanai'e's son how to extend his simple reading knowledge of Portuguese to my phonetic rendering of the Makassae ritual language.

By November, the politics of East Timor were heating up, and we decided that it was best to take our two small children home. We packed our belongings, with special attention to my notebooks and tapes, and returned—after a stay in Lisbon—to Michigan, from where I had taken leave as a professor of anthropology. Life became routine, teaching and writing. I began a book about the Makassae and wrote several articles about their way of life and the belief system that guided it. I began to put in order the materials that I immodestly hoped could become the Makassae Haggadah.

But, perhaps foolishly, I suspended all that after the Indonesians invaded East Timor. Mate Bian, the last region to be pacified by the Portuguese, also became the center of

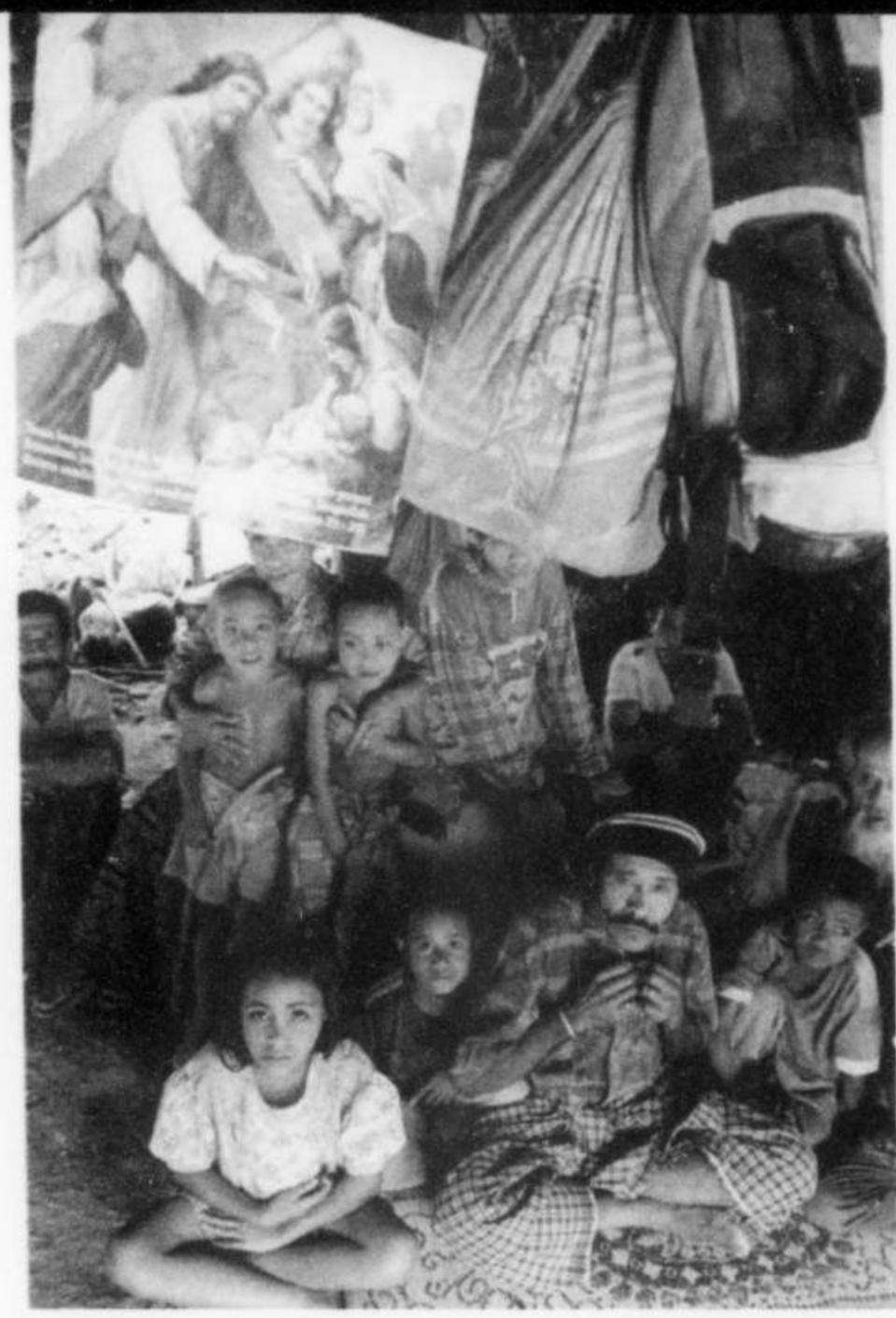
East Timorese resistance. As a result, it bore the brunt of intense fighting beyond the terror that all of East Timor experienced. The last communication I had with Nanai'e early in 1976 was merely two lines, written in the phonetic script of his son. "There is no food," he wrote. "We are all dying." We packed clothing and seed and sent them off. We appealed to the International Committee of the Red Cross for help. I wrote to our congressmen and our newspaper. I gave congressional testimony, talked to my students and to anyone who cared to listen about the terrible things that were befalling "my people."

I did politics and set aside the Haggadah.

I was a quiet voice in a wilderness in which others howled. They are the heroic supporters of the East Timorese resistance and struggle for freedom. Jose Ramos Horta, Bishop Belo, and a small group of faithful supporters and advocates have championed the UN-sanctioned right to East Timorese self-determination for twenty-five years, and with good result. With the publicity of the Nobel Peace Prize and the waning of strategic interests that marked Indonesian ascendancy during the Vietnam war, with the post-Cold War reassertion of human rights and democratic values, with the economic stresses and strains that made a corrupt Indonesia a less certain ally, and with the fall of Suharto, East Timor finally found itself on the international agenda. After years of cajoling, the UN managed to broker an agreement between the Portuguese and Indonesian governments for a referendum in East Timor on an offer of extended autonomy within Indonesia. If the East Timorese rejected the offer, East Timor could go free, promised Suharto's successor, B.J. Habibie.

We know the rest, because the media is finally paying attention. On August 30, the people of East Timor, despite extreme efforts at intimidation by ragtag militias armed and instigated by the Indonesian military, exercised their right of free choice for the first time in nearly 500 years. Ninety-five percent of registered voters turned out, under the watchful eyes of hundreds of UN volunteer election observers and unarmed international police, to cast a 78.5 percent vote against autonomy and for independence. UN Secretary-General Kofi Annan, President Clinton, and Secretary of State Albright hailed "the birth of a new nation" and pledged full support to a UN transitional authority that would help guide East Timor to independence.

The East Timorese had no time for celebration. Within a day, reinforced militias appeared on the streets of Dili, the territorial capital, and in villages and family compounds throughout the countryside, terrorizing and killing independence supporters, including the elderly, women, and children. UN workers recruited from among the local population were particular targets, and then expatriate UN workers and journalists as well. Successful in driving foreign observers from the countryside and from Dili itself, they attacked and burned the home of Bishop Belo, now in exile in Darwin, Australia, and systematically turned their attention on churches, nuns, and priests. Refugee camps and ultimately UN headquarters themselves were not spared, even under the gaze of Indonesian soldiers and police who, despite their protection mandate, participated first indirectly and then directly in the assaults. As I write this, thousands are dead, tens of thousands are in hiding in the mountains, and as many as two hundred thousand East Timorese have been herded into exile elsewhere in Indonesia. Dili is virtually destroyed, and while relief agencies struggle to gain access to the internally displaced in East Timor and the refugees in West Timor, there is no one to bear witness to the butchery that is occurring elsewhere on the island.



PHOTOGRAPH BY JAN BANNING / IMPACT VISUALS

There now is some hope that international peacekeepers can secure the safe return of the internally displaced and refugees and enable the process of reconstructing an independent East Timor to begin. We must not, however, fail to learn the hard-won lessons of the East Timor case. The first lesson is that East Timor represents a dramatic failure of the Kissingerian policy of real politik, the trumping of the rights of the East Timorese and our own democratic values by misguided notions of the need to maintain stability and recovery within Indonesia itself. These notions were misguided when we turned a blind eye to the Indonesian invasion twenty-five years ago, and they remain misguided today for, despite the rhetoric, we are not yet dealing with a new democratic leadership in Indonesia, only with a highly contested and modestly more open political process. Not acting more decisively and sooner in East Timor demonstrated flagrant disregard not only for the welfare of the East Timorese but for emergent democratic forces within

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The Right(s) Stuff

Carroll Bogert

There's good news and bad news in the human rights crisis in East Timor. First, the bad news. The Clinton administration sent mixed messages to the Indonesian government on militia violence, with the State Department tough, the Pentagon soft, and the White House not engaged until too late. Every serious human rights organization working on East Timor had long predicted that violence would escalate after the August 30 referendum, yet Washington's stern public warnings had no teeth; there was no threat of sanctions until the devastation had begun. Only after the scorched-earth policy was well under way did the administration begin to move toward support for a multinational force.

The good news is that even though the Clinton administration would have preferred to ignore East Timor, it couldn't. Human rights groups were in full cry. The East Timorese had two Nobel prize-winning activists haranguing Washington on op-ed pages and television chat shows. Pundits began making the obvious comparisons to Kosovo: was Clinton going to act only when white people's human rights got trampled? The media coverage was extensive—especially in comparison with Indonesia's invasion of East Timor twenty-five years ago, which didn't even make the evening news.

The buzz, in short, was terrible. A couple of the Pentagon's top brass finally called their counterparts in Indonesia and read the riot act. The Australian government, meanwhile, was playing the pivotal role in pressuring Jakarta; a combined international effort persuaded Indonesia to accept a peacekeeping force. "We weren't looking very valiant, and nobody liked that around here," a senior administration official later explained to the *New York Times*. "Our spine got stiffened."

After decades of struggling for a seat at the foreign policy table, human rights has arrived. It has changed the political calculus of policy-makers—stiffened their spines, as it were, to act in the face of gross human rights abuse. The movement has succeeded in framing debates in new ways, altering the moral environment in which such debates take place. It's a slow process, and certainly incomplete—the severing of limbs in Sierra Leone; the barbarous wars Russia is fighting in the northern Caucasus; the brutish intolerance of the Chinese Communist Party all make vivid examples of how far we are from success. But little by little, the human rights movement is transforming the texture of international relations.

Many of the greatest successes of the human rights movement have come from outside the United States. In other countries, rights groups may be few and struggling. But home-grown human rights movements have played a major role in toppling governments in, for example, Argentina, South Korea, and South Africa. Elsewhere, their vanquishment by repressive governments is surely temporary—in Burma, for example, or even Cuba. At the end of the twentieth century, it's become fashionable to decry the lack of public heroes in our society. But when people do name their heroes, they often think of major human rights figures: Nelson Mandela or Aung San Suu Kyi or Vaclav Havel. The global celebrity of these public figures has helped define the parameters of moral discourse in our times.

In the United States the earliest human rights activists tended to be highly anti-communist and not at all critical of U.S. policy. Elsewhere, Amnesty International focused mainly on specific "prisoners of conscience."

The struggle over Central America in the 1980s changed the tenor of the cause. Elliot Abrams, the abrasive ideologue of the Reagan administration's State Department, made an easy target for a new generation of rights groups. Washington was funding the Contras to fight the leftist Nicaraguan government and turning a blind eye to the ghastly abuses they were committing against civilian populations. The U.S.-backed regime in El Salvador also had a terrible record of atrocities. Because the Reagan administration lied so blatantly about what its allies in Central America were doing, the mere fact of publishing the truth created a media sensation and seriously embarrassed the U.S. government.

In 1989, when the Chinese government cracked down on the peaceful pro-democracy movement in Tiananmen Square, the idea of human rights permeated American public consciousness to a degree never equaled before or since. Partly because the scenes of bloodshed were so widely broadcast on television, ordinary U.S. citizens felt emotionally stung by China's brutal suppression. Although the human rights movement never managed, in the face of massive countervailing pressure from the business community, to get Congress to rescind China's most-favored nation trading status, it did manage to link China almost inextricably to the idea of human rights violations.

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East Timor, Dili—February 1999. Bendito de Jesus Pirres, allegedly killed by a police bullet when protesting against the pro-integration paramilitary, is being buried in Santa Cruz cemetery by a crowd of some 20,000 pro-independence demonstrators.

PHOTOGRAPH BY JAN BANNING / IMPACT VISUALS

The decades since World War II have seen the steady growth of an international human rights establishment. The United Nations has a large bureaucracy devoted to investigations of human rights problems; the U.S. State Department produces a major annual study and the U.S. Congress holds innumerable hearings on human rights in many foreign countries; most European governments actively fund and support human rights work. Even countries with terrible human rights records have felt compelled to set up special commissions on human rights.

A growing body of international law is also helping to define the debate: the Geneva Conventions, the Genocide Convention, the Convention Against Torture, the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights, the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women, the Convention on the Rights of the Child. They sound dry and far removed from the realities of torture, imprisonment, and discrimination that many people are actually suffering. But they also help to change, over time, the popular understanding of what a government may legally do to its citizenry, what is acceptable and what is not.

American observers tend not to appreciate this, because the U.S. government ratifies so few international treaties, and doesn't always abide by the ones it does ratify. But in fact, these human rights accords can really constrain and shape a regime's behavior. They create standards by which human rights groups can measure governments' performance—and shame them publicly if they fail to live up to their commitments. Laws help to create moral judgments, and moral judgments, over time, change the world.

These official institutions are all relatively new, and they're among the few visible milestones of human rights progress. Yet the real engine of the movement is, and always will be, a vigorous non-governmental sector with a relentlessly critical stance. The task of reporting on violations, and prodding governments to act on that information, belongs to outsiders. These non-governmental organizations, now more numerous than ever, give the movement its essential character: highly skeptical, idealistic, and not easily mollified.

To the extent that human rights groups can persuade Washington to take up their cause, they risk being tainted by that association—especially if the U.S. military is involved. NATO may have justified its intervention in Kosovo on human rights grounds, but to many countries around the world it appeared that the U.S. government was embracing human rights in an entirely cynical manner. For all that the war in Kosovo may have moved human rights to the top of the political agenda in the West, it may also have damaged the cause seriously in places like India and China.

Human rights activists, who are frequently accused of being naïve, are the last ones to take official rhetoric seriously—like President Clinton's recent apologies for failing to intervene in the 1994 genocide in Rwanda. Clinton said, "I will do my best to make sure that nothing like this happens again in Africa. I do not think the United States can take the position that we only care about these sorts of things if they happen in Europe." President Clinton, and the presidents who come after him, will betray that fine-sounding rhetoric in a hundred different ways. In East Timor, Clinton already has. And yet, Clinton probably did more in East Timor than he would have done if Kosovo had never happened. On May 13, he told a group of veterans that "this campaign to drive the Kosovars from their land is an affront to humanity and an attack not only on a people, but on the dignity of all people." Those are just words, it's true. But to make real progress in human rights, words do matter. ❑

Chile: U.S. Hands are Not Clean

Saul Landau

United States government officials have felt comfortable as long as human rights law has focused on war crimes cases, as in the Balkans and Rwanda, where brutal leaders ordered genocide to "ethnically cleanse" their enemies. But they have become uneasy since Spanish judge Baltasar Garzon decided that the genocide statutes also contain an internationally applicable clause that forbids targeting political opponents.

Based on this clause, the former Chilean dictator Augusto Pinochet was indicted by the Spanish court in 1998. If lawyers extend the Pinochet case's logic, it should take them straight to the indictment of U.S. officials, including Henry Kissinger, the former secretary of state and national security adviser under Presidents Nixon and Ford.

The prima facie case against Pinochet derives from the 1995 Chilean government Retting Commission report which states that between 1973 and 1990, General Augusto Pinochet's repressive forces tortured some 200,000 people, assassinated some 3,200, and illegally imprisoned tens of thousands more. Yugoslavia's president Slobodan Milosevic, we should recall, is accused of ethnic cleansing. Pinochet's repressive forces committed "political cleansing," targeting their victims for political reasons.

In 1996, the Spanish court first asked the United States to provide classified information in the Pinochet case. In January 1999, after more than two years of stonewalling, President Clinton finally ordered the national security apparatus to release pertinent documents. On June 30, the government declassified some 5,800 cables and memos (more than 20,000 pages) that prove U.S. knowledge of and complicity in Pinochet's repression in the aftermath of the 1973 military coup that overthrew the elected government of Dr. Salvador Allende.

Disturbingly, the CIA contributed only a small fraction of their relevant documents in the release, despite the fact that the agency had an intimate relationship with Pinochet's intelligence and secret police leaders. Thus, questions remain about the extent to which the United States aided and abetted the coup and subsequently the Pinochet dictatorship. However, the released documents clearly show that U.S. officials possessed extensive knowledge of Pinochet's atrocities while they were occurring and attempted to prevent Congress and the American public from knowing the horrible details.

In the aftermath of the coup, as the declassified documents make clear, then-Secretary of State Henry Kissinger knew from State Department, CIA, and DIA cables that DINA, Pinochet's secret police, was subjecting tens of thousands to systematic torture, and had begun to assassinate suspected opposition leaders. For example, a memo sent shortly after the September 11, 1973, coup reports: "Severe repression is planned. The military is rounding up large numbers of people, including students and leftists of all descriptions, and interning them. 300 students were killed in the technical university."

Instead of raising the human rights flag, State Department officials covered up the ugly facts.

An October 26, 1973, CIA cable reports on Pinochet's plan "to destroy any and all resistance within two months." The cable continues, "This will require more killing by the military." A February 5, 1974, cable reports that DINA was using techniques "taken directly from the Spanish Inquisition, which often left the person interrogated with visible bodily damage."

Instead of raising the human rights flag, State Department officials covered up the ugly facts. On September 27, 1973, a cable from U.S. ambassador Nathaniel Davis' office to Kissinger's headquarters called for "an advisor qualified in establishing a detention center for the detainees who will be held for a relatively long period of time." The "advisor must have knowledge in the establishment and operation of a detention center." The cable concedes that such close collaboration with Pinochet may appear unseemly and suggests that the State Department might instead consider sending "tents, blankets, etc. which need not be publicly and specifically earmarked for prisoners." Clearly, the intention was to obfuscate the fact that we would be outfitting Chilean concentration camps.

The documents do not reveal the outcome of this request. However, the fact that the coup leaders felt comfortable asking Washington for such assistance, and that the

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request was dutifully forwarded, indicates that somewhat cozy relations existed between the two governments.

Indeed, recently released transcripts reveal that Kissinger himself showed strong support for Pinochet during a visit to Santiago in June 1976. The official transcript conflicts with Kissinger's memoir, in which he claims he delivered a strong lecture to Pinochet on human rights. During the actual conversation Kissinger told Pinochet that "we are sympathetic with what you are trying to do here." Pinochet asked Kissinger about former Chilean chancellor Orlando Letelier, then exiled in Washington, and twice indicated that he thought Letelier was to blame for his troubles with the U.S. Congress, which was withholding aid because of his human rights violations. Kissinger blamed the "international left" for Pinochet's poor human rights image. He assured Pinochet that he "approved of his methods" and advised him not to take the human rights speech he planned to deliver the next day to the OAS as being directed at Pinochet's government. On the contrary, Kissinger told Pinochet that he planned to use the speech to placate Congress, so he could then try to connive a way to allow the Pentagon to sell fighters to the Chilean air force.

Kissinger knew from the reams of cables and memos that Pinochet's methods, which he "approved" of, included routine torture, massive executions of political foes, and assassinations abroad. The CIA, according to former FBI agent Robert Scherrer, had even discovered DINA hit plans in Europe and forced the Chilean secret police to abort them. It is logical to conclude that when Kissinger told Pinochet that he approved of his methods, the Chilean commander would see this as a very green light from Washington to proceed with the killing of Letelier.

In September 1976, three months after Kissinger voiced his approval of Pinochet's methods, Chilean agents used those methods to assassinate Letelier in Washington, D.C. Ronni Moffitt, Letelier's American colleague at the Institute for Policy Studies, also died in the car bombing. By 1978, FBI agents had traced the assassins' trail to Pinochet's secret police chief, Col. Manuel Contreras. FBI special agents Carter Cornick and Robert Scherrer and former Assistant U.S. Attorney Lawrence Barcella, who prosecuted some of the Letelier killers in Washington, later stated publicly that it was "inconceivable" the Letelier hit could have been carried out without Pinochet's authorization. Their statements are consistent with documents included in the recent release from both the CIA and the Defense Department that describe Contreras as directly subordinate to Pinochet and "unlikely to act without the knowledge and approval of his superior." The Justice Department has recently reopened the case and is looking into Pinochet's possible complicity in the Letelier assassination.

What to do now in light of these declassified documents? First, the U.S. government should support Judge Baltasar Garzon's requests for evidence against Pinochet.



PHOTOGRAPH COURTESY OF REUTERS / ARCHIVE PHOTOS

Former U.S. Minister of Foreign Affairs Henry Kissinger (left) and Gen. Augusto Pinochet (center) stand with two unidentified men in this undated file photo.

Second, when Spanish justice is finished with Pinochet, he should be extradited to the United States for assassinating Orlando Letelier. Finally, the Justice Department—or a special task force—should carefully examine the recently released documents and the thousands more still contained in U.S. files about top U.S. officials' roles in setting up and actively aiding and abetting the Pinochet dictatorship; unless we want to repeat the mistakes of our past, those who willingly abetted the atrocities committed in Chile must be punished.

U.S. Embassy cables show that Kissinger knew of the mass murder and mass torture that Pinochet perpetrated. Yet Kissinger told Pinochet that he approved of his "methods." We know from the 1975 Church Senate Select Committee report that Nixon, with Kissinger's approval, had authorized the CIA to overthrow Allende, in order to alter Chile's destiny. We know that Kissinger tried to outmaneuver the U.S. Congress and to supply Pinochet with weapons that Congress had denied because of Pinochet's human rights record. The Justice Department, in the name of consistency and justice, should also be preparing a case against Kissinger and any other top U.S. officials who collaborated with Pinochet. (Justice lawyers may, for example, want to take a close look at ex-president and former CIA director George Bush, who headed the CIA the year Letelier was assassinated.) In the meantime, human rights lawyers should provide the public with the legal explanations of why human rights law—and not Kissinger's nineteenth-century Metternichian formulas—must prevail in the twenty-first century. ❑

The Israeli-Palestinian Peace Process

A Final Settlement?

Jerome Slater

The first few months of Ehud Barak's prime ministership have brought a new hopefulness to Israeli-Palestinian negotiations. Unlike his predecessor Benjamin Netanyahu, Barak prefers a negotiated settlement to the preservation of the status quo. Moreover, whereas Netanyahu treated the Palestinian leaders with barely disguised contempt, Barak treats them with respect.

As a result, the climate for a settlement has dramatically improved. Yet, there are already a number of indications that a definitive overall settlement may prove impossible in the foreseeable future. Though Palestinian rigidity on the refugee return issue may contribute to such a deadlock, the most serious problems are likely to be Barak's traditional Israeli stance on security issues, his refusal to dismantle the Jewish settlements on the West Bank, and his insistence that all of "Greater Jerusalem" must remain under exclusive Israeli sovereignty and control.

Indeed, in several respects Barak's bottom line may not be dramatically different from Netanyahu's. If Israeli or American pressures had forced Netanyahu to negotiate with the Palestinians, his plans for a final settlement were well known: Israeli annexation of about 60 percent of the West Bank; full Israeli sovereignty over all of "Greater Jerusalem," including not only formerly Arab East Jerusalem but large parts of the surrounding areas; full Israeli military and political control over the Jordan valley and nearby mountains; the continued expansion of Jewish settlements throughout East Jerusalem and the West Bank; a heavy Israeli military presence in the West Bank and Gaza to protect the settlements; and full Israeli control over all the water resources of the West Bank. Netanyahu would have reluctantly conceded to a Palestinian "state," but it would have amounted to no more than a series of disconnected, impoverished, and impotent bantustans.

While Barak's final map is not yet known, it is clear that, like Netanyahu, he plans to retain large parts of the West Bank for Israel, including the Jordan River valley and an ever-expanding "Greater Jerusalem." Moreover, it appears he will insist that Israel's boundaries be expanded in order to incorporate the settlements near the present borders, and even that Israel continue to provide military protection to settlements remaining in the Palestinian heartland. In Barak's plan, there will undoubtedly be a Palestinian state of sorts, but it will be divided in two by Israel, it will not have real sovereignty over considerable areas of the West Bank, and it will not be allowed to locate its capital in East Jerusalem.

There are a number of indications that the Barak government has begun to prepare Israeli and world opinion for a so-called interim agreement that leaves major issues unresolved. In an important interview with the *Jerusalem Post* (September 24, 1999), Barak suggested that the Israeli-Palestinian negotiations might produce "parts on which we can, in principle, reach agreement … parts that will require long interim agreements … [and parts] for which we can see the permanent status but which require a long time to arrive at."

Barak's bottom line may not be dramatically different from Netanyahu's.

What Barak has in mind was made even clearer in a *Jerusalem Report* interview with Haim Ramon (September 27, 1999). Ramon, a cabinet member with direct responsibility for Jerusalem as well as a Labor Party power known to be close to Barak, bluntly admits that the one-year timetable for a final settlement is unrealistic; the real goal, he strongly implies, is the end of Palestinian-Israeli violent conflict, interim agreements on some of the issues, and continued negotiations on unresolved matters, such as Jerusalem, borders, and the right of return. When asked what incentives this would give the Palestinians to end the conflict, his reply was that they will know that "good faith" negotiations will continue. However, he explicitly rejects the possibility of any divided sovereignty over Jerusalem, and goes on to talk about his plans for expanding the Jewish population in and Israel's control over the disputed city.

There is nothing sacrosanct about the one-year deadline, of course, as long as genuine progress is being made on the unresolved issues. What is much more worrisome are the indications that Barak is continuing Israel's traditional strategy of creating irreversible facts on the ground in Jerusalem, the Jordan valley, and the settlements.

It is possible that Barak's apparent strategy could work, for the Palestinians may be so exhausted, impoverished, and isolated that they believe they have no real choice but to take what they can get. Even so, such a strategy would be

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mistaken. First, it would be profoundly unjust: the demythologized history of the Jewish-Palestinian conflict makes it clear that Palestinian rights in the land of Palestine—including Jerusalem—are at least equal to those of the Israelis. The fact that the Palestinians have been the losers—indeed, the victims—in their long struggle with the Israelis strengthens rather than diminishes their right to justice.

Justice aside, it is possible and even likely that a strategy of minimal compromise will not "work," at least over the long term. Even supposing that Arafat accepts a tiny, barely sovereign, and Jerusalem-less Palestinian state, more militant Palestinians certainly will not. The result could be the resumption of terrorism and diminished security for Israel.

The Israelis might believe that they can live indefinitely with a certain amount of conventional terrorism, just as they have for the past fifty years, but that would be a catastrophic error. Sooner or later, Palestinian groups will come into possession of weapons of mass destruction. When that occurs, Israel's future will depend on ending any Palestinian motivation to use them.

What would a just, comprehensive, and stable settlement look like? Three sets of issues would have to be resolved: security matters, economic resources, and symbolic/ideological issues.

Security

It has long been an article of faith among Israeli strategists, going back to the Allon Plan of the 1960s, that in any settlement Israel must retain military control over the Jordan River valley along the eastern boundary of the West Bank in order to be able to defend against any large-scale attack from the east: from Iran, Iraq, Syria, or even Jordan. Thus, the Barak government plans to maintain early warning positions, military bases, and even settlements in the area.

There is reason to be skeptical that Israel's security really depends on maintaining troops and bases on the ground in the Jordan valley, let alone settlements. First of all, any approach of large Arab armies toward the Jordan River would be detected long in advance and would certainly precipitate an immediate, massive Israeli deployment, not only into the entire West Bank but across the Jordan River into Jordan itself. Even more important, since the 1960s every Arab leader has understood—and often explicitly acknowledged—that the probability of an Israeli nuclear response makes an attempted invasion out of the question.

A comprehensive settlement should build upon the familiar distinction in Israeli strategic discourse between Israel's political borders and its security borders. This distinction is already, in effect, embodied in the Israeli-Egyptian peace settlement of 1979 and the Israeli-Jordanian treaty of 1995. Israel's western political boundary is its border with the Sinai peninsula, but its western security boundary is the Suez Canal: the entire Sinai, though under Egyptian sovereignty and administration, must remain



PHOTOGRAPH BY DIMITRI MESSINIS / AP WIDE WORLD PHOTOS

largely demilitarized and garrisoned with international and American peacekeeping forces. The ultimate guarantee against major violations of these restrictions is the known capability of Israel to reoccupy the Sinai.

Similarly, Israel's eastern political boundaries at present are the Golan Heights, the Jordan River, and the Israel-Jordanian border from the Dead Sea south to Eilat. Its eastern security boundary, however, is the Jordanian border with Iraq, an existential fact that is well understood in the Middle East and which undoubtedly played an important role in constraining Saddam Hussein from moving troops toward the Jordanian border in the 1990 Gulf War. This reality has now been formally incorporated into the Israeli-Jordanian treaty, which recognizes Israel's right of military response in the event Arab armies cross into Jordanian territory.

These precedents provide the model for an Israeli withdrawal from both the Golan Heights and the West Bank, for regardless of the change in sovereignty, Israel's security boundaries would remain unchanged. The Golan and the West Bank would be largely demilitarized, and any large-scale movement of troops toward the area would trigger an overwhelming Israeli military response.

Even so, it is unlikely that Barak or the majority of Israelis could be persuaded to withdraw all Israeli forces from the Jordan River valley. The Palestinians will be unhappy about this, but the issue is not necessarily intractable. The most promising approach would be for Israel to concede symbolic sovereignty over the area to Palestine and relinquish the settlements, which have no real security or military function. In return, the Palestinian state could allay Israel's security concerns by granting indefinite extraterritorial status to Israeli military bases and early warning installations.

Economic Resources

The most important economic resources in the West Bank are land and, especially, water. There are 1.2 million Palestinians currently living in the West Bank, and this number is sure to rise, both because of the high Palestinian birth rate and as a result of the projected partial return of Palestinians currently living abroad to a Palestinian state. Given the tiny size of the prospective state—about 14 percent of the original land of Palestine—access to arable land or even reasonable living space is critical. Since Barak will refuse to withdraw to the pre-1967 borders, the Palestinians

will insist—and fairness requires—that the Palestinian state be compensated by the transfer of lightly populated Israeli land areas of comparable size.

Far more important than land is the water issue. Water is already in short supply in Israel and the West Bank, and because of population growth and the massive Israeli use of water for agriculture, the long-term prognosis is for growing shortages. Some 30 to 40 percent of Israel's water comes from underground aquifers on the West Bank, and current estimates are that about 60 percent goes to Israel proper, 25 percent to the 170,000 Jewish settlers, and 20 percent to the 1.2 million Palestinians in the West Bank.

A more equitable distribution of existing water will certainly be one of the Palestinian demands at the negotiating table; if Israel is unbending, the water issue could prove to be a deal-breaker. Difficult as the problem is, it is manageable, in the first instance by a fairer division of water resources but more importantly by expanding the size of the resources—just as Israel and Jordan have agreed to do in their 1995 peace settlement.

A number of studies have concluded that supply can be brought into equilibrium with demand by desalinizing sea water and importing fresh water by tankers and pipelines. The technology for doing this is available, so the real problem is not so much the scarcity of sufficient water but its price. Though desalinization has proven to be more expensive than anticipated, the projected costs are by no means prohibitive. For example, a 1995 study concluded that for only $110 million—a tiny fraction of the amount currently spent on arms by Israel—Israel and other regional countries could meet current and projected water needs. Even if this estimate proves to be low, it is clear that the price for sufficient water for both Israel and the Palestinians (who undoubtedly will receive significant international assistance) will be quite affordable, indeed trivial when compared to the costs of continued conflict.

Jerusalem

On its face, the problem of Jerusalem appears to be intractable, even though—or perhaps precisely because—it has nothing to do with security but is only symbolic. Barak is adamant that Israel must retain full sovereignty over "Greater Jerusalem." Since it is inconceivable that the Palestinians will give up their demand to locate their fully sovereign capital in East Jerusalem, negotiations for a final settlement are likely to founder on this issue.

By tacitly giving up claims to all of Jerusalem, the Palestinians have already made a major compromise, so it is Israel that must take the next step—once again, for reasons of both justice and overall stability. The idea of dual sovereignty over an undivided Jerusalem is probably unworkable for the foreseeable future, so the solution must be a redefinition of what constitutes "Jerusalem." As Ian Lustick has shown (TIKKUN September/October 1999), the Israeli government has continuously expanded Jerusalem since 1967, going far beyond Ben-Gurion's vision of Israeli sovereignty over Jewish (West) Jerusalem to include control over el-Kuds or Arab East Jerusalem, as well as over nearby West Bank areas that had few Jews and were never before considered to be part of Jerusalem at all.

Barak is adamant that Israel must retain full sovereignty over "Greater Jerusalem."

In short, Israel has created this problem, so it is Israel that must take the necessary steps to resolve it. It is undoubtedly too late to dismantle the Jewish bedroom communities near Jerusalem: in this respect, the strategy of creating facts on the ground has worked. At a minimum, though, further Jewish settlement of Arab areas must end, and the Palestinians should be granted the right to establish their capital in what remains of East Jerusalem. To quote Lustick: "Israel can have united Jewish Jerusalem as its eternal capital, but it cannot have el-Kuds within it, and have peace."

The Right of Return

The Palestinian official position is that all of the Palestinian refugees from the 1948 war and their descendants must have the right of return to what is today Israel. In the abstract, there is no doubt that the Palestinians have a powerful case, both because the Palestinians had resided in their lands and villages for 1,300 consecutive years before the Zionist movement laid claim to Israel, and because it is now well established that hundreds of thousands of Palestinians were driven from their homes by the victorious Israelis during and after the 1948 war.

Nonetheless, the "return" of millions of Arabs to Israel is obviously a practical and political impossibility, so on this issue it must be the Palestinians who make the major concessions. Many Palestinian academicians, intellectuals, and even political leaders are prepared to concede this point, and it is reasonable to expect that Arafat's bedrock demand will be for the return of some refugees to Israel, economic compensation for the others, and the right of unlimited return of the Palestinian diaspora to the new Palestinian state in the West Bank and Gaza.

Thus, a reasonable—and attainable—solution to the refugee problem would include the return to Israel of a small number of Palestinians who still have close family ties with Israeli Arabs, some symbolic economic compensation for many others, and the right of return for all Palestinians to their own state. But that right—indeed the entire agreement—will be meaningless unless Israel, in justice and enlightened self-interest, finally grants the Palestinian people the land, resources, and symbols of national identity that they need to create a viable and stable state. ❑

ENVIRONMENT

Have We Already Played the Game and *Lost*?



Thom Hartmann

Sometimes the questions we ask are more important than the answers we get … because the answers are rooted in the assumptions inherent in the questions. We ask, "Will there be an international disaster because of the Y2K bug?" or, "Are we facing Armageddon?" But, instead, perhaps we should be asking, "Why are we asking these questions?"

The simple fact is that we don't need Y2K or Rapture scenarios for there to be a worldwide disaster. According to a London Telegraph Group report, our oceans are crashing as rapidly as our Third World "industrializing" ecosystems. In an article titled "Sick Oceans Harbour New Disease Risks," the paper reported that sardines are showing up infected with the herpes virus, seals in Antarctica have contracted canine distemper, and coral reefs are being killed off by previously soil-borne fungi. (Some in Australia suggest that the Great Barrier Reef will be dead within thirty-three years.)

Human cholera epidemics have been traced to infected oceans, and fish and marine mammals are showing AIDS-like immune disorders from the shock of exposure to organochloride pesticides used on land and washed out to seas by rivers worldwide. In the past twenty-four hours, 45,000 people have died of starvation, 120 species have gone extinct, 10 million tons of toxic waste have been poured into our environment, and 200,000 acres of rainforest have been cut or burned.

The question we're failing to ask ourselves is: "Why?" There's no shortage of books, articles, and speakers offering solutions to specific problems: birth control to stabilize population, carbon taxes to reduce CO_2 emissions, solar incentives to reduce oil consumption, organic farming to cut back on poisons in the waters and food supply. But none asks why we are where we are. Few even wonder why it is that humans lived sustainably on the planet for 200,000 or more years, but really ran amok only in the past few centuries. Why?

When we examine our culture at the level of its assumptions we find some very dysfunctional stories. They include (but are not limited to): "It's 'human nature' to be greedy and to engage in genocidal wars"; "It's all the fault of women, so they must cover their heads and keep their mouths shut"; "The destiny of man is to dominate the entire world"; "Nature and humans are separate things"; and, "Spirituality is separate from everyday life."

All of these stories serve a single purpose: the rapid increase of human flesh on the planet. For example, culture after culture has shown us that when women have equal power with men, populations stabilize regardless of access to technology. Whether gender equality is practiced by the Dani people living in the trees of Indonesia for 10,000 years, or by Icelanders 200 years before birth control, or by the inhabitants of today's northern Europe, the equation is always the same. Conversely, in those cultures where women are dominated by men, bought and sold like cattle, populations explode. So much so that the first 200,000 years of human history produced our first billion humans in 1800, but it took only 130 years to hit our second billion (1930), 30 years to reach our third billion (1960), 14 years for our fourth billion (1974), 13 years for our fifth billion (1987), and 12 years for our sixth billion (1999).

All because of a set of stories we tell ourselves. There is no doubt that we must control population, reduce carbon emissions, and do something about the threats of carcinogenic chemicals and virulent microorganisms proliferating in our biosphere. But so long as we continue our perspective that the world is merely a machine and we need only find the right levers—rooted in the belief that it's all here for us and us alone—we will never truly address the core problem. The good news is that of the 5,000 or so uniquely different cultures on the planet, only one has sprung up with enough population and toxicity to endanger all life. The bad news is that that one culture is ours: the culture of the "modern world."

In order to heal the world, we must first heal our culture. Darwinian trial and error has produced an alternate set of stories which we can find alive and well today in indigenous cultures which don't produce run-amok destruction of the planet. Their stories include: "Every decision made at the level of family, community, work, or government must be made in the context of its impact on the seventh generation

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ILLUSTRATION BY CAREN BELLE LOBEL-FRIED

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A Global Gamble



S. George Philander

The debate about global warming is a debate about the outcome of a gamble. We are betting that the benefits of our industrial and agricultural activities will outweigh the possible adverse consequences of an unfortunate by-product of our activities, an increase in the atmospheric concentration of greenhouse gases that could lead to global warming and global climate changes. Some experts warn that we are making poor bets, that global warming has started and that disasters are imminent. Others assure us that the chances of global warming are so remote that the outcome of our wager will definitely be in our favor. The impasse is disquieting because the issue is of vital importance to each of us; it concerns the habitability of our planet. How long will it be before the experts resolve their differences? How long before we must take action?

Some people falsely believe that global warming is a theory which has yet to be confirmed. They do not realize that scientists are in complete agreement that a continual rise in the atmospheric concentration of greenhouse gases will inevitably lead to global warming. The disagreements are about the timing and amplitude of the expected warming. It is as if we are in a raft, gliding smoothly down a river towards dangerous rapids and a waterfall, and are uncertain of the distance to the waterfall. If we know what that distance is then we can tackle the very difficult political matter of deciding on the appropriate time to get out of the water. But all scientific results have uncertainties, which lead to disagreements over plans for action. The result of such disagreements is usually the postponement of the political decision until more accurate scientific results are available—everyone knows that scientists *should* be capable of precise predictions—or until we are in sight of the waterfall.

We are reluctant to accept that some environmental problems are so complex that precise scientific predictions are impossible, that difficult political decisions are necessary in the face of scientific uncertainties. Consider the two main issues being debated: first, whether global warming is evident in the record of globally averaged temperatures to date; and second, whether the results from computer models of the Earth's climate are reliable.

We experience massive global warming each year as part of the regular seasonal cycle. From the winter solstice, December 21 onwards, the intensity of sunshine increases steadily. Temperatures, however, fluctuate considerably within seasons. Take, for example, the recent weather in Princeton, New Jersey. This past February, the temperature was so high that the forsythia started to bloom. The intensity of sunlight continued to increase thereafter, but March nonetheless brought some snow and even April was cool. Such fluctuations, known as the natural variability of our climate, can mask the transition from one season to the next, and they can also mask global warming associated with an increase in the greenhouse effect. That is why the unusually high temperatures of the early 1990s do not necessarily imply that global warming is under way. Similarly, should the next few years be unusually cold, it will not follow that the risk of global warming has receded. In the same way that we can not determine the transition from one season to the next by monitoring temperatures on a daily basis, so we can not determine the onset of global warming by monitoring temperatures on an annual basis.

To get at the bigger picture and alert us to global warming we have to rely on computer models that simulate the Earth's climate—just as we have to rely on a calendar to mark the change in seasons. The models reproduce many aspects of the climate realistically, but climate and global warming are such complex phenomena that the models fail to capture some features. Most members of the scientific community have sufficient confidence in the current models to accept the forecasts concerning future climate changes. A few critics focus on the models' flaws and cite those as the reasons for rejecting the models' results. These skeptics play a valuable scientific role by forcing a reexamination of assumptions made in the models, thus contributing to their

ILLUSTRATION BY GRADY McFERRIN

This article draws on S. George Philander's book, Is the Temperature Rising? The Uncertain Science of Global Warming, *recently published by Princeton University Press.*

continual improvement. However, the inevitable attention paid to these critics in the press is unrelated to the merits of their scientific arguments. Furthermore, such critics often neglect to point out that, because of the inevitable flaws, the models are as likely to underestimate as to overestimate the severity of global warming.

When we consider how extreme the effects of global warming are likely to be, we ought to pay attention to the geologic record, which contains valuable information about climate changes in the past. That record provides abundant evidence that this planet's climate is sensitive to small perturbations. For example, slight changes in the distribution of sunlight on Earth can cause climate changes as dramatic as recurrent Ice Ages. In spite of this evidence concerning our climate's sensitivity to perturbations, we are proceeding with the creation of a huge disturbance: a doubling of the atmospheric concentration of carbon dioxide, a powerful greenhouse gas.

Still, some experts argue that, until the uncertainties in the scientific results are reduced, we should not implement any policies for fear that those policies will put our economy at risk. Implicit in such statements are assumptions in the form of models that predict how the economy will respond to certain policies. The uncertainties in such economic models are far greater than those in climate models. Economics depends on human behavior, and determining whether a certain policy will benefit or harm the economy is even more difficult than determining how greenhouse gases will affect the climate.

The sooner we start doing something about global warming the better, because by the time that everyone agrees that global warming has started, it could be too late to do much about it. By starting early we can take a gradual approach, finding out which policies work, which do not.

Any policy should be carefully monitored to be sure it satisfies two conditions: (1) it should result in a decrease in the atmospheric concentration of greenhouse gases, and (2) it should not adversely affect the economy. The results can be determined only after the policy has been in effect for a while. If it is successful, it should be continued; if not, we can try something else. We must avoid committing ourselves to grand plans that claim to solve the problem once and forever.

We can begin such a sensible plan on an individual level. Since the goal is to reduce the rate at which we inject carbon dioxide into the atmosphere, we should try to use less energy by using public transportation or driving fuel-efficient vehicles.

Every day, all of us—businessmen, politicians, military strategists—routinely make decisions on the basis of uncertain information, usually after we have familiarized ourselves with the available facts. Scientists can provide us with the facts concerning global warming. It is our joint responsibility to make policy decisions on the basis of those facts. ❑

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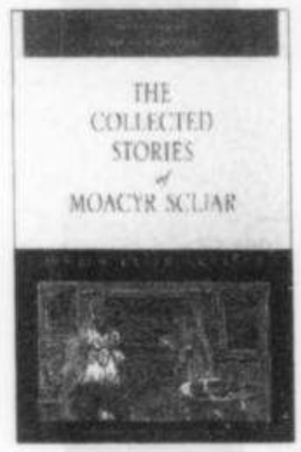
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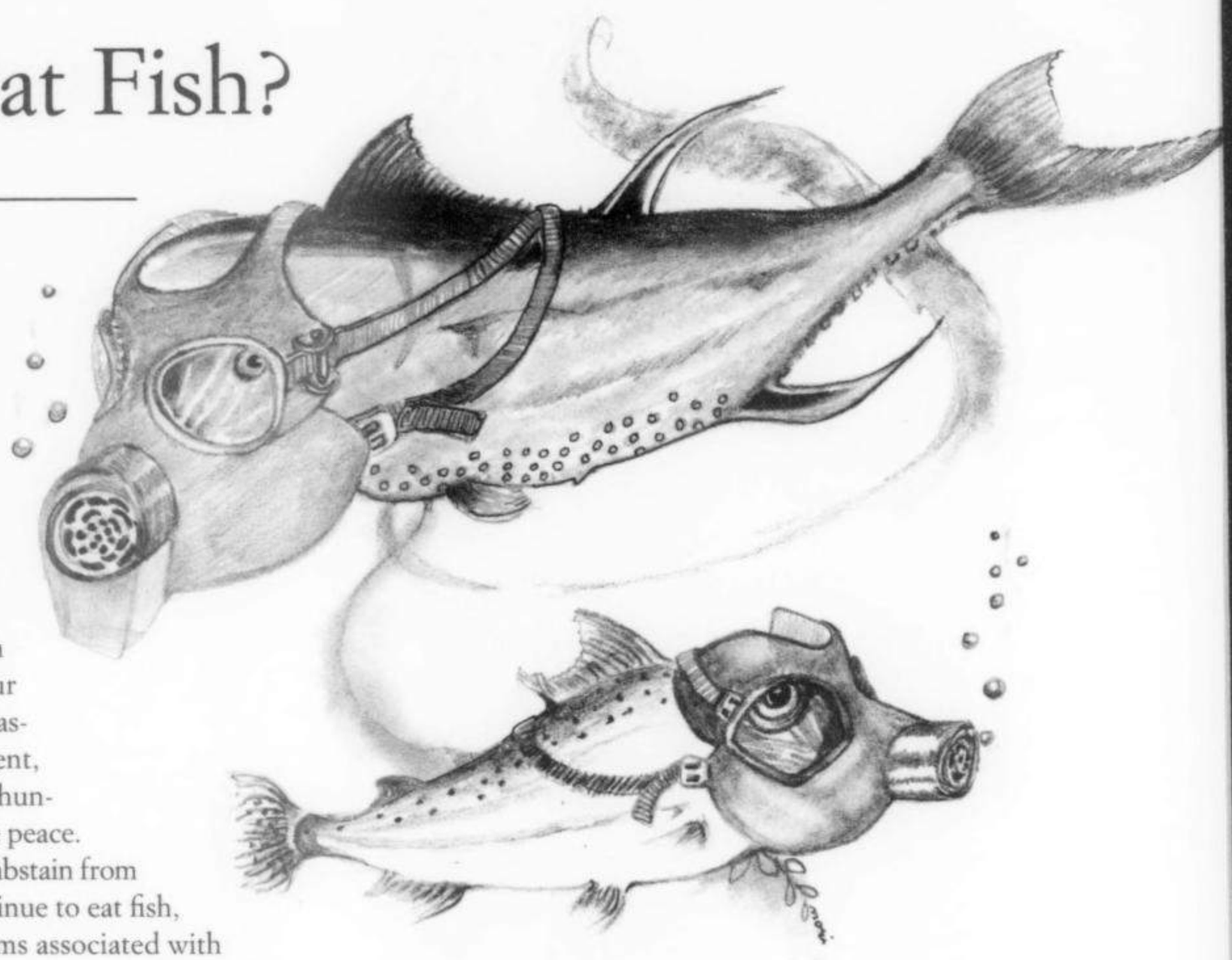
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ENVIRONMENT

Do You Eat Fish?



Richard H. Schwartz

Jewish vegetarians argue that Jews should eliminate, or at least sharply reduce, their consumption of animal products because the realities of animal-based diets and agriculture are sharply inconsistent with basic Jewish mandates to take care of our health, treat animals with compassion, preserve the environment, conserve resources, share with hungry people, and seek and pursue peace.

However, many people who abstain from eating mammals and birds continue to eat fish, sometimes arguing that problems associated with the production and consumption of other animal products do not apply to fish. After all, they reason, fish are not raised under extremely cruel, confined conditions on factory farms; unlike the raising of livestock, fishing does not cause the erosion and depletion of soil, require the destruction of forests to create pastureland and land to grow feed crops, and require huge amounts of pesticides and irrigation water; also, fish is generally lower in fat than other animal products, and is often thought to be a healthy food.

Let us consider vegetarian arguments as they apply to the "production" and consumption of fish:

1. Compassion for animals

Too often, we tend to class fish with plants rather than with animals. Yet, unlike edible plants, fish are vertebrate animals with highly developed nervous systems. Dr. Donald Bloom, professor of animal welfare at Cambridge University, reminds us that "the scientific literature is quite clear. Anatomically, physiologically, and biologically, the pain system in fish is virtually the same as in birds and mammals." Fishing is not painless for fish by any means. When fish are hauled up from the deep, the sudden change in pressure on their bodies causes painful decompression which often leads their gills to collapse and their eyes to pop out. As soon as fish are removed from the water, they begin to suffocate. Hooked fish struggle because of physical pain and fear. As Dr. Tom Hopkins, professor of marine science at the University of Alabama describes it, getting hooked on a line is "like dentistry without Novocaine, drilling into exposed areas."

Fish that are "farmed," as opposed to caught, do not have an easier existence. Most trout, catfish, and many other species eaten in the United States are raised in modern "fish factories," where they are subject to the same intensive, crowded conditions as land farm animals. Modern aquaculture trends involve large-scale, highly mechanized fish production, much like the chicken industry. Like crowded broiler chickens, fish are crammed in enormous pools called "raceways," where they are pushed to gain weight far faster than is natural. Experiments aim to find the greatest number of fish that can be raised per cubic foot of water in order to maximize profits. Under these very crowded, unnatural conditions, fish suffer from stress, infections, parasites, oxygen depletion, and gas bubble disease, akin to "the bends" in human beings. To prevent the spread of diseases among the fish, large amounts of antibiotics are used.

It's also worthwhile to point out that fish are not the only animals to suffer because of people's appetite for their flesh. Egrets, hawks, and other birds who eat fish are often shot or poisoned to prevent them from eating fish at large open pools where fish are raised. In one documented case, a California company with a U.S. Fish and Wildlife permit to

ILLUSTRATION BY NORI HELLER

Richard H. Schwartz is the author of Judaism and Vegetarianism, *and* Judaism and Global Survival. *His articles on Judaism and vegetarianism can be found on the internet at arrs.envirolink.org/ar-voices/schwartz/.*

shoot 50 birds annually in the late 1980s was estimated to kill 10,000 to 15,000 birds, including many species not listed on the permit. Many non-target animals, including sea turtles, dolphins, sea birds, and other fish, also die horribly in commercial fishing nets.

2. Health

Fish is often considered a healthy food. However, while fish is generally lower in fat than other animal products, it has no fiber and virtually no complex carbohydrates or vitamin C, contains excessive amounts of protein, and has none of the protective phytochemicals and antioxidants found only in foods of plant origin. The average American consumes far more protein than required, and much less fiber than is necessary. The overconsumption of protein, in particular, has been linked to several health problems, including kidney stones and osteoporosis, while the lack of fiber may contribute to several diseases related to the digestive process, such as diverticulosis and colon cancer. Also, not all fish are low in fat; salmon, for example, has 52 percent of its calories as fat.

Fish does possess the heart-protective omega-3 fatty acid EPA (eicosopentaenoic acid), but EPA is made by both fish and humans from the essential omega-3 fatty acid alpha-linolenic acid (ALA), and that in turn is made in the chloroplasts of green plants (e.g., algae, spinach). ALA can be obtained from many plant foods, including green leafy vegetables; flaxseed; canola, soybean, and walnut oils; tofu; pumpkin; and wheat germ, and these plant foods generally come without the nutritional hazards of fish.

The greatest health hazard from eating fish, however, comes from the depredations we humans have caused in their natural environment. Fish and shellfish are repositories for the industrial and municipal wastes and agricultural chemicals flushed into the world's waters. Consider PCBs, synthetic chemicals widely used for industrial purposes. Recognized as carcinogenic in the late 1970s, their production was barred in the United States, though their use in this country and worldwide continues.

A six-month investigation by Consumers Union (publishers of *Consumer Reports* magazine) found: "By far the biggest source of PCBs in the human diet is fish.... As PCBs linger in the environment, their composition changes, and they gradually become more toxic ... these more toxic forms are likely to be found in fish.... PCBs accumulate in body tissue. The PCBs that you eat today will be with you decades into the future." Consumers Union found PCBs in 43 percent of the salmon, 25 percent of the swordfish, and 50 percent of the lake whitefish they checked.

Other pollutants that concentrate in sea creatures include pesticides; toxic levels of metallic elements including lead, mercury, cadmium, chromium, and arsenic; dioxins; and radioactive substances such as strontium 90. Because of biological magnification during movement up the food chain, these pollutants can reach levels as much as 9 million times that of the water in which the fish live, and they have been linked to many health problems, including impaired behavioral development in young children. Nursing infants consume half of their mother's load of PCBs, dioxin, DDT, and other deadly toxins.

Consumers Union's tests also showed that nearly half the fish tested from markets in New York City, Chicago, and Santa Cruz, California, were contaminated by bacteria from human or animal feces. In addition, fish often are loaded with disease-causing worms and parasites. Many of the diseases fish harbor can be treated in humans only with antibiotics. However, because of the way fish are raised—in crowded conditions on "aquatic" farms—fish factories give these same antibiotics to the fish to preserve their "crop." The result of this heavy use of antibiotics has been that increasing numbers of bacteria are becoming resistant to the drugs, making the treatment of some diseases more difficult in humans.

3. Environmental Impacts

If we aren't worried about the impact eating fish will have on our own health, we should be concerned about the impact fishing has on the earth's health. Modern commercial fishing uses vast "factory" trawlers the size of football fields, with huge nets sometimes miles long that swallow up everything in their path. The result is that thirteen of the world's seventeen major fisheries are depleted or in serious decline, and the other four are considered "overexploited" or "fully exploited."

The World Conservation Union lists over 1,000 fish worldwide as endangered or threatened. Over 100 Pacific salmon communities are already extinct and dozens more are seriously depleted. Researchers have found the biodiversity of the oceans rivals that of the tropical rain forests, but today we are effectively "clear cutting" these precious underwater environments with our appetite for fish. Some waters that were once teeming with life are now so barren they have been compared to a "dust bowl."

Depleted fisheries have ripple effects throughout the entire marine ecosystem. Major predator-prey situations have been changed. For example, a decline in pollock in western Alaska has caused a 90 percent decline in Steller sea lions, which caused the National Marine Fisheries Service to give them the designation of "threatened" in 1990 and "endangered" in 1997. Loss of sea lions deprived killer whales of their primary source of nutrition and they have shifted to eating sea otters. As a result, sea otters have also declined by 90 percent since 1990, resulting in a surge of their prey, sea urchins. The ecological principle that "everything is connected to everything else" is dramatically illustrated here.

The environmental impact of aquatic farming is also cause for concern. First, wild stocks are displaced as introduced fish invade spawning grounds and compete for food. Interbreeding pollutes the genetic pool. A study of forty

extinct fish species by the National Fisheries Research Center in the United States indicated that species introduced at aquatic farms helped wipe out 68 percent of neighboring indigenous species.

Second, fish farming depletes natural resources. Modern commercial fishing is extremely energy intensive. It requires as much as twenty calories of fossil fuel energy to produce one calorie of food energy from fish. Production of fish food is fifty to one hundred times as energy intensive as production of plant food, even when the plant foods are produced with modern technology.

Moreover, where fish are grown in artificial ponds, vast amounts of water are required as the medium of growth to replenish oxygen and to remove wastes from the aquatic system. Raising a ton of fish on an aquatic farm requires eight tons of water, almost the eight and a half tons of water needed to raise a ton of grain-fed beef. At a time of increasing droughts and demands for water to meet many essential needs, this is very significant. This great need for water has caused further environmental destruction too, as aquaculture is routinely conducted on coastal land cleared of mangrove forests, the prime breeding and spawning ground for many fish. To date, about half the world's mangrove forests have been cleared, drained, or filled to make room for fish farms.

4. Seeking and Pursuing Peace

The Jewish sages, commenting on the fact that the Hebrew words for bread and war come from the same root, stated that shortages of grain and other resources make war more likely. The truth of their words is illustrated by the increasing battles over increasingly scarce fish in many areas. A United Nations official describes the situation on the high seas as "the emerging anarchy in the oceans." With so many vessels scouring increasingly fished-out waters, squabbles and confrontations are expanding. Russians have attacked Japanese vessels in the Northwest Pacific. Scottish fishers have attacked a Russian trawler. A Falkland Islands' patrol chased a Taiwanese squid boat more than 4,000 miles. Norwegian patrols cut the nets of three Icelandic ships in the Arctic, and exchanged shots. The UN reported a 10 percent escalation in piracy and armed robberies directed toward ships, many of them fishing vessels.

In summary, the "production" and consumption of fish is harmful to human health, causes great suffering to the fish, threatens the ocean's biodiversity, wastes resources, and makes national conflicts more likely. Hence, an end to, or at least a sharp decline in, the consumption of fish and other animal products is a societal imperative and arguably a Jewish imperative. ❑

Nature: A Conclusion

With thanks to "First They Came For" by Reverend Martin Niemoeller

First they milled the flour, threw away the germ and the bran, and added a few vitamin extracts.
And I didn't speak up, because I eat whole grains.
Then they removed babies from the breast and fed them artificial formulas with cow's milk.
And I didn't speak up, because I breastfed my baby.
Then they laced the beef with hormones and antibiotics.
And I didn't speak up, because I don't eat beef.
Then they fed the chickens artificial pellets and kept them from sunlight.
And I didn't speak up, because I don't eat chicken or eggs.
Then they marketed dairy produced by recombinant hormones and laced with dioxin and pesticides,
and all the rats got cancer.
And I didn't speak up, because I don't eat dairy.
Then they marketed fish contaminated with mercury, dioxin and PCBs.
And I didn't speak up, because I don't eat fish.
Then they grew the vegetables with commercial fertilizer and sprayed them with pesticides.
And I didn't speak up, because I eat only organic vegetables.
Then they spliced the genes of the vegetables with toxic viruses, and the pollen from the vegetables
blew into the organic gardens and contaminated the organic vegetables.
And I spoke up, because there was nothing left for me to eat.

—Nina Moliver

TIKKUN OLAM

A Morning's Outing in Israel

Danny Siegel



ILLUSTRATION BY ANDREA KASSOF

It is a very hot day in Bnai Brak. I am with Yoram, one of the founders of Bayit Cham (the Warm Home), an organization dedicated to finding employment for people recovering from mental illness. Yoram is young, and he has what we call in Hebrew *Temimut*, a certain aura of innocence about him—yet he also has a profound and astonishing grasp of human nature. It is an honor to be with him, to have a few minutes to listen to his stories, his understanding of Torah, his explanation of how people are to be treated with *Kavod*, Dignity, no matter how torn or shattered their minds and souls may be or may have been.

People who come to this Warm Home are hoping for some life-saving rope, or hook, or—most of all—a hand to grasp so they can get on with their lives. Bayit Cham gives them one, not by reciting special blessings or by laying on hands or by calling on some mysterious powers to heal—anyone who knows me knows I have a distinct distaste for that approach to healing. No, the miracle-workers at Bayit Cham have the real Human Touch, which is really the Divine Touch.

Every day, Yoram and Bayit Cham's cofounder, Shmuel, reach out from Bnai Brak to businesses all over the greater Tel Aviv area, looking for places that will give their people work. They are Shadchanim, matchmakers, getting the right business for the right person and staying in touch to make sure things are working out. And they do all this from a tiny office in an industrial zone; the office is so simple that when we see it we wonder how they do it, how they bring people back to reality from such a small space.

When we visit we are greeted by Shmuel, whom I have known even longer than Yoram. What a grand human being, what a Mensch! Shmuel has taught us to find the Good in everyone. His face radiates beauty and holiness. After we eat and talk, we join Shmuel on our journey from place to place, observing at a distance some of the more than 100 people now working in a variety of businesses. Yoram stays behind. Only on the way home do we learn that a man had come in to talk, telling him, "I have no reason to live."

Danny Siegel is the author of twenty books including Good People, *a collection of essays about everyday people who are Mitzvah heroes, and* Tell Me a Mitzvah, *Tzedakah stories for children.*

It is so incredibly moving. If these same people living with mental illness were in the United States, so many of them would be living on the streets, or, God forbid, no longer with us, no longer able to bear their tortured existence.

Bayit Cham is a must-see place. Shmuel and Yoram are absolute must-meet people. Call them. Take the Grand Tour. Be exhilarated and moved. These are their phone numbers: Shmuel: 011-972-51-598-660, Yoram: 011-972-51-598-662.

Back In America:

Once a year, sometimes twice a year, I get a call from someone who says, "I have an adult Jewish child who is schizophrenic [or bipolar or clinically depressed]. Is there some Jewish organization I can turn to?" Now there is: Advocates for the Jewish Mentally Ill (AJMI). The person to contact is Beulah Saideman, 215-947-7031, BeulahSaid@aol.com, 1415 Holt Rd., Huntington Valley, PA 19006. The office is located at: Advocates for the Jewish Mentally Ill, POB 561, Abingdon, PA 19001, Attn: Susan Haiman. Call, write, send an email. There is hope.

Postscript: The Dance

On the way back to the office from seeing the Bayit Chamniks at work, Shmuel sees a man he knows. He grabs him and begins to dance with him, singing a Yemenite melody. It is such a strange sight: the stocky, bearded, eyes-afire man descended from distinguished German Jews, dancing with the thin, dark man with the curls coming down the side of his face and the somewhat-faraway look on his face.... Strange, that is, unless you know Shmuel, the Mensch with the Ultimate Human Touch. ❑

MEDIA

Public Journalism

Reconstructing the "Public"

Jay Rosen



The news delivers us to a space that journalists have themselves crafted. If they are inclined to forget this, the rest of us should not, for the crafting of an inhabitable world is perhaps the highest demand we can make on the people to whom we bestow press passes.

I tell the story of some of these people in my recent book, *What Are Journalists For?*, where I focus on that minority of the mainstream press who, after 1989, began to wonder how habitable their daily portrait was. Faced with a slow but discernible crisis in their craft, they began to ask some challenging questions: What should journalists bring back from a public square that seems too empty at times, and too far from what democracy requires? What should the press be trying to accomplish with its portrayal of the world, beyond the familiar demands for accuracy, fairness, balance (and profit)?

The people asking these questions were convinced that something was wrong—in journalism, in politics, and in the wider culture beyond. Democracy and its discontents were a major theme in the inquiry, and many who joined in it were discontented themselves: with their work, their sinking standing among citizens, the place they had carved out for themselves as professionals. Amid a mood of anxiety and alarm, they set out to understand democracy in a different way, so they could see journalism from another angle: as democracy's cultivator, as well as its chronicler. This reform effort in journalism has had a number of titles: I call it "public journalism"; some prefer "civic journalism," or sometimes "community journalism." There are several other names, but one general aim: to revise the work of the press so that it somehow supports a healthier public climate.

How to do that—and how to think about it—was unclear at the outset. The solution was to experiment with different vocabularies and the daily product of journalism. Politics and public life, journalism and its professional identity, didn't have to be as they are. If citizens could be encouraged to join in the action where possible, to keep an ear tuned to current debate, to find a place for themselves in the drama of politics, to exercise their skills, and to voice their concerns, then maybe democracy didn't have to be the desultory affair it seemed to have become. And maybe journalism, by doing something to help, could improve itself and regain some of its lost authority. This, then, was what the experiment, the movement, the debate, and the general buzz around public journalism were about. What kind of press might help Americans become not only informed, but also engaged?

A tale from the movement's early history:

In a midwestern city, a large defense plant that employs thousands of people in the area is about to be closed. Obviously, a big story. But how should the story be approached? The "news" is clear enough: it would explain when the shutdown begins, how and why the decision was made, the politics behind plant closings in Washington, the likely consequences for the region, the hardships ahead for the employees and their families.

But if this is the news, it is not the entire story, for in the wake of the news, the community faces a question: what do we do now? It is not the same question as "what happens next?" because what happens next may or may not depend on what people in the area decide to do. They may do nothing without really deciding on a null stance, especially if the available choices never rise to public consciousness. But engagement depends on other factors: the performance of elected officials, the reactions of business and labor, the strength of civic leadership, the ability of the news media to communicate what is at stake.

Met with the loss of jobs at a big employer, what sort of stance toward the event should a local newspaper take? By "stance" I do not mean the view of editorial writers who may speak their minds on the opinion page, although that is one option. Far more important is how the newspaper and its style of journalism stand toward the lingering question, "what do we do now?" and how they treat the discussion that develops around it. That discussion can be covered as

ILLUSTRATION BY DAVID BALL

Jay Rosen, former media editor of TIKKUN, *teaches journalism at New York University. This essay is adapted from his book,* What Are Journalists For?, *to be published in November by Yale University Press.* *© 1999 by Yale University Press. All rights reserved.*

news, if news happens. But it can also be suggested, modeled, coaxed to life by journalists who want to see it occur.

"I'd been one of those who thinks society is best served by journalists who cover the news," wrote Max Jennings, editor of the *Dayton Daily News*, in a 1995 essay. "I don't think this is good enough anymore.... More and more, I'm starting to think that journalists ought to be about the business of making discussion instead of just covering it."

A year earlier, Jennings had been confronted with the imminent closing of a nuclear weapons plant and Defense Department supply center that together provided 4,450 local jobs. He understood his newspaper had a choice. It could report news of the closing and the response of local leaders to it. Or it could take the initiative by helping to create public conversation about the implications of the plant's closing. This is what Jennings and his colleagues decided to do, and when they made that move they crossed into the territory of public journalism—but not because they wanted to be pioneers in their profession.

They simply recognized that enormous potential lay in danger of being wasted: highly skilled workers and some promising technology already developed at the weapons plant. They knew, as well, that daunting problems remained before these resources could be put to new and productive use. So they asked themselves how the newspaper might help "create broad public discussion about possibilities for converting the plant's resources and workforce," as Jennings put it.

To that end, the paper prepared a package of features on the weapons plant and its possible retooling, "to explain to the community and the nation as much as we could about the business potential of the plant." The final product featured a twelve-page special section intended as both a briefing on the plant and an invitation to further discussion. The newspaper secured unprecedented access to the plant by persuading executives and government officials that it was serious about being constructive in its reporting. It laid out a path that key players could follow to save the business by converting it to other uses, and included profiles of key employees and their phone numbers, should anyone want to contact them about next steps. Through photographs, graphics, opinion pieces, speculative reporting, and the detailed attention it gave to possible courses of action, the *Dayton Daily News* became more proactive in response to a broad public problem that demanded, in the paper's judgment, a creative response.

As Jennings wrote, "I was a long way from sitting back and waiting for the bureaucrats, politicians and civic leaders to act, then writing about that." One result of the *Daily News*' initiative was that hundreds of businesspeople agreed to tour the plant, discussing its possible conversion with officials there. Those tours illustrate the modest but tangible effect public journalism tries to achieve: more discussion at more sites, greater activity, deeper attention to the choices and opportunities before the community when it confronts a difficult but not impossible task. Still, the steps that followed from the newspaper's initiative had to draw their momentum from other actors: the plant's employees, its executives, possible investors, government officials, alert citizens. Presented with a "blueprint" by the newspaper, they had to modify or improve it by adding their own ideas. The *Daily News* could then resume its role as monitor of a dialogue that evolved away from the journalists who gave it the initial push.

Part of that push involved the effort to imagine alternatives the community might otherwise have neglected. In a similar package on keeping a large Air Force base alive as a base for jobs, the *Daily News* recruited an architect to complete a rendering of "what the facility might look like utilizing four ideas coming from the community." The resulting plan took top honors at the 1995 Ohio Planning Conference and led city officials to agree to take ownership of the site in 1997, with plans to develop it as an office/light industrial business park.

From having a problem to having a plan: with assistance from its newspaper, Dayton took ownership of a civic challenge and began to move on it. "We'll be aggressive quoting the doomsayers in the future," Jennings noted. "In the meantime, we have created two blueprints as a guide for dealing with two huge community projects." Comfortable in his evolving philosophy, he was able to challenge his colleagues: "Someone's going to have to convince me this is bad journalism."

Many tried. A good number of journalists, including some distinguished names in the elite press, objected to what Jennings and others were doing. These exchanges became a kind of contest between center and margin over the image of "journalism" that ought to prevail in the mind of the craft. "Critics say ..." read a recurring line in the script, and the critics said a good deal: this is advocacy. This is getting too involved. This is a fad, a gimmick, a commercial ploy. This is what we've always done, nothing new. Or this is what we don't do and never should. You're caving into readers' most superficial desires, endangering the profession's special standing. In the name of some fuzzy if high-minded ideal, you're going against everything I believe. *You're messing the whole thing up.*

At times, it's true, confusion has hung in the climate of ideas that suffuse the term "public journalism." When commercial motives have mingled with civic intentions the picture has rarely been clear: are we promoting ourselves or permitting others a voice? When journalists get more proactive in their work the doubts are hard to ignore: are we making something happen because we think it good, or inviting citizens to fashion their own goods?

In time, however, some answers have moved into view. Try to get people engaged, then step back when they do. Start where citizens start, but don't end where citizens end. Listen to them in settings where they can think with each

other and testify to what they know. But don't turn "the people" into gods or assume that their judgment is infallible. Experiment with public journalism, in whatever style works for you and your community. Don't turn it into a formula, or draw false lines against tradition when traditional approaches work well. Get humble, even as you get excited by the possibilities afloat. Level with the community about your plans, and invite intelligent comment. Take your critics seriously; you are lucky to have them. And realize: this is going to take time, "generational, cultural change," as one editor put it.

As a call for reform, public journalism is perhaps best understood as a breakaway church. It has parted company with the rest of the profession on what to believe, and what is to be done. But a breakaway church is still a church, and those who break faith do not abandon their faith. Rather than lapse into nonbelief or escape into irony, they change their creed, and work out the consequences in a company of their own. The people I call public journalists have formed their own company, in that sense. They still believe in the profession, but not in all that it professes. They have counterprinciples to offer, which try to improve on a faith that had begun to fail them. Some examples:

Public journalism is perhaps best understood as a breakaway church.

Journalists don't get involved. Well, they are involved.

We have to remain detached. But how do you detach yourself from a public culture that responds to your every move?

Whether people join in democracy or don't is their business, not ours. Do you really believe that an inert and atomized audience, a demoralized and disaffected citizenry, can provide "your business" with a secure future?

Our job is to tell the truth, not report things the way we would like them to be. Journalism itself stands for the way things should be. Why? Because its implicit belief is that people can make a difference when they know what is happening in their world.

If that claim turns out to be false, then journalism is false to its history and founding premise. Therefore, people in the press ought to do everything they can to support this ideal: an informed, engaged, and effective public, one that takes matters into its own hands when no other hands will do. In order to tell the truth in journalism, you have to believe that truth-telling matters to what your fellow citizens will later make of their lives. Those who cannot put this "opinion" into everything they do, including the most relentlessly factual account, have entered the wrong field. They are likely to wind up detached from the very thing that gives their work its meaning.

To me, the core idea of TIKKUN, the magazine, is in the Hebrew term that gave this journal its name: *tikkun olam*, to repair the world. These pages have talked of politics, culture, the inner life of an unsettled age, Israel, and problems in Jewish identity. Opinion has been on view, which has meant taking positions, mounting arguments, voicing dissent. But deeper than all these, I believe, is the principle of repair, sometimes seen as a Jewish value, but really a universal one.

The principle, let us grant, has its pretensions. "Let me repair you" is not a recommended way to win friends or influence people. And grave damage can be done by those who rush to fix or reform things they do not understand. As a professor I know once put it, people are bad enough without being improved all the time by the likes of us. But to call repair our most urgent task is different than claiming you know what needs to be done. All you really know is that the work of analysis—taking apart problems, so as to understand them well—can be approached from another angle: what is to be done, and where lies our inspiration for doing it?

For some who congregate here, the answer is the Jewish tradition; for others, the great spirit of liberalism; and for many, it is a generational quest that began in the 1960s, and is not yet played out. All of those sources matter to me, whether or not I would call them my own. But repair matters more—perhaps because liberalism, in its present straits, and the Sixties, in their long journey into cultural memory, stand today in need of work. Like any living faith, Judaism always needs work, as does democracy, a faith we are always in danger of losing to time, circumstance, and all manner of civic neglect.

We mend, then, because we neglect. The world breaks down, and it needs to be built back up again. Trying to understand it that way isn't a particularly liberal, or Jewish, or "Sixties" thing to do—in fact, it may be a very conservative temper. ("Repair" can mean "restore.") But repair is always a different cast of mind than description, analysis, and commentary alone.

We're all familiar with the big book on an important social problem, the lecture by the outraged critic, the newspaper series exposing some horrific mess, presented without thought for how the situation might be improved. It is perfectly honorable to resist the demand for suggestions when something rotten needs to be shown. Leaving solutions to others is sometimes wisdom itself. The Prophets, after all, were not trying to be practical people, but what they said still rings.

So we wouldn't want to charge everyone with the work of repair. But we wouldn't want it neglected, either. The movement for public journalism was an attempt at repairing the vital connections among citizens, the press, and public life. I say "was," but it still is, for there is no telling where this quest will eventually lead. Without something like it alive in their profession, journalists will drift toward a new century, uncertain of what they wish to make from it. ❑

PERSONAL ESSAY

The Question

David Mamet

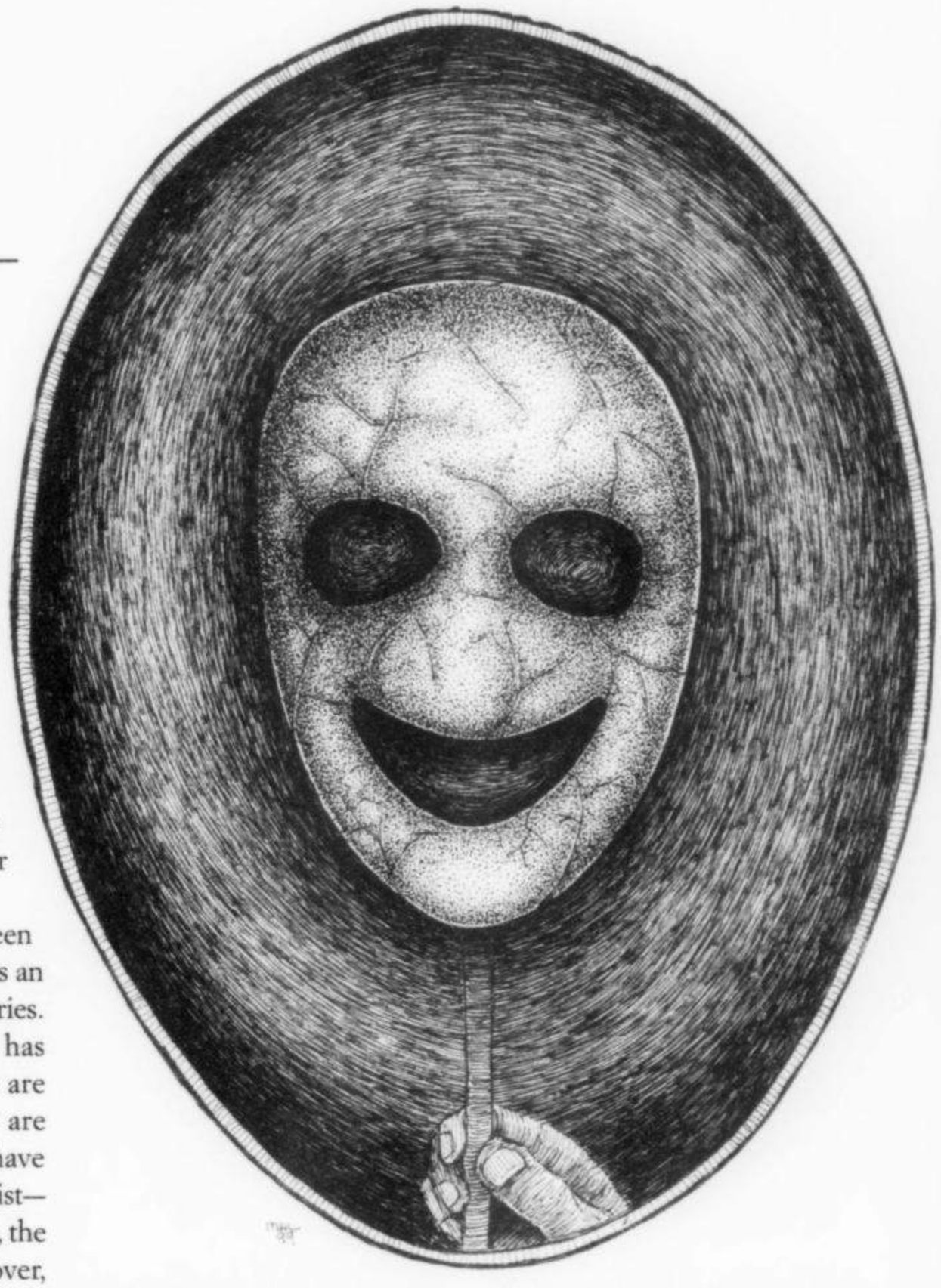


ILLUSTRATION BY MAC McGILL

Question: Why is it few care to understand or apply the laws of dramaturgy to drama, while such laws are both understood and practiced spontaneously in the television commercial?

Surprise, suspense, false expectations, reversal, inevitability, juxtaposition of images—all to engage, mislead, and then satisfy the human capacity to imagine—these dramaturgical techniques are employed autonomically in the commercial. Their absence there would be cause for astonishment, as their presence in the comedy and drama is so often the occasion for incomprehension.

Into what service has the dramatic impulse now been pressed? It was first called into existence to serve God, as an exercise of investigation and awe in the face of the Mysteries. It exists to serve God still, but the identity of God has changed. The God is now Mammon, and the plays are shorter (thirty to sixty seconds), but, as before, we are piqued, challenged, cajoled, distracted all and only to have the revelation at the service's end that, yes, God does exist—the answer to our practical problems and our vague fears, the power charged with, and in fact exercising oversight over, our lives, the unseen listener at every conversation, capable, *if one believes*, of curing both hemorrhoids and anomie.

For may we not say that God may be defined as the Irreducible: that beyond which there is nothing. And our God is now Consumption (which is the worship of the Self). Theatre (particularly Tragedy), the celebration of the Unknowable, has given place to the Commercial, the celebration of our own omnipotence.

To this, might we not reply that commerce, the getting and spending of money, is good, for it satisfies a human longing? Perhaps, but not the longing for peace or the understanding to bring that peace about. For the efficacy of Commerce is illusory—one wants more (power, goods, potential) as one achieves more. As we become more materially comfortable our sacrifices (both in purchasing and in achieving purchasing power) must increase; sacrifice is the harness-mate to Mr. Veblen's "conspicuous consumption," for we spend not only to impress others with the scope of our disposable income, but to placate the Gods—that which is not dramatic cannot be a sacrifice.

Long ago ritual human sacrifice was abstracted into the portrayal of sacrifice, i.e., drama. The observer could then observe-intuit the rectitude of sacrifice (in Tragedy), and celebrate the omnipotence of God in God's ability to "stay the command" (in Comedy), and so feel God's Goodness.

Ritual sacrifice stopped: we see its survival here and there, charmingly, in the "walks for hunger," which are (again, after Mr. Veblen) a portrayal of self-administered human suffering, a propitiation of the Unknowable. (Please note that many of these mini-ordeals are self-identified as being *for* those plagues one would have thought them to have been *against*, e.g., Walk for AIDS, for Hunger; that is, I think, they are *for* those forces understood as Gods (AIDS, hunger, poverty)—they are propitiations.

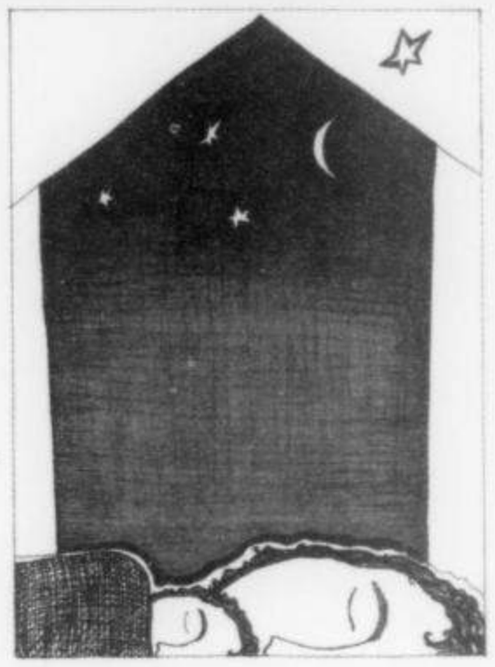
Overt and avowed sacrifice stopped, but its celebration has continued as commercial sacrifice, pressing the ancient dramatic tools into its service to convince, cajole, exhort, and trick us into expenditure.

In a time of confusion, we witness the return of the primordial prophylactic against fear. ❑

David Mamet is the Pulitzer Prize-winning author of Oleanna *and* Glengarry Glen Ross; *his films include* The Postman Always Rings Twice, The Untouchables, *and* Wag the Dog.

PERSONAL ESSAY

No Permanent Abode



S. M. Miller

Some years ago, while visiting Dublin, Ireland, I discovered that I had been homeless as a child in Brooklyn. I was consulting with Focus Point, a newly established Irish organization that deals with housing problems. In the course of questioning the staff in order to clarify its goals and activities, I used the term "homeless." The staff pointedly corrected me: they did not use that word. Their phrase was people with "no permanent abode." That definition extended beyond people in temporary shelters or "living rough" on the street. Included were those who lived doubled-up with others and those who had to shift from one indoor sleeping place to another. Suddenly, I realized that by this definition I too had been "homeless," with "no permanent abode."

I was overwhelmed, close to tears, at this naming of that terrible experience when I was ten. Immediately, I saw that time in an even more terrifying light than I had ever permitted myself to acknowledge.

During the depression of the 1930s we were living in Philadelphia where I was born. Family economic conditions worsened to the point that our electricity was turned off and we lived in the dark. My parents decided finally to seek help with my mother's sisters in Brooklyn, aunts whom I scarcely knew. One sister took my mother, father, and me to live with her husband and three sons in a crowded apartment. My two sisters, considerably older than I, lived with other aunts. After several months of this strained, divided existence, my parents were thrown out summarily by my irascible uncle who found our presence (and my withdrawn shyness and school success) disturbing. Another aunt took us in for a while during the hot summer and my parents and I shared a bed in a tiny room with an exceedingly small window opening on a shaft. Another relative whom I did not know at all, appalled I believe by the three of us sharing a bed, took me to stay with his family. This went on for some period until my parents found jobs that enabled us to rent our own small apartment and reunite the family.

My sisters and I never discussed this episode with each other and certainly not with our parents. When I did think about it in later years, I would focus on my pain and isolation. It was only after Dublin, many years later, that I could discuss that time with my surviving sister and realize how damaging that period was for her and must have been for my parents, especially for my mother, a proud, energetic and effective woman.

My Dublin-based recall was highlighted recently because of my role as a social scientist concerned about poverty and inequality. I learned of an article by Bruce G. Link and his colleagues at Columbia University's School of Public Health that moved beyond the usual practice of counting as homeless only those who were living in shelters or on the street on a given day. Using what was, in effect, the definition of "no permanent abode," they asked a national sample if they had ever been homeless. (The U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development is beginning to use this broader understanding of homelessness.) By using the broader definition and by asking about lifetime experience, this study differed from the usual counts of the numbers of homeless people. Through this method, the count of the homeless swelled from perhaps 400,000 who on a given night were living rough or in a temporary shelter to 26 million adults who at some time during their lives lacked a permanent abode.

Asking for lifetime experience makes a great deal of sense. A one-night reporting of the homeless is an undercount of what happened to people during the year or over a lifetime (just as unemployment rates tell only of what happened in a particular week rather than how many people and households experienced some sizable unemployment and loss of income during a year).

The lifetime rate is important because living with "no permanent abode" scars people. Gaining a reliable residence does not wipe out the troubles that lacking a reliable home produces. In my case, I have enormous difficulty in asking for a favor despite enjoying the privileged position of providing many favors to others. Yes, I learned from D. H. Lawrence's *The Man Who Died* that just as there is a greed in taking without giving, there is a greed in giving without taking. Nonetheless, I recoil (as does my sister) at the idea of asking for a favor, even from those I have helped. When I do, it takes enormous willpower to overcome that sense of shame and fear of rebuff in having to ask for aid. I trace this reluctance and many other failings and disturbing feelings to that period of "no permanent abode."

Homelessness is a deeper continuing experience than the passing loss of a bed to call your own. It is a wound that never fully heals. ❑

ILLUSTRATION BY SARAH SOLIE

S. M. Miller is senior fellow and director of the Project on Inequality and Poverty at the Commonwealth Foundation and Research Professor of Sociology at Boston College.

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The New Millennium

To call the year 2000 or 2001 the beginning of a new millennium is to accept the dating of the calendar from the symbolic birth date of Jesus of Nazareth. The not-so-Christian West has been able to use its economic, political, and scientific/technological power to impose a certain kind of unity on the world's public discourse, so it may not be so surprising that its calendar now frames the world's agenda.

Yet because of its Christian associations to the promised Second Coming of the resurrected Jesus, the millennium is associated with a set of transformative hopes—and we at TIKKUN want to support any excuse for people to return to their most hopeful and visionary aspirations. Thus, we welcome the fin de millennium aspirations for a meaningful past and a purposeful future.

At this particular fin de millennium, however, the very possibility of fulfilling that desire is in question. Unlike the past millennium, described here by Natalie Zemon Davis and David Biale, we have no grand narrative of perdition or redemption to guide our search for meaning. Indeed, many progressive intellectuals, represented in this issue by Martin Jay and Omer Bartov, suggest that progress through history, at least in the traditional sense, is at best an inspiring fiction; they argue that we should learn from the disasters of the past to scale down our expectations for the future.

In light of what we can learn from the past, is it still viable to hope for fundamental healing and transformation of our planet?

We believe it is.

Ken Wilber leads off this section with a developmental model of spiritual transformation, while editors Michael Lerner and Peter Gabel (starting on page 9 and continuing here on page 53) argue for the possibility of reading the past in ways that accentuate an ontologically-grounded human aspiration, for loving connection to each other and to God. True, the need for loving connection, mutual recognition, and union with the Unity of All Being has often been frustrated by our actual social and economic arrangements and has been channeled in destructive or hurtful ways—sometimes by the very religious or political systems that promised salvation—yet the underlying aspiration and our real situation as embodiments of God's image, assures the perennial possibility of transcendence toward the good and toward the holy.

In this issue of TIKKUN we reflect on the lessons from the past millennium. In the January/February 2000 issue we will present some visions for the future—what it will take to actualize our possibilities toward transcendence in ways that will help avert ecological and spiritual catastrophe and lead us closer to a world based on love, community, awe, and wonder at the grandeur of the universe and the mystery of All Being. ❑

ILLUSTRATION BY RUSS ANDO

Boomeritis *vs.* Spiritual Growth *in the* New Millennium

Ken Wilber

The baby boomer generation has, like any generation, its strengths and weaknesses. Its strengths include an extraordinary vitality, creativity, and idealism, plus a willingness to experiment with new ideas beyond traditional values. Some social observers have seen in the boomers an "awakening generation," evidenced by an extraordinary creativity in everything from music to computer technology, political action to lifestyles, ecological sensitivity to civil rights. I believe there is much truth and goodness in those endeavors, to the boomers' considerable credit.

Boomer weaknesses, most critics agree, include an unusual dose of self-absorption and narcissism, so much so that most people, boomers included, simply nod their heads in acknowledgment when the phrase "the Me generation" is mentioned.

Thus, it seems that my generation is an extraordinary mixture of greatness and narcissism, and that strange amalgam has infected almost everything we do. We don't seem content to simply have a fine new idea; we must have the new paradigm which will herald the greatest transformation in the history of the world. We don't really want just to recycle bottles and paper; we need to see ourselves dramatically saving the planet and saving Gaia and resurrecting the Goddess which previous generations had brutally repressed but we will finally liberate. We aren't able to tend our garden; we must be transfiguring the face of the planet in the most astonishing global awakening history has ever seen. We seem to need to see ourselves as the vanguard of something unprecedented in all of history: the extraordinary wonder of being us.

It might just be funny, but I think it also presents an obstacle to spiritual development that we need to consider. To see why, let's think a bit about where we are in the process.

The Waves of Existence

One of the striking things about the present state of developmental studies is how similar, in broad outline, most of its models are. Indeed, in *Integral Psychology* I assembled the conclusions of over 100 different researchers, and, as one of them summarized the situation, "The stage sequences [of all of these theorists] can be aligned across a common developmental space. The harmony of alignment shown suggests a possible reconciliation of [these] theories."

From Clare Graves to Abraham Maslow, from Deirdre Kramer to Jan Sinnott, from Jürgen Habermas to Cheryl Armon, from Kurt Fischer to Jenny Wade, from Robert Kegan to Susanne Cook-Greuter, there emerges a remarkably consistent story of the evolution of consciousness. Of course there are dozens of disagreements and hundreds of conflicting details. But they all tell a generally similar tale of the growth and development of consciousness from—to use Jean Gebser's particular version—archaic to magic to mythic to rational to integral. Most of the more sophisticated of these cartographies give around six to ten waves of development from birth to what I call the centaur level.

In many of my books I've given the details of most of those researchers' models. Here I will simply use one of them as an example. The model is called Spiral Dynamics, based on the pioneering work of Clare Graves. Graves proposed a profound and elegant system of human development, which subsequent research has refined and validated, not refuted:

> Briefly, what I am proposing is that the psychology of the mature human being is an unfolding, emergent, oscillating spiraling process marked by progressive subordination of older, lower-order behavior systems to newer, higher-order systems as an individual's existential problems change. Each successive stage, wave, or level of existence is a state through which people pass on their way to other states of being. When the human is centralized in one state of existence [as I would put it, when the self's center of gravity hovers around a particular wave of consciousness] he or she has a psychology which is particular to that state. His or her feelings, motivations, ethics and values, biochemistry, degree of neurological activation, learning system, belief systems, conception of mental health, ideas as to what mental illness is and how it should be treated, conceptions of and preferences for management, education, economics, and political theory and practice are all appropriate to that state.

As is usually the case with Western researchers, Graves recognized no transpersonal levels, but the contributions he made to the prepersonal and personal realms were profound. Graves' first six developmental levels are "subsistence levels" marked by "first-tier thinking." Then there

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This article is excerpted from the introduction to volume seven of Ken Wilber's collected works, a volume which includes The Eye of Spirit. *Ken Wilber has been described by our editor Michael Lerner as one of the most significant thinkers alive today.*

occurs a revolutionary shift in consciousness: the emergence of "being levels" and "second-tier thinking," of which there are two major waves. Here is a brief description of all eight waves, the percentage of the world population at each wave, and the percentage of social power held by each (keeping in mind that individuals may participate in more than one level). Remember, these are all variations on archaic to magic to mythic to rational to integral, which is the common "developmental space" revealed by most research.

1. Beige: *Archaic-Instinctual.* The level of basic survival; food, water, warmth, sex, and safety have priority. Uses habits and instincts just to survive. Distinct self is barely awakened or sustained. Forms into survival bands to perpetuate life.

Where seen: senile elderly, late-stage Alzheimer's victims, mentally ill street people, starving masses, shell-shocked. 0.1 percent of the adult population, 0 percent power.

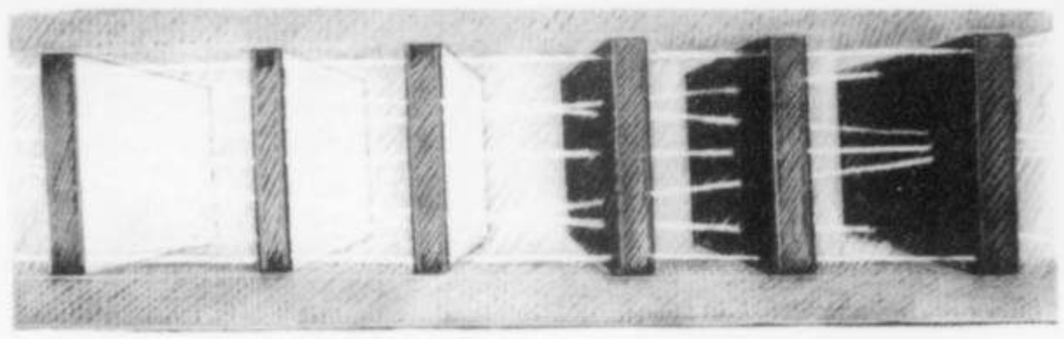
2. Purple: *Magical-Animistic.* Thinking is animistic; magical spirits, good and bad, swarm the earth leaving blessings, curses, and spells which determine events. Forms into ethnic tribes. The spirits exist in ancestors and bond the tribe. Kinship and lineage establish political links. Sounds "holistic" but is actually atomistic: "there is a name for each bend in the river but no name for the river."

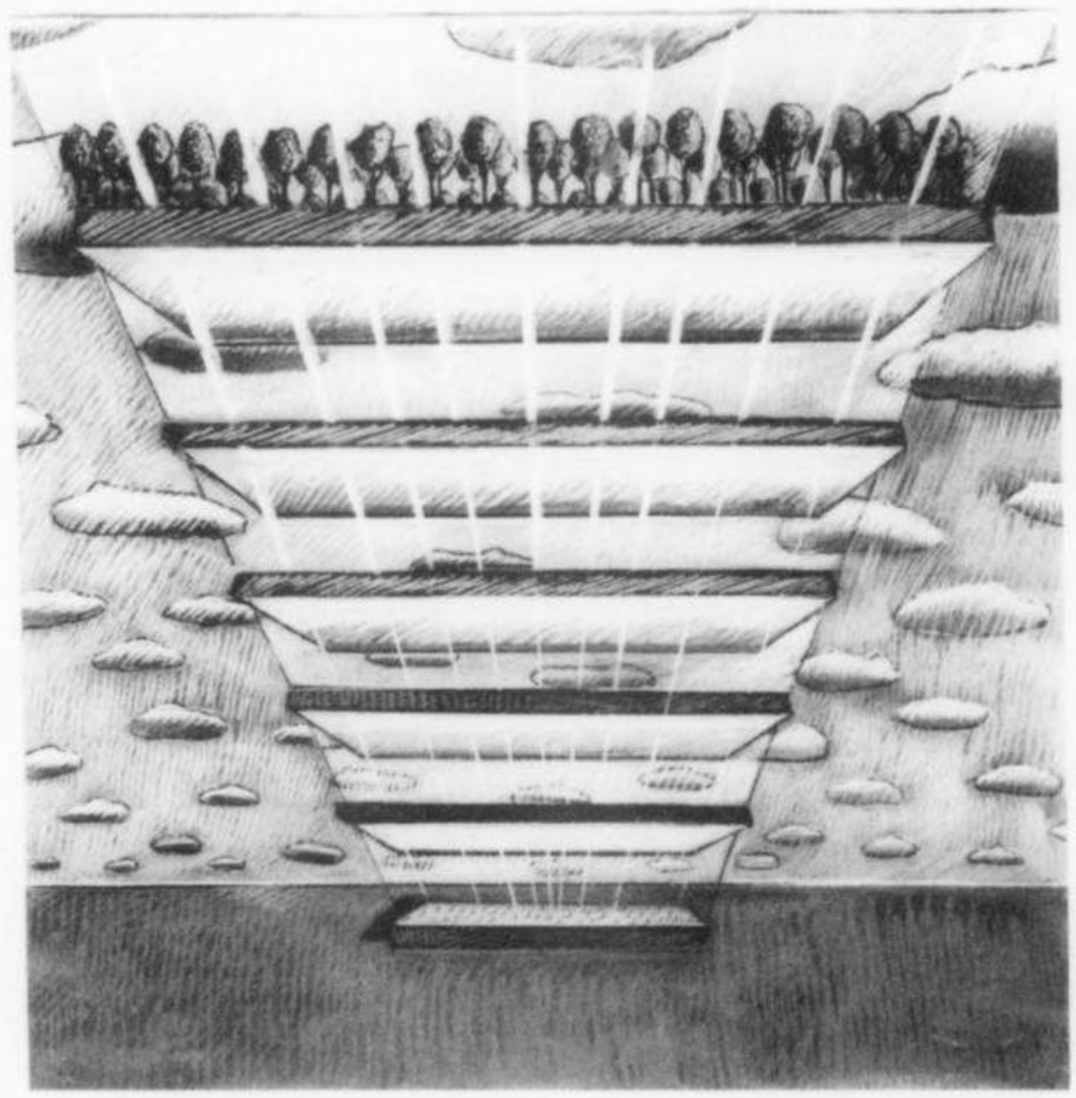
Where seen: belief in voodoo-like curses, blood oaths, ancient grudges, good luck charms, family rituals, magical ethnic beliefs and superstitions; strong in third world settings, gangs, athletic teams, and corporate "tribes." 10 percent of the population, 1 percent of the power.

3. Red: *Power Gods.* Emergence of a self distinct from the tribe; powerful, impulsive, egocentric, heroic. Mythic spirits, dragons, beasts, and powerful people. Feudal lords protect underlings in exchange for obedience and labor. The basis of feudal empires—power and glory. The world is a jungle full of threats and predators. Conquers, outfoxes, and dominates; enjoys self to the fullest without regret or remorse.

Where seen: frontier mentalities, feudal kingdoms, epic heroes, James Bond villains, soldiers of fortune, wild rock stars, Atilla the Hun, Lord of the Flies. 20 percent of the population, 5 percent of the power.

4. Blue: *Conformist Rule.* Life has meaning, direction, and purpose, with outcomes determined by an all-powerful Other or Order. This righteous Order enforces a code of conduct based on absolutist and unvarying principles of "right" and "wrong." Violating the code or rules has severe, perhaps everlasting repercussions. Following the code yields rewards for the faithful. Basis of ancient nations. Rigid social hierarchies; paternalistic; one right way and only one right way to think about everything. Law and order; impulsivity controlled through guilt; concrete-literal and fundamentalist belief; obedience to the rule of order. Often "religious" [in the mythic-membership sense; Graves and Beck refer to it as the "saintly/absolutistic" level], but can be secular or atheistic order or mission.





Where seen: Puritan America, Confucian China, Dickensian England, Singapore discipline, codes of chivalry and honor, charitable good deeds, religious fundamentalism (e.g., Christian and Islamic), Boy and Girl Scouts, "moral majority," patriotism. 40 percent of the population, 30 percent of the power.

5. Orange: *Scientific Achievement.* At this wave, the self "escapes" from the "herd mentality" of blue, and seeks truth and meaning in individualistic terms—hypothetico-deductive, experimental, objective, mechanistic, operational—"scientific" in the typical sense. The world is a rational and well-oiled machine with natural laws that can be learned, mastered, and manipulated for one's own purposes. Highly achievement-oriented, especially (in America) toward materialistic gains. The laws of science rule politics, the economy, and human events. The world is a chessboard on which games are played as winners gain preeminence and perks over losers. Marketplace alliances; manipulate earth's resources for one's strategic gains. Basis of corporate states.

Where seen: the Enlightenment, Ayn Rand's *Atlas Shrugged*, Wall Street, emerging middle classes around the world, cosmetics industry, trophy hunting, colonialism, the Cold War, fashion industry, materialism, liberal self-interest. 30 percent of the population, 50 percent of the power.

6. Green: *The Sensitive Self.* Communitarian, human bonding, ecological sensitivity, networking. The human spirit must be freed from greed, dogma, and divisiveness;

ILLUSTRATIONS BY RICHARD ROSS

feelings and caring supersede cold rationality; cherishing of the earth, Gaia, life. Against hierarchy; establishes lateral bonding and linking. Permeable self, relational self, group intermeshing. Emphasis on dialogue, relationships. Basis of collective communities (i.e., freely chosen affiliations based on shared sentiments). Reaches decisions through reconciliation and consensus (downside: interminable "processing" and incapacity to reach decisions). Refresh spirituality, bring harmony, enrich human potential. Strongly egalitarian, anti-hierarchy, pluralistic values, social construction of reality, diversity, multiculturalism, relativistic value systems; this worldview is often called pluralistic relativism. Subjective, nonlinear thinking; shows a greater degree of affective warmth, sensitivity, and caring for earth and all its inhabitants.

Where seen: deep ecology, postmodernism, Netherlands idealism, Rogerian counseling, Canadian health care, humanistic psychology, liberation theology, World Council of Churches, Greenpeace, animal rights, ecofeminism, postcolonialism, Foucault/Derrida, political correctness, diversity movements, human rights issues, ecopsychology. 10 percent of the population, 15 percent of the power.

With the completion of the green level or meme, human consciousness is poised for a quantum jump into "second-tier thinking." Clare Graves refers to this as a "momentous leap," where "a chasm of unbelievable depth of meaning is crossed." In essence, with second-tier consciousness, one can think both vertically and horizontally, using both hierarchies and heterarchies; one can, for the first time, vividly grasp the entire spectrum of interior development, and thus see that each level, each meme, each wave is crucially important for the health of the overall spiral. As I would word it, since each wave is to "transcend and include," each wave is a fundamental ingredient of all subsequent waves, and thus each is to be cherished and embraced. Moreover, each wave can itself be activated or reactivated as life circumstances warrant. In emergency situations, we can activate red power drives; in response to chaos, we might need to activate blue order; in looking for a new job, we might need orange achievement drives; in marriage and with friends, close green bonding.

But what none of those memes can do, on their own, is fully appreciate the existence of the other memes. Each of those first-tier memes thinks that its worldview is the correct or best perspective. It reacts negatively if challenged; it lashes out, using its own tools, whenever it is threatened. Blue order is very uncomfortable with both red impulsiveness and orange individualism. Orange individualism thinks blue order is for suckers and green egalitarianism is weak and woo-woo. Green egalitarianism cannot easily abide excellence and value rankings, big pictures, or anything that appears authoritarian, and thus green reacts strongly to blue, orange, and anything post-green.

All of that begins to change with second-tier thinking. Because second-tier consciousness is fully aware of the interior stages of development—even if it cannot articulate them in a technical fashion—it steps back and grasps the big picture, and thus second-tier thinking appreciates the necessary role that all of the various memes play. Using what we would recognize as mature vision-logic, second-tier awareness thinks in terms of the overall spiral of existence, and not merely in the terms of any one level.

Where the green meme uses early or beginning vision-logic in order to grasp the numerous different systems and pluralistic contexts that exist in different cultures (which is why it is indeed the sensitive self, i.e., sensitive to the marginalization of others), second-tier thinking goes one step further. It looks for the rich contexts that link these pluralistic systems, and thus it takes these separate systems and begins to embrace, include, and integrate them into holistic spirals and holarchies. Second-tier thinking is instrumental in moving from pluralistic relativism to universal integralism. The extensive research of Graves, Beck, and Cowan indicates that there are two major waves to this second-tier consciousness:

7. Yellow: *Integrative.* Life is a kaleidoscope of natural hierarchies [holarchies], systems, and forms. Flexibility, spontaneity, and functionality have the highest priority. Differences and pluralities can be integrated into interdependent, natural flows. Egalitarianism is complemented with natural degrees of excellence where appropriate. Knowledge and competency should supersede rank, power, status, or group. The prevailing world order is the result of the existence of different levels of reality (memes) and the inevitable patterns of movement up and down the dynamic spiral. Good governance facilitates the emergence of entities through the levels of increasing complexity (nested hierarchy).

8. Turquoise: *Holistic.* Universal holistic system, holons/waves of integrative energies; unites feeling with knowledge [centaur]; multiple levels interwoven into one conscious system. Universal order, but in a living, conscious fashion, not based on external rules (blue) or group bonds (green). A "grand unification" is possible, in theory and in actuality. Sometimes involves the emergence of a new spirituality as a meshwork of all existence. Turquoise thinking uses the entire spiral; sees multiple levels of interaction; detects harmonics, the mystical forces, and the pervasive flow-states that permeate any organization.

Second-tier thinking: 1 percent of the population, 5 percent of the power.

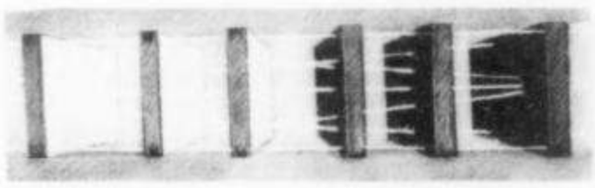
With only 1 percent of the population at second-tier thinking (and only 0.1 percent at turquoise), second-tier consciousness is relatively rare because it is now the "leading edge" of collective human evolution. As examples, Beck and Cowan mention items ranging from Teilhard de Chardin's nöosphere to the growth of transpersonal

psychology, with increases in frequency definitely on the way, and even higher memes still in the offing.

The Jump to Second-Tier Consciousness

Second-tier thinking has to emerge in the face of much resistance from first-tier thinking. In fact, a version of the postmodern green meme, with its pluralism and relativism, has actively fought the emergence of more integrative and holarchical thinking. And yet without second-tier thinking, humanity is destined to remain the victim of a global "auto-immune disease," where various memes turn on each other in an attempt to establish supremacy.

This is why developmental studies in general indicate that many philosophical debates are not really a matter of the better objective argument, but of the subjective level of those debating. No amount of orange scientific evidence will convince blue mythic believers; no amount of green bonding will impress orange aggressiveness; no amount of turquoise holarchy will dislodge green hostility—unless the individual is ready to develop forward through the dynamic, unfolding spiral of consciousness. This is why "cross-level" debates are rarely resolved, and all parties usually feel unheard and unappreciated.



First-tier memes generally resist the emergence of second-tier memes. Scientific materialism (orange) is aggressively reductionistic toward second-tier constructs, attempting to reduce all interior stages to objectivistic neuronal fireworks. Mythic fundamentalism (blue) is often outraged at what it sees as attempts to unseat its given Order. Egocentrism (red) ignores second-tier altogether. Magic (purple) puts a hex on it. Green accuses second-tier consciousness of being authoritarian, rigidly hierarchical, patriarchal, marginalizing, oppressive, racist, and sexist.

Green has been in charge of cultural studies for the past three decades. On the one hand, the pluralistic relativism of green has nobly enlarged the canon of cultural studies to include many previously marginalized peoples, ideas, and narratives. It has acted with sensitivity and care in attempting to redress social imbalances and avoid exclusionary practices. It has been responsible for basic initiatives in civil rights and environmental protection. It has developed strong and often convincing critiques of the philosophies, metaphysics, and social practices of the conventional religious (blue) and scientific (orange) memes, with their often exclusionary, patriarchal, sexist, and colonialistic agendas.

On the other hand, as effective as these critiques of pre-green stages have been, green has attempted to turn its guns on all post-green stages as well, with the most unfortunate results. The green meme, effectively challenging the absolutisms of blue and orange, then mistook all universals and all holarchies as being of the same order, and this often locked it into first-tier thinking.

And this is where boomeritis enters the picture.

Boomeritis

Because pluralistic relativism moves beyond the rigid universalisms of formal rationality into richly textured and individualistic contexts, one of its defining characteristics is its strong subjectivism. This means that its sanctions for truth and goodness are established most basically by individual preferences (as long as the individual is not harming others). What is true for you is not necessarily true for me; what is right is simply what individuals or cultures happen to agree on at any given moment; there are no universal claims for knowledge or truth; each person is free to find his or her own values, which are not binding on anybody else. "You do your thing, I do mine" is a popular summary of this stance.

This is why the self at this stage is indeed the "sensitive self." Precisely because it is aware of the many different contexts and numerous different types of truth, it bends over backwards in an attempt to let each truth have its own say, without marginalizing or belittling any particular truth. This noble intent, of course, has its downside. Meetings that are run on green principles tend to follow a similar course: everybody is allowed to express his or her feelings, which often takes hours; there is an almost interminable processing of opinions, often reaching no decision or course of action, since a specific course of action would likely exclude somebody. The meeting is considered a success, not if a conclusion is reached, but if everybody has a chance to share their feelings. Since no view is inherently better than another, no real course of action can be recommended, other than sharing all views. If any statements are made with certainty, it is how oppressive and nasty all the alternative conceptions are. (This is why one of pluralism's main activities is not advancing its own constructive conceptions, but criticizing and deconstructing everybody else's.)

In academia, this pluralistic relativism is the dominant stance. As Colin McGuinn summarizes it, "According to this conception, human reason is inherently local, culture-relative, rooted in the variable facts of human nature and history, a matter of divergent 'practices' and 'forms of life' and 'frames of reference' and 'conceptual schemes.' There are no norms of reasoning that transcend what is accepted by a society or an epoch, no objective justifications for belief that everyone must respect on pain of cognitive malfunction. To be valid is to be taken to be valid, and different people can have legitimately different patterns of taking. In the end, the only justifications for belief have the form 'justified for me'." As Clare Graves himself put it, "This system sees the world relativistically. Thinking shows an almost radical, almost compulsive emphasis on seeing everything from a relativistic, subjective frame of reference."

Because pluralistic relativism has such an intensely subjectivistic stance, it is especially prey to emotional

narcissism, and that is the crux of the matter: pluralism becomes a supermagnet for endless varieties of egocentric self-display. Pluralism becomes an unwitting home for the culture of narcissism.

Put differently, pluralistic relativism becomes a prime target of the pre/post fallacy (the confusing of preconventional realities with postconventional realities, simply because both are nonconventional). In green's noble attempt to move beyond conventional rules (many of which are indeed unfair and marginalizing), and in its genuine desire to deconstruct a rigid rationality (much of which can be repressive and stultifying)—in short, in green's admirable attempt to go postconventional—it has often inadvertently embraced anything nonconventional, and this includes much that is frankly preconventional, regressive, and narcissistic. There is a troubling contradiction in all this. It's not just that the claims of the cultural pluralists are said to be universally true (the so-called "performative contradiction," which means they are making claims that they insist cannot be made); the problem is actually much deeper than that.

Pluralism, multiculturalism, and egalitarianism, in their best forms, all stem from a very high developmental stance, a postconventional stance (early vision-logic, postformal cognition, green meme, etc.), and from that postconventional stance of worldcentric fairness and care, the green meme attempts to treat all previous memes with equal care and compassion, a truly noble intent. But because it embraces an intense egalitarianism, it fails to see that its own stance—which is the first stance that is even capable of egalitarianism—is itself a fairly rare, elite stance (somewhere between 10 and 20 percent of the population). Worse, the green meme then actively denies the hierarchical stages that produced the green meme in the first place. Pluralistic egalitarianism is the product, as we have seen, of at least six major stages of hierarchical development, a hierarchy that it then turns around and aggressively denies in the name of egalitarianism!

Under the noble guise of liberal egalitarianism—and under the sanction of the intense subjectivistic stance of this pluralistic and relativistic wave—every previous wave of existence, no matter how shallow, egocentric, or narcissistic, is given encouragement to "be itself," even when "be itself" might include the most barbaric of stances. (If "pluralism" is really true, then we must invite the Nazis and the KKK to the multicultural banquet, since no stance is supposed to be better or worse than another, and so all must be treated in an egalitarian fashion—at which point the horrifying self-contradictions of pluralism come screaming to the fore.)

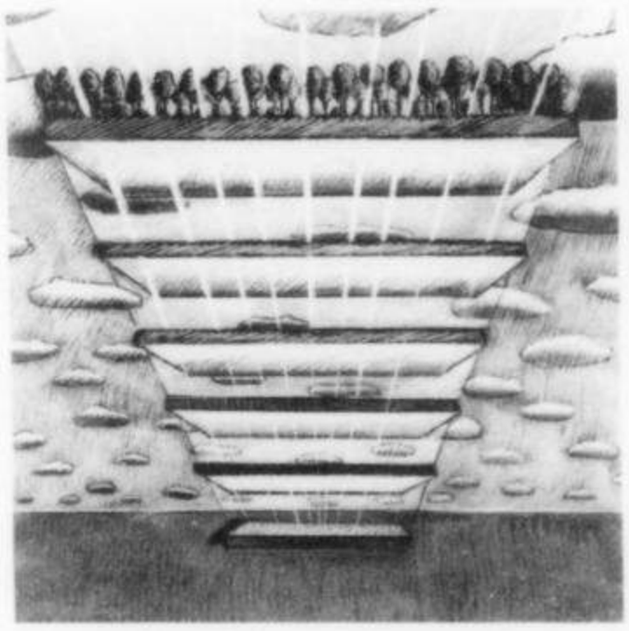
Thus, the very high developmental stance of pluralism—the product of at least six major stages of hierarchical transformation—turns around and denies all hierarchies, denies the very path that produced its own noble stance, and thus it ceases to demand hierarchical transformation from anybody else; consequently it extends an egalitarian embrace to every stance, no matter how shallow or narcissistic. The more egalitarianism is implemented, the more it destroys the very capacity for egalitarianism; the more it invites, indeed encourages, the culture of narcissism. And the culture of narcissism is the antithesis of the integral culture. (Narcissism, at its core, is a demand that "Nobody tells me what to do!" Narcissism will therefore not acknowledge anything universal because that places various demands and duties on narcissism that it will strenuously try to deconstruct: "Nobody tells me what to do." This egocentric absorption can easily be propped up and supported with the tenets of pluralistic relativism.)

In short, the very high cognitive development of postformal pluralism becomes a supermagnet for the very low state of emotional narcissism. Which brings us to boomeritis.

Boomeritis is that strange mixture of very high, postconventional cognitive capacity (early vision-logic, the green meme, postformal pluralistic relativism) combined with preconventional emotional narcissism, with the result that the sensitive self, trying to help, excitedly exaggerates its own significance. It will possess the new paradigm, which heralds the greatest transformation in the history of the world; it will completely revolutionize spirituality as we know it; it will save the planet and save Gaia and save the Goddess; it will....

Well, and off we go on to some of the negative aspects of the last three decades of boomer cultural studies. The importance of dialogue is a prime example. An extraordinary number of brilliant philosophers have, ever since Socrates, pointed out the importance of dialogue in reaching truth and understanding. Nor is the notion lacking in modernity; in fact, it has often gained prominence: Heidegger's notions of intersubjectivity; Martin Buber's I-thou spirituality; the structuralists' and poststructuralists' absolute obsession with discourse and discursive formations; Habermas' central claim that dialogue free of domination and distortion is the means and the method of truth disclosure; my own system, where all subjective events occur only in the clearing created by intersubjectivity. The list of premodern, modern, and postmodern philosophers stressing the importance of dialogue is truly staggering.

Yet to hear the boomeritis version, which has appeared in literally thousands of publications, it seems that nobody has really understood the importance of dialogue until just now, whereupon there follows a treatise about how important it is to listen to others, which usually runs something like this: people who, like me, engage in caring dialogue, which is free of domination and attack, have found a new way to meet each other, not on the pattern of discourse as a war to be won, but as a show of how caring and loving we really are, and you can see how caring and loving we really are by comparing us to all those people who do not follow our example (whereupon there usually ensues a list of the uncaring culprit's wicked ways, which happens to have the



advantage, not really intended, of making the lecturer's moral superiority blindingly obvious to the entire world).

I have a file in my office that contains references to over 200 essays, books, and articles on the importance of caring dialogue, most of which tear into their opponents with a ferocity that is startling or a condescension that is measurable. At the same time, most of their opponents have also written articles on the importance of caring dialogue, cooperative inquiry, and sharing instead of fighting. Since everybody seems to be talking about the importance of talking, I have been trying to figure out just who it is who isn't talking, because I would like to meet that person.

In most of these calls for dialogue, there is a calculated claim of moral superiority in the very stance of condemning in others precisely what the speaker is doing himself. This pattern (claiming to be free of those features that one uses in the claim) seems to be at the heart of boomeritis—from universally damning universals to hierarchically damning hierarchies—and it is pandemic because it appears to be the central psychological mechanism that allows emotional narcissism to mask its preconventional face in postconventional pieties. If one were truly engaged in caring dialogue, one would simply do it; one would not constantly pause to point out how wonderful it is.

Pluralistic Relativism and Boomeritis

Pluralistic relativism infected with emotional narcissism is the single greatest barrier to the emergence of universal integralism. In other words, since, in normal development, pluralistic relativism eventually gives way to second-tier consciousness (and universal integralism), why has my generation become so stuck in pluralistic relativism, extreme egalitarianism, and anti-hierarchy flatlandism? One of the central reasons is that the intense subjectivism of pluralistic relativism was a prime magnet and refuge for the narcissism that, for whatever reasons, many social critics have found prevalent in the "Me" generation. I call that combination of pluralistic relativism and emotional narcissism "boomeritis"—one of the primary roadblocks to universal integralism and second-tier consciousness.

What is particularly frustrating about boomeritis is that it interferes with the possibilities inherent in the green memes. It is from the large fund of green memes that the second tier emerges. It is from the pluralistic perspectives freed by green that integrative and holistic networks are built. All of my writing has been, in a sense, an invitation to those greens who find it appropriate to move on, not by abandoning green, but by enriching it.

My point—and the only reason I am "picking on" boomers—is that this generation seems to be the first to significantly evolve to the green wave in large numbers, and thus this is the first generation that has a real chance to significantly move forward into a mature vision-logic, second-tier consciousness—and to use that consciousness to organize social institutions in a truly integral fashion. But it has not yet done so to full effect, because it has not yet gone postgreen to any significant degree (as we saw, less than 2 percent are postgreen). But it still might do so; and since it is only from green that it can do so, the boomers are still poised for a possible leap into the hyperspace of second-tier consciousness. And that is not a boomeritis grandiose claim; it is backed by substantial evidence, particularly from social and psychological developmental studies.

Thus, as much as I have been chiding green for some of its downsides, we should never forget that it is from green that second tier emerges, and that the many accomplishments of green are the necessary prerequisites for second-tier consciousness: green differentiates numerous systems and sets them free from universal formalism and rigid conformist rule (i.e., by differentiating many systems, and seeing that each has its own context, history, and perspective, green prepares the way for these systems to be reintegrated at a higher, second-tier wave); it places each culture and each individual in its own context, free from domination and exploitation; it introduces a genuine sensitivity to the entire spiral, caring for the earth and all its inhabitants with a sincere passion, treating all sentient beings with respect and care; and thus it pluralistically frees much energy for the next transformation. Since green is the conclusion of first-tier thinking, it prepares the leap to second-tier.

But in order to move into second-tier constructions, the fixation on pluralistic relativism and the green meme in general needs to be relaxed. Its accomplishments will be fully included and carried forward. But its attachment to its own stance needs to be eased, and it is precisely boomeritis (or a narcissistic attachment to the intense subjectivism of the relativistic stance) that makes such a letting go quite difficult. My hope is that by highlighting our fixation on the green meme, we can begin more easily to transcend and include its wonderful accomplishments in an even more generous embrace.

The Integral Embrace

In order for green to go one step further and make the jump into integral-aperspectival consciousness, the following factors might be considered:

1. All systems are context-bound, according to green pluralism, so let us fully carry forward that agenda: all relativities and all pluralities are therefore also context-bound;

they themselves have wider and deeper contexts that bind them together into even larger systems.

2. Therefore, let us acknowledge these even larger contexts, and then begin to outline the universal-integral networks binding them all together. Let us begin to move from pluralistic relativism to universal integralism.

3. The only way to arrive at such an integral stance is to include both hierarchies and heterarchies (and thus arrive at holarchies). Let us, then, relax our morbid fear of all hierarchies, stages of development, levels of reality, critical judgments, qualitative distinctions, degrees, excellence, grades, and rankings. Not all of them are bad, and we use them anyway, even when we deny them; so let us use them in a healthy, conscious, fair, and judicious fashion.

4. Once we include both hierarchies and heterarchies—both ranking and linking—we can develop a more integral vision that is "all-level, all-quadrant," a vision that includes the I and the We and the It domains: the Good, the True, and the Beautiful as they all unfold from matter to body to mind to soul to spirit, spanning the entire spectrum of consciousness in all its radiant wonder.

5. Many of the waves and streams of the spectrum of consciousness are indeed local, culturally specific, and not universal. But research has consistently confirmed that many of these patterns of richly interwoven textures are common to humanity as a whole; others are common to large areas of humanity or to various epochs; and some are merely local and idiosyncratic, varying from culture to culture and individual to individual. Acknowledging and honoring the common and cross-cultural patterns in consciousness is not necessarily a marginalizing, oppressive endeavor; in its non-marginalizing form, it is in fact the basis of universal integralism. Let us therefore attempt to include both the universally common patterns of consciousness as well as the local, specific, and pluralistic features, and thus continue to move from pluralistic relativism to universal holism.

6. This multidimensional Kosmos is therefore not just a final state, but a flow state. Not just holographic, but holodynamic. Not just given, but ceaselessly unfolding, in multiple waves and streams of existence, flowing and evolving in endless displays of spirit's own self-blossoming. Therefore, let us honor and include these unfolding currents as the Kosmos flowers in all its domains.

7. Once that happens, the important contributions of green can be taken up, embraced, and included in the ongoing unfolding of consciousness. Green is not lost or denied, but included and enriched, as a more genuinely integral vision emerges.

The point in all of this is that each meme—each level of consciousness and wave of existence—is, in its healthy form, an absolutely necessary and desirable element of the overall spiral, of the overall spectrum of consciousness. Even if every society on earth were established fully at the turquoise meme, nonetheless every infant born in that society still has to start at level one, at beige, at sensorimotor instincts and perceptions, and then must grow and evolve through purple magic, red and blue myth, orange rationalism, green sensitivity, and into yellow and turquoise vision-logic (on the way to the transpersonal). All of those waves have important tasks and functions; all of them are taken up and included in subsequent waves; none of them can be bypassed; and none of them can be demeaned without grave consequences to self and society. The health of the entire spiral is the prime directive, not preferential treatment for any one level.

A More Measured Greatness

Because the health of the entire spectrum of consciousness is paramount, a genuinely universal integralism would measure more carefully its actual impact. I have long maintained that the real revolutions facing today's world involve not a glorious collective move into transpersonal domains, but the simple, fundamental changes that can be brought to the magic, mythic, and rational waves of existence.

Human beings are born and begin their evolution through the great spiral of consciousness, moving from archaic to magic to mythic to rational to … perhaps integral, and perhaps from there into genuinely transpersonal domains. But for every person that moves into the integral or higher, dozens are born into the archaic. The spiral of existence is a great unending flow, stretching from body to mind to soul to spirit, with millions upon millions constantly flowing through that great river from source to ocean. The major problem remains: not, how can we get everybody to the integral wave or higher, but how can we arrange the health of the overall spiral, as billions of humans continue to pass through it, from one end to the other, year in and year out?

In other words, most of the work that needs to done is work to make the lower (and foundational) waves more healthy in their own terms. The major reforms do not involve how to get a handful of boomers into second-tier, but how to feed the starving millions at the most basic waves; how to house the homeless millions at the simplest of levels; how to bring health care to the millions who do not possess it. An integral vision is one of the least pressing issues on the face of the planet. Except in this regard: the advantage of second-tier vision-logic awareness is that it more creatively helps with the solutions to those pressing problems. In grasping big pictures, it can help suggest more cogent solutions. It is our governing bodies, then, that stand in dire need of a more integral approach. It is our educational institutions, overcome with deconstructive postmodernism, that are desperate for a more integral vision. It is our health care facilities that could greatly benefit from the tender mercies of an integral touch. In all these ways and more, we could indeed use a more integral, encompassing vision. ❑

The NEW MILLENNIUM

Progress and Catastrophe

Omer Bartov



ILLUSTRATIONS BY RICHARD ROSS

I

Over the last two centuries the world has undergone more profound changes than in the previous two millennia. The rapid transformation of humanity's material existence has been accompanied by unprecedented political and social developments. And, since technological innovation is still proceeding at an ever faster pace, it is unlikely that our present condition will remain stable for very long. Whether the future will bring more man-made catastrophes of the kind we have experienced in the recent past, or will fulfill modernity's promise of ever greater progress and prosperity, is impossible to predict. But one can safely say that the twenty-first century will be yet another period of tremendous changes in all spheres of human life, and that such future transformations will likely be the cause of major political and social upheavals.

People living in most parts of the world in the eighteenth century would not have recognized their environment had they been able to see it today. Conversely, were we to visit eighteenth-century Europe or the United States in a time-machine, we would have found them quite alien. Indeed, such drastic transformations often occurred within the space of merely several decades. This was the case, for instance, in England between 1800 and 1850, in Germany, Japan, and the United States between 1850 and 1914, in Russia between 1917 and 1941, and in France between 1930 and 1960. The industrial revolution was partly caused by, and partly the facilitator of, a demographic explosion that began in Europe and spread to much of the rest of the world.

Industrialization was accompanied by mass abandonment of the land and rapid urbanization. The proportion of rural and urban populations in the world has been dramatically reversed. This in turn undermined traditional family and community relationships, adding a sense of alienation and rootlessness to the impoverishment and suffering that characterized the existence of the industrial proletariat in the early phases of this economic revolution. Yet it also made for the rise of a newly enriched and increasingly confident middle class intent on transforming the old political structure and gaining a leading role in the emerging nation-state. As it successfully confronted the traditional elites, the bourgeoisie now found itself facing what Karl Marx had believed would be its nemesis: a politically organized and embittered working class that threatened domestic upheaval, and a violent and aggressive nationalism that threatened to unleash international conflicts of greater intensity and destructiveness than ever before.

Indeed, from the very beginning, the rhetoric of progress, improvement, and hope was matched by a discourse of gloom and despair, often accompanied by prophesies of apocalypse. Such nostalgia for an idyllic past and predictions of future catastrophe were not limited to the losers of industrialization—the old nobility, the village community, and the parish priest—it was, in fact, an inherent element of the very process of modernization. Rushing forward into the unknown regions of science and geography, slashing the earth with railroads, tearing mines into its bowls, darkening the atmosphere with smoke from endless factory chimneys—industrialization was all too self-evidently a tremendous outburst of both constructive and destructive energy. The walls of ancient towns were torn down, but liberation from medieval restrictions often culminated in vast slums and ruthless exploitation. Adventurers and missionaries, soldiers and merchants colonized, robbed, subjugated, and devastated entire peoples and cultures across the globe in the name of Christian morality and European civilization. The contradictions between promise and reality, self-idealization and an awareness of one's destructive capacities, charged the discourse of material and intellectual superiority with an undercurrent of apprehension and anxiety. The heart of darkness was seen to inhabit not only a white spot on the colonizer's map,

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where primitive peoples persisted in their savage practices. Rather, it appeared to be deeply lodged in the psyche of those who came to "civilize" the world; it was the other facet of a culture whose notion of progress was inextricably linked to an annihilatory urge.

Progress was never merely a matter of technological innovation and industrial development. It was an ideology, a state of mind, a religion. The philosophers of the Enlightenment believed that man could be perfected under the right political and social circumstances, that human relations could be ordered and regulated to bring out the best in humanity and to root out the evil, corruption, greed, and stupidity of the *ancien régime*. Such ideas were not entirely new. They could be found in earlier humanist and utopian thinking, and were in part culled from ancient Greek philosophy. But now the context of their application was totally different, since the Enlightenment flowered just as European society found itself on the verge of a mighty material transformation. Thus the philosophy of progress became allied with the reality of industrialization and the emergence of mass society. The old monarchies and aristocracies did not crumble merely because a new ideology of popular sovereignty had delegitimized them, but because they became economically and therefore politically anachronistic; they could not retain their position of power without transforming themselves beyond recognition. Yet such a transformation ultimately implied self-annihilation, just as the massive migration from village to city spelled the end of a way of life and a social organization that had dominated Europe for many centuries.

The heart of darkness appeared to be deeply lodged in the psyche of those who came to "civilize" the world.

The ideology of progress, therefore, was also a recipe for destruction, violence, loss, and pain. But at the same time it was always based on the claim of a higher morality, for its rhetoric of improvement could not allow for a recognition of anything more than temporary suffering on the path to a higher and better future. Progress could be measured in social and political terms, as it was in revolutionary France; or it could be measured in material and economic terms, as it was by much of Europe's bourgeoisie in the nineteenth century. But in either case it asserted its moral superiority. The Jacobins were morally superior to the nobility because they advocated a just political system; the middle class was morally superior to the proletariat because of its work ethic, better hygiene, and well-ordered family life. Progress brought new people to power, and progress justified their holding on to power and preventing others from trying to join in or revise its rhetoric. Even socialism, the greatest challenge to liberalism in the previous century, adopted its promise of progress, while interpreting its implications in a radically different manner. For whether one were to get there by social revolution or gradual evolution, by violence or education, destruction or instruction, it was clear that the future was better than the present, and that the past was a relic that must be discarded. Progress was an idea that made one look forward with hope, backward with disdain, and at present reality with either a benevolent urge to reform or a rage to tear up and destroy. History, from this perspective, was a record of movement upward, and the farther back one looked, the worse humanity's existence appeared.

II

The last two centuries, however, have also brought on humanity more destruction than all other recorded history put together. Part of the universal suffering brought about by modernization was, as noted above, a by-product of the process itself. It could therefore be seen as the necessary, but temporary, cost of a development that would ultimately benefit everyone. Another, and eventually much greater part of the destruction that has accompanied progress, however, has been of a very different nature, namely the emergence of total war and modern forms of "ethnic cleansing," mass murder, and genocide. Of course, there were those who claimed that these phenomena were also a necessary—if regrettable—attribute either of the attempt to blast the path to a better future, or, conversely, of the obligation to erect a bulwark against those forces threatening to hurl humanity into an abyss of social chaos, moral bankruptcy, and biological manipulation. In the wake of the Enlightenment's schemes and dreams of improving humanity came the high hopes and terrible bloodshed of the French Revolution and the Napoleonic wars. For a quarter of a century Europe was ripped apart, hundreds of thousands of soldiers and civilians killed and massacred, ancient monarchies humiliated and long-established borders redrawn, and the ideas of nationalism, popular sovereignty, and liberty carried across the continent by the mass conscripts of the *Grande Nation*. Many of the hopes and disillusionments of the next two centuries were encapsulated already in that early period: the tensions between liberation and occupation; liberty and equality; the tyranny of the general will, oligarchic democracy, and plebiscitarian dictatorship; fraternity of classes and nations; and civil and international war. These polarities and contradictions have become the distinguishing marks of modern politics and ideology and humanity's elusive guidelines ever since.

As the dust settled after this first violent eruption of modern politics and warfare, progress shifted to a less aggressive, more sustained, and eventually decisive path. The nineteenth century was, for much of the West, an era of extraordinary scientific and technological advancement on the one hand, and of growing nationalism and colonial expansion on the

other. Here was a promising combination of improvement at home and projection of power outward: health and medicine, sanitation and hygiene; law and order and wealth on the domestic front, and the conquest of territories and markets, raw materials and labor, national aggrandizement and military prowess in the international and imperial arena. All this came wrapped in a comforting, self-promoting rhetoric of improving the lot of the underprivileged at home and the uncivilized populations of the colonies. Just as the bourgeoisie hoped to tame the masses through nationalist and imperialist demagogy, so, too, the colonizers complimented themselves for serving as the spearhead of Europe's "civilizing mission," which they termed the "white man's burden."

Though this distorted perception of the reality of the world they were creating proved to have disastrous long-term repercussions in the twentieth century, what has been called "the age of improvement" was indeed a moment of great optimism and hope. Whether we speak of English municipal reformers, Chancellor Bismarck's "socialism from above" in newly unified Germany, or Haussmann's transformation of medieval Parisian slums into imperial boulevards, changes were indeed taking place. The spirit of social reform by means of labor legislation, health services, housing construction, and compulsory education was a response to the new social conditions of industrialized nations; scientific findings and technological innovations seemed to offer the means to improve the lives of those new social products of modernity; the bourgeois view of society dictated that such progress must be accomplished; and the specter of communism and social revolution by the lower classes made it appear all the more urgent to act.

Social hygiene, however, was too intimately linked to racial hygiene to allow for the fine distinctions that scholars have subsequently made between the two. Just as Karl Marx was fascinated by Darwin's theories of evolution, so, too, the "racial" aspects of class conflict and international relations soon came to dominate public discourse. Europeans increasingly spoke of themselves and of others in racial terms: the Germanic origins of "blue-blooded nobility" and the superiority of the Teutons, the furor of the Gauls and the Anglo-Saxon merchant mentality, the "yellow peril," the anticipated "Endkampf" (final battle) with the Black races, and the threat of a barbarian Mongol-Slavic invasion from the East. Whether it legitimized existing social divisions or political aspirations, ancient prejudices or colonial ventures, popular superstitions or religious dogma, the new language of "scientific" racism provided a modern, "objective" terminology that enabled one to speak of improving the lot of humanity while simultaneously exploiting, subjugating, expelling, or eliminating those members of the human race deemed undesirable for or obstructive of the future progress of the noble races (or classes).

Prejudice and superstition are an ancient disease; in some ways, they may be counted among the most distinguishing

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features of the Homo sapiens. As such, they have nothing to do with the idea of progress. Yet it was the link between traditional or conventional prejudices and superstitions and the new religion of science and progress that both legitimized hatred and violence and made the implementation of policies against those deemed "dangerous elements" all the easier. In other words, the idea of progress gave new and more palatable definitions to the real and imaginary enemies of old and insisted on the need for complete eradication of the inferior, racialized "other" as a precondition for its continuation. Simultaneously, the improved technological, organizational, and administrative tools that constituted another aspect of progress made the identification, selection, and elimination of undesirable categories part and parcel of the very process of forging forward into the future. From this perspective, modern barbarism is not simply a reversion to ancient modes of conduct and belief, to sadism and cruelty (although it is that too). Rather, it is motivated by a sincere urge—however much it might only be dissimulated by specific individuals—to push an often reluctant and dull-minded humanity with one mighty shove into a new utopian reality just beyond the horizon, employing all the means at the disposal of modern industrial and bureaucratic civilization to wipe out anyone and anything that might stand in the way of this great, final undertaking of humankind.

Neither Hitler, nor Stalin, nor even Mao Tse-tung or Pol Pot can be grasped historically without understanding their promises of material progress and spiritual redemption.

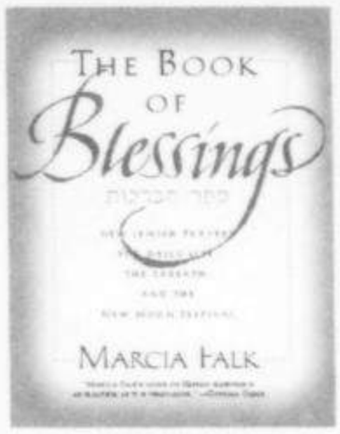
It is true that from the vantage point of the end of the century, we can say that despite the unprecedented destruction and devastation they wrought, the greatest forces of apocalyptic utopianism have lost out: Nazism and fascism were crushed by the representatives of a less utopian, more pragmatic, but also more humane idea of progress; Communism largely disintegrated under the weight of its own increasingly anachronistic utopias and the growing gap between a rhetoric of progress and a reality of stalemate and regression. But to ignore the destructive potential of the very notion of progress is to miss the main motivating force behind the terrible simplifiers of our century, who mostly neither came from the dregs of society nor belonged in psychiatric wards, but were, from their own and their followers' perspective, idealists and martyrs. This does not mean that we should take at face value their claims for moral (or racial) superiority; but we must recognize that they perceived themselves, and were at certain points in time seen by multitudes of others, in this way. Neither Hitler, nor Stalin, nor even Mao Tse-tung or Pol Pot can be grasped historically without understanding their promises of material progress and spiritual redemption.

The idea of progress also served to justify European imperialism and colonialism whose catastrophic legacy is still very much present today. If Europe claimed to be civilizing the rest of the world by dominating it, Europeans also found that the "primitive" condition of the colonized shed a particularly appealing light on their own progress from savagery to civilization, while the exploitation of the natural and human resources in the colonies served to further increase the gap between the West and the rest. Yet the nemesis of colonialism followed from the very fact that the acquisition of colonial empires became a precondition for great power status, a new source of political, economic, and military strength that seemed to surpass the more traditional and seemingly declining continental empires such as Russia, Austro-Hungary, and Ottoman Turkey. And because the contemporary, social-Darwinian logic of progress meant that living entities must either thrive or decline in a constant war for survival, the colonies became a focus of the great power struggle that ended up in the devastating conflagration of World War I.

While the actual economic value of the colonies for the British, French, and German Empires is debatable, there is no doubt that they were presented by governments and other colonizing agencies and interest groups, and featured in much of the popular literature and imagination, as manifestations of progress and indications of Western "white man's" superiority. But this was not only a matter of imagination and representation. The colonies were indeed sites of power and subjugation, violence and brutality, exploitation and dehumanization. If the colonizers also brought with them Christian theology, bureaucratic organization, and technological tools, and did transform the lives, beliefs, and aspirations of the colonized, the very basis of their presence in the colonies was an assertion and constant reaffirmation of military, intellectual, and racial superiority.

The link formed in the colonial empires between power and racial difference was crucial to further developments in Europe itself, just as the ideas of "scientific" racism articulated by Western scientists appeared to be confirmed by the encounter with the colonized. To be sure, there were non-European peoples who did not conform to the stereotype of "white" superiority, as was especially the case of the Chinese, the Japanese, and the Indians. But here a more sophisticated cyclical type of progress was postulated, according to which these once great civilizations were now in a state of decline and degeneration. The contribution of the colonizers to this alleged decline was not discussed. Europeans liked to see themselves as societies with long and rich cultures, when compared to indigenous populations lacking written records and monuments signifying an historical awareness; and they preferred to present themselves

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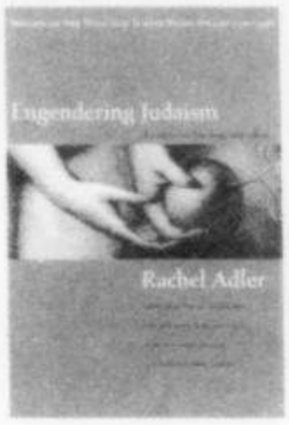
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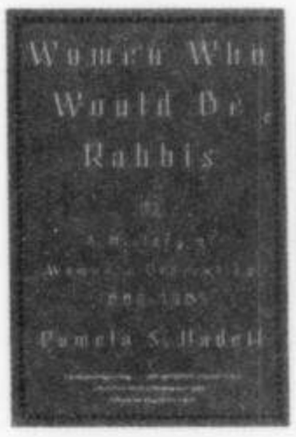
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as young and aggressive nations on the rise when confronted with the ancient civilizations of Asia. Hence too the grudging admiration for Japan when it began rapidly to modernize and transform itself from a declining old nation to a rising young power.

III

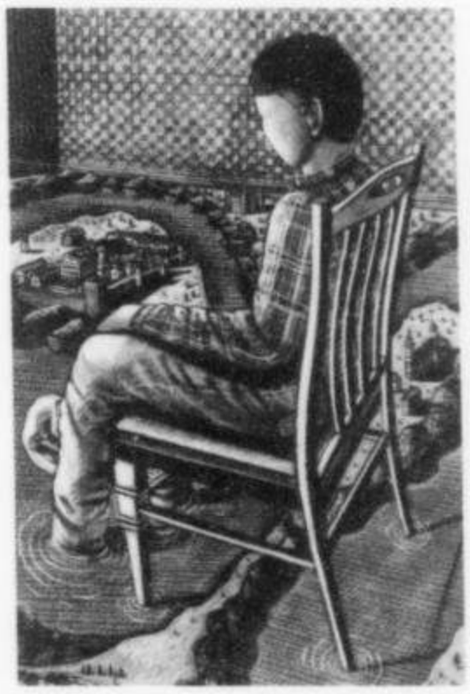
The twentieth century has been described by some as a short century, beginning with the outbreak of World War I in 1914 and coming to an end with the fall of Communism in Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union in the early 1990s. While the closing date of the century may still be revised in the light of later events (in 1900 no one knew that the nineteenth century would end only fourteen years later), there can be no doubt that the Great War did indeed herald the beginning of a new age, first in Europe and then in much of the rest of the world. The short century divides neatly into the era of total war, 1914–1945, and the era of postwar and Cold War, 1945–1991. The first period was characterized by a potent mix of progressive ideas and destructive urges that pushed the world into the greatest man-made catastrophe in human history. The second period consisted in large part of attempts to come to terms with the tremendous repercussions of war, genocide, widespread territorial changes and a radical shift in the balance of power. It was also a time in which the threat of omnicide accompanied the unprecedented prosperity in the West and the consolidation and then disintegration of Communism in the East. Whether we are presently already in the twenty-first century or merely in the last phase of the twentieth, our contemporary, post-Cold War reality can briefly be characterized as one in which the deepening gap of wealth and poverty is paralleled by an even more frightening breach between a Western sense of comfort and safety and the waves of mass murder and genocide on the fringes of Europe and in innumerable other parts of the world.

In all major combatant nations but one, the Great War was presented as a fight for progress. The British and the French were warding off the German "Huns" and "Prussian militarism" in the name of democracy, liberty, and civilization; which did not prevent them, of course, from making use of colonial troops and seeking to enlarge their empires by annexing German colonies. The Germans, whose Kaiser and Junkers could hardly be presented as the harbingers of progress, were nevertheless fighting to defend German culture threatened by France's superficial and decadent civilization and the shopkeeper mentality of "perfidious Albion"; thus the young German nation was expected to break the chains of the old empires and find itself a place under the sun. Only the Russian Czar would have none of this rhetoric, which greatly helped the Kaiser to enlist the support of social democrats who could fool themselves that this was a progressive war after all. But the Romanovs' days were numbered, and their Bolshevik successors were deeply imbued with that new lethal combination of progressive rhetoric and catastrophic fantasies. The Russian Revolution of 1917 was the product of a war whose hopes for a better world only brought unprecedented slaughter and destruction; it also originated a deadly struggle between several related worldviews whose common denominator was the assumption—culled from the war experience—that the path to future happiness and justice must traverse oceans of blood, and that any compromise would spell annihilation. World War I powerfully tilted the gradualist and tolerant aspects of progressive thinking toward apocalyptic expectations and accustomed people to killing on a scale that was previously entirely inconceivable.

The Great War revealed the destructive capacities of modern industrial society. But it also demonstrated the ability of the state to channel its destructive potential and to mobilize and tightly control its population. It was the old, anachronistic empires that collapsed: the Ottoman, the Austro-Hungarian, the Russian. It was the modern industrial democracies that won: Britain, France, the United States. And it was Germany that, while losing both the war and the Kaiser, had also shown its tremendous industrial and military potential as it faced a far greater coalition of powers on several fronts for an extended period of time. In the wake of World War I, the rhetoric of progress changed camps. The older European democracies, Britain and France in particular, no longer represented the march forward but became the protectors of the status quo. It was the Soviet Union on the one hand, and the United States on the other, which seemed to indicate the path to (a very different) future—the socialist utopia or the capitalist dream. But for the moment, both "flanking powers" were not yet ready to assume the role of superpowers, involved as they were much more in their domestic affairs than in European events. Europe remained by default the focus of world politics; it also still controlled vast tracts of land across the globe, though its hold was becoming ever more precarious as the energies of the colonial powers waned.

It was Germany that remained the unresolved question, and once it took up the idea of a racial utopia the Reich brought horror and devastation wherever it went. And yet the convenient distinction often made now between racial ideology and a belief in progress was not as obvious at the time. To some extent, the term National Socialism was not only eyewash. Under Hitler's regime there was much talk about and—before the outbreak of war in 1939—some implementation of plans to improve working and living conditions, encourage physical health and a balanced diet, provide childbirth facilities and maternity services, and arrange for paid vacations and popular entertainment. No wonder that most Germans (excluding of course the Jews, the Gypsies, and the handicapped) were much happier in 1938 than they had been in 1933. Middle-class families were supposed to be able to buy their own Volkswagen, a

clear symbol of progress and prosperity (this never happened; the VWs became army jeeps). A great deal of talk, planning, and some construction went into the establishment of new green neighborhoods with modern houses built of course in the "German style." Hitler's own obsession with technological innovation and the social-utopian ingredients of Nazism made it appear to many, including not a few outside observers, as the most progressive and promising answer to the dilemmas of modern industrial society in crisis. To be sure, much of this ended up as empty rhetoric. But, as pointed out by some historians, the plans for a national health service and a social safety net for workers initially drawn during the Third Reich were later implemented in the German Federal Republic, just as the Beveridge Report heralded the beginning of the welfare state in Britain.



Yet, the difference between National Socialism and the postwar welfare state is nevertheless greater than any superficial similarities. In the Third Reich progress was predicated on exclusion, expulsion, enslavement, and extermination. This was not merely because it was assumed that one must focus the state's resources only on "real" Germans and exclude foreigners (as one hears today regarding guest workers and political refugees in Europe or illegal aliens in the United States), but also because progress itself was not measured only according to material, but much more so according to racial criteria. Hence part of the process was to weed out all those racially "degenerate" or foreign "elements" from Germany, and later on German-occupied Europe. The resulting pure "Aryan" and genetically healthy society would greatly benefit from the material progress that such "weeding out" of "useless mouths to feed" would entail; it would also harness the labor force of such Untermenschen (subhumans) as the Russians and Poles who, unlike the Jews, the Gypsies, and the handicapped, were not slated for total extermination. Thus progress would be achieved by subjugating tens of millions of human beings to work as slave labor in German factories and on German fields, thereby facilitating social-material progress on the basis of racial segregation and purity.

The memory of once-appealing slogans such as *"Schönheit der Arbeit"* (the beauty of work) has been erased by such cynical phrases as *"Arbeit macht frei"* (work liberates) that adorned the gate of Auschwitz. But there was a relationship between the two: German work would be all the more beautiful and progress would be achieved all the more swiftly if the Aryan race were to be "liberated" from its undesirables and enemies either by systematic *"Vernichtung durch Arbeit"* (destruction through work) or via the chimneys of the crematoria. It is only thus that we can understand why the worst murderers of the century can neither be described as pure sadists and brutes, nor as bureaucratic desk-killers, although of course many of them were also that. What is crucial to understand is that behind the actions of this or that individual lay the belief in a higher goal of progress and improvement, whose achievement, however, depended on ruthlessly applying the most brutal means. Violence was not glorified for its own sake but for what it was supposed to accomplish. Here is another important distinction between earlier fascist fascination with and glorification of violence and the bureaucratic, state-organized mass murder and subjugation of millions. Indeed, as Himmler stressed, one was not supposed to enjoy the killing; "real" strength was the ability to kill despite the natural abhorrence one might feel. Moral compunctions had no place, of course, since murder was in the service of a higher goal; but "normal" human disgust at the sight of rows upon rows of massacred women and children was an understandable reaction.

It is for this reason, too, that Nobel Prize-winning scientists could engage in actions that might appear to us as torture and murder, while believing that they were serving the cause of humanity, at least that part of it not considered "life unworthy of life." Speaking only about corrupt officials, opportunistic physicians, or sadistic perpetrators tells us very little about the catastrophe that occurred in the heart of Western civilization only a few decades ago, and even less about its current implications. Such individuals can be found in any culture and in any time; yet what distinguished the catastrophe of Nazi genocide was its claim to bring progress to one part of humanity by entirely obliterating another. The idea of genocide as a progressive policy is a distinct contribution of Nazism to the modern era.

IV

Looking back at the mass killing during the world wars, the genocide of the Armenians, the Holocaust, the crimes of Stalinism; keeping in mind the massacres and genocides of the post-1945 era, the mass killing and famines in China (1949–1976), Biafra (1967–70), Bangladesh (1971), Burundi (1972–75), Cambodia (1975–79), and most recently in Rwanda, Bosnia, Kosovo, and East Timor: what can we expect from the new century? To what extent will the dialectics of progress and catastrophe continue to plague humanity in the future? No one can hope to provide a satisfactory answer to this question. But while the lessons we draw from the past must necessarily be tenuous and ambivalent (what does one look for and how does one employ this knowledge), ignorance of the past or submission to its abuse and exploitation can only lead to a repetition of its worst horrors. As a historian, I doubt that knowledge of past events necessarily makes for a better future; indeed, I am somewhat skeptical

about the study of history as a record of human improvement, especially when we compare the trajectories of material and moral-intellectual progress (excess of the former often serving to compensate for the decline of the latter). But that in itself, of course, is a lesson well worth considering. As our technological sophistication expands at an alarming rate, our moral and intellectual sensibilities are left far behind; as our capacities to produce and destroy objects surpass any hitherto known limit, our willingness and ability to understand the implications of such capacities and actions for human existence appear to be diminishing. This, to my mind, is a recipe for disaster.

It is in this context that we might draw a positive lesson from what we now recognize as one of the greatest disasters of the twentieth century. There has recently been a good deal of criticism of the apparent obsession with the Holocaust in several countries, such as Israel (Tom Segev), France (Henry Rousso), Germany (Martin Walser) and the United States (Peter Novick). It has been argued that the Holocaust is being "instrumentalized" as a focus of identity for American or French Jewish communities bereft of any other attributes of Jewish tradition and sense of belonging; that it is being used against Germany as a moral cudgel to prevent that nation's "normalization"; that it served Israeli regimes to justify otherwise unacceptable occupation policies; that it is, finally, a kind of extreme case that marginalizes all other atrocities and victims and has therefore been monopolized by "the Jews" or by the ("Jewish controlled") American media. It is a fact that the genocide of the Jews has come to symbolize the very worst that humanity, even within the "civilized" environment of mid-twentieth century Europe, is capable of perpetrating. But while some of the criticism leveled against the abusers and simplifiers of the historical record and memory of the event is perfectly justified, I would argue that it misses the most important point. For the emergence of the Holocaust as a major preoccupation in intellectual, academic, media, and popular discourse reflects, to my mind, a growing realization that the "Final Solution" did indeed signify something about the dynamic of our civilization that must make us wary of our own future urges, rhetoric, and actions. In other words, the notion of progress as a positive goal and the sense that it is through progress that inhumanity and atrocity can be prevented must be tested against the realities of the Holocaust (and, in a different but no less important manner, also against the hopes, disillusionments, and crimes of Communism).

We are living now at the end of an era, not merely because a century and a millennium have ended, but also because over the last hundred years we have seen the rise and fall of Nazism, fascism, and Communism, the peak and disintegration of colonialism, and the dawn of what some would describe as the post-national and post-industrial age. The recent new wave of violence and massacres around the world may be the last outburst of twentieth-century conflicts, coming as it does in the wake of Communism's fall and the reawakening of the national, ethnic, and religious tensions it had brutally suppressed; it may also herald the type of events we can expect in the future. But the sense of living at the end of an era has always influenced people's thoughts about the past and aspirations for the future. We live at a strange time in which industrialized nations experience material comfort and moral confusion facing deprivation and ideological mobilization in many other parts of the world. The pervasive feeling of aimlessness and anxiety among young people in the West; the loss of trust in politics and ideology; the growing power of faceless corporations and anonymous bureaucracies; the vast stores of information on every individual kept on electronic records by unknown agencies for undisclosed purposes; the emerging ability to create or transform the nature of life in a test tube; and the growing gap between rich and poor in the West and between the West and the Third World: all of these may prove to be fertile grounds for the appearance of new totalizing ideologies of progress and improvement in the future, and a ready arsenal of technological means to transform such ideologies into the tools of catastrophe. And yet, the very anticipation of apocalypse has the quality of a self-fulfilling prophecy and has often enough in the past encouraged precisely those forces that brought violence and destruction.

As our technological sophistication expands at an alarming rate, our moral and intellectual sensibilities are left far behind

At the end of this era we have learned to be just as suspicious of doomsday prophesies as of the demagogy of progress; we have even learned to suspect suspicion itself, to be skeptical about conspiracy theories and lurking elusive enemies, subversion plots and alien presence. Looking back at the twentieth century, and especially at the culmination of its very worst urges in the Holocaust, may therefore not be only an exercise in reasserting national or ethnic identity or in undermining similar assertions by others. It may also help us to understand the complex and often contradictory urges of our civilization, to ward off complacency, to make us beware of the brave new worlds promised by politicians or scientists or generals, to grasp that progress cannot and must not be achieved at the price of destruction, lest we find ourselves hurtling down the abyss along with our victims. That humanness, finally, must be the true measure of progress, if we are to avoid the catastrophes progress has wrought on the world in the century we are leaving now behind. ❑



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AN INTERVIEW WITH Martin Jay



Martin Jay is the preeminent historian of Western Marxism and the Frankfurt school. He is currently the chair of the department of history at U.C. Berkeley and author, most recently, of Cultural Semantics: Keywords of Our Time *(University of Massachusetts Press, 1998).*

TIKKUN: Is there anything that we can learn from the study of the history of the last thousand years? I'm asking you a preposterous question as a way to begin a conversation, and I'm asking you to be expansive and speculative.

JAY: The first thing that we've learned is to be reflexive about the "we" who is doing the learning. Any individual claiming to speak for the "we" has to be very cautious about claiming to represent all of "us." We've learned to be wary of people who claim to speak universally. That's one thing that "we," ironically, have learned about the limits of the very pronoun "we." So everything I say in the rest of this interview should be taken with that caveat in mind.

The second thing is that we have learned to become reflexive about learning itself, especially about what constitutes a long-term process. It has become clear how partial and contradictory the learning process is. For example, as a species we seem to benefit from technological breakthroughs, which occur in specific contexts and then become available for universal application. But we've also forgotten important things that previous cultures had learned, what might be called the concrete wisdom of human experience congealed in the plurality of different languages. The homogenization of cultures through nation-states and colonization, now abetted by globalization, has entirely destroyed an astounding number of human languages. For all of our ingenuity, the human race can't replace or reinvent languages and cultures and unique religions once they're extinct.

Another of the most significant learning experiences that I think we've had in the last 200 years—although once again I want to highlight the tenuousness of the "we" I am invoking here—is learning to respect the limits of the human capacity to change the world in which we live. There has been a widespread recognition of the complexity of the world and of the difficulty of mastering or even steering that complexity. That we have tried to do so—and often produced inadvertent, unexpected, and sometimes, alas, disastrous consequences—does not, to be sure, mean we can't intervene in modest ways. But it does suggest that utopian experiments can easily produce dystopian results. A no less sobering "lesson" teaches us to be cautious about metanarratives of complete emancipation or the lure of redemptive politics. Even as we struggle with injustices and recognize the need to address problems that are humanly created and therefore should be humanly redressable, we have come to acknowledge that the great narratives of emancipation need to be nuanced with a tragic or ironic appreciation of their complexities, what Horkheimer and Adorno famously called the "dialectic of enlightenment."

Every version of "progress" involves both beneficiaries and victims. The redemptive, apocalyptic, maximalist rhetoric that often fueled emancipation struggles in the past seems less compelling, and we've begun to think more locally, more modestly, and maybe more effectively as a result.

TIKKUN: Haven't we also learned that the historical theories which seem plausible to us at any given moment often reflect larger social realities? Take, for example, the extant level of optimism or hope among those who do this kind of sociohistorical thinking and research. In the late 1990s—a moment in which social movements have largely faded from public consciousness, and in which the segment of the generation of the 1960s that had looked to transformation now appears to itself to have failed and been mistaken—it seems perfectly predictable that theories of history which stress the limits of what we can do are popular. In moments when people feel more optimistic about social change, they would probably draw much more expansive conclusions about the "lessons from history."

JAY: That's a legitimate point. The tone of every historical account and prognosis is colored by the tacit assumption of

PHOTOGRAPH COURTESY OF MARTIN JAY

the future being in most respects an extension of the present. As you correctly say, ours is a period of relatively diminished expectations about the types of change that some of our predecessors in, say, 1789, 1848, 1917, or 1968 thought were possible. In fact, perhaps because there has been a string of these moments of hope and disillusionment, we've learned that each successive moment of optimism has produced mixed results, often unintended and from certain perspectives even counterproductive. The fantasy that one can bring about absolutely new change, starting with a clean slate, seems less and less credible.

Let me put this point in a somewhat different way. The cultural permeation of the natural, what we might call the humanization of the natural world, has increased extraordinarily. The world is more artificial and virtualized than it's ever been before, and yet, no one is really able to master it. The image of the World Wide Web is an excellent metaphor for contemporary reality: there is a web in which we are all entangled but there is no spider in the center. There's no way in which we can say that there is a single sovereign who is in control, no state or ruling class that can be pinpointed as having a kind of congealed power that allows it covertly to dominate the entire system. There's more of a dispersion of power than a concentration today even as the world grows more integrated, producing what sociologists call disorganized rather than organized capitalism. Foucault's notion of the capillary nature of power, even if perhaps an exaggeration, captures this reality. We're in a world that is increasing disembedded from nature and yet out of the control of the people who have done the disembedding.

The world is more artificial and virtualized than it's ever been before, and yet, no one is really able to master it.

TIKKUN: Isn't this sense of powerlessness precisely what those who benefit most from the globalization of capital most need in order to keep the rest of us from struggling to change anything? Isn't it their goal to convince us that anything we try together will necessarily have the kind of bad consequences that the Soviet Union had?

JAY: I am, of course, not arguing for utter passivity. Although we can't play Prometheus and defy everything that exists or ruthlessly wipe the past away, I would equally reject a total acceptance of our fate, a kind of Heideggerian "letting be" in which the only thing you can do is wait expectantly and allow forces that have been unleashed to overwhelm you. We are in a situation in which it is necessary to acknowledge limits and yet find ways to act creatively and responsibly within them. One of the lessons of the ecological disasters of the modern period, after all, is that we tried to achieve what seemed at the time laudable goals (to master nature in such a way that would benefit humankind), but produced unintended consequences. We have to recognize that even the people who run the big corporations and governmental institutions, who seem to know what's going on, are often themselves at the mercy of forces that they can't fully master or understand.

This is not to say that there aren't serious inequities in power relations, just that we have come to terms with the limits that confront even the most potent players in the game. The recent willingness to tolerate a certain measure of heteronomy—the acknowledgment that we cannot always deliberately make the norms or rules we obey—both in poststructuralist and hermeneutic thought, the concession that humans are inevitably dependent creatures rather than potentially independent in all respects, that we are in contexts of meaning that we have not intentionally created—all of this is one lesson we have learned against the hubris of absolute self-assertion and the utopian belief that human autonomy can be completely realized.

Such a realization has, of course, long been a premise of religious thought as well. This lesson, to be sure, can be made into a legitimation for unreflective, authoritarian obedience, and it was for a good reason that traditional defenses of heteronomy were so fiercely contested in the great liberal and Kantian traditions, as it was of course by Marxist humanism. But the full autonomy held up as a regulative ideal in those traditions has shown itself to be equally problematic. The task, I suppose, is to find ways in which the two extremes can be avoided.

TIKKUN: Looking back in the broadest possible strokes over the history beyond the last 200 years, do you think that there is in any way progress in history?

JAY: The idea of progress is one of the most complicated concepts that human beings have tried to impose on the disorder of the world. There have been many abuses committed in its name and many reasons why people are deeply suspicious of it. The idea that it happens automatically can lead to complacency or serve as a historical theodicy in which evil is justified in terms of the larger good that will result. A blind faith in progress has led to the unthinking destruction of traditional cultures, the undermining of forms of life that we assume are "backward" or in the way of inevitable change. As a result, it is very difficult to sustain a straightforward notion of progress.

Having said that, I would also want to acknowledge that simple-minded anti-progressive rhetoric, the world-weary expression of despair about the present, the sentimental nostalgia for an allegedly untroubled period before the depredations of modernization—all of this can support the most questionable kind of cynical politics. It is foolish to deny that we have seen some real advances, for example, in the way that medicine has been able to prolong human life, which should be counted progressive by any reasonable measure. Technologies of communication have allowed different

cultures to learn about each other, to become capable of experiencing the variety of human accomplishments in a way that was simply impossible 1,000 years ago or even 200 years ago. We can, for example, appreciate the artistic legacies of different peoples now more than ever before. There are, to be sure, possible costs in even these seemingly benign advances, as prolonged life may contribute to overpopulation and the deprovincializing interaction of cultures can lead to the homogenization whose effects I bemoaned earlier. So progress in even the most apparently uncontroversial cases must be understood in terms of a balance sheet of pluses and minuses.

But to tack once again in the opposite direction, I would want to argue that there has been genuine progress on the question of the most fundamental human right to the integrity of one's own body, which limits the claim that others may make to terminate the life of that body, exploit its labor-power or use it for sexual purposes without consent. The increased recognition of this most basic human right has helped thwart slavery and other types of involuntary servitude and can be construed as a species-wide achievement, even if we know that there are still slaves, explicitly called that or not, in many parts of the world today. But in terms of almost universal recognition of the value of human self-possession, real progress has been made. Legitimation for these types of abuses, for example, by virtue of conquest or alleged racial inferiority, is now much harder, if not impossible, to justify. It can, to be sure, also be argued, and this is one of the most frightening lessons of the twentieth century, that even without the use of such dubious legitimations, abuses of this magnitude can continue (as the Holocaust demonstrated only a half-century ago). They persist because some people are cynical about even having to provide legitimations at all. They know that their deeds may well be immoral or illegal, and yet they commit them anyway.

Let me make one final point about the question of progress. The danger of too much optimism about the future is that it can be transformed into a justification for treating people poorly in the present, as happened in Stalin's Russia. Sometimes pessimism about the possibility of alleviating human pain can ironically produce a sense of compassion for real existing people. Still, it would be a mistake to undermine what Ernst Bloch called the principle of hope, or to fail to realize that high ideals which are misused in one historical period may nevertheless serve as the basis for overcoming that misuse at a future date. In short, neither a blind faith in progress nor a simplistic dismissal of it does justice to the complexities of how we construct and deconstruct the narratives that give meaning to our actions.

TIKKUN: One could argue that that strand in American consciousness, that strand of optimism, of transforming and healing the world, has actually had a powerfully positive impact on the discourse of human rights in the world, even as it's also been used as a cover for domination.

JAY: If one attempts a historical counterfactual thought experiment, positing for example that George Washington didn't make it out of Valley Forge and the British were able to quash the rebellion he led, then I think that something important and valuable would have been lost for the world. The United States, after all, is an extraordinarily successful experiment in constitution-building and political institutionalization. Scarcely any other country has had such a long-running, flexible, secure, and orderly governmental structure as the United States. It's a miracle that with an expanding population spreading over so large a territory and the incorporation of so many new people, and with the trauma of a civil war testing its most fundamental premises, the structure still functions as well as it does. As the ACLU never tires of reminding us, the American Constitution remains a crucial guarantor of our liberties, which is an incredible tribute to the foresight of the people who contrived it over 200 years ago. Patriotic humbug so often appeals to the Founding Fathers and their wisdom that we often lose sight of the genuineness of their achievement.

TIKKUN: If, as you say, the lesson to learn from the past is to be cautious and not too optimistic about significant transformation, is there any value in even thinking about the new millennium?

JAY: There seems always to be an anticlimactic letdown after anticipated turning points in our calendar fail to bring

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meaningful transformations, for good or for ill. I suspect Y2K won't produce widespread disaster and we've already seen that poor Nostradamus' predictions have proven to be false. We will wake up on January 1, 2000, and realize that it doesn't look terribly different from the previous day. Historians are very aware of the odd way in which historical periods are produced, usually retrospectively. Our periods don't always conform to the calendar, and we are not always sure exactly when we move into a new period. This, in fact, is particularly true at this historical juncture, after the end of the Cold War but before the beginning of a new era that seems very coherent. It's a fascinating period to be alive because there's genuine uncertainty about the contours of the future and the possibility of unexpected new directions. But it has nothing to do with the mechanical ticks on our common millennial clock.

Our new answers often prove to be no more durable and satisfactory than the old.

TIKKUN: In the September/October 1999 issue of TIKKUN, Daniel Singer argued that there really is a new dominant story of the new millennium—it is the globalization of capital and the resultant domination of forms of consciousness, which tends to generate one story, a universal story much more than we have ever experienced it in human history.

JAY: It is true that there is greater integration and interdependency than ever before, as well as a sense of common problems, such as global warming and the nuclear threat, which has not completely ended. And I agree that the World Wide Web produces a certain level of homogenization, especially with the domination of the English language. But having said that, although Bill Gates might be the richest man in the world and Microsoft may continue to maintain its basic monopoly of the new technology, he doesn't in any way tell us what to say on the net. The net is more an anarchic medium, a tool of uncontrolled, wild communication, than it is a vehicle for domination of any one group. If you examine societies that have tried to maintain control, say China or Iran, or places that are trying to keep the net out, it's clear that they have tremendous difficulty containing the potential of the net to introduce new ideas and uncensored counter-narratives to their citizens. This potential creates an opportunity for the increased empowerment of people hitherto shut out of the dominant channels of communication from below. So I guess I am a bit more optimistic than Singer when it comes to the technological side of globalization. It does produce, nonetheless, a great challenge to traditional notions of democratization, which are thwarted by the capacity of capital flows and economic decisions in general to move so rapidly (and without much scrutiny) that no public deliberation can occur about their effects until after the fact.

TIKKUN: But you don't believe that these technological innovations create increased opportunity for democratic influence.

JAY: In the best of all possible worlds we would find mechanisms of flow from local democratic decision making upward to more global decision making. Those mechanisms haven't yet been created. It's very hard for informed citizens to make real decisions about some of the extremely technical issues which affect their lives. Often these are reduced to sound bites, which are then offered for simple plebiscitarian acclamation, an example being the overused referendum process in the state of California. The model of democratization, as it was originally conceived in the classical polis, with people participating face to face, is, of course, impossible to apply on the global scale, as indeed it was even on level of the nation-state. But we haven't yet concocted global representative institutions that rival those that were developed when states became the primary locus of political power.

TIKKUN: Say you had to stand before G-d and make the argument, "Don't give up on us yet." What would be some of the optimistic features that you would want G-d to pay some attention to before She turned her face and said, "I failed on this plan, let's try something else."

JAY: I don't know if one can have a spiritual balance sheet. The species has come up with extraordinarily creative cultural stratagems to compensate for the very mixed hand that was dealt us by G-d. Human beings are unable to survive via instinct alone, simply carrying on in an unreflective way with our lives. We need supplementary mechanisms to make up for our inadequacies, both physical and spiritual, if that term is understood in the broadest sense. For we seem to crave a meaning that is not simply given to us as self-evident. What we lack, we make up for with culture and technology, helping us to cope with the infirmities of our bodies and uncertainties of our destinies, as well as with what we come to feel are the injustices inflicted on us by nature and society (perhaps with the inexplicable contrivance of the deity).

Having been dealt an essentially unfair hand, we have both a challenge and a burden. The challenge is to produce narratives and explanations that will console us for the mysteries of our existence and produce some sort of comfort in the midst of all the chaos, even as we know we lack perfect answers. We don't always even have good answers, and the kind of answers we have don't always alleviate the distress, and we often cause unintended pain by the answers we give. But we've done pretty well in inventing new stories to give meaning, and to that extent we as a species ought not to be too self-reproaching. The burden, of course, is that none of the answers really works for very long and we are compelled to try again. So to come back to your first question, learning is both a cumulative process in which we build on past successes and a failure in the sense that our new answers often prove to be no more durable and satisfactory than the old. ❑

Why We're Hopeful about the NEW MILLENNIUM

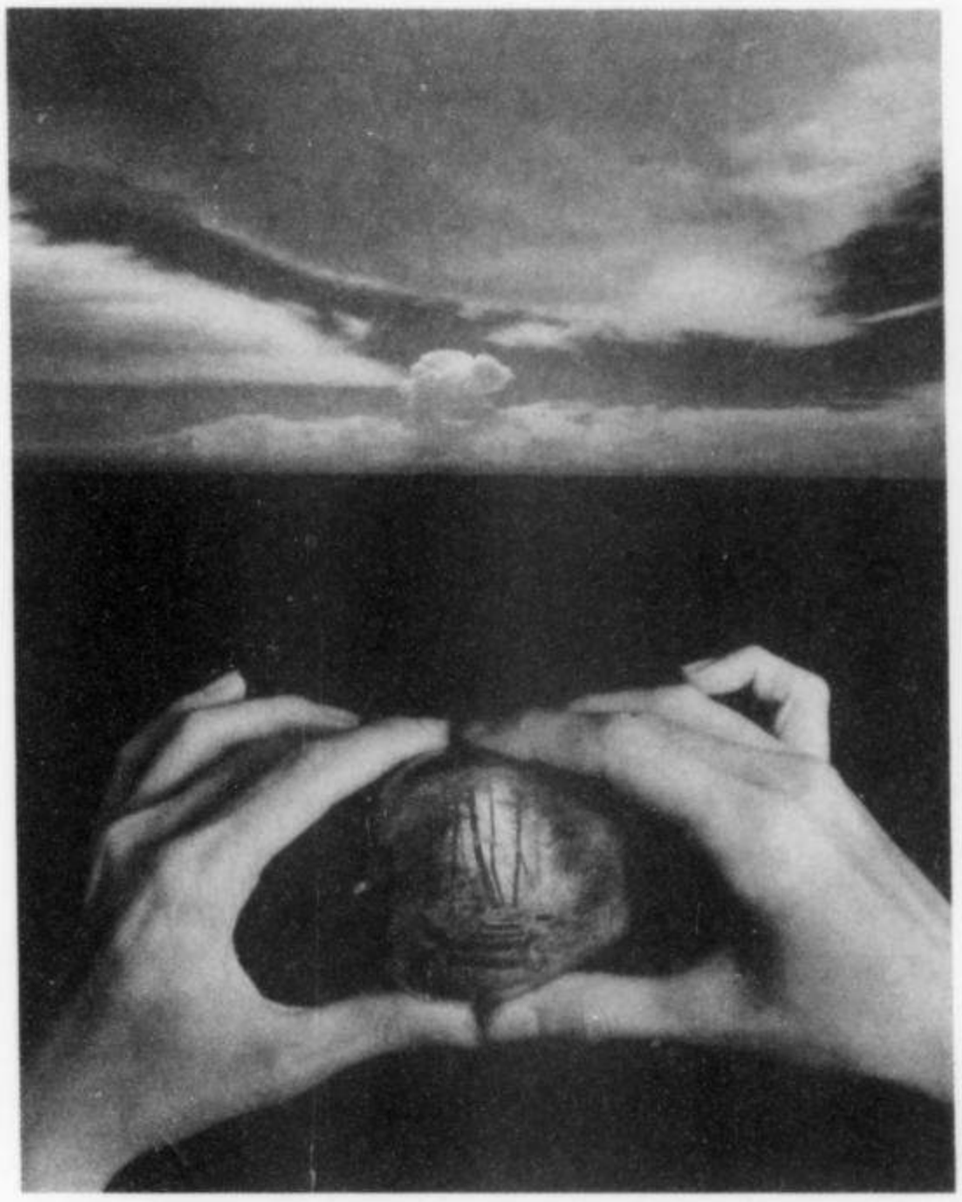
Editorial—continued from page 10

20 percent of wealth-holders has created a world system in which we are quickly depleting the resources of the planet, polluting the water and the air, and pouring poisons into and genetically altering our foods.

In such a world system, people who are the poorest find themselves destroying old-growth forests and rain forests out of desperation to find some way to survive economically. We can give them all the lectures we want on ecological responsibility—but they won't stop what they are doing as long as they know that the rest of the world will turn their backs and not worry about whether or not they starve to death.

Truth is, we've never lived in a moment in which the survival of each of us depends more on precisely the kind of utopian thinking that the ideologues of the status quo warn us against. Because unless we build a world based on love and caring, why should anyone trust anyone else? If the "reality" is that everyone is out for themselves, then of course it's going to be very hard to convince someone to sacrifice their self-interest for the sake of the future of the planet. When you see elders driving Mercedes with bumper stickers saying, "I'm spending my children's inheritance," they are actually articulating the reality of the entire human race at this moment—we are squandering the accumulated inheritance of the human family without regard for the future survivability of the planet. And each individual, when faced with this situation, will tend to choose to maximize their own individual advantage as long as they live in a society whose basic message is: you are a naïve fool and dupe if you believe that the world can be based on anything but selfishness. There are all kinds of wonderful people who join environmental movements or organize relief efforts or try to reform the Democratic Party or engage in other kinds of social change activities. But none of them will make much of a dent as long as they don't focus their primary energies on challenging this pervasive ideology of selfishness and materialism that shapes the consciousness of everyone and makes everyone reluctant to make choices that presuppose the possibility of a more loving and caring world.

That's why the current struggle over the nature of the millennium is so important. Nobody is going to be willing to take the steps necessary to challenge multinational corporations or to put significant constraints on their ability to misuse the world's resources if they believe that raising these issues will only put them in jeopardy and that everyone else is just going to be looking out for their own self-interest. The reason we don't have these kinds of movements any more is because people have lost their trust in others' idealism. And that is what needs to be restored.



PHOTOMONTAGE BY JERRY UELSMANN

We need a new kind of world ethos—and that can only happen if we reject the narrow forms of realism that are taught to us as common sense, and instead start to believe in the possibility of real fundamental healing of our planet according to an ethos of love and caring. That is what we mean when we talk about a "politics of meaning." Sure, the phrase has been used to mean all kinds of things. But what we have consistently meant by it is this: we need to create a new definition of productivity and efficiency so that institutions are judged productive or efficient not only to the extent that they maximize money or power, but to the extent that they maximize love, caring, and ethical, spiritual, and ecological sensitivity. Unless we can put those issues at the center of our communal life, we will have little chance to make significant progress in stopping the destruction of our environment in the new millennium.

Historically, Jews have been at the forefront of those who have brought these various ideologies of social transformation to the world. And small wonder. Judaism is a religion whose central message is that there is a Force in the universe, YHVH, which created the universe and governs it, and that Force is the power that makes for the possibility of fundamental change for the good (for a fuller

version of this argument see Michael's book of theology, *Jewish Renewal: A Path to Healing and Transformation*). Judaism focuses our religious ritual around one such concrete instance of transformation: our liberation as a people from Egypt. The retelling of that story every week through reading Torah, and the celebration of that story every Shabbat and Passover, has had a massive impact on the unconscious of the Jewish people, leading us to play the role of cheerleader for the possibility of social change. As a result, Jews have been active in these social change movements wildly out of proportion to our percentage of the population.

In fact, it is precisely because we've played that role that ruling elites throughout the history of the past 2,500 years have felt that the Jewish people were a threat, and have often instigated anti-Semitic sentiment among their own populations, at least in part to ensure that the Jewish perception of the status quo would not be widely heard. We don't blame any of the Jewish intellectuals who responded to this long history of oppression by deciding that it might be better off for the Jews to be identified with the status quo than with the transformation of the status quo, and by choosing a path of assimilation. The truth is that the communist movement, in which many Jews believed, actually ended up betraying the Jews by reinforcing the very anti-Semitism Jews thought it would overcome (think of Stalinism, for example). The fascist movement caused terrible destruction to the Jewish people. These two recent experiences have soured many intellectuals on any social movement. For this very reason, many otherwise progressive Jewish intellectuals—from Daniel Bell to Irving Howe—distanced themselves from the social change movements of the 1960s, even as they accepted some of our critique of American policy.

Yet there were tens of thousands of other Jewish intellectuals who did continue on the path of social transformation and played a central role in building the Civil Rights movement, the anti-war movement, the women's movement, the ecology movement, the gay rights movement, and the various movements for human rights around the world. Today, it is easy to forget how visionary and inspirational these movements once were. In the versions of these movements that flourished in the late 1960s and early 1970s, there was a universalistic and utopian vision that united each of them with the others, and with a profound transformative aspiration for a world based on love and caring. The transcendent aspirations of these movements were palpable, and gave to their adherents the sense that we were living on the cusp of a new historical moment. It was only as the "realists" began to dominate those movements, in part because of the violent and repressive response the movements received initially from the established order, that they began to narrow their focus to immediately obtainable results, transforming their focus to a series of "rights" that often counterpoised them against each other and against the rights of people in other groups.

Eventually we got the current "political correctness" morass in which groups that had originally aimed at transformation now seemed to aim at protecting their own turf and assaulting those who did not yet "get it." The ultimate step in this process was for various oppressed groups to embrace a deconstructionist relativism in which they claimed that every mode of discourse was simply a mode of power. Though they meant thereby to disempower those who had established "hegemonic discourse" (usually, white males with class privilege), they actually ended up undermining the one weapon of the oppressed: its claim to represent a higher moral vision.

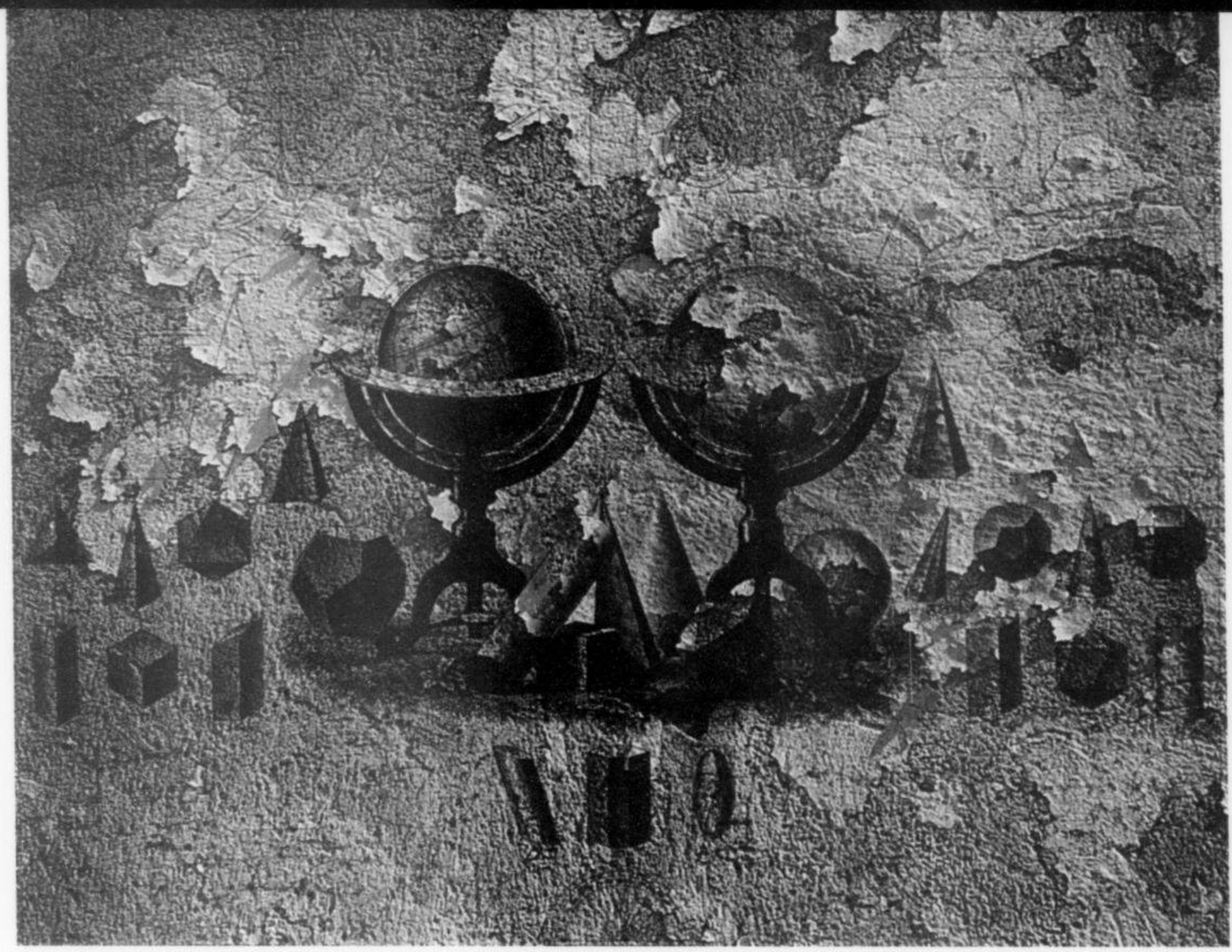
The realists, not the utopians, have caused the world the most pain.

We've entered a period in which the hopes for these movements have declined, and instead we are seeing a communal forgetting of what it was like to hold those hopes. In these pages, Michael Bader has analyzed the cynicism that dominates the contemporary period as a defense against the perceived humiliation we felt at the moments when we allowed ourselves to hope and then not only were disappointed, but were ridiculed by others for having been so naïve as to have hoped at all. We ward off such possible humiliation by forgetting what it was like to be hopeful and returning to a depressive resignation about the inevitability of the status quo.

In the face of this, we also forget the remarkable accomplishments of humanity over the course of the past few thousand years, and even over the course of the past two hundred years, and focus only on the grief and pain and violence.

Yet there is another way to look at history: to see it as an arena in which the pervasive human desire to connect with others in a loving way, and to connect to the totality of all being, is constantly being undermined or misdirected by our fears and our inability to fully actualize our highest hopes. If we allow ourselves to tell the story from this vantage point, we get a very different way of viewing the history of the past millennium. History becomes the movement of desire in circumstances of material scarcity, alienated social relations, and the fears that lead people to deny their own desires or to channel them in forms that will partially gratify and partially distort.

From our standpoint, the most vicious and hurtful moments in history derive from the same desire for loving connection that animates the most positive and transcendent moments in history. Human beings seek to connect and be recognized by each other as mutually caring, conscious, and free beings, and to be recognized by the consciousness that unites the totality of all being (referred to by



PHOTOMONTAGE BY JERRY UELSMANN

some as God) of which we are a part. History is an ongoing recounting of the various surges forward and defeats of this desire, refracted through specific human beings in specific circumstances.

When you look at history from this perspective, you don't find a series of disconnected events punctuated by brief moments of liberation and more moments of oppression and pain. Instead, you find a very understandable dynamic of people reaching for connection and simultaneously acting in hurtful ways that reflect their accommodation to the momentary impossibility within their circumstances of achieving this connection.

The Nazis, to take one of the most destructive and hateful phenomena of the past 1,000 years, became popular at precisely that point at which many Europeans were devastated by the destructive impact of rapid industrialization and by the failure of social-democrat and communist movements to address the alienation and despair they felt in their daily lives. In response, they mistakenly turned to "national socialism" to seek solace and a sense of loving connection. As Zygmunt Bauman has argued in this magazine, the traumatic breakdown of communities of support resulting from the breakdown of traditional country life created an immense hunger for some kind of ersatz, imagined community, a hunger that national socialism sought to satisfy.

Yet these national ersatz communities were in constant danger of collapse before the reality of the alienation of daily life in an increasingly mechanized and class-divided economic and social world. No matter how powerful the momentary celebration of "the nation," the reality of daily life continued to be that of lone individuals competing against each other for scarce resources. People at once desperately sought the consolation of the phony community (both because it promised loving connection and because it promised some meaning to life that would be more than the dog-eat-dog reality of the competitive marketplace) and simultaneously could not understand why it was not working to satisfy them more. The answer of the fascists was simple: there is some Other who is not really part of us and who is polluting the whole nation, and that Other must be eliminated. The fear of the humiliation that would have accompanied the collapse or exposure of these phony or imagined national communities produced a heightened and frenzied attempt to repress doubt and to shore up the image of an "us" (the Nation, or, in other contexts, the Race, the Religion, the Family). And that frenzy led to the desire to rid the Nation of some Other (Jews, gypsies, gays, the disabled).

Yet the core of this whole process is the quite legitimate hunger that people had for some form of connection and mutual support. That it took a destructive form was not inevitable. Unfortunately, liberal and progressive social change movements have rarely understood this hunger for connection, community, and a sense of purpose or meaning to life, and hence rarely understood how desperate people get when faced with societies in which that hunger for meaning and purpose is systematically frustrated.

The NEW MILLENNIUM

The good news is this: the upsurges of hope in the world in 1789, 1848, 1917, and 1968 were more than blips on the screen—they were huge movements forward in the evolution of consciousness (like Sinai, the Gnostic revolt against organized Christianity, the utopian socialists, the psychoanalytic movement, feminism, etc.). These movements of collective hope in the totality of the consciousness in the world are not erased and are actually what move history forward, because they represent what history is trying to move toward. If we recognize these movements as historical incarnations of the ongoing hopefulness and highest aspirations of our Being, we get a different picture of history.

Martin Jay and Omer Bartov in their articles in this issue of TIKKUN are correct to learn important cautionary lessons from history. The transformation to which we aspire, a transformation that allows for the emergence of loving desire and mutual recognition and a new spiritual consciousness of awe and wonder at the universe, will not likely come about through models of revolution based on 1789 or 1917 and the notion of "seizing power." The illusion of the 1960s was that we were on the verge of a revolutionary moment in which some vanguard would come to power and change everything very quickly. That illusion should be laid to rest.

The healing spiritual transformation we seek is far more likely to emerge in a different way: through the prefiguring of liberatory possibilities that emerge in the context of existing societies. Just as the bourgeoisie created its own reality in the context of feudal societies, so we also seek to create parallel universes inside contemporary society, parallel realities which embody our highest spiritual vision. That prefiguring is already taking place in tens of thousands of spiritual and religious communities, and in intentional communities like our own Foundation for Ethics and Meaning, the Restorative Justice movement in criminal law, and the sustainable community movement. Part of the strategy of TIKKUN in this period is to encourage our readers to engage in these kinds of projects.

In our forthcoming books *Spirit Matters* (Michael) and *The Bank Teller and Other Essays on the Politics of Meaning* (Peter) we try to give a more detailed account of how we can move from the current moment to a world based on a new bottom line of love, caring, and radical amazement at the grandeur of the universe. This is the task for the coming millennium. Ken Wilber's optimistic account of the possibilities for a new stage in the development of spirit is part of the vision of possibility that needs to be articulated. Yet there is a danger that some people will use Wilber's developmental spirituality as a way of assuring themselves that they need not be engaged in the nitty-gritty of social transformative struggles in the real world (though this political quiescence is not what Wilber intended).

We are at a moment when real transcendence and social healing is possible. Spiritual politics and religious and non-religious renewal movements can help spread an awareness of the ecological fragility of our world and encourage experiments with new forms of economic production and social life that can separate us from those who seek to exploit the earth for endless expansion of goods. We can begin to embody in our own parallel universes a new way of being that is centered on love and mutual recognition and awe and wonder.

The challenge of the millennium: allow yourself to be a witness to the possibility of a more loving and awe-filled world.

Part of the groundwork for this utopian project will be to challenge the dominant forms of pessimism and cynicism that are articulated during the year-long celebration of the millennium and to insist instead on the possibility of possibility. Our most immediate task is to insist on the continuing relevance of utopian thinking—to refuse to be "practical" or "realistic" as those terms are defined in the media and by the cheerleaders of the status quo—and to instead articulate a vision of a world based on our highest principles. You, dear reader, can make an immense contribution to the coming period just by refusing to accept the terms of discourse that are perpetrated through the media. Refuse to listen to all the people who try to tell us that it's in our best interest to accept the current framework and to "work within it." Your alternative: to envision a new framework and to urge people to start from what they most deeply believe in rather than from what they have been told by others is possible.

This is the challenge of the coming millennium: the challenge of allowing ourselves to be witnesses to the possibility of a more loving and more awe-filled world. That is the *tikkun*, the healing, that the world needs—a tikkun of hopefulness and not of fear, a tikkun of love and not of despair. That is what it means to be believers in God—and that is why we maintain that many of our most fervent secular readers (and many, many of our readers are secular) are actually believers in God, because they believe in the possibility of possibility. It is in this sense that we believe the next millennium will see a greater presence of God in the world. But for those who are frightened by God-language (with good reason, given the way it gets distorted in so many religious contexts), let us reassure you that this same truth can be said in secular language: that the coming period offers us extraordinary possibilities for tikkun, for the healing and transformation of the planet. Join us as we build the TIKKUN community and the many other healing and transformative communities which together will become the cutting edge for planetary renewal. ❑



Millennium and Historical Hope

Natalie Zemon Davis

Listen to the words of a good French abbot, reminiscing in 998 about his youth some twenty years before: "About the end of the world, I heard someone preaching to the people in a Paris church that the Antichrist would come in the year 1000 and the last judgment would follow soon afterward. I fought this opinion strongly, basing myself on the Gospels...."

And hear the voice of another monk, Rodulphus Glaber, on what he'd seen in the year 1033: "The thousandth year after the passion of our Lord, after the disastrous famine, the rains stopped ... and the heavens began to smile ... showing the generosity of the Creator. The land was covered with lovely green and an abundance of fruit."

Both these witnesses undermine the false image of Western Christians all quaking in terror during the year 1000. The millennial prophecy had been put together from two New Testament passages: Jesus' promise in Matthew 6 that the Son of Man shall come again in his kingdom; and the apocalyptic visions of the Book of Revelation that Satan will be loosed after a thousand years, that his forces of evil will war with the forces of heaven and be defeated, and that all those who have not worshipped the beast will reign with Christ for a thousand years. Over the centuries, some Christians had expected the Second Coming any time, while some Christians, such as the great Augustine himself, had insisted that the Book of Revelation was just an allegory, not a literal prophecy.

As the tenth century came to its close in western Europe, there was still the same diversity of views. Many people did not even know when the year 1000 was: the peasants left it to the clergy, who could read and write, to keep charge of the calendar. For those who did know, which was the significant date: the thousandth anniversary of Christ's birth, the Incarnation, or his Passion and crucifixion? And which of the many scenarios in Revelation would come to pass?

Many people did not even know when the year 1000 was.

Thus, there was no clear-cut apocalyptic movement, led by a single prophet and focused on the single year 1000, but rather a millennial spirit spread over several decades. Preached by monks, it touched at one time or another bishops, nuns, warriors, wives, traders, and peasants, inspiring moods that ranged from fear and repentance to initiative and joy.

There were signs in the heavens—a brilliant comet in 1014, eclipses in 1023 and in 1033, when all the world "was bathed in the color of saffron." There were signs on earth—from 997, the spread of the deadly burning sickness (what we now call ergotism); in 1004, an immense whale washed up on the Atlantic shore of France; in 1033, a famine in Burgundy so acute that people turned to eating human flesh. And in Jerusalem in 1009, the Holy Sepulcher of Jesus was destroyed at the order of the caliph in Cairo; a weeping Christ on the cross was seen in the heavens when the terrible news reached Limoges.

The monks interpreted these signs as the judgment of God, warning Christians of divine vengeance for their sins. They had much to be punished for: destructive wars among the Franks, Angles, and the Scots; clergymen who bought their sacred offices and even had wives; heretics who spread poisonous ideas against the Trinity and the priesthood.

The faithful responded with repentance. The wealthy and powerful confessed their sins and gave alms to the church: lands, new church buildings, and golden cases for the precious relics of saints. People took to the roads on pilgrimage to Rome, to Santiago de Compostela in Spain where the body of Saint James the Elder was miraculously preserved, and to Jerusalem, where the Holy Sepulcher had been rebuilt. "No one had seen such crowds," Rodulphus Glaber wrote of Jerusalem in the year 1033. "First they were people of the lower classes, then the middling sort, then the great—kings, counts, prelates—and what had never happened before, many women, from the most noble to the poorest."

This essay is based on a talk presented at the fifth Millennium Evening at the White House, January 25, 1999, at the invitation of Hillary Rodham Clinton and the White House Millennium Council. *Copyright © 1999 by Natalie Zemon Davis.*

ILLUSTRATION BY RUSS ANDO

Back home in France, Glaber spoke of another novelty in that wondrous verdant spring of 1033: joyous crowds lifted their arms to the skies, shouting, "Peace, peace, peace," "a sign of the pact, the promise made between them and God." Glaber was referring to the most important result of the millennial decades: the Peace of God movement, of which I'll say more in a moment.

Interestingly enough—and not coincidentally—historians today view the late tenth and early eleventh centuries as a major moment of change in European history, comparable to the decline of the Roman Empire and the Industrial Revolution. What signs do they see? To start with, the periodic invasions of the Vikings from the north and the Hungarians from the east, which had been going on for 150 years, ceased or tapered off around 1000. The Vikings continued their adventurous sea voyages, but they stopped seizing European Christians to sell as slaves and became Christians themselves. In Budapest, Prince Stephen was baptized in the very year 1000, the pope and the emperor sending him a crown for his coronation as king the next year. Missionaries had successes to report as well in Sweden, Finland, and Poland. The Christian Triune God was displacing the older deities of Europe.

Historians today view the late tenth and early eleventh centuries as a major moment of change in European history.

Also being transformed was the status of the men and women who tilled the soil, the majority of Europe's population. Previously they had been slaves working on the great estates or else free peasants with their own land. Now increasingly they had the status of serfs, not as personally owned as if they were slaves, but tied to someone else's land and controlled by a lord nonetheless. Their life expectancy was short—most of them could not expect to pass the age of forty, if that—but by the early eleventh century there were signs of agricultural improvements that would eventually support a larger population: new lands under plow and new collars for oxen and horses.

At the same time, a transformation was under way in the status of the land-owning families—that is, the emergence of feudalism. The emperor Charlemagne's successors from the ninth century on had been unable to sustain their armies and their judicial courts during the period of the invasions, and these governmental powers were being seized—we might call it "privatized"—and becoming part of the inheritance of the counts and especially of the lesser officials. Land was grabbed as well, and not peacefully. Every warrior and his men tried to get a slice, and the ensuing violence—toward each other, toward the clergy and their property, toward the peasants and their cattle—was spectacular. A poem about the knights by a Jewish rabbi in the Rhineland in the late tenth century expresses a feeling shared by many Christians: "They have their fortresses on craggy peaks / They battle with the flashing sword / With gold and silver richly wrought / While we pray to Almighty God, / Who maketh wars to cease."

Towns and trade persisted, however, in Italy, along the Mediterranean, and on the banks of Europe's rivers, the Jewish communities being active there. There were especially important developments in cultural life. Oral culture—the predominant one—was rich in proverbs in the vernacular tongue, folk tales, legends, love songs, and poems. Warrior families listened to bards singing verses about Charlemagne's day, and up north sagas of the Norsemen were being composed on subjects ranging from love, trade, and exploration to war. Christian literate culture was in Latin, the language of the clergy, and it was slowly expanding as more people became enmeshed in reading texts together. The monasteries were centers of this life, especially the newer reforming houses like Cluny, to which Rodulphus Glaber belonged. Meanwhile over in Saxony, the convent of Gandersheim housed the noble nun Hroswitha, playwright, poet, moralist, and historian, who before she died in 1001, called herself a "strong voice for women."

This picture suggests to us the this-worldly challenges for the millennial spirit and the resources societies had to respond to them. The millennial response was a double one. Most important was the Peace of God, a movement of clergy and people to limit the violence of the Christian feudal lords. Starting in 975 and multiplying in number over the decades leading up to 1040, large assemblies were called by bishops all over France, supported by the monks of Cluny, to which the "people," that is, free traders and free peasants, along with the knights, came in large numbers. Holy relics were brought and exhibited, the medieval way to attract a big crowd. The knights present swore on the relics to maintain the peace and not engage in private violence. After 989, they were threatened with excommunication if they broke their oath.

Here is what the oaths sounded like: "I will not invade a church under any circumstance. Nor will I invade the wine-cellars belonging to a church, unless an evildoer or a murderer has taken refuge there. I will not attack an unarmed cleric or monk.... I will not seize the cow, the pig [or any other animal] of the peasant.... I will not seize the peasant woman or peasant man or the merchant. I will not take their money or goods.... I will not burn down or demolish houses unless I discover an enemy knight or a thief inside.... I will not attack noble women ... or their entourage unless they commit of their own accord some misdeed toward me.... From the beginning of Lent until Easter, I will not attack another knight if he is unarmed." This is the movement that led the people to cry, "Peace,

peace, peace" to God in 1033. And it had some effect, influencing the policy of the French king and the emperor in Germanic lands, and setting some standards for the behavior of feudal lords. It is an example of human action in history, inspired by millennial hopes, but practical in its goal.

The other response of the millennial spirit was not peaceable, but was rather exclusionary, repressive, and aggressive. A number of new religious ideas emerged in France just after the year 1000, supported for the first time by both popular and learned groups. Often inspired by a spirit of reform, these groups criticized just those forms of piety, such as the Eucharist and the cult of the crucifix, most associated with clerical power. In response, the monastic leaders saw these isolated movements as part of a heretical conspiracy, arousing the wrath of God. Opposing heresy vigorously was an old tradition of the early church. What was new was the burning of heretics, as at Orleans in 1022, one of "the first formal executions of heretics in the West." It was not to be the last.

The second exclusionary act of the millennial spirit was against the Jews. The Jewish communities in France, along the Rhine, and elsewhere were tolerated by local lords as sources of trade and tax money and in the hope that they would eventually turn Christian. Then in the 990s and especially in the years between 1007 and 1012 the Jews were ordered in a number of places to convert, or else be expelled or killed on the spot. Such was the case in Limoges in 1010, when after a flood engulfed the city, the Jews were accused of inciting the Muslims to destroy the Holy Sepulcher in Jerusalem. A few accepted baptism, many fled, others killed themselves "to hallow the name of the Lord."

These suicides presaged the Jewish martyrs of Worms and Mainz on the Rhine who refused to convert during the First Crusade decades later. By then, if not before, the Jews had their own end-of-the-world scenario: the fighting between the Christians and the Muslims was fulfilling Ezekiel's prophesy of the war of Gog and Magog before the coming of the Messiah. Their self-sacrifice, like Abraham's intended sacrifice of Isaac, would hasten the true Messiah's arrival all the more.

The Christian crusading zeal that crystallized in the effort to capture the Holy Land from the Muslims also first showed itself in the millennial years after 1000. Rodulphus Glaber rejoiced in how the French warriors, invoking the help of God and the Virgin and sustained by the Eucharist, scored victories against the Muslim forces in Spain. They sent captured gold to the monks at Cluny and captured Moors to the monks at Limoges for slaves. More important, by the 1040s the bishops and monks were extending the Peace of God into a wider Truce of God, prohibiting any warfare on holy days and even maintaining that "No Christian should kill another Christian, since whoever kills a Christian doubtless sheds the blood of Christ." In 1095, when the Pope proclaimed the First Crusade, calling on the knights of western Europe to take up the cross in a just war against the infidels, he was drawing on both the peacemaking and the war-making potential of the millennial spirit.

This double potential gives pause. Did the combination of internal peace movements together with exclusionary and outwardly aggressive actions become a long-term characteristic of Christian Europe? It certainly is true of the political/religious rhetoric in the sixteenth century, when the papal call to war against the Turks was coupled with the argument that Christian princes should not fight against each other. Is the combination characteristic of every millennial movement?

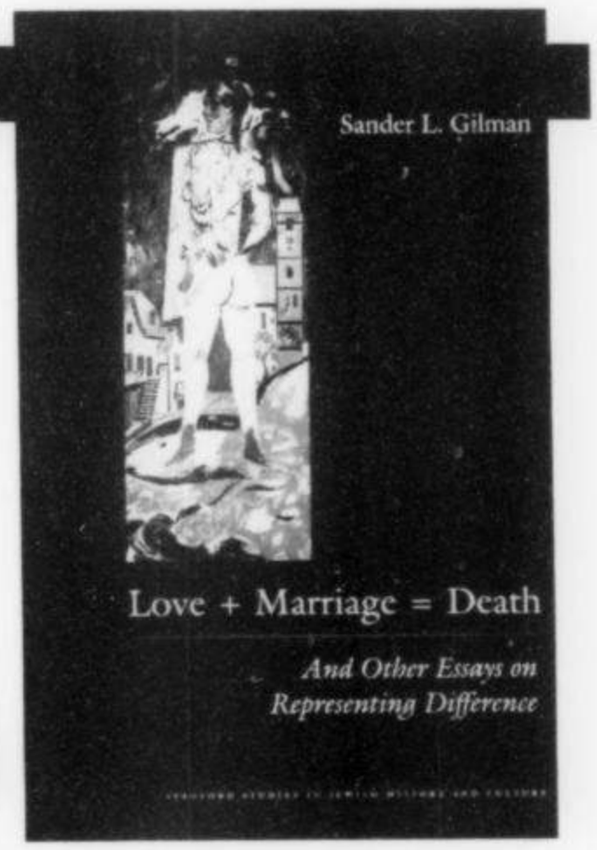
I want to conclude by putting the millennial spirit of the years 990–1033 in a wider and longer perspective. Let us

(continued on page 61)

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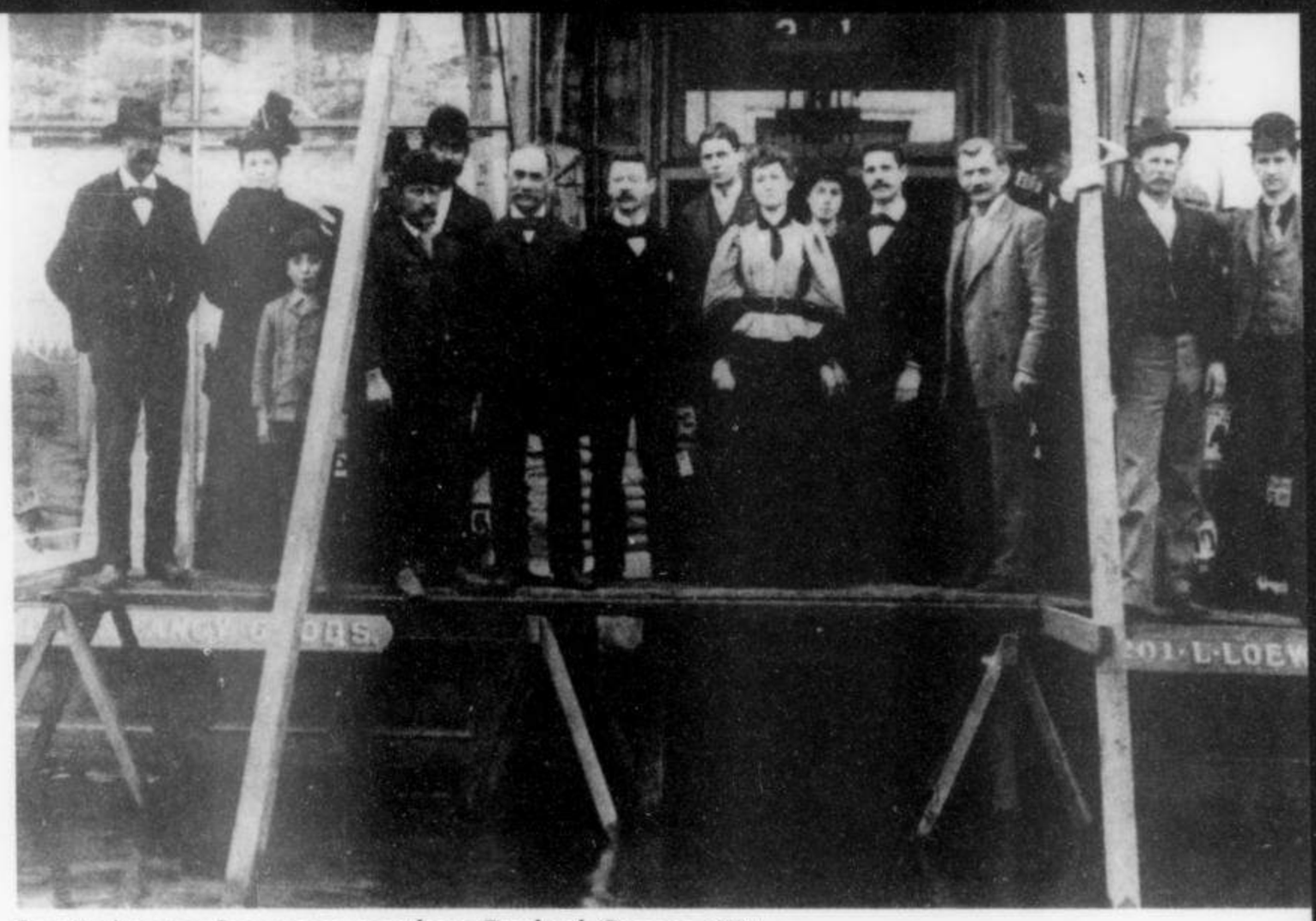


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The NEW MILLENNIUM

Notes on the Jewish Millennium

David Biale



Jews in America: Loewenson storefront, Portland, Oregon, 1894.

PHOTOGRAPH COURTESY OF THE WESTERN JEWISH HISTORY CENTER

The way Jews live in the world has undergone a major shift in this past century, a shift that is worth thinking about in the context of a larger time frame. In the first Christian millennium, Jews were a tolerated minority, which meant that they owed their status to privileges that might be given or retracted by governments. Since governments in the modern sense did not really exist, the status of the Jews was always tenuous, shifting, and unstable. Yet, although both Christianity and Islam regarded Judaism as a defective and superseded religion, the medieval system worked remarkably well for the Jews for those centuries leading up roughly to the beginning of this millennium. Small Jewish communities in northern Europe and considerably larger Jewish communities in the Mediterranean had second-class status, but were able to maneuver with relatively great economic and political success in a world in which they were a religious minority.

The balance between majority culture and Jewish minority privileges came undone at the beginning of this millennium, however, in response to the Crusades in northern Europe and the rise of the sectarian Islamic group, the Almohads, in Spain. The Crusades launched the first full-scale popular attack on the Jews in medieval times. In the centuries that followed, Jewish status in northern Europe gradually deteriorated, as Jews became "serfs of the chamber" (that is, of the king) and were expelled from various western and central European states, culminating in the expulsion from Spain in 1492. It was in this period that a new form of anti-Judaism—what we might rightly call by the anachronistic term anti-Semitism, which denotes Jews as a race, rather than a religious group—first emerged. The new attitudes towards Jews became much more mythic in character: for example, the belief that Jews use Christian blood for ritual purposes, that Jewish men menstruate, and that Jews suckle from pigs. These beliefs, all precise reversals of what Jews actually believe, marked the beginning of a long chain of popular attitudes towards Jews which persisted well into this century and formed essential parts of Nazi anti-Semitism.

Even as Christian Europe grew more anti-Semitic, the Almohads in twelfth-century Spain began attacking Jewish communities and forced many Jews to convert. Islam, which despite some very negative attitudes in the Koran had generally tolerated the Jews as a "people with a book" (i.e., a divine revelation), now showed a far less tolerant face. Although for most of the Middle Ages the old compact held and Muslims did not indulge in the kind of mythic anti-Judaism that sprouted in Christian Europe, this hint of Muslim intolerance was to come to fruition in modern times, with the Damascus Blood Libel in 1840 (an event influenced greatly by European imperialism) and especially with the rise of Zionism in the twentieth century.

By the dawn of modernity, the old balance between majority and minority populations established in the medieval period had dissolved. In this period, however, and especially in this last century, Jews have fought for a fundamental reordering of the Jewish social contract. Instead of accepting their status as a minority with privileges, Jews have struggled for rights as equal citizens and have been remarkably successful in obtaining them. Never in history have diaspora Jews been so integrated and influential in political, economic, and cultural life. Yet, as the rise of Nazi Germany in this century demonstrates, modernity has also meant the most savage state-sponsored assault on the Jews, not only as a group with certain religious beliefs, as was the case in the Middle Ages, but as a group per se. It is also clear from recent events around America that mythic anti-Semitism, originating at the beginning of the millennium, remains alive and well, if only on the margins of society.

Israel has not been immune from majoritarian prejudice against a minority either, though in Israel it is reproduced in reverse, with Palestinians in the minority position that

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Jews used to occupy. For both Israel and the Diaspora, the challenge at the start of this next (Christian) millennium is how to create states in which minorities can flourish and cultivate their own cultures, while at the same time avoiding confining those minorities into imposed or self-imposed ghettos. We need to ask how identity can be constructed so that it is at once particular and multiple, so that one can be a Jew and American, Palestinian and Israeli. In the Jewish world, we need to discard the tired categories of Jewish identity versus assimilation into mainstream culture in favor of much more flexible ways of thinking about ethnicity, religion, and citizenship. It is precisely the acceptance of such multiple or hybrid identities that will become the hallmark of the new millennium.

The new millennium will also raise new questions about the interactions of majority and minority cultures. In the newly globalized world, we will need to consider how global culture can preserve and promote local culture. Here, Jewish history, especially of the last millennium, contains some important lessons for the rest of the world. The Jews were arguably one of the first and most successful global people. Jewish merchants in the Mediterranean and in northern Europe created global networks long before the Internet. Yet, this global culture, linked by the Hebrew language and by a common legal system, also developed its own local customs and character. The Jews of the last millennium were at once one people and not a united people at all.

The fact that Jews were largely able in the past to negotiate the tensions between the global and local does not mean that this challenge is so easily met in today's global capitalism. On the contrary, the communitarian character of traditional Jewish life ought to be held up as a form of resistance to the destructive tendencies of globalization. Based on this Jewish model, we ought to advocate a humane global economy in which local cultures and economies can flourish even when interconnected to other cultures and economies. This lesson from the past millennium of Jewish history is one that ought not to be forgotten either by Jews or by the rest of humanity. ❑

Millennium and Historical Hope *(cont. from page 59)*

remember that western Christendom was only one corner of the world, its calendar and sacred history only one possibility for ordering time. The world of Islam then stretched from the Indus River in the east to Andalus, that is, Spain, in the west. By its calendar, starting from the year the prophet Muhammad left Mecca for Medina, 390 was the real date equivalent to the Christian 1000. Moreover, the thousand-year interval had no special significance for the Muslims. Rather, the Last Judgment might come any time, anticipated by an evil Deceiver who would reign for forty days or forty years until he was undone by the arrival of the Mahdi, that is, the Rightly Guided one, accompanied by Jesus. The Mahdi would bring back the golden age, the community as it was at the time of the Prophet Muhammad, and all the world would convert to Islam. Meanwhile, far away in a world unknown to the Christians, the peoples of the Andes were organizing their sacred calendar around the solstices and the harvests and the coming of age of the young.

All of these ways of marking time had a long future ahead of them. Millennial and apocalyptic movements multiplied over the centuries. In a celebrated case in the 1530s, the Anabaptists of Munster, under their self-proclaimed King John, expelled the Lutherans, ended private property, and instituted polygamous marriage. A century later, millennial spirit infused much that went on during the English Civil War, and in 1666, when Sabbatai Zevi declared himself the Jewish Messiah, both Christians and Jews thought excitedly that the final redemption was at hand. And, of course, there have been many apocalyptic movements since then, often without benefit of Christian and Jewish prophecies about the end of the world or a highly charged date. They have taken place in all parts of the world and at both ends of the political spectrum.

I often ask myself whether, despite the danger and suffering posed by the violence, zeal, and totalism of apocalpytic movements, we would want a human history deprived of millennial vision. Our dream-making capacity, our capacity to imagine, can give birth to the good as well as to the bad. Over the centuries, for example, this-worldly peace movements with more limited goals have made their mark. During the religious wars in sixteenth-century France, peasants finally joined forces to prevent any soldier, Protestant or Catholic, from crossing their fields and destroying their crops. In our own time, among many examples, think of the peace-making role of some Catholic and Protestant women in Ireland, of some Israeli and Palestinian women in the Holy Land, and of worldwide peace efforts in regard to nuclear weapons.

Our dream-making capacity can give birth to the good as well as to the bad.

History reminds us that no matter how static the present looks, change can take place, things can be different. History reminds us that no matter how bleak and constrained the situation, human initiative is put into play in opposition, improvisation, and transformation. The end results are not always what was wanted, are sometimes quite unexpected, but they then inspire new effort. No matter what happens, people try to do something about it and tell stories about it and bequeath them to the future. The past urges us toward new commitment, and also offers us a source of hope. ❑

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SARAH SOLIE

We started TIKKUN because we wanted to read a magazine that embraced the tradition of Jewish social justice; a publication with a commitment to progressive politics *and* spirituality that could take on right-wing cultural demagogues; a voice that spoke to our hunger for meaning and our desire to live in communion with each other, the earth, and God. Today, TIKKUN *is* that magazine.

TIKKUN features the most prominent voices in contemporary American spirituality—writers like Ken Wilber, Sharon Salzberg, and Daniel Berrigan—who look beyond narcissism towards a spiritual commitment that is socially and politically engaged.

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A Jewish Agenda *for the* New Millennium

Rami Shapiro

Regardless of which calendar you live by, the shift to the year 2000 carries with it an opportunity to think about the future. As part of that thinking process I would like to add the following items to the Jewish agenda for the new millennium.

1. The end of "non-Jews." There is no such thing as a "non-Jew." There are Christians, Hindus, Muslims, Buddhists, secularists, atheists, and any number of other identities, but no one identifies him or herself as a "non-Jew." If we Jews are to enter into meaningful dialogue with the multiform faiths and philosophies of the world, we must strike the word "non-Jew" from our vocabulary; we must cease defining people by what they are not, and begin to understand them for what they are.

2. The end of denominations. God commanded us to be holy, not Orthodox or Reform. There are only two kinds of Jews: serious and not serious. Serious Jews place Judaism at the center of their lives; not serious Jews place Judaism on the periphery. Serious Jews, from the most halachic to the most humanist, share a love of and commitment to Jewish civilization that can form the basis for real dialogue and cooperation. Let us redirect our energies, financial and spiritual, away from denominational competition and toward creative cooperation among serious Jews.

3. A marriage of science and soul. Conventional Jewish theology is anachronistic, incapable of embracing the scientific truths revealed by chaos and complexity theories, quantum mechanics, and contemporary biology. Let us fund a serious ongoing conversation among Jewish mystics, rabbis, scholars, and scientists aimed at creating a new (or renewed) Jewish vocabulary for talking about God.

4. Reclaiming Jesus. Jesus the Jew, as opposed to Jesus the Christ, is the most influential Jew of all time. Yet we have allowed the horrors perpetrated in his name to prevent us from claiming him as one of our own. We need to enter the debate on the historical Jesus, adding to the authentic picture of Jesus as a first-century Jewish mystic, reformer, and healer. We need to help the world understand not the religion about Jesus, but the religion of Jesus, the religion to which we have remained true for thousands of years.

5. Reclaiming the Feminine. In our ancestors' attempt to distinguish themselves from their Goddess-worshipping neighbors, they lost touch with the feminine side of God, life, and humanity. We must reclaim the Shechinah, the feminine presence of God, and integrate the masculine and feminine sides of ourselves as God originally intended. Let us encourage the feminist critique of Judaism, and allow for a real revolution within Judaism as Jewish women and the feminine come to full power in every aspect of Jewish life.

6. Honoring the earth. The Bible celebrates the wonder of nature without falling into the trap of worshipping nature, yet modern Judaism has lost touch with the earthy and the sensual. We must reconnect our holy days with the seasons, and refocus our spiritual energies on honoring the earth as a place filled with the glory of God.

7. A simpler liturgy. The siddur, essentially an anthology of creative liturgical expression, is now a script for lengthy and repetitive services. We need to focus on praying, not prayers; on opening to God, not reading every page of the book. We need to create a new liturgy and service style that effectively blends body, heart, mind, and soul in a celebration of God and godliness.

8. Put the "shh" back in Shabbat. Shabbat is our day for *teshuvah*, returning our attention to the breath of God that animates us, and reentering the inner silence that reveals the supreme identity of God, woman, man, and nature. We need to make Shabbat a time for mindfulness, meditation, contemplation, and silence.

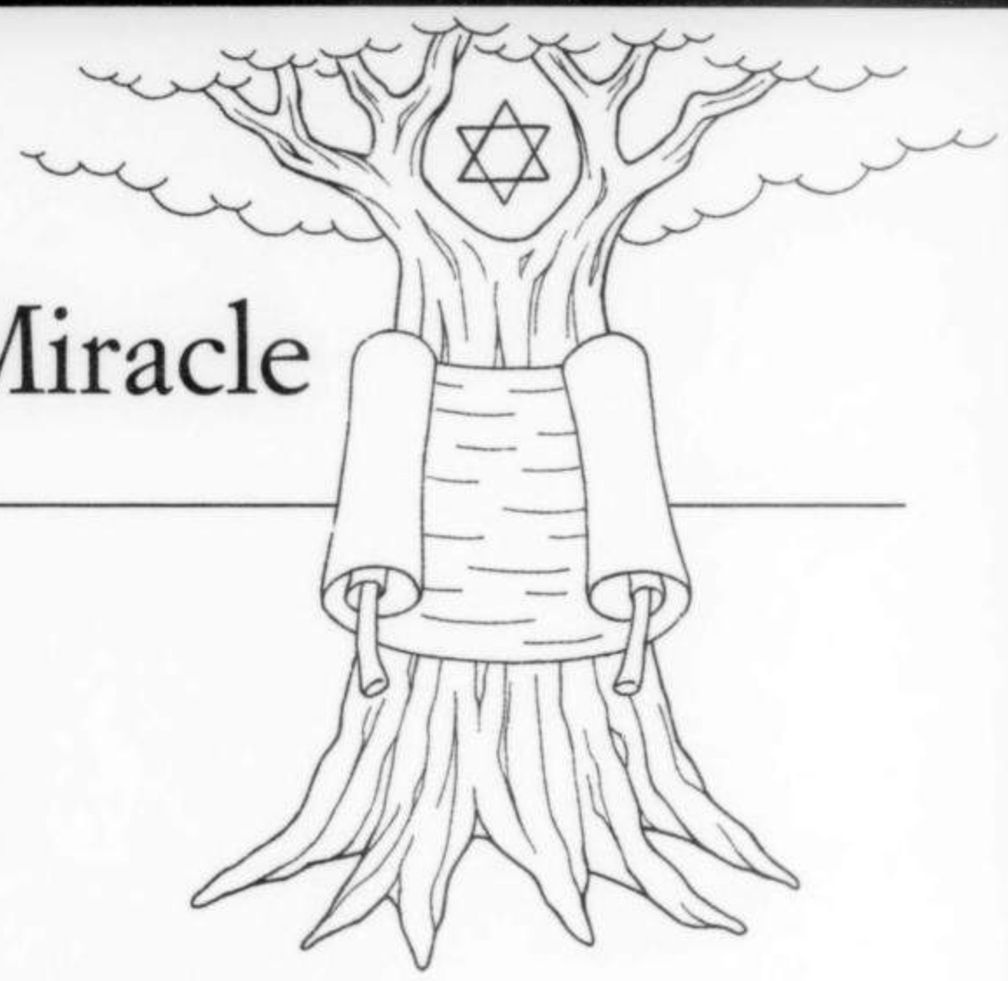
9. Mainstreaming the mystical. There are three fundamental facets to Judaism: culture, ethics, and spirituality. For the past fifty years we have emphasized the first often at the expense of the last, and yet we have failed to make Jewish practice compelling. Why? Because we tried to make an end out of what is essentially a means. Tradition is the means by which we live our ethical and spiritual values; without these the motions of the body are sporadic spasms of meaningless nostalgia. We must reclaim the inner life of Judaism by opening to, and recasting for our own time, the deep wisdom of our Hasidic and Musar masters. We have to speak powerfully of the soul, the inner life of mystical awakening. We have to

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Rami Shapiro is rabbi of Temple Beth Or and spiritual director of the Sh'ma Center for Jewish Meditation in Miami, Florida. He is the author of Wisdom of the Jewish Sages, Minyan, *and* The Way of Solomon. *He can be reached at rabbirami@simplyjewish.com.*

TREE OF LIFE

A Chanukah Forest Miracle



Matt Biers-Ariel

"If not for the trees, human life could not exist."
—Sifre Deuteronomy 20:19

Long ago, before science understood the critical role that trees play in the world's ecosystems, Jews understood their importance, celebrating trees in stories and protecting them in law. It is no accident that the Torah itself is likened to a tree, the Tree of Life.

Yet today approximately 78 percent of the old-growth forests in the world have been destroyed. (In the United States the number is 96 percent.) Rather than putting a moratorium on the logging of these ecologically critical forests, we have accelerated their destruction during the past decade. Unless saved by a miracle, the vast majority of remaining old-growth forests in the world will soon be gone.

Miracles happen.

This year Chanukah came early for the old-growth forests on the chopping block—August 26, 1999, to be exact. This was the day when the *landsmen* who founded and currently run the world's largest lumber yard, Home Depot, changed the company policy of selling old-growth lumber and wood products; they will phase them out by 2003. As the industry leader, Home Depot will exert a tremendous amount of pressure on other companies to follow suit. In addition, Arthur Bank, CEO of Home Depot, wants the company to take a leading role in the marketing of lumber cut with environmentally sensitive and sustainable practices. No question about it, this change in policy is some of the best news that the world's forests have ever received.

Yet only two years ago Home Depot denied that they even sold old-growth wood. What happened between then and now?

The original Chanukah miracle of one day's oil supply burning eight days happened only after the Maccabees waged a successful revolt and booted Antiochus out of Jerusalem. This year's miracle also took place after an extensive revolt. For the record, Home Depot denies that their policy changed as the result of citizen and shareholder action. They claim that they are finally big enough to absorb the cost of phasing out old-growth. "Hmmmm," say the skeptics. "It isn't often that major corporations turn progressive out of their own volition."

The more likely scenario is that a well-organized activist campaign is what turned Home Depot's management into tree huggers. About three years ago Rainforest Action Network began a high-profile campaign to put Home Depot's lumber policy in the news. They organized 700 demonstrations at Home Depot stores, and attended the community planning meetings which Home Depot holds prior to opening a site. (After one such meeting, Racine, Wisconsin prevented Home Depot from building a store.) The apex of RAN's media campaign was a five-story banner flown from the top of Home Depot's new world headquarters in Atlanta, reading, "STOP SELLING OLD GROWTH WOOD."

While RAN worked in the public arena, As You Sow, an organization that tries to change corporate behavior through company shareholders, filed a shareholder resolution asking the Home Depot management to prepare a report on what would be needed for the company to phase out old-growth wood. After an extensive lobbying effort to Home Depot's largest shareholders, a large minority voted for the resolution at a May 1999 shareholder's meeting, thus proving to management that this issue was one that would not go away.

Some say miracles don't happen anymore. That's not true. Miracles happen in the same way they have almost always happened. Through hard work, people create an opening to let the miracle in.

Over time the miracle of the original Chanukah was tarnished by a corrupt Hasmonean leadership. At this point, Home Depot has not announced the specifics of its phase-out plan. Therefore, for the August 26 policy directive to truly prove to be a clemency for the world's old-growth forests and not become tarnished, the activist campaign should continue.

To reach Home Depot call (770) 433-8211 or write 2455 Paces Ferry Road, Atlanta, Georgia 30039. The president is Bernie Marcus. The CEO is Arthur Bank, who happens to be the chairman of this year's United Jewish Appeal. To find out more about As You Sow call (415) 391-3212. Rainforest Action Network can be reached on the Web at www.ran.org or by phone at (415) 398-4404. ❑

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Chanukah

CELEBRATING THE WORLD'S FIRST RECORDED NATIONAL LIBERATION STRUGGLE

evening of December 3 through December 10, 1999

• The Ritual •

Each night of Chanukah we light candles, starting with the shamash (used to light the others) and one candle, and then adding one additional candle each night for a total of eight nights. The tradition is to sing, dance, and rejoice in our liberation and our freedom.

THE TRADITIONAL BLESSINGS OVER THE CANDLES:

• *All nights:* •

1. Baruch atah Adonai, Eloheynu Melech ha'olam, asher kidshanu bemitzvotav, vetzivanu, lehadleek ner, shel chanukah.

(Blessed are you, the Force that rules all of existence, who sanctifies us by giving us a way of life directed by holy commandments and commanded us to light the lights of Chanukah.)

2. Baruch atah Adonai, Eloheynu Melech ha'olam, she'asah nisim la'avoteynu, bayamim hahem, bazman hazeh.

(Blessed are you, the Force that rules the universe, who made possible miracles for our ancestors, in those days, and also makes the same possible for us in our own times.)

• *Add on the first night:* •

Baruch atah Adonai, Eloheynu Melech ha'olam, shehechiyanu, vekee-imanu, veheeg-iyanu, lazman hazeh.

(Blessed are you, the Force that rules the universe, who has kept us in life, made us flourish, and made it possible for us to reach this happy occasion.)

• The Story •

(The non-mythologized version you may never have heard)

When King Cyrus of Persia allowed the remnants of the ancient tribes of Judah and Benjamin to return from the exile imposed upon them by Babylonian conquerors in the seventh century before the common era (BCE), they formed the kingdom of Judea. As part of the Persian Empire, and later as part of the empire of Alexander the Great, Judea had relative autonomy to shape its own internal religious life.

When Alexander died at the end of the fourth century BCE, his empire split into three rival factions, and Judea was caught between two of them: the Seleucids, centered in Syria, and the Ptolemies, centered in Egypt. For the next hundred-fifty years, these two kingdoms warred and each sought to incorporate Judea as part of its empire.

Although the battle was largely military, there was an important ideological dimension. Alexander had introduced the Jews to Hellenistic Greek culture—its philosophy, its literature, and its impressive technology and power. Forcibly dragged into the larger Mediterranean world, many Jews could see that "the real world" was dominated by wealth and power. Some Jews, primarily those who lived in and around the larger cities, saw an opportunity to join this larger world by becoming merchants and traders, or by establishing political and economic relationships with others in the Hellenistic empire. It was apparent to these Jews that their tribal religion would have little meaning to those who had conquered the world. The religion of their fathers seemed irrelevant in a world reshaped by the "modern" realities of science; they were drawn by the allure of a society that worshiped the body and saw reality in terms of what could be tasted, touched, and directly experienced by the senses.

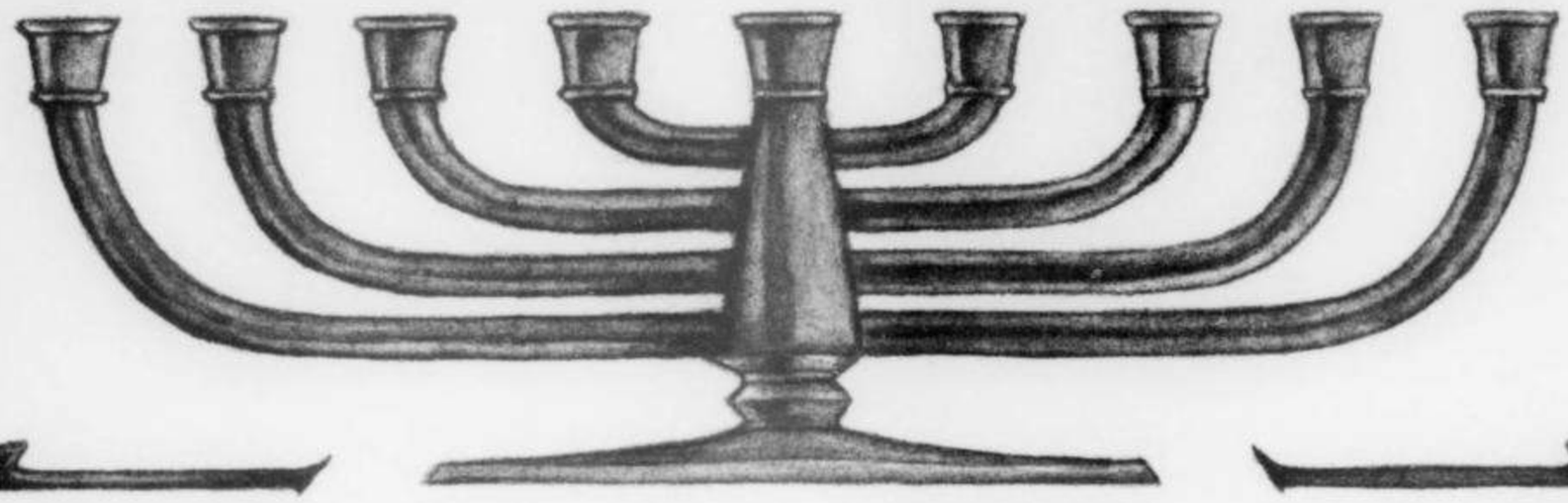
These Jewish Hellenizers saw no point in resisting Greek rule. Their goal was to live in peace with the powers that ran the world. They could benefit from the connection to the expanding trade of the Hellenistic world. On the other hand, the vast majority of the Jewish people were small, independent farmers, who lived on the land and brought its produce to Jerusalem three times each year to celebrate their hard-won freedom from slavery. They bore the brunt of the oppressive taxes imposed first by the Greeks, and then, alternately, by Seleucids and Ptolemies. These Jews resented foreign rule and detested the city-dwelling elites who seemed to be culling favor with the Hellenistic conquerors, imitating their ways, abandoning the religion of the past, and becoming worshippers at the shrine of political and cultural "reality."

Judea's plight worsened considerably in the early part of the second century with the ascendence to the throne of the Seleucid Antiochus IV. Claiming that he wanted to "protect" Judea from the Ptolemies, Antiochus invaded Judea and marched toward Egypt, where his armies were defeated. He turned back to Judea and attempted to impose Hellenistic culture by force. He ordered the Temple in Jerusalem to sacrifice to the Greek gods and forbade the practice of circumcision, kashrut, and observance of the Sabbath.

To the already assimilated elites of the city, the new rules were insensitive, but did not constitute a major crisis. Perhaps Antiochus was a boor, but the culture he represented was "happening," while the Jewish religion he forbade was a remnant of the past.

Yet many of the people in the countryside, burdened by Seleucid taxes that expropriated more of their wealth, found the Hellenists' narcissistic fascination with their own power repugnant. The essence of their now-banned religion was its insistence that there was a single God governing the universe who made possible freedom from oppression. It was in the name of that God that they joined a rebellion against the Seleucids under the leadership of a country priest named Mattathais and his five sons (of whom Judah became the most famous, known as "the hammer" or Maccabee).

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These Maccabees, as they came to be known, rejected the notion, shared by their contemporary Jewish establishment, that it would be pointless to fight, that one would do best by appeasing the ruling class, learning their language and ways, and accepting their system of oppression. The Maccabees understood Judaism as teaching that "the spirit of the people was greater than the man's technology," or, in traditional Jewish terms, "not by power, and not by might, but by My spirit, says the Lord of Hosts."

To fight against superior military force was totally illogical and unrealistic from the Hellenizers' standpoint. But the Maccabees rejected assessments of "realism" that derived from the framework imposed by the imperialists, and drew instead upon the Jewish religion and the stubborn spirit of a people who had come to believe that every human being was created in the divine image, hence had a right to be treated with respect and decency. These were people who could not submit to the rule of the imperialist, and whose religion taught them that they need not, because the central Power of the universe was a power that rejected the reality of oppression. Their Torah told the tale of their origins in a slave rebellion against another imperialist power thought to be invincible—Egypt of the Pharaohs.

Armed with these stories, the Maccabees and their followers used guerrilla tactics to win the first national liberation struggle in recorded history. In 165 BCE they retook Jerusalem, purified and rededicated the Temple (*chanukah* means dedication), and rekindled the eternal light that was to glow therein. The fighting continued many years more, but eventually the Maccabees and their descendants (called Hashmona'im) set up an independent Jewish state.

Unfortunately, that state degenerated as the Hashmona'im tried to become a nation like all other nations, adopting the same perversions of state power that other nations adopted, and becoming "realistic" and hence spiritually and morally corrupt.

The rabbis who shaped rabbinic Judaism, depressed at the defeat of Jewish rebellions against Rome and, aware of the moral degeneration of the Hashmona'im, tried, by focusing on a story about a miracle of a pot of oil that kept the Chanukah lights burning for eight nights, to downplay Chanukah's importance and reframe it into a minor "religious" event. But the Jewish people intuitively recognized that something miraculous had happened. The miracle was this: a critical mass of people had come to recognize that there was a Force in the world that made possible the transformation of what is to what ought to be (the Force that we call God). That recognition, when it takes hold of large numbers of people, becomes a manifestation of God's presence, and in that presence "the power of the people," suffused with divine energy, becomes greater than all the technology and manipulations of the most sophisticated forms of oppression.

Some right-wing Zionists today, believing in military power as the primary way to create security for Israel, have turned might into their god. They believe they are being "realistic" to think that peace and reconciliation are impossible, and that Jewish survival depends on strength. Yet this way of thinking is Hellenism—the validation of that which is and the inability to commit to that which ought to be. We affirm a different vision of strength. Our survival and the survival of the entire planet, depend on our ability to create a world of love and caring, a world of peace and justice, a world in which every human being is treated as an embodiment of the spirit of God. The possibility of building such a world was precisely what Hellenism denied, and precisely what we affirm when we take God seriously.

• Making It Real •

In the contemporary world, Jews have turned Chanukah into a Christmas clone, trying to give their children and each other gifts to approximate the gift-giving frenzy that has been particularly promoted by the capitalist market. We need to find creative ways to give of our talents, our love and creativity—but if we can't resist the pressure of the market to equate love with buying materials goods, we undermine the spiritual message of Chanukah: that the world as constituted, with all its distortions, and with all of its incredible power to shape our sense of need and desire, can nevertheless be fundamentally changed, healed, transformed and rededicated to higher spiritual purpose.

What follows is a spiritual exercise that you can try with your family as a way to give this message more immediacy in our lives.

Try these exercises and you will see how Chanukah can have a different focus than a mere fixation on who has received the best presents.

EACH EVENING, pick a theme in which you allow yourself to imagine how things could be if they were the way they ought to be. Then tell in detail what would have to happen in order for your vision to be made real, and how you might participate in some way in its actualization. Everyone in the family, TIKKUN discussion group, circle of friends, or any other group observing the ritual will share his or her answer.

For example, imagine changes in your:

1. world of work
2. relationship with your parents
3. Jewish community
4. your neighborhood and relationship with neighbors
5. society
6. American politics
7. social change movements
8. larger world

Share your vision with others and listen, without criticizing, to theirs. Then rejoice and sing songs of celebration and of struggle—both Chanukah songs, and songs from other liberation struggles around the world.

Please reproduce this and encourage friends to use it as a guide for constructing their own meaningful Chanukah observance. And urge them to subscribe to TIKKUN magazine (send $29 to TIKKUN, P.O. Box 460926, Escondido, CA 92046.) Written by Michael Lerner, editor of TIKKUN, in memory of his beloved mother.

The Peaceful Maccabee

A Ceremony for the Eight Nights of Chanukah

by Rabbi Leah Novick

On Chanukah we usually honor the Maccabees, brave men who fought with the sword against injustice. This year, we choose also to honor those courageous women who, throughout our history, have challenged injustice—not with the sword, but with word and deed. Each night, choose one of the women described below—a woman from our past—or choose a woman you know, a friend or relative, who has made a difference in the life of the community; read or tell her story. After each reading, everyone listening should repeat the woman's name and say, "Zichronah Livrachah, May her memory be a blessing." Then say the blessings over the Chanukiah and light the first candle of that night in her memory. You may also perform the entire ritual on the eighth night, which falls this year on Rosh Chodesh Tevet, "the New Moon of the Daughters." May the light of these women's lives continue to illuminate us.

Shamash:

Shlom Zion ha Malkah (Salome Alexandra)

Queen of Israel, first century BCE.

This ritual is devoted to one of the last Hasmonean rulers, "Shlom Zion ha Malkah," who brought peace and prosperity to Israel after the turbulent years associated with the later Maccabean dynasty. Shlom Zion (as the Talmud refers to her) or Salome Alexandra was married to Judah Aristobolus, the first Hasmonean to take the title of king and high priest in 104 BCE.

Her husband died of a fatal illness before she had any children, leading to a levirate marriage with the successor, his twenty-two-year-old brother, Alexander Jannai, with whom she had two sons. Alexander Jannai was associated with the upper-class Sadducees and persecuted the Pharisees, whom Shlom Zion supported. During Alexander Jannai's reign (considered tyrannical by historians), the head of the religious parliament, Rabbi Shimon Ben Shetach, was forced into exile.

However, on his deathbed, Alexander Jannai bequeathed the kingdom to Shlom Zion. She assumed the monarchy at age sixty-four and reinstated Rabbi Shimon and the Sanhedrin, an act which led to many educational and religious reforms, including the development of the marital contract, the *ketubah*.

The Talmud praises her wisdom and piety, indicating an almost messianic quality to the nine years she was in power: a time of abundance, justice, and peace. Historians cite her role in foreign policy; some credit her with successfully maintaining the kingdom against the surrounding empires through clever diplomacy.

Candle One:

Namnah "Bat ha Levi" of Baghdad

Eleventh-century Persian scholar.

A beautiful and wise teacher, Namnah lectured to rabbinical students in the Yeshivah of her father, Rabbi Shmuel Ben Eli, the enlightened eleventh-century Gaon of Baghdad.

Rabbi Petachiah of Regensburg described Namnah (also called Bat ha Levi) as follows:

"She is an expert in Scripture and Talmud. She gives instruction in scripture to young men through a window. She herself is within the building; whilst the disciples are below outside and do not see her."

Stories about Bat ha Levi say that her fiancé, a scholar named Azariah, died before their wedding—considered a bad omen in those days. Soon after, she and her father are said to have passed away on the same day! Their graves were regarded as sacred by Persian Jews, who made pilgrimages to the site.

Candle Two:

Dulcie of Worms

Twelfth-century communal leader (martyred 22nd Kislev 1196).

Dulcie of Worms was part of a distinguished family of scholarly Franco-German Jews associated with the academies of higher learning in the cities of Worms, Mayence, and Speier. She was the great-granddaughter of the renowned French commentator "Rashi"(Rabbi Shlomo Yitzchaki, 1040–1105).

In a poem, Dulcie's husband, the renowned Rabbi Eliezer Ben Yehudah of Worms, describes her religious devotion as well as her work in leading women's prayers in the synagogue and teaching women in various cities. He tells us that she supported his scholarly work with her business activities, provided room and board for his students, and also escorted brides, sewed Torah scrolls, made candles for the synagogue, etc.

Rebbetzin Dulcie also instructed her two daughters, named Belet and Chana. Both of the girls and Rebbetzin Dulcie were brutally murdered in 1196, between the second and third crusades, when two Soldiers of the Cross broke into their house. Despite her heroic efforts to save them, both girls were killed. Her son was wounded in the same incident and later died.

Candle Three:

Rebbetzin Mizrachi

Sixteenth-centur, Kurdistani scholar and administrator.

In Amadiyah, Kurdistan, where women were held in high esteem and Jews traced their origins to the Assyrian exile, a sixteenth-century scholar offered his learned daughter, an only child, in marriage to Rabbi Jacob Mizrachi. The contract contained the stipulation that she never be troubled with housework.

The new "Rebetzin" Mizrachi (who is referred to by some authors as Osnath Barazani, the daughter of poet Samuel Barazani) worked as a teacher in her husband's yeshivah and assumed its administration, freeing her husband to pursue his studies. Unfortunately, his death left her with two young children and a school with limited funds.

She maintained the school, with her son, for many years

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despite financial difficulties. In fact, her poverty has made us richer: her fundraising appeals, drafted in poetic Hebrew, have survived to document her learning, humility, and courage in the face of adversity.

Candle Four:

Sarah Bat Tovim

Early-eighteenth-century eastern European liturgist.

Sarah Bat Tovim is usually identified as a *firzogerin* (foresayer) who led and interpreted the prayers in the women's section of the synagogue. She wrote special prayers for women, known as *techinot*, which were usually drafted in Yiddish.

Sarah compiled religious pamphlets for women which included language to accompany the female mitzvot (challah, candles, and *mikvah*) and prayers for Rosh Chodesh (new moon) and High Holidays. The two booklets attributed to her are *Sheker ha Chen* (*Beauty is Deceptive*) and *Shlosha Shearim* (*Three Gates*).

The style of the early drafters of women's techinot was often emulated by male writers, eager to enter the techinah market. For that reason scholars debate Sarah Bat Tovim's historical authenticity. Whether she is archetypal or biologically real, she represents an early genre of female religious writer and teacher.

Candle Five:

Soreh Bezalel

Late-eighteenth-century woman of valor.

The story of Soreh Bezalel reflects the kind of faith and courage we associate with the tales of Ruth and Queen Esther. As a beautiful young woman in Germany, she proposed to an elderly teacher, Reb Yoseph, for whom she had great respect. The "Melamed" was amazed and agreed only after being convinced that Soreh was endangered by the advances of the local nobleman, who had threatened to kidnap her when she rejected his proposals.

After their secret marriage and escape to southern Poland, Soreh gave birth to Yehudah Leib Ben Bazalel, who would become an important member of the Baal Shem's circle. Not long after the boy's birth, her husband died.

Soreh raised the boy by herself, guiding him toward involvement with Chasiduth. He was assigned by the Baal Shem Tov and later the Maggid of Mezerich to the ransoming of Jewish captives. The early Hasidim honored his mother by calling him Rabbi Leib Soreh's, after his mother.

Candle Six:

Penina Moise

Early-nineteenth-century Sephardic-American writer.

Penina Moise, a religious poet, was the first Jew to publish a book of poetry in the United States. An acknowledged contributor to the majority culture, she did so without diminishing her commitment to Jewish life and values. Her hymns, which she wrote for the congregation in her community of Charleston, South Carolina, were later compiled in Reform and Conservative hymnals.

Her Sephardic family emigrated from Alsace to the West Indies and from there to the American South. Once wealthy, they lost all their resources, and Penina's life became one of hardship after the death of her father when she was twelve years old. This was also the year she began publishing her poems.

Clearly precocious in understanding and responsibility, she resented the fact that girls could not have a bar mitzvah and were denied more advanced Jewish education. She is also known to have scoffed at the traditional daily prayer "Thank God, I was not created a woman," indicating that contemporary feminism has deep roots.

A lifetime of financial hardship and prolific writing culminated in the loss of her eyesight during her later years. Though she lived a long, productive, and saintly life her epitaph reflects a sadness that is not uncommon among accomplished Jewish women whose energies were directed to caring for others:

Lay no flowers on my grave
They are for those who live in the sun
And I have always lived in the shadow

Candle Seven:

Rachel Luzzato-Morpurgo

Nineteenth-century Italian mystical poet.

Most acknowledge that Kabbalah as a mystic philosophy brought the Shechinah (female presence of God) into prominence in Jewish thinking. Yet despite its emphasis on the female sacred energy, the movement is associated by all as being an exclusively male domain. One of the few identified female kabbalistic scholars was Rachel Luzzato, a descendant of the Italian kabbalist Moses Chaim Luzzato.

Her family, who were quite prominent, settled in Trieste where she was schooled in Biblical Hebrew, Aramaic, and secular subjects. She became conversant with the Talmud as a teenager and later studied the Zohar. She began writing poetry at the age of eighteen and continued to do so during her marriage to Jacob Morpurgo, in which she bore four children.

Living under strained financial conditions she nevertheless continued her writing and correspondence with other scholars. Despite a demanding domestic life in which she carried out all the housework and child care for her family, she produced the numerous poems that comprise the book *Rachel's Harp*.

Candle Eight:

Malkele Die Triskerin

Nineteenth-century eastern European Hasidic rebbe.

The practice of receiving contributions from the affluent to care for less fortunate members of the community was common Hasidic practice. The women who shaped the development of this form of philanthropy included "Malkele die Triskerin"—Malka the Rebbe of Trisk—who is known for her sponsorship of public meals for the needy. She reputedly held court and received petitions twice a day, indicating a rigorous schedule of responding to her Hasidim.

Malka was the daughter of Reb Avrohom of Trisk, a descendant of the Chernobyler Rebbe. After her husband Efraim's death, Malka assumed the direction of the court and was known for her love of music. She organized a choir of great singers and enjoyed Hasidic singing and dancing after every festive meal.

JUDAISM

The Eros of the Holy



Mordechai Gafni

"The greater the spiritual stature of a person the greater their sexual passion."
—Talmud: Tractate Sukkah

What does sexuality in its essential nature teach us about the nature of the holy? The implication of this question may strike some as odd because we too often forget that sexuality and holiness are of the same essential stuff. Modernity, despite its profound contribution to the evolution of the spirit, has done us a disservice in its demand that genital sexuality fulfill all of our deepest erotic needs.

Sexuality in fact is but one expression of our erotic drive. At its core, eros is the essential vitality of our being and is virtually synonymous with the sacred. It therefore follows that to place the burden of our erotic fulfillment exclusively on sexual eros fosters pathology and disease and can only result in the disenchantment of the universe. And yet our intuitive focus on the sexual as the seat of eros is not without basis. Indeed, sexuality is vitally important not only as a core expression of eros but as a fundamental model for the holy. Making this implied model conscious and intentional within our sexual lives is a key to becoming conscious of the holy; it is a primary expression of what the kabbalists call "redeeming the sparks."

In the kabbalist Isaac Luria's creation myth, vessels filled with God's primordial light shatter, leaving sparks of that light hidden in the vessels' shards. For Luria the process of raising those sparks is the point of existence. Perhaps the prime innovation of post-Lurianic Hasidic thinkers is to understand this process as an internal psychospiritual dynamic which plays itself out in human consciousness. That dynamic extends to the erotic: to uncover the holy that forms the inner core of sexual eros is to redeem the sparks. In this column, I'd like to introduce eight qualities of sexuality that express the eight demarcating characteristics of the holy.

The first quality that the sexual models for the holy is intensity and her twin sister depth. The opposite of the holy is not the profane but the superficial. As in the true sexual experience, there is no greater enemy of the intensity of holiness than the deadening ennui of routine. Although intensity and depth are not qualities which can be our constant companions, our peak experiences are always noteworthy for their presence. For that reason, one cannot enter the temple of eros at all times: "they shall not come at all times to the holy." Preparation is required. Intensity which lacks the vessels to hold it may be a shattering and damaging experience.

The second feature that sexuality models for the holy is its pleasurable nature. Authentic experiences of the holy yield great pleasure because, as biblical kabbalistic consciousness teaches us, God is our lover whose motivation for creation is to give pleasure. Within kabbalistic under-

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Mordechai Gafni is a rebbe and scholar in Jerusalem. He serves as director of Minad and as the Melitz scholar-in-residence. This essay is taken from his forthcoming book, Soulprints. *Copyright © 1999 by Mordechai Gafni.*

standing, terror cannot be the basis for our relationship with the Divine. It is almost trite to point out that such an understanding is a far cry from the antipleasure motifs that flourish in other religious systems as well as within the Jewish tradition itself (see, for example, David Biale's *Eros and the Jews*).

The third quality of eros modeled by the sexual is for me best understood by a reading of an obscure passage from an equally obscure Hasidic work by Mordechai Lainer, the Rebbe of Ishpitz. R. Lainer explains the Talmud's assertion that Jacob never died by arguing that Jacob never experienced the horror of death. If death is defined by the pain of our sharp transition from a fleeting temporality to the infinity of eternity, Jacob never experienced death because he was able to taste eternity already in his old age. "Successful" old age, implies Lainer, is the time when we are able to experience the eternity that resides in a moment.



At this point in his interpretation, Lainer asks a seemingly unrelated question. Immediately following the passage on Jacob's death, the Talmud discusses Rahav, the famous harlot from the time of Joshua. The Talmud says that anyone who (carnally?) knew Rahav, even if it was many years past, would have an involuntary emission at the mere conjuring up of her image. What, asks Lainer, has Rahav to do with the question of Jacob's death? Lainer's implicit understanding is that both passages are about the same topic—eros. The spiritual work of life, which climaxes paradoxically in old age, is to be able to experience the full infinity of every moment. In the midst of extremely hectic lives, lives in which each moment blurs into the next, only the sexual experience gives us the ability to make the present fully available in each moment. Moreover, the moment revealed to us by sexuality does not get lost. If I knew Rahav once, I can recover the eternity and glory of that moment, even many years later. The spiritual goal of old age, as we recollect the experiences of our past, is for eros to shatter the boundaries of the sexual and make each moment holy by making each moment fully present for us. In old age, suggests Lainer, time literally stands still. It is potentially the great triumph of eros.

Lainer's discussion leads us directly to the fourth quality of holiness and eros. Both must be what Biblical consciousness terms *lishmah*, "for their own sake," or, more literally, "for the sake of the name." The name is what transforms sex into eros and the "it" of anonymity into the "thou" of holiness. Lishmah expresses the fully focused intentionality of an act—it means that the activity in which I am engaging is the end itself. According to Jewish law the objects of holiness—the Torah scroll, the mezuzah parchment, and the phylacteries parchment—all must be written lishmah. Similarly, the subjects of eros, the marriage and divorce documents, must be written lishmah. Lishmah is the opposite of the utilitarian networking that so defines our relationships and instead refers to the fully personal I-thou relationship in which the other is the subject of my presence and not the object of my manipulation. Sexuality models lishmah, for sex in its redeemed sense is one of the few areas of the world where we are not seeking any manipulative gain. The goal and object of sexuality is sexuality itself. In its ideal form, then, the eros of sexuality once again models the eros of holiness.

The fifth area in which the eros of sexuality models the eros of holiness is in the nature of giving and receiving. Without radical giving, coupled with the ability for radical receiving, sexuality remains unerotic. In order to have ultimately fulfilling sexuality, the desire to give must be fully independent of any quid pro quo. Unconditional giving must be the order of the day. Further, the ability to be open and vulnerable, to the extent that one can fully receive an other, must be equally unconditional. If either of these two ingredients is missing, sex can still happen but eros is not a possibility. So it is as well with the eros of God love. We give God our full loyalty and love and receive from God infinite love and pleasure. Simultaneously, God gives to us unconditionally, as an expression of the radical divine desire to love and grant pleasure. The kabbalists teach that God also makes divinity vulnerable and open in order to receive the love and pleasure which we give to God.

The eros of giving and receiving, however, modeled in redeemed sexuality, goes one crucial step further. On the face of things there is an essential difference between giving and receiving. Indeed we generally hold them to be opposites of one another. The eros of sexuality teaches that this opposition is only apparent. For, as is well known, in a sexual relationship giving and receiving fully merge into one. We derive pleasure in giving pleasure. We also give pleasure in the act of receiving. The eros of sexuality allows us then to redeem the apparent antinomy of giving and receiving.

The sixth dimension modeled by the eros of sexuality, not unrelated to the fifth, is in the area of defining self. We moderns have an almost desperate need to be in control. The rugged individualist who is captain of his fate and master of his destiny is our cultural spiritual model. And yet we know in some deeper place that we cannot always, nor is it desirable for us to always, maintain control. The eros of sex is the place where we learn to give up control. And a great truth is revealed to us. In the act of letting go—of giving ourselves up—in the *la petite mort* (the little death) of orgasm, we find ourselves as well. At the very moment when the self is lost, it is rediscovered, in higher and more brilliant form. Once again sexual eros models for us a moving beyond old contradictions. Self-control is not the sole cauldron in which self is forged. Losing control with holy intentionality becomes the place where finding higher self becomes a genuine possibility.

(continued on page 68)

The Jewish Stake in Community Development



Lawrence Bush and Jeffrey Dekro

"Possessions!" sings Tevye in *Mad* magazine's 1973 send-up of *Fiddler on the Roof*—"Possessions!" instead of "Tradition!"

How did a million-plus Tevyes and Goldas, immigrants to America from a poor and persecuted people, become wealthy enough within only two generations to earn a lambasting in *Mad*?

The story begins with a $95 investment in New York, a $64 investment in Seattle, and similar amounts tendered by groups of *tzedakah*-conscious Jews in over 500 communities across the United States. With these tiny sums, Hebrew Free Loan societies were established. With their assistance, immigrant Jews were able to survive the rigors of the sweatshop economy and to sustain growing businesses despite the anti-Semitism of the pre-Depression years, when "only one bank in all of New England and one in the Middle Atlantic extended credit to Jews" (Henry Feingold, *The Jewish People in America, Vol. IV*). Self-help credit groups thus created "the most important Jewish asset … credit lines that permitted capital to be transferred from one generation to another and from one group to another within the community."

In New York in 1897, 387 pushcart peddlers were among the borrowers; by 1913, the list included 259 grocers and 136 candy store owners (see Jenna Weissman Joselit's *Lending Dignity*). This was "micro-enterprise" lending at its best, fulfilling what Judaism has always taught to be the "highest degree" of *tzedakah*—the making of a loan or partnership to enable the poor to lift themselves out of poverty. So powerful was the sense of partnership that not a single Hebrew Free Loan failed throughout the Depression, according to Dr. Shelley Tenenbaum, who has done groundbreaking work on the role of women in the Jewish free loan movement.

Now fast-forward to our own day, when similar self-help strategies are creating jobs, housing, and local economies in impoverished urban and rural communities under the rubric of "community development." For some thirty years, community development financial institutions (CDFIs) have been working to overcome the legacy of bank redlining and capital flight by delivering credit and the "technical services" (that is, person-to-person involvement) needed to maximize the impact of that credit to low-income communities across the United States. CDFIs now manage some $4 billion in capital and boast an overall loan-loss rate on a par with that of commercial banks. Their contribution to the fight against poverty is incontestable, and has received strong support from Congress as well as the Clinton administration. Until very recently, however, Jewish institutional involvement in the community development movement has been minimal, despite the example set by the massive involvement of several church denominations—and notwithstanding the legacy of the Hebrew Free Loans.

In 1995 Jeffrey Dekro (one of the writers of this column) discovered that the institutional American Jewish world then controlled some $10 billion in philanthropic and pension fund assets alone, but had invested less than $10 million in secular, low-income community development initiatives.

The challenge was to launch an effort that would tie the many small, local involvements into a visible, national campaign of Jewish CDFI investment. In response, our own organization, The Shefa Fund, began working to win Jewish CDFI investment through the Tzedek Economic Development Campaign (TZEDEC). By the time TZEDEC was officially inaugurated in September 1997, The Shefa Fund had already catalyzed some $2 million in Jewish CDFI investments. To date, that figure has grown to $4.5 million. Late in 1997, the movement for Reform Judaism added weight to the effort by launching CHIP (Chai Investment Program), which promises to invest 1.8 percent of all national Reform institutional assets in CDFIs. For the first time in three decades, there is now a Jewish seat at the community development table.

It is fundamental to understand that Jewish CDFI investment does *not* divert the flow of funds away from Jewish causes. What we are speaking about is how our resources are *invested*, not *spent*. The goal is to see some part of Jewish institutional resources used as capital for human investment—first, by simply switching bank accounts! For synagogues in particular, the locus of *tikkun olam* work thus expands beyond the social action committee to the finance committee—and "Tradition!" and "Possessions!" are combined in a new melody. ❑

ILLUSTRATION BY JOSH MACPHEE

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SIMPLY JEWISH *(continued from page 63)*

link *tikkun ha-nefesh*, care of the soul, with *tikkun ha-olam*, care of the world, so that the false dichotomy of soul and society is shattered, and the deep messianic healing that Judaism promises becomes an existential reality our people can experience, further, and share with the world.

10. A one foot Judaism. Judaism is too complicated. Its message is lost in the sheer enormity of tradition. Like Hillel before us, we need to expound all of Torah while standing on one foot, honoring the rest as commentary. We must begin a dialogue among serious Jews on the essence of Judaism and how to live it, sharing that one foot Judaism with the world and inviting all peoples to confront its challenge to be holy.

The new millennium is not Jewish, and technically it doesn't really start until January 1, 2001. Yet January 1, 2000, carries a psychic punch that few Jews will be able to avoid. So don't avoid it. Make it Jewish. December 31 is a Friday; January 1 is Shabbat. My last wish for the new millennium is to see our synagogues filled with Jews for Shabbos 2000, and to see them begin the great discussion as to how (not who) we will be Jewish in the twenty-first century. ❑

THE EROS OF THE HOLY *(continued from page 66)*

Eros' seventh dimension emerges directly from the giving and receiving characteristics of dimensions five and six. The great existential quest of humanity is the overcoming of alienation. We seek to move beyond our sense of being separate and estranged from our realities. We are seekers of unity and oneness. It is on the eros of sex that this spiritual moment is modeled. Even if but for a fleeting minute, eros is defined by a temporary merging with reality that takes place in the sexual climax. Here again sexual eros models spiritual moments of perfection.

Finally, the eighth holy dimension of eros is the imagination. No form of greatness can be achieved without imagination. It is what allows us to soar beyond the oppression of daily life and prods us to shatter the oppression of abusive powers. Imagination allows us to move beyond what is to what could be. It is, in Michael Lerner's phrase, "the possibility of possibility." In Hasidism all true spiritual progress depends on the prior training of imagination, and the model for the holy erotic imagination of the prophet is the erotic imagination of the sensual. They are rooted in the same source. They are both lions of fire residing in the holy of holies in the temple.

The eight paths of sexual eros, each corresponding to a different level of divine emanation, are our guides to holiness. Each teaches us something about the nature of holy eros. To make our world holy, our goal must be to eroticize all of existence. Sexuality needs to be not only tolerated but set up as a virtual rebbe in the sanctification of the universe. ❑

A JEWISH PERSPECTIVE *(continued from page 13)*

Indonesia itself by providing (at least initially) a wink and a nod at the current Indonesian leadership.

The second lesson to be learned is about intervention. In reality, we had intervened de facto in East Timor the moment the United Nations Secretariat and the Security Council promised a free and fair consultation on Indonesia's autonomy offer. However, the Security Council was not prepared to back that promise with the kinds of protection measures that were necessary to uphold it. For its part, the Secretariat was so eager to move forward with what it hoped would be a much-needed demonstration of UN capacity that it accepted the idea that the Indonesians could be entrusted with the security arrangements required to run a free and fair election and *implement the result*. More importantly, once the failings of the design of the UN electoral mission were finally acknowledged, the international community failed to intervene quickly enough to save lives and prevent massive expulsions. Thus, two weeks of death, destruction, and displacement were permitted while a peacekeeping force was gathered, its composition and mandate debated, and—even as it was sailing from Darwin—issues of deployment, command, and control were still being worked out.

If we believe that future interventions are inevitable, as they most assuredly will be, then we must get serious about establishing an adequately prepared rapid deployment force with predetermined rules of entry and engagement, troop commitments, and standby arrangements. We need to clarify the normative framework for humanitarian interventions and establish the operational guidelines that are essential for effective action, and we must be better prepared morally and materially next time. Such readiness may not resolve the issues of real politik, national interest, and political will that prevented a timely response in East Timor, but it may provide the standard against which to measure our response and, thereby, hasten future actions. Otherwise, as in the case of East Timor, we will find ourselves running through the micro-politics again and again with disastrous results.

The world must not stand idly by and permit a tragedy of this scale to repeat itself. No one saw the East Timor killing fields twenty-five years ago, and no one said: "Never again!" We were complacent before in the face of the murder of a third of the East Timorese people. We must not be again. In this season of Jewish renewal, we must recall our own history and its coincidence with the history of every oppressed people. We must bear witness to what has occurred and insist that this kind of tragedy not re-occur. We must insist that the international community fulfills its promise that those East Timorese who survive will be able to return and build their independent nation. Only then will the Makassae be able to celebrate their Haggadah, recall their suffering and recovery, and share it from generation to generation. ❑

The Love Song *of* Timothy Leary

Paul Krassner



ILLUSTRATIONS BY GARY THARLER

Prologue

During an interview with Timothy Leary several months before his death from prostate cancer in 1996, I brought up the subject of G. Gordon Liddy's 1966 raid on Leary's home.

LEARY: He was a government agent entering our bedroom at midnight. We had every right to shoot him. But I've never owned a weapon in my life. I have never had and never will have a gun around.

KRASSNER: But when you escaped from prison [in 1970], you said, "Arm yourselves and shoot to live. To shoot a genocidal robot policeman in the defense of life is a sacred act."

LEARY: Yeah! I also said "I'm armed and dangerous." I got that directly from [black revolutionary] Angela Davis. I thought it was just funny to say that.

Late in June 1999, "The Smoking Gun," a celebrity true-crime website dedicated to digging up old government documents, made public an old file on Timothy Leary that had just been released by the FBI. In that file, Leary was named as an FBI informant. The story of Leary's cooperation was picked up from cyberspace by the Associated Press and quickly spread across the United States and Europe, in print, on radio, and on TV.

In fact, the "new revelation" about snitching is neither new nor revelatory. Leary devoted an entire chapter of his 1983 autobiography, *Flashbacks*, to a detailed, behind-the-scenes account of what transpired between him and the FBI while he was in prison. And yet, the newsweeklies treated it like news, with snide cuteness to boot. *Time*: "The late counterculture icon of the '60s was an FBI informer. Put that in your pipe and smoke it." *U.S. News & World Report*: "The good doctor's famous injunction was to 'turn on, tune in, drop out.' He never talked about dropping a dime." *Newsweek*: "The '60s LSD guru was an FBI snitch. Revised motto: Tune in, turn on, turn in."

Why did the "news" about Leary—three years after his death—generate such a flurry? Ken Kesey, author of *One Flew Over the Cuckoo's Nest* and leader of the Merry Pranksters, believes that "Tim's power still exists, and that power goes against a very established and stiff-necked grain."

While the "revelation" that Tim Leary had once been a rat made a splash, G. Gordon Liddy once actually *ate* a rat. Literally. He acknowledged in his autobiography, *Will*, that he did this because he had wanted to get over his fear of eating rats. It worked, too. But the essential difference between Leary and Liddy was that Leary wanted people to use LSD as a vehicle for turning themselves on to a higher consciousness, whereas Liddy wanted to put LSD on the steering wheel of columnist Jack Anderson's car, thereby making a political assassination look like an automobile accident. Leary and Liddy first shared the spotlight in 1966 when the fearless Liddy was an assistant district attorney of Dutchess County in upstate New York. There, he led the raid on Leary's borrowed mansion in Millbrook.

Liddy, justifying his action, reported, "The word was that the panties were dropping as fast as the acid."

Leary said that Liddy represented "forces opposed to human evolution."

During the arrest, Leary told Liddy, "The time will come when there will be a statue of me erected in Millbrook."

"The closest you'll get to that," Liddy replied, "is to be burned in effigy."

Liddy had made a shrewd career move, though. Arresting Leary opened the door for the next steps up his professional ladder to the FBI, the CIA, and then on to Richard Nixon's infamous Plumbers (whose job it was to plug "leaks" in the White House). After serving time in prison for his role in Watergate, he started his own counter-terrorist company, played a role on *Miami Vice*, held hands with Betty White on *Password*, and starred in *Nowhere Man* (as a man who fakes

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Paul Krassner's latest books are Impolite Interviews *(Seven Stories Press) and* Pot Stories For the Soul *(High Times Books).*

his own death to throw cops off the trail so he can make a huge drug score). Finally, Liddy got his own talk show. Yet another typical American success story.

Liddy's case against Leary didn't stick, but it helped increase Leary's notoriety, which eventually resulted in his going to prison. In 1970 he received a ten-year sentence for possessing a tiny amount of marijuana—two roaches—planted, he claimed, by the arresting officer.

Leary escaped after serving seven months; he hid out with his wife, Rosemary, in a series of safe houses, then the two left the country (Tim had a shaved head and a false passport). They ended up in Algeria, sheltered at first by Black Panther leader Eldridge Cleaver, himself a fugitive. After a while, the somewhat paranoid Cleaver had Tim and Rosemary kidnapped at gunpoint by Panthers and placed under house arrest. The two managed to escape and went to Switzerland.

President Richard Nixon had labeled Leary "the most dangerous man in America." At the behest of John Mitchell, Nixon's attorney general, the Swiss government imprisoned Tim for a month, but they refused to extradite him to the States. In late 1972, shortly after Tim's release from the Swiss prison, he and Rosemary separated, and Joanna Harcourt-Smith conveniently showed up in Switzerland as a guru-groupie. Tim and Joanna—who called Tim her "perfect love"—quickly became romantically involved and went together to Afghanistan. There, in January 1973, one month after they met, he was arrested by American agents—kidnapped, really, since the Afghans had no extradition treaty with the U.S.—and taken back to the States accompanied by Joanna.

Leary's bail was set at 5 million dollars, the largest in U.S. history. The judge stated, "If he is allowed to travel freely, he will speak publicly and spread his ideas." Facing a total of ninety-five years, Leary was put in solitary confinement at Folsom Prison, right next to Charles Manson. The two "hole-mates" couldn't see each other but they could talk. Manson couldn't understand how Leary gave people acid without trying to control them (as was the CIA's original intention in covert experiments such as MK-ULTRA). "They took you off the streets," Manson explained, "so that I could continue with your work."

At Leary's trial in April 1974, his defense team argued unsuccessfully that when he escaped from prison, he had been in a state of "involuntary intoxication" due to LSD flashbacks. After the trial, he was transferred from Folsom to Vacaville Prison.

One morning just before dawn in May of that year, Leary was quietly taken from Vacaville to a private cell in the Los Angeles Federal Correctional Institution. A state prison official said that the FBI had initiated Leary's move, and he speculated that Leary was "giving testimony about the drug culture." Panic spread from leading members of the drug culture to the radical-politics community. They feared Leary would snitch on the people who had arranged for his original escape. In September 1974, an ad hoc group called People Investigating Leary's Lies (PILL) issued a statement: "We condemn the terrible pressures brought to bear by the government on people in the prisons of this country. We also denounce Timothy Leary for turning state's evidence and marking innocent people for jail in order to get out of jail himself." That same month, Yippie-turned-Yuppie Jerry Rubin and *Berkeley Barb* editor Ken Kelley organized a PILL press conference in Berkeley, under the assumption that the federal government was planning to use Leary's testimony to support criminal charges that were to be filed against radical attorney Michael Kennedy for allegedly helping the Weather Underground orchestrate Leary's escape from prison with funding from the LSD-dealing International Brotherhood of Love. Sitting on the dais were Rubin, Kelley, Leary's former colleague, Ram Dass, poet Allen Ginsberg, and Leary's son, Jack. One by one, they accused Leary of telling preposterous lies to a federal grand jury in Chicago about a non-existent hippie Mafia.

But Ginsberg and Ram Dass had not been informed about the nature of the press conference and were both surprised to learn that it had been called in the name of PILL. Ginsberg asked, "Is this a hotel room in Russia where we turn against our friends? None of you have ever believed a word the police have said to you, but now you want to believe them, because it's easier than continuing to care about this man in prison."

When Jack Leary began reading a statement denouncing his father, it struck me as so distasteful that I impulsively bypassed my role as a reporter and blurted out, "Judge not lest ye be stoned!"

[The highlight of the event was the person who came dressed in a kangaroo costume with boxing gloves to protest the kangaroo-court-like nature of the bitter PILL press conference. I knew it was my old friend, physician Gene Schoenfeld (whose "Dr. Hip" advice column was syndicated in the underground press), because he had called me the previous day to ask if I wanted to wear a kangaroo costume too. Since I was planning to attend as a journalist, I declined his invitation.

Schoenfeld had stashed a whipped-cream pie covered with plastic wrap in the pouch of his kangaroo costume. He hopped into the room, past scores of media people, preparing to smash the pie in Rubin's face. However, he couldn't remove the plastic wrapping with the boxing gloves on his hands. Kelley grabbed him and pulled off his papier-mâché kangaroo head, revealing a frustrated Schoenfeld.]

PILL's overall strategy was to discredit Leary so that the grand jury wouldn't bring indictments based on his word alone. Afterwards, Rubin proclaimed the press conference "a political victory" because it supposedly stopped action on indictments that were supposed to have come down as a result of Leary's rollover. But Stew Albert, co-editor with

Judy Clavir of *The Sixties Papers*, observes that PILL could only have had the opposite effect: "public-relations oriented prosecutors might have been influenced to envision a future trial where even Leary's kid and many others who knew him would take the stand to say he was a liar. All very ugly indeed."



Indeed, FBI memos indicate the government was trying to make a case against attorney Kennedy, but Leary's information could not be corroborated, since Rosemary had remained on the run for many years in order to avoid testifying. (In the early 1990s she turned herself in. Leary declared at her hearing that everything was his fault, and the judge let her off with parole. Ultimately, Rosemary forgave him, they became close again, and almost remarried.)

Did Leary inform on his friends?

In *Flashbacks*, Leary describes a time when Joanna visited him in prison with the news that federal agents had approached her, wanting to make a deal with him. "My next step," he wrote, "was to contact San Quentin Sammy, a lifer who I knew was connected to militant leftist groups. We met on the athletic field. I asked him if he could get a letter out of the prison to the Weathermen. He agreed. That night in the mess hall I handed him a magazine in which I had hidden an unaddressed envelope containing words of warning and reassurance. A week later Sammy slipped me a note. The message was simple. "We understand. Be careful." It was signed with a Chinese character *Huan* (Dispersion), the *I Ching* hexagram which had been thrown by the Weathermen in the hideout after my escape."

Nevertheless, Leary did talk to the FBI. Was anyone hurt by Leary's testimony? With it, a central figure in making underground-overground contacts was targeted by the FBI. Eventually, an agent managed to become that figure's roommate, setting up members of his group to spend several years in prison for planning terrorist activities. Ken Kesey reminds us, however, to withhold judgment lest we be judged: "Tim and I talked about our similar predicaments: the cops had us both by the shorthairs a time or two. They wanted me to speak out against acid after the FBI snagged me in 1966. I did the Acid Test Graduation, telling people we had to go beyond LSD. All that evening I yammered doublespeak, knowing the crowd could tell I was ripped—as Hunter Thompson put it—to the tits on 600 mikes. It was tricky business. Tim knew he had to make the same sort of rollover when he was in the belly of the beast. He also knew he wasn't telling the feds anything they didn't already know. And he figured it the same way I did: our true allies and comrades would understand."

Kesey continues: "I have no need to associate with doubters. When the priests in the Star Chamber promise to stop pouring hot lead in your ear if you'll confess to being in league with Satan, you do what you have to do. Those citizens who think you are being a traitorous coward have never had hot lead poured in their ears. Tim Leary was a great warrior, funny and wise and clever and, above all, courageous. I judge myself blessed to have battled alongside a revolutionary like this blue-eyed battler. Those who want to gnaw on his bones never knew his heart."

So much has been made of Leary's testimony, yet few have looked at Joanna's actions during this period. While in Los Angeles during Leary's imprisonment, she set up his former attorney, George Chula, on a cocaine bust. Chula spent three months in jail. Joanna also fingered Chula for slipping a chunk of hashish to Leary in prison, and his license was suspended for one month. In San Francisco, she tried to sweet-talk lawyer Tony Serra into smuggling hashish to Leary, but he refused.

Joanna also led a half-dozen FBI agents to the home of Michael Horowitz, Leary's archivist. (In spite of the archive's innocuous contents—they revealed nothing that could endanger anyone—the *New York Times* and other media outlets implied that the FBI had scored big time.) Police records indicate that by June 1974 Joanna was working with the Orange County district attorney's office and investigators from the Drug Enforcement Administration (DEA). Her friend and confidant, Dennis Martino, was also an informant for the DEA. He had been spying on Leary's lawyers since 1973, and was responsible for over thirty drug busts in Santa Cruz, California, alone.

Either Joanna was an undercover agent from the beginning, or she had become one in order to free her "perfect love" from prison. While Tim was in jail, Joanna's DEA-sanctioned mission was to gather information connecting the drug subculture with the political subculture. She conned her way into what she referred to as "the pecking order" of the counter-culture's leaders. Joanna, who knew Henry Kissinger through her mother, had socialized with him during the Pentagon Papers trial; Tony Russo, Daniel Ellsberg's co-defendant, became one of her targets. Russo recalls: "There was that time Joanna took us all over to her place, and it was a set-up. She brought out the dope and, as soon as everybody had lit up, the cops were at the front door. Kesey and I bounded out the back window and we were gone." Although Tim did not know everything Joanna was doing, she told me that he had given her a list of men to seduce, including Senator Ted Kennedy. Allen Ginsberg had once suggested to Leary that Joanna was a double agent, a charge Leary repeated to her. "Ginsberg just hates women," she responded.

Whether Leary helped Joanna or not is moot because despite her own efforts, the FBI was so dissatisfied with Leary's testimony that he was put in prison on the "main

line" (with the general population) under the name "Charles Thrush." This was a blatant attempt to label him a snitch (thrush—a songbird, get it?) and get him murdered by prisoners, or at least to scare him into giving the FBI the answers they wanted. Leary continued to reside behind bars for two years with neighbors he described as "singing waiters in the Rathouse Cafe." He was released in 1976, only after the political climate had been changed by Nixon's downfall and Jerry Brown had replaced Ronald Reagan as governor of California.

Altogether, Timothy Leary spent time in thirty-nine jails and prisons over a period of eight years, including several prisons that also housed G. Gordon Liddy. But who could have predicted that in 1982—sixteen years after the original arrest in Millbrook—this representative of the Sixties counter-culture would be back face to face with Liddy, this time as a friendly sparring partner in a series of debates on campuses across the country? I decided to attend the debate in Berkeley in April of that year.

In cowboy movies, you could tell the good guy from the bad guy because the good guy wore a white hat and the bad guy wore a black hat. But on the stage of the Berkeley Community Theater, they weren't wearing hats, so you had to tell by their shoes and socks. Leary was wearing white socks under white sneakers, slacks and a salmon mauve sweater. Liddy was wearing black socks under black shoes, a suit and tie.

Their body language contrasted sharply. Leary was practically dancing along the inner borders of a jigsaw puzzle laid out invisibly on the stage. Liddy just stood there, microphone in his right hand, never removing his left hand from his pocket. He exuded a programmed casualness betrayed by the throbbing vein in his temple. Leary had once written an article in *Ramparts* titled, "The Day I Was Busted by G. Gordon Liddy." He described how he and his wife were "rousted out of bed. I stood up and looked into the wild eyes of G. Gordon Liddy." Now Leary was telling this audience what a wonderful opportunity they had to confront Liddy "eye to eye."

Liddy had once written an article in *True* titled, "How I Caught Timothy Leary With His Pants Down." He stated that Leary "was just one more problem of the sick '60s, to be dealt with by someone else—like an outbreak of plague in Bombay." Now Liddy was telling this audience that he disagreed with Leary 180 degrees on the issues, "but there are people I agree with 100 percent but can't stand their rotten personality. Tim is as engaging as the night I arrested him." Leary warned the audience that Liddy was a lawyer—"trained in the adversary process, not to seek truth. I was trained as a scientist—looking for truth, delighted to be proved wrong." He confessed that "Liddy is the Moriarty to my Sherlock Holmes—the adversary I always wanted—he is the Darth Vader to my Mr. Spock."

"As long as it's not *Doctor* Spock," said Liddy. He argued that "the rights of the state transcend those of the individual." Not that he was without compassion. "I feel sorry," he admitted, "for anybody who uses drugs for aphrodisiacal purposes." "Gordon doesn't know anything about drugs," countered Leary. "It's probably his only weakness." He looked directly at Liddy. "It's my duty to turn you on," Leary said, "and I'm going to do it before these debates are over." Then he made a unique offer: "I'll eat a rat if you'll eat a hashish cookie." Liddy declined the offer. One can carry machismo only so far, and then, somewhere, the line must be drawn.

Epilogue

My interview with Leary concluded:

LEARY: Consider, Paul, death with dignity, dying with elegance. It's wonderful to see it happening. I talk about orchestrating, managing and directing my death as a celebration of a wonderful life! That has touched a lot of people. They say, "My father went through this whole thing. He wanted to die." Amazing.

KRASSNER: So the response has been that people are glad to know that they aren't the only ones who are thinking about death?

LEARY: Yeah. People are thinking about dying with class, but were afraid to talk about it.

KRASSNER: What do you want your epitaph to be?

LEARY: What do *you* think? You write it.

KRASSNER: "Here lies Timothy Leary. A pioneer of inner space. And an Irish leprechaun to the end."

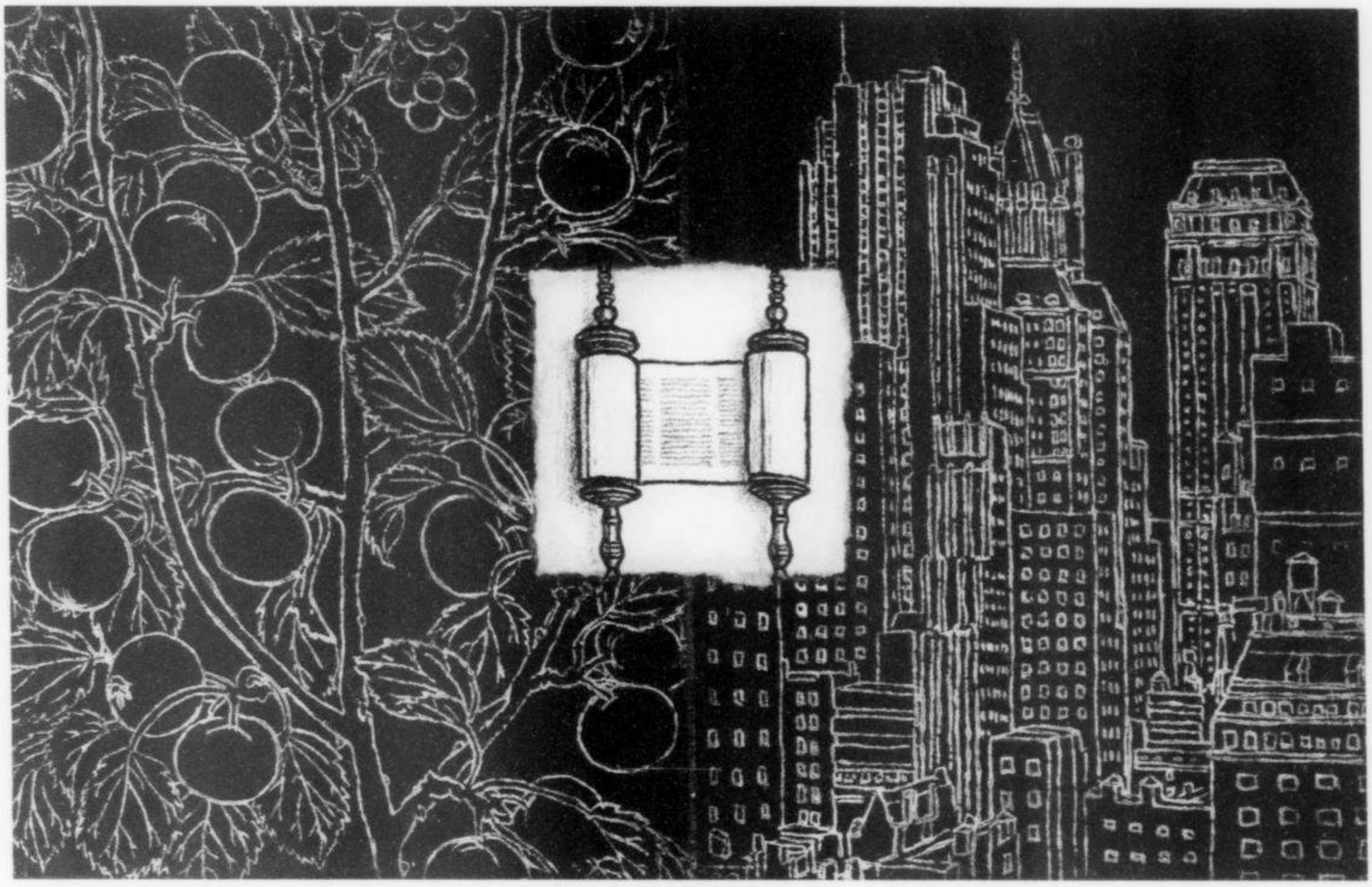
LEARY: Irish leprechaun! You're being racist! Can't I be a Jewish leprechaun? What is this Irish leprechaun shit?

KRASSNER: Okay. "Here lies Timothy Leary, a pioneer of inner space, and a Jewish leprechaun to the end." ❑

HAVE WE ALREADY PLAYED THE GAME *(cont. from page 21)*

from today"; "All life is sacred"; "We are interpenetrated by and interdependent upon the natural world, which is not separate from us but part of us"; and, "Feed the hungry, clothe the naked, heal the sick, share of your wealth with the poor."

We don't need to invent new stories: we can steal old ones from the ancestors of our older cultures who are still alive on the planet today. Can you imagine how different the world would be if every corporate boardroom decision were made, every government decision were made, in the context of its impact on the seventh generation from today? It won't begin with legislation, just as the Civil Rights movement or women's suffrage didn't begin with legislation. Instead, it begins with a critical mass of people waking up to the toxicity of our existing stories and reaching into our egalitarian past for better and more useful stories to live by. Then, legislation, policy, and even corporate and individual behavior will follow. ❑



No Trees Please, We're Jewish

Andrew Furman

A distinction exists between the leisure activity that offers relief from one's occupation and the leisure activity that wrestles against the very soul of one's occupation. As a critic and teacher of Jewish American literature in my professional life, and an avid birder and would-be naturalist in my leisure life, it seems to me increasingly that I have crossed that line—that my avocation downright undermines my vocation, and vice-versa.

Early on in my career as a professor of literature, I pledged my allegiances to Malamud rather than to Melville, to Rebecca Goldstein rather than to Cristina Garcia. I hardly regret my decision, nor do I seek to renounce it here. All the same, as my passion and concern for the environment increase, I find that reading and teaching Jewish American literature has become more and more problematic. For Jewish American writers in this century have, by and large, created a literature that either ignores, misrepresents, or, at its most extreme, vilifies the natural world.

It should be of little surprise, of course, that the natural world rarely muscles its way into the margins of the Jewish American imagination. Writers—the most successful ones, anyway—tend to write about what they know, and Jewish Americans in this century, to put it simply, know cities. Immigrant populations, generally, flock toward locales and specific occupations based upon the demands of the economic marketplace. I am not the first to point out, for example, that there were no Chinese laundries in China when the first Chinese immigrants carved out this occupational niche for their community in urban centers like San Francisco and New York; likewise, the abundance of Jewish Americans in the *shmatteh* business largely reflects the marketplace demands of New York at the turn of the century. Jews in this country generally do not know the dense

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ILLUSTRATIONS BY ERIC FIELD

thickets of Thoreau's Concord or the fragrant honeysuckle and verbena of Faulkner's Yoknapatawpha; they know the gritty streets of New York and Chicago and, thus, as Murray Baumgarten has noted, have primarily contributed "city scriptures" to the rich and diverse canon of American literature.

To my mind, Alfred Kazin's powerfully elegiac *A Walker in the City* (1951) brings us as close as the Jewish American literary voice has come to what we might properly call nature writing. Kazin's memoir bursts at the seams with vivid evocations of the marriage between the natural and urban environments. At one moment, for example, Kazin glimpses the transcendent in the play of a New York traffic light against the leaves of a great tree.

Still, it must be said that the "Beyond!" of Kazin's memoir—the great physical and spiritual locus toward which Kazin's soul aspires—is not to be found amid the verdant upstate woods; rather, "Beyond was 'the city,' connected only by interminable subway lines and some old Brooklyn-Manhattan trolley car rattling across Manhattan Bridge." Between traffic light and tree, Kazin casts his lot with the traffic light.

In an aptly entitled essay, "Strangers," Irving Howe poignantly describes "the barriers of sensibility that separated Concord, Massachusetts, from the immigrant streets of New York," barriers that alienated first-generation Jewish American writers, like Kazin and himself, from one of the core principles of the American literary tradition: the celebration of nature. "Our own tradition," Howe writes, "long rutted in shtetl mud and urban smoke, made little allowance for nature as presence or refreshment." The sheer paucity of Yiddish terms when it comes to specific varieties of trees, flowers, and birds further illustrates Howe's point. One of my Jewish colleagues, in fact, has expressed his bemusement concerning my enthusiasm for bird-watching by teasing me



Jews in this country have primarily contributed "city scriptures" to the rich and diverse canon of American literature.

with the chant, "A bird is a bird is a bird. A faigeleh." Yet if nature seemed altogether "unnatural" to early Jewish American writers, as it still does to my colleague, it was not merely because of their shtetl and urban environs. Howe cannily recognized that more substantive socio-religious stuff was at play, impelling Jewish American writers to pay short shrift to the natural world.

For "nothing in our upbringing," Howe continued, "could prepare us to take seriously the view that God made his home in the woods. By now we rather doubted that He was to be found anywhere, but we felt pretty certain that wherever He might keep himself, it was not in a tree, or even leaves of grass.... What linked man and God in our tradition was not nature but the commandment."

Howe alludes here to the Jewish rationalist, or Mitnagged, tradition from whence most of our Ashkenazic Jewish American writers come. Reaching its zenith in eighteenth-century Lithuania and Russia under their leader, the Vilna Gaon, Mitnaggedism embraces the rigorously text-centered mode of Jewish life. The Mitnagdim, in fact, boasted that the Vilna Gaon studied Jewish texts for eighteen hours a day (the number, incidentally, that symbolizes the Hebrew word, *chai*, or life). Such text-centeredness has enabled Jews to survive as a distinct people for 2,000 years in exile, living amid (and expelled from) various hostile nations. Indeed, Jews have outlived most of these hostile nations by privileging Torah over terrain. As George Steiner has famously noted, "the text is the homeland."

While practicing text-centeredness has ensured the survival of the Jewish people, it has also bolstered a Jewish ethos wary of, if not downright hostile to, the natural world. Writing squarely in the Mitnagged tradition, the eminent Rabbi Joseph Soloveitchik argued in this century that "when halachic man approaches reality, he comes with his Torah, given to him from Sinai, in hand." The halachic man, according to Soloveitchik, does not seek inspiration in the natural world and must not even be "overly curious"; rather, he views the natural world only through the prism of the Law. In the "fading rays of the setting sun," the halachic man sees the religious obligations attendant to that particular sunset: "He knows that this sunset or sunrise imposes upon him anew obligations and commandments." In culling especially breathtaking examples from the natural world to make his point (e.g., the setting sun, mighty mountains, a spring bubbling quietly), Soloveitchik betrays his prescience that the natural world's splendor threatens ever to lead the less than "halachic man" toward pantheism. (Importantly, both the rationalist and mystical Jewish traditions insist upon the separation between God and the physical world.) Girded with the "rules, judgments, and fundamental principles" of the Law, a Jew stands little chance of confusing the created

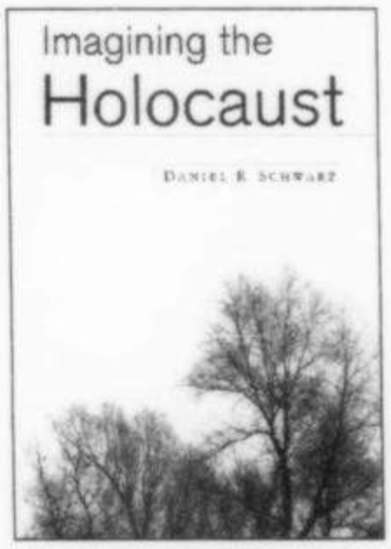
with the Creator—of, in short, idolizing nature.

Rabbis steeped in the rationalist tradition, then, wary of paganism, have mainly posited an antagonistic relationship between Judaism and nature, and a consequent Jewish hostility toward nature has long pervaded Jewish life in the Diaspora. The great Russian Jewish writer, Isaac Babel, poignantly engaged this hostility in a 1930 story, "Awakening." To become a writer, the autobiographical narrator of the story (an adult looking back upon his childhood) must rebel against the acceptable text-centered mode of Jewish life, a cloistered existence that stunts the physical and spiritual growth of Jewish children, turning them into "starvelings with blue, swollen heads." He chooses the sea and the forest over violin lessons and Torah study, realizing that his flirtation with the natural realm rips him away from the acceptable Jewish realm. He will never be a writer, he believes, until he learns the names of the trees, bushes, and birds—until he cultivates a "feeling for nature." By the end of the story, we know that this artist as a young man will learn the names of those trees, bushes, and birds. He will become a writer. But he must flee his father's Jewish hearth in Odessa.

This seems a harsh fate. Still, one can readily appreciate, in pragmatic terms, the trepidation with which Jews living in Babel's Odessa, and elsewhere in the Diaspora, have long regarded the awesome environment teeming just outside the yeshiva walls. The mountains, the sea, the forest—Jews at any given moment might be ripped from their presence. All it took was the evil capriciousness of Mufti, King, or Czar. It made pragmatic sense, then, to spurn any emotional or spiritual investment in the natural world, because Jews could never really count upon it. They were constantly reminded that the physical world did not belong to them, but to their host country. What Jews could rely upon, what would always be theirs, was the Torah and their status as the "Covenanted." All of which is to say that a host of influences, from the deeply theological to the pragmatic, have compelled Jews from the talmudic era to the present to regard the natural world as a dangerous threat to the Law that has sustained them.

Small wonder, then, that the natural world often occupies a malevolent role in the work of Jewish American writers. The fiction of Cynthia Ozick, perhaps most significantly, embodies this Judaic hostility toward the natural realm. In "The Pagan Rabbi," one of her most famous stories, Ozick yokes the natural world with the pagan, pitting it foursquare against the Judaic, as her narrator struggles to discover what drove his childhood friend, the brilliant Rabbi Isaac Kornfeld, to commit suicide. After consulting with Kornfeld's widow and reading Kornfeld's journal, it becomes clear to the narrator that the natural realm vied against the Jewish realm for Kornfeld's soul (the very name, Isaac Kornfeld, evokes this central tension). Kornfeld strays from Torah by studying horticulture, hiking, writing fairy tales, taking his family on far too many mosquito-infested picnics (as his embittered widow reveals), and even nuzzling up shamefully against a tree. In short, Pan defeats Moses. "Great Pan lives," Kornfeld writes in his diary, thereby renouncing the Judaic for the pagan realm. The story might best be understood as a meditation upon the incongruity between these two realms, and the tragic consequences that ensue once they are forced into contact with one another. Recognizing his sin, but seeing no hope for redemption, Kornfeld hangs himself on a tree limb by his prayer shawl. Put simply, a Jew, the narrative suggests, has no business with trees.

I have taught Ozick's story several times to undergraduates in my "Jewish-American Literature" course, but find it an increasingly uncomfortable exercise. Students these days, for better or for worse, read literature as vehicles of access to whatever particu-



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lar race, culture, or religion they feel is being described. So when students read Ozick's story, they sheepishly wonder, what gives? I try to explain that the natural world and paganism are not nearly so inextricably bound as Ozick suggests, that a Jewish space does exist for Jews concerned about the environment.

Like any good Jewish rationalist worth his salt, I turn first to the Torah itself, and an oft-quoted passage from Deuteronomy: "When thou shalt besiege a city a long time, in making war against it to take it, thou shalt not destroy the trees thereof by wielding an axe against them; for thou mayest eat of them, but thou shalt not cut them down; for is the tree of the field man, that it should be besieged of thee?" (20:19). The rabbis have interpreted this passage as exemplifying the Jewish principle of *baal tashkhit*, the preservation of nature, which applies even during times of war. The Talmud even records that scholars were instructed to pray for the health of sick trees (Shabbat 67a). This discussion usually leads me to mention the Jewish holiday of Tu B'Shvat, the new year for trees, observed each year on the fifteenth day of the Jewish month of Shvat, during which Jews customarily plant trees and partake of their fruit. It strikes me as nothing less than staggering that the rabbis who forged the Talmud expressed ecological concerns ranging from city planning to air, water, and even noise pollution.

Where I find I cannot turn, however, is to a significant body of Jewish American literature that asserts a greater appreciation for the environment. I still search in vain for Jewish American fictionists who imagine a harmonious Jewish space amid the natural world. While the Jewish principle of baal tashkhit seeks specifically to preclude the decimation of the forest that has led to the extinction of several North American species, Jewish American novelists, even our younger cohort, have yet to broach in a serious or sustained way any such ecological



Jewish Americans might finally lift their eyes from the book for a moment to examine their environment.

quandaries in their work. Thus, while I continue to read and write about Jewish American literature, I find myself increasingly drawn to our non-Jewish writers who were fortunate enough to live in a pre-industrialized America. It saddens me that there are fewer and fewer wild spaces to inspire the ardor of discovery that bursts through the prose of, say, William Bartram's *Travels* (1791). Ralph Waldo Emerson, Henry David Thoreau, Margaret Fuller, Walt Whitman, Emily Dickinson, and others would succeed Bartram and, adding intellect to his exuberance, tap into nature's transcendental potential. But what all of these writers shared was a reverence toward the ineffable beauty and majesty of the natural world. Moreover, they lent an attentive ear to heed its instruction. Mourning the death of President Lincoln, Walt Whitman hears the chant of his own soul in the warbling of that gray-brown bird: "Sing on there in the swamp, / O singer bashful and tender, / I hear your notes, I hear your call, / I hear, I come presently, I understand you."

Whitman was reared in a free-thinking household and felt no qualms about absorbing a veritable potpourri of cultural and religious principles, and incorporating them into his own passionately democratic artistic vision. That he flirts with paganism above—where, after all, is the Creator here?—would hardly have troubled him. What does it mean, however, that a self-consciously Jewish literary type like me frets little over the arguable paganism of Whitman's vision? Worse, that I respond to it? That amid the din of our increasingly urbanized society (heralded by the locomotives that Thoreau heard rumble threateningly off into the distance from his cabin aside Walden Pond), the voice of the natural world resounds for me? Have I, like Ozick's pagan Rabbi Kornfeld, been lured astray by the natural world?

To be sure, there are several who would be inclined to reply in the

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affirmative, and take my case as a textbook example of the tragic waning of Judaism in America—like, say, the spokesperson for the Conservative Jewish group, Toward Tradition, who responded to a recent article in the *Forward* on the Jewish environmental movement by excoriating the movement in a letter to the editor. "We believe," David Friedman wrote, "that the newfound concern for resource 'deprivation,' the trees in the forest and global warming is more distortion than fact and more pagan than Jewish." Unlike Friedman, I do not believe that the phrase "Jewish environmentalism" is an oxymoron. Rather, it seems to me that America's pluralist ethos and the creation of a Jewish state in this century have simply allowed for less rigidly defined modes of Jewish existence and expression than people like Friedman, and organizations like Toward Tradition, have in mind.

Living a precarious life of exile for centuries inspired an acute Jewish wariness toward the pagan realm, and necessitated the implacable text-centeredness of the Mitnagged tradition which, ironically enough, continues to subordinate the ecological precepts writ large in the Torah. But exile no longer quite defines Jewish existence, at least not in Israel, or even in America for that matter. The Jews will always be people of the book; I do not expect or hope for this to change. All the same, living in a country that seems more and more like home than host, and living increasingly in areas outside the city, Jewish Americans might finally lift their eyes from the book for a moment to examine their environment, and bring their Jewish souls to bear upon the natural realm.

Such a literature, I believe, would hardly reject the Jewish social realm for a solipsistic existence in nature. What it would implicitly reject is the notion that this imperfect dichotomy—which has long enjoyed an immutable and exasperating currency in the realm of Jewish letters—sufficiently expresses all that Jewish writers need say about the natural world. Isaac Babel knew that there was more for him to say about the natural world than was revealed to him in the *cheder.* "I discerned," Babel writes in "Awakening," "a different kind of inspiration in the voices of my ancestors," and so he travels to the Harbor, to the Forest, rather than to his violin lessons. But Babel, living at an especially precarious moment in modern Jewish history, could not fathom the possibility of engaging the natural realm in any kind of Judaic context. His forays into the natural realm mark his exile from the Jewish community. In our less precarious historical moment, a new wave of Jewish writers might finally explore the integration between the Judaic and natural realm, the ways in which the Jewish social vision, codified in the Talmud, informs even the most contemporary and secular Jewish responses to the environment. As Judith Plaskow argues in her influential study, *Standing Again at Sinai: Judaism from a Feminist Perspective* (1990), "The reexamination of Jewish attitudes toward sexuality and nature … will not 'paganize' Judaism so much as restore to it values disparaged and lost in the process of defining itself over against another religion."

That I could not claim the urban ethos of my Jewish American predecessors, literary and otherwise, had for a long while left me feeling disenfranchised—robbed of a birthright, if you will. But perhaps there has always been something delimiting about such a rigidly defined Jewish American identity. And as impressive as the literature that has emerged from this ethos continues to be, perhaps it too begins to show signs of, well, wear and tear. A new creative outpost, one actively engaged with the natural realm, awaits the imagination of the Jewish American writer. While I am hardly convinced that I am the one best qualified to stake out this artistic territory, I am thoroughly convinced that it is a territory, a Jewish territory, of untapped potential and unforeseeable rewards. ❑

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BOOK REVIEW

The American Writer's Search for God

Sanford Pinsker

▪ *God and the American Writer,* by Alfred Kazin. Alfred A. Knopf, 1997.

D. H. Lawrence once called sex "the dirty little secret" of proper late Victorians. Given the life-choking silence that surrounded the subject, it's no small wonder that he came to feel it necessary to smash the artificial walls of social convention if candor were at last to speak.

Half a century later, Norman Podhoretz used Lawrence's memorable phrase in the opening of his own *Making It* to admit, or confess, that "success" was the dirty little secret of his day. On the face of it, nothing seems simpler than the notion that it would be better to be a success than a failure, and better to be rich than to be poor. But at one time in America in this century, if you happened (or aspired) to be an intellectual or a writer, living above the poverty line was a surefire mark of the philistine, and too much success placed you squarely in the camp of the bourgeoisie.

Today, however, with certain notable exceptions (one thinks of recluses such as J. D. Salinger or Thomas Pynchon), most writers develop good manners when on a book tour, and most intellectuals are only too happy to chat about ideas on *Nightline* or *The Charlie Rose Show*. No doubt those who shake their heads at such behavior still regard success as the "bitch goddess" William James thought it was, but they are in a tiny minority, one usually dismissed as green with jealousy.

Success, in short, is no longer the dirty little secret that Podhoretz once set out to expose. The question, then, is this: is there another dirty little secret for our time? When a student put this poser before me, I was rather taken aback. My first inclination (which I kept to myself as I pleaded for a professorial "extension") was to say "no"—because we are so awash in tell-all confessions, between hardcovers and on daytime television, that I have a hard time imagining if anything, anything at all, could now be considered "tasteless."

However, subsequent ponderings about our age's dirty little secret—or lack thereof—took me in a rather surprising direction. If the litmus test of a dirty little secret is that one is afraid to give public voice to private feeling, then the dirty little secret of our time, at least for intellectuals, is that we miss God. *The Death of Satan*, Andrew Delbanco's estimable study of how evil no longer packs the power it once did, chronicles the decline and fall of Satan as a potent emblem of sinfulness. I would argue the other side of his coin by suggesting that missing God is a by-product of a culture that prefers to explain evil away rather than to confront it directly. For example, there are enough postmodernist "explanations" of Hitler for journalist Ron Rosenbaum to write a thick book on the subject.

Evidently, distinguishing good from evil, the noble from the base, will no longer butter many academic parsnips. Fashionable intellectuals no longer pursue the "truth" because, they confidently assert, there is no such entity. Rather, they propose the easy relativism of social construction and a neonihilism that bashes away at any and all claims of authority, especially God's. After all, to speak about missing God is to risk being lumped with religious fundamentalists on the far right. Even worse, to bring God into one's cultural analysis is to invite those long on certainties to crow about how their problems are with the external society rather than with God. The result is that those in the spiritually ambivalent middle keep their silence in the face of everything that coarsens the cultural atmosphere and dramatically lowers the human bar.

Still, the mainstream intellectual's yearning for and struggle with God was not always a secret. Writing in his notebook, the poet Theodore Roethke pointed out that "Running from God is the longest race of all." This one-sentence theme is fully explored in the late Alfred Kazin's *God and the American Writer*. "I am interested not in the artist's profession of belief," Alfred Kazin announces in the book's opening pages, "but in the imagination he brings to his tale of religion in human affairs." Rather than surveying those American writers who were on good, perhaps too good, terms with the Deity, Kazin collects those restless souls who grappled with the God question by pitting their various uncertainties against the religion they imbibed with their mother's milk. These writers include Nathaniel Hawthorne, Herman Melville, Walt Whitman, Abraham

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Lincoln, Mark Twain, Robert Frost, and William Faulkner.

Kazin writes with stunning authority and diamond-hard prose. What can be unclear, however, is the way that his readings gradually become a species of autobiography. In writing about certain nineteenth- and twentieth-century authors, Kazin is, at bottom, writing about himself. There was always a palpable subplot in this story of an immigrant son who read and wrote his way out of the ghetto—namely, God. True enough, Kazin has little patience for conventional religion and its rituals. He writes, "I would never become pious in the orthodox Jewish fashion. I would never settle in a country that desired to be all-Jewish...." But he can neither abandon the quest for God nor can he find Him.

What he would do, however—and what he does magnificently in *God and the American Writer*—is seek out kindred spirits, God-obsessed all, and weave a story that begins at a moment when theological certainty is gradually giving way to doubt. If *The Scarlet Letter* is arguably our first defining American novel, Kazin attributes this to the fact that Hawthorne "was mesmerized by what he feared and hated." Nearly a century later William Faulkner would point out that "the past is not even past"; it continued to haunt our best writers and to fuel their rage—thus, Ahab's insistence that man must "strike through the mask" and Whitman's announcement that the "divine literatus" (namely, himself) had replaced God altogether. Whatever form their brooding rebellions took, American writers generally stayed the course with regard to the God question. Mark Twain, for example, spent his long life trying to dispose of the Presbyterian God, and with certain modifications so did the likes of Wallace Stevens, Robert Frost, and William Faulkner.

Kazin is hardly the first critic to point out that our best American writers seem always alone in their aloneness, but he is perhaps the first to add this important addendum: "If the American writer is usually alone in his imagination and if his devotions are a secret to the rest of us, one reason is that religion is so publicly vehement, politicized, and censorious." Not surprisingly, the sentiment tells us at least as much about Kazin as it does about the dozen writers his book takes up.

For Kazin, the yearning to find God had consequences not only for American writing but also for America. An unnamed friend of Kazin's put his (or her) finger squarely on that predilection by noting that "the War (and slavery) is really the reason for the awful fascination of the whole subject of God in America. You put this unforgivingly," not only for American writing but also for America. Indeed, for Kazin, the very soul of American democracy remains tragically entwined around "the 'awful fascination' of black servitude" which "once led writers to justify God's supposed approval, to appeal to God, to deny God. On this terrible subject all true and ancient believers outdo the Biblical Jacob—they wrestle with Him forever."

Kazin is not the only American writer to have grappled in print with his obsession about God and America. Saul Bellow's fiction, for example, often cobbles a lively sense of city streets and by extension, America, with the making of an individual "soul." Intimations of God occur as his characters match their innocence against the power money packs, or when their utter loneliness sparks transcendental thought. Kazin brings a richer historical understanding to what is essentially the same obsessive brooding, but in ways that tell us much about the essential differences between a literary critic and an artist. By contrast, the theological ruminations of a later generation of writers tend to play themselves out in postmodern techniques such as magical realism and fractured chronology. One thinks immediately of the fiction produced by Flannery O'Connor, Cynthia Ozick, and Salman Rushdie. In each case, God is rather like the heath in a



PHOTOGRAPH BY MARTHA KAPLAN

Kazin writes with stunning authority and diamond-hard prose.

novel by Thomas Hardy—at once a pervasive presence akin to character and an abiding landscape. The result is "theo-fiction," a term coined by Melvin Jules Bukiet that can be seen writ large in *Signs and Wonders*, his powerful reimagining of Dostoyevsky's *The Grand Inquisitor*.

That much said, however, let me hasten to add that our century is awash with the ugly consequences of good ideas. Lawrence, who regarded pornography as doing "dirt on life," would be appalled at how degrading and how dehumanizing much of our collective sexual life has become. I can imagine him watching an episode of *The Jerry Springer Show* and weeping. Even Norman Podhoretz might have second thoughts about how success moved from being a dirty little secret to a national obsession. The alternative I'm groping for is the one that can be our recipe for liberation from the shackles of cultural relativism. Indeed, so many secular gods have failed—not only Communism, but a whole range of others—that it is time to admit just how much even the most sophisticated among us need an authority, perhaps God's. Such a confession will not come easily, however, and that is why I have grouped it with the other dirty little secrets of our century. ❑

MUSIC REVIEW

Rhythms of Renewal

Jonathan Seidel



Rabbi Jack Gabriel

- *Tuning the Soul*, by Richard Kaplan and Michael Ziegler. Four Gates Music, 1999.
- *Living Tree*, by Jack Gabriel. Nisa Records, 1999.

Richard Kaplan and Michael Ziegler have produced that rare recording which makes the new holy and renews the old. Marrying a variety of exquisite Sephardi and Mizrachi songs to a host of powerful liturgical texts, these musicians show how Ashkenazi involvement with the great music of the Sephardi and Mizrachi tradition can go beyond exoticism or an exploitation of the "other."

Their new CD, *Tuning the Soul* (available by mail order through Afikomen Books, 510-655-1977), opens and closes with the perfect Yemenite melody for the liturgical prayer, Barechu. Even Ashkenazim can sing along to this music—as thirty-five of us did when we sang Kaplan and Zeigler's Syrian-inspired "Eli Yah Eli" at this year's Renewal Kallah. At the same time, those of us in a klezmer mood for *kaddish* will enjoy their Rabbi Taub of Modzitz version of this traditional mourner's prayer. Throughout the CD, Kaplan's incredible sense of phrase and accentuation are truly exceptional for a cantor of any ethnic background, and Ziegler's sweet baritone complements Kaplan's voice superbly.

Those of us in accord with both the Ashkenazi and Sephardi world have known for years that stimulating *nushaot* (musical modes) energize congregants and chanters, make the silence deeper and prayers more powerful. The earthiness of the Middle Eastern drum tempers the sorrow of the Ashkenazic soul, while Hasidic chants prepare the way for spiritual renewal. Kaplan and Zeigler here show that, whatever its ethnic source, our liturgical tradition is indeed ours in the broadest sense.

Tuning the Soul provides a superb antidote to the mediocrity of syrupy or campy American Jewish music and a great way to get back into the sheer power of our traditional music. We *are* both a European and Middle Eastern people and we can truly feel it here!

I must confess that I just love reviewing the reviewer, especially when he's the music columnist for this magazine. The angel Gabriel is known in the Jewish tradition as one of the "announcers," the quasi-human fellow who comes to Daniel in dreams and helps him envision the future. In Islam as well, Gabriel (Gibril) is the medium of revelation from Allah to Muhammed. Rabbi Jack Gabriel, alias Ya'acov Gabriel, alias Jack Schectman, who in his previous incarnation was a Fifties and Sixties doo-wop rocker, continues to be the strongman of the message, with the latest mixture of rhythm and not-so-subtle *yiddishe* evangelizing.

Renowned within renewal circles for his *Eagles Wings* (1996) which brought revivalist Judaism and Jewish God consciousness to a new level, Rabbi Jack has dedicated his current recording, *Living Tree*: "L'sheim yichud, for the sake of unification of Reb Yankaleh and Shake from the Bronx, of Klezmer soul and Reggae heart, of the silly and the serious, of God out there and God in here" (available from Nisa Records, 1701 W. Stuart St., Ft. Collins, CO).

And what a unification it is. From his moving reinterpretation of the Beatles' "I Will" to his challenge of God's behavior in "Subtle is the Way of God," Gabriel continues to unite the rock of faith and the roll of the dialogue with the Divine. *Living Tree* moves from testimonies to the basic goodness of the universe (i.e., "Juicy Shabbos" and "Up with Joy") to the profound bitterness of martyrdom in his tender version of "This Day—Unesaneh Tokef." Gabriel's unabashed love of syncretism is found in his rendition of "Let the Heavens Rock," a groovy version of Psalm 96, and in "Hallelu," a Sufi version of Psalm 150.

Gabriel has an extraordinary ability to enthuse the subtle. His music and text are inspired by all sorts of manifestations of the Shechinah, from his musical colleagues to his children to his wife Cindy, with whom he has created the Jewish renewal community in Fort Collins, Colorado, and helped midwife several biannual renewal gatherings. Those of us who have been privileged to witness this Gabriel in concert and to follow Rabbi Jack's transmigration from rocker to reggae rabbi are again indebted to this master of the Jewish American musical idiom. May we continue to boogie with him from this millennium to the sabbatical *tekufah* of the year 6000 on the Jewish calendar. ❑

PHOTOGRAPH COURTESY OF YA'ACOV GABRIEL

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Sikkum: TIKKUN RECOMMENDS ...

Testing Women, Testing the Fetus

Rayna Rapp
Routledge, 1999



Feminist anthropologist Rapp studies the social impact of amniocentesis in America. She discovers that our societal choice to label sexuality and baby-making as private has put into the hands of women a series of difficult moral choices accelerated by new developments in biomedical technology. The pain that many women experience at facing, for example, the choice between abortion and raising a potentially Down-syndrome baby is here put in the context of the struggles facing all women as they mediate moral and scientific knowledge with their own inner needs.

Illness and Health in the Jewish Tradition

Writings from the Bible to Today

Edited by David L. Freeman and Judith Z. Abrams
The Jewish Publication Society, 1999



Though anthologies are often useless, this one is quite valuable for anyone involved in healing or spiritual counseling. Though it does not provide a systematic and coherent overview, it brings together a great deal of useful material on issues like the meaning of suffering, the role of God and prayer, the specifically Jewish insights into healing, and the experiential wisdom of the Jewish tradition in its approach to health.

Everything Starts from Prayer

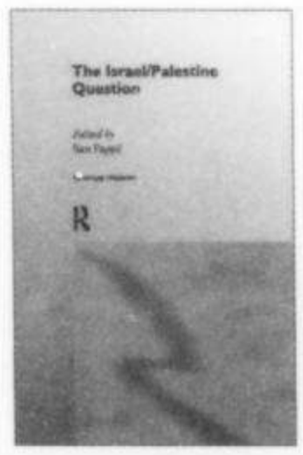
Mother Theresa's Meditations on Spiritual Life for People of All Faiths

Edited by Anthony Stern, M.D.
White Cloud Press, 1998

Anthony Stern is probably the most sincere progressive voice attempting to bridge the insights of social psychiatry and spirituality. It is no surprise, then, that this Jewish devotee of Martin Buber and Rabbi Nachman of Bratslav has found a universal spiritual song in the prayerful work of Mother Teresa. In this gem of a collection, Stern has gathered a number of Mother Teresa's prayers and thoughts about prayer. Transcendence without escape was the universal message of Mother Teresa, and no one has captured its essence better than Tony Stern in this quiet, powerful collection.

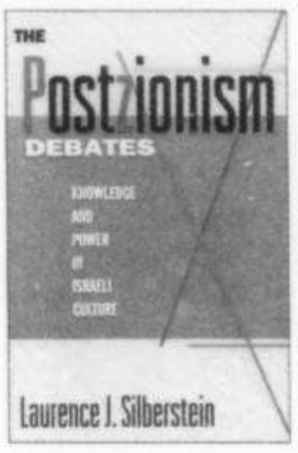
The Israel/Palestine Question

Edited by Ilan Pappé
Routledge, 1999



The Postzionism Debates

Laurence J. Silberstein
Routledge, 1999



Whoever controls the media controls the history—so the Zionist side of the Israeli/Palestinian conflict is well known. The alternative story is told in these two books. Laurence Silberstein presents a comprehensive and powerful analysis of the debates that are at the center of the current political struggles in Israel. Ilan Pappé's powerful collection of essays from Israeli and Palestinian authors gives us some of the details, based in part on social histories of the lived experience of both Jews and Arabs. Though post-Zionist historians, whose works first appeared in TIKKUN, may still seem revolutionary, Pappé includes in his collection the voice of Palestinians who have striking criticisms of these Israeli historical revisionists.

The Big Test

Nicholas Lemann
Farrar Straus & Giroux, 1999



One of the most important books of 1999, Nicholas Lehmann's "secret history of the American meritocracy" unveils the central ideological foundation for American inequality: the fantasy that our society rewards those who deserve to be rewarded. As Lemann points out, "the people at the top of a society almost always feel themselves to be genuinely superior to the rest, not just luckily born, and to have earned their place." The key to this self-justification was the development of "objective tests" like the IQ and SAT which do little besides measure the ability to function well on tests—e.g. they don't do much to measure wisdom, originality, or humor, much less moral or spiritual insight. And universities have lost out in the bargain—becoming a national personnel department rather than a center of wisdom. Lemann's book is startlingly fresh and politically significant, though its disconnection from any social movement capable of fighting for a new vision of merit will limit its actual impact.

תיקון

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