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TIKKUN

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CLEAN ELECTIONS

A BIMONTHLY JEWISH CRITIQUE OF POLITICS, CULTURE & SOCIETY

MAY/JUNE 2000

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Emancipatory Spirituality

*There is enough.
You are enough.
Can progressives
ever open
themselves to
awe, wonder,
and amazement
at the universe's
legacy of love?*

MICHAEL LERNER



**DIGITAL
ENLIGHTENMENT?**

Raymond Barglow

**GOBERMAN'S
GRAVESTONES**

Robert Pinsky

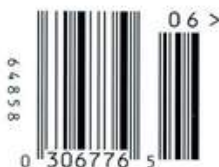
**KENNEDY
MYSTIQUE**

Michael Tomasky

Cold War Liberals

Paul Buhle on CIA Intellectuals

Budd Schulberg talks with Jack Newfield and Mark Jacobson



Iris

Slowly they guided us over long fields to the river.

Molehills. Ground baked hard.
A pair of crows stood motionless as stones—

Then rose, flapped lazily to the other side.

Too luscious, too slow, the river held us tightly.
Sweat. A fever rising like my hands through water,

Large, ungainly—how did we come here?

Sun-spoked flowers. Dragonflies.
Cold water swirling from the bottom, old

But sleek, unfastening tendrils, roots—
A surface rising in the time it takes to tell you.

Snow to river, river to mist.

They pulled themselves out first.
As if this body, mine, by falling back

Could enter what invaded it. A hole. A rift.
Hard ground from which I'd poke, dark messenger, to say

*If I remembered how to speak
You'd tell me everything.*

—James Longenbach

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Back Cover: *Once in a Blue Moon*, by Samuel Bak. Oil on canvas. Courtesy of Pucker Gallery, Inc., Boston, MA.

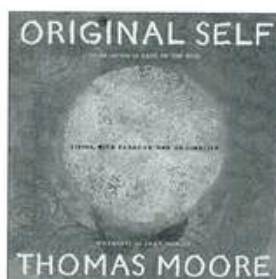


Sikkum: TIKKUN RECOMMENDS ...

Original Self Living with Paradox and Originality

Thomas Moore
HarperCollins, 2000

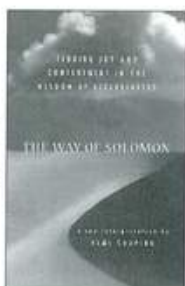
This is a beautiful rethinking of spirituality by the author of some of the most popular and important spiritual books of the past decade (*Care of the Soul*, *Soul Mates*, *The Re-enchantment of Everyday Life*). Moore returns to religion (defined here as "an open heart capable of allowing life to unfold and strong enough to support a radical philosophy of love") and finds in its ways of life and attitude of fundamental reverence "the only ground on which our humanity can stand and thrive."



The Way of Solomon

Rami Shapiro
HarperSanFrancisco, 2000

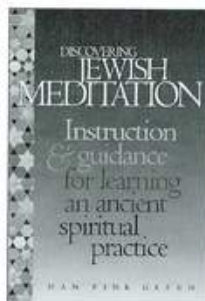
In his new interpretation of Ecclesiastes, TIKKUN columnist Rabbi Rami Shapiro brings to modern idiom one of the most powerfully provocative gems of the Bible. Shapiro turns what might otherwise seem a hopelessly reactionary infusion of Greek pessimism (this is the book that proclaims, in the King James translation, the "vanity of vanities") into biblical hopefulness and spiritual depth.



Discovering Jewish Meditation

Nan Fink Gefen
Jewish Lights Publishing, 1999

Nan Fink Gefen is the cofounder of TIKKUN and codirector of Chochmat HaLev, one of three U.S. centers devoted to teaching Jewish meditation. In this extremely useful manual, subtitled *Instruction and Guidance for Learning an Ancient Spiritual Practice*, she gently moves us through the steps needed to develop our own Jewish meditative practice, linking her approach to Jewish meditation with a fuller practice of Torah study, mitzvot, Shabbat, and other traditional Jewish paths to God.



Healing the Soul of America

Marianne Williamson
Simon & Schuster, 1999

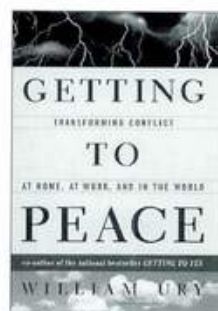
In this revised edition of her 1997 book, Williamson recounts that for years, "I thought I had only to heal myself and the world would take of itself." Now, she asks, "how healed can we ultimately become while the social systems in which we live and move, and have our earthly being, remain sick?" Her answer is a lively and thoughtful reclaiming of the values inherent in American democracy.



Getting to Peace

William Ury
Viking, 1999

Coauthor of the national bestseller *Getting to Yes*, William Ury now turns his attention to transforming conflict at home, at work, and in the world. Starting with an analysis of the remarkable nonviolent transformation of South Africa, Ury shows us that fundamental political transformation requires change in heart and spirit. With rich practical details, this book should become a daily resource as we face conflicts in every area of our lives.



Stolen Harvest

Vandana Shiva
South End Press, 2000

Vandana Shiva is a leader of the International Forum on Globalization and a winner of the Alternative Nobel Peace Prize in 1993. In this new book she details how the globalization of agriculture is robbing millions of their livelihoods and their right to food. The result is "food totalitarianism, in which a handful of corporations control the entire food chain and destroy alternatives so that people do not have access to diverse, safe foods produced ecologically." Nor are health-food-eaters exempt: Shiva shows how the dominance of any single product, such as soybeans, in our diets can actually have negative health consequences.



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Letters to the Editor

Spirit and Health I

To the Editor:

In the March/April issue of *The Skeptical Inquirer* (published by CSICOP, the Committee for the Scientific Investigation of Claims of the Paranormal), scientific studies about the therapeutic benefits of intercessory prayer are called into very serious doubt. By contrast, in the March/April issue of TIKKUN, an interview with Dr. Larry Dossey spreads the word about scientific "proof" of the power of long-distance prayer.

By conducting the Dossey interview without a note of skepticism or dissent, TIKKUN sets the stage for a definition of spirituality that embraces all sorts of New Age *misbegos*. If we uncritically accept the notion that a person in California can use prayer to influence the health of a person in New York *who does not know he or she is being prayed for* (thus excluding the placebo effect), how can we then reject

belief in telepathy, telekinesis, astrology, or any other mind-over-matter phenomena? As well as discussing the supposed spiritual implications of these phenomena, TIKKUN should be carefully and skeptically scrutinizing their scientific "proof."

An editorial in the same issue of TIKKUN speaks about a spirituality that involves "a feeling of awe, wonder, and radical amazement in response to the universe." For the large plurality of Jews (and non-Jews) who share this feeling of radical amazement *without* surrendering their rationality, the magazine's evolving bias (or gullibility) is saddening and alienating.

Readers interested in articles that debunk the healing power of prayer and many other New Age *shibboleths* should check out the CSICOP web site at <http://www.csicop.org>.

LAWRENCE BUSH

Accord, NY



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Larry Dossey responds:

My interview in *TIKKUN* (March/April 2000), in which I discussed evidence favoring the role of spirituality and prayer in human health, has put Lawrence Bush in a tizzy. Thus he alerts *TIKKUN*'s readers to the magazine's "evolving bias (or gullibility)" and warns readers against "surrendering their rationality." On balance, Mr. Bush seems to be trying to keep us from disappearing down the maw of the New Age.

Bush fears that intercessory prayer is the nose of the camel under the tent of science. If we let prayer in, he asks, "how can we then reject belief in ... any other mind-over-matter phenomena?" How, indeed? Here's a suggestion: let's go looking for answers in scientific studies already on the books that deal with this question. If Bush did so, he might be surprised what he would find. In recent years, sophisticated experiments and meta-analyses of hundreds of studies dealing with the mind's ability to insert information into, and extract information from, the world have been published in some of the world's most prestigious journals—*Nature*, *Foundations of Physics*, *Proceedings of the IEEE*, and others.

Some people, however, have a bad case of selective blindness toward this data. They don't need evidence; they know intuitively what to accept and what to reject. Paradoxically, this puts them in the position of being clairvoyant, which is one of the phenomena they're dedicated to stamping out. This attitude of certainty can shade into dogmatism and bigotry, in which, amazingly, some people actually take pride. As one such scientist trumpeted, in protesting an experiment demonstrating the mind's ability to function nonlocally, "This is the sort of thing I would not believe even if it were true!"

Bush particularly refers to an article, "Efficacy of Prayer: A Critical Examination of Claims," in the March/April 2000 issue of *The Skeptical Inquirer*. This article is a critique of the statistical and procedural methods employed by Dr. Randolph Byrd and by Dr. William Harris in their respective studies on the effects of prayer in the coronary care units of major hospitals. While the questions raised in this article should be taken seriously, they don't erase the raw data that seem to favor the prayed-for group. In the Byrd study, for example, fourteen of the control patients suffered cardiopulmonary arrest, while only three of the prayed-for patients suffered such. Yet

The Skeptical Inquirer gives no explanation for these profound differences in the Byrd study, seeking to dismiss them as illusions due to procedural lapses in "strict blindness."

Even if we dismissed these two studies, there would remain around 200 additional experiments dealing with effects of distant intentionality and prayer. These studies have involved not just humans but also animals, plants, cells, lower organisms, and specific biochemical reactions. The nonhuman studies often show exceptionally robust effects, and they cannot be dismissed by the skeptics' favorite "explanation"—the placebo response, the power of positive thinking. The so-called skeptics never engage these nonhuman studies. Instead, they usually sift the studies, skim a faulty one off the top, criticize it to high heaven, and generalize to condemn the entire field. This is a peculiar way to do science.

Legitimate skepticism is invaluable in science. It involves the suspension of judgment until the facts are in, not the knee-jerk repudiation of any phenomenon, no matter how outrageous it may seem to be, including intercessory prayer. I'm not worried that the readers of *TIKKUN* are going to

be engulfed by irrationality and bias, unless from pseudoskepticism. As long as we are willing to look at the actual evidence—all the evidence—about how consciousness behaves, we'll be on firm ground.

LARRY DOSSEY, M.D.
Executive Editor
Alternative Therapies

Spirit and Health II

To the Editor:

Many of us who have had to avail ourselves of the "wonders of modern medicine" have discovered that it can be a heartless business. Although some may be fortunate enough to have all medical expenses paid, many with insurance still need to pay high medical costs beyond their means, and millions suffer without even basic health care.

If we succeed in getting care, we may find that we are treated as "conditions" and failed parts rather than as thinking, feeling, vulnerable human beings. While our illnesses are treated with the latest technological machinery and according to the latest research findings (and for this we are grateful), we may actually be and feel uncared for, neglected, demeaned, and disrespected. We find

Silenced

MY SENSE OF SILENCE

Memoirs of a Childhood with Deafness

LENNARD J. DAVIS

A candid, affecting and funny memoir by a hearing son confounded by his deaf, working-class, Jewish immigrant parents.

"This is a man revealing himself, touched and startled by his act of exposure. . . . Engrossing." — *New York Times*

AND THE WORLD STOOD SILENT

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TRANSLATED BY ISAAC JACK LÉVY

"There is nothing quite like this book. . . . Fills a lacuna in the literature." — *ALA Booklist*

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Danny Goldberg	Radwan Masmoudi
Randy Shaw	Arthur Waskow
Patricia Ireland	Katherine Kurs

...and dozens more!

In April 1996 TIKKUN magazine and the Foundation for Ethics and Meaning convened the first National Summit on Ethics and Meaning in Washington DC. In the wake of the WTO protests, the issues that motivated the Summit have become even more critical; the corrupting influence of pseudo-partisan politics, the failure to address the globalization juggernaut, and the long-term environmental health of the planet, all reveal a continuing emptiness of spirit at the center of political power that cries out for meaningful change and renewal.

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LETTERS

ourselves cured but not healed. What a paradox all this is!

In his compelling and thoughtful essay ("Spirituality and Medicine," March/April 2000), Dr. Raphael Kellman describes how a mechanistic model of medicine logically leads to all of the deplorable conditions described above.

How is it that we have strayed so far from the ancient belief that the heart is the seat of the mind? How can we ever hope to provide intelligent and compassionate care for all without this belief?

Kellman's astute observations concerning our interdependence in G-d's Universe and our humanity relative to the science of medicine, the practice of medicine, and the health-care system should awaken us all to the possibility of meaning-based medicine. Let us hope that his gentle words inspire us all as patients, medical students, teachers, and health-care givers to connect with one another through both our hearts and minds.

PEGGY SAKOW
Montreal, Canada

Rethinking Organic Farming

To the Editor:

Thom Hartmann's article "Have We Already Played the Game and Lost?" (November/December 1999) champions organic farming to cut back on poisons in the water and food supply. We are responsible farmers whose methods are not organic.

While most methods approved for use in producing organic produce are environmentally friendly and safe for consumers, there are crops and locations where they work very poorly. Additionally, a few organic practices are so costly to perform that it is impossible to make wages while using them.

Let's consider what organic means. The list of approved spray materials for "organic" production includes those that are mined, such as sulfur or copper sulfate; produced as plant extracts; or produced from bacteria such as *Bacillus thuringiensis* (BT). Since they are not produced in factories or chemical labs, they are labeled "natural."

There are environmentally sound, safe-for-consumers ways of producing fruits and vegetables that do not employ the organic protocol. In our orchard,

daily monitoring of weather, pests caught in traps, and inspection of fruit enables us to spray only when needed. We use chemicals that decompose in a few weeks into residues that are harmless to the environment. To prevent soil erosion, we use mowing instead of cultivation or herbicides. But we do need to use

spot treatment against poison oak and blackberries, and to spray herbicide close to trees to prevent mouse damage to trunks.

We are constantly looking for production methods that will make us less dependent on chemicals. We know, because we sell our fruit directly to consumers, their concerns about safety and our environment. Our approach, called Integrated Pest Management (IPM), seems a good solution where

growing "organic" just isn't practical.

ROBERT L. STEBBINS
Corvallis, OR

Thom Hartmann responds:

Mr. Stebbins' thoughtful and informative commentary highlights the need for real and meaningful standards to define the term "organic." In chemistry, "organic" means "containing carbon": obviously, that's not what consumers think of when looking for organic foods. And, as Stebbins points out, there are a few "not entirely nature-based" practices that some organic farmers engage in, and many nonorganic practices that modern farmers engage in that are not toxic to humans or the biosphere.

Hopefully, thoughtful farmers like Stebbins and organic farmers and groups seeking to protect human health and the biosphere while raising healthy foods can come to agreement and help the FDA develop rational labeling standards.

THOM HARTMANN
Northfield, VT

CORRECTION

Due to an editorial error, the source of a translated quote from the Baal Shem Tov cited in Jonathan Schorsch's "Making Judaism Cool" (March/April 2000) was omitted. The full citation is *Meeting with Remarkable Souls: Legends of the Baal Shem Tov* by Eliahu Klein (Jason Aronson, 1995).

The People *v.* Dr. Laura

Danny Goldberg

Several gay and lesbian groups have been pressuring Paramount Television not to create a television show with Dr. Laura Schlessinger, a widely syndicated radio personality who offers personal advice to her listeners. Dr. Schlessinger, who identifies herself as an Orthodox Jew, has made deeply offensive anti-gay remarks cloaked in her notion of moral religious tradition. Most notoriously she has said, "If you're gay or lesbian, it's a biological error that inhibits you from relating normally to the opposite sex," and "a huge portion of the male homosexual populace is predatory on young boys."

A website called stopdrlaura.com urges people to "flood Paramount with calls.... Paramount is hiding behind a free-speech smoke screen; with 20 million listeners, Dr. Laura has more free speech than she can handle. Don't be fooled. This is about money, big money."

The Gay and Lesbian Alliance Against Defamation (GLAAD) says they "are not trying to stop freedom of speech but [we] call on Paramount to take corporate responsibility and not provide her with another outlet." And David Gold, of a group called Hatewatch, writes, "had similar remarks been made about blacks or Jews, Paramount would never have given her a show."

I agree that Dr. Laura is guilty of repellent bigotry and she should be persistently criticized for it. But I disagree with the pressure campaign on Paramount, as I have disagreed with campaigns such as those raised by Jews against bookstores which carried anti-Semitic books, by feminists opposed to the Larry Flynt movie, or by cultural conservatives who have tried to pressure TV networks and sponsors not to carry programs such as *Married with Children*.

There is no question that such pressure tactics are legal and do not constitute legal censorship. There is no First Amendment issue here; Dr. Laura has the right to be a bigot, and her adversaries have the right to pressure Paramount. But history has shown that such tactics can do real harm to free speech. Blacklisting in the 1950s, which removed hundreds of writers, actors, and directors from the ranks of employability by movie studios and TV networks, was not imposed by government censorship but by public pressure on media corporations and sponsors.

Free speech as a principle only matters when it is granted to one's worst enemy. Anthony Comstock and Queen

Victoria were in favor of free speech for people who agreed with them. As we know it today, free speech has only been dominant since the 1960s. Progress on minority rights has coincided exactly with the opening up of free speech. And today, the free marketplace of ideas that "normalizes" Melissa Etheridge and Ellen DeGeneres also "normalizes" Dr. Laura. I believe that gays and lesbians win respect and power in that media environment far more than they would in one that would muffle both "extremes."

Ironically, Dr. Laura herself has not been a supporter of free speech. She fruitlessly tried every legal tactic to stop the publication of nude photographs of her taken more than twenty years ago. She attacked the American Library Association for giving minors free access to the Internet, attacking in particular a health-related site called "Go Ask Alice," which gives nonjudgmental medical information on sex and drugs, among other topics. Although the nuances of the issues differ, it is much harder politically to defend libraries from Dr. Laura in the context of an effort to pressure Paramount. It seems like a double standard.

This brings us to the comment, inevitable in such debates regardless of the adversaries, that the dispute is "about money." Money, indeed, is involved. But materialism is amoral, and the mere fact that people profit from offensive entertainment does not invalidate the notion of a free marketplace of speech. The value of a policy should not be judged by the motivation behind it but by its ultimate effect. The ultimate effect of legitimizing boycotts and pressure on corporations over free speech issues will be to mute cutting-edge and liberating ideas at exactly the same level as reactionary ones. The net result will be a less progressive, less dynamic society.

If the last several decades have taught progressives anything, it is that we must take the long view. Quick fixes, while emotionally satisfying, often backfire. Patience and commitment to ideals have radically changed the way the U.S. public and its institutions think about race, gender, the environment, and many other issues.

Gays and lesbians have made enormous strides in the free speech era. The correct response to offensive speech is still more speech. It is a good idea to argue with Dr. Laura, to criticize Dr. Laura, and to parody Dr. Laura. It is a good idea to create positive entertainment and commentary celebrating tolerance and diversity. It is a bad idea to help create a sword that can and will be used against anyone with ideas threatening to power. □

Danny Goldberg is copublisher of TIKKUN.

Waking the Dead

Michael Lerner

You've got to see *Waking the Dead*, a beautiful and important film that captures the central predicament facing contemporary American society: how to live a "normal life" in a society that requires that we all "not know" what most of us do know—namely, that the world is deeply screwed up and that we are keeping it that way by playing along as though nothing could possibly be different even though deep down we know that everything could be very different.

The film is the story of a love relationship set in the early Seventies between an idealistic law student determined to "make it" in American society and his independent girlfriend who has become active in support of the victims of Pinochet's murderous regime in Chile. When she is murdered by a car bomb meant for other Chilean activists (a filmic reminder of the murders of Orlando Letellier), the law student does his best to forget all that he has learned and immerses himself in his career. Years later, running for Congress and then in Washington, he finds himself seeing his girlfriend everywhere. Not sure if he is going crazy or if she really is still alive (perhaps she escaped the car bombing after all), he finds himself in deep crisis about living a life filled with compromises that would have been repugnant to the woman he has always loved. What has awakened is his awareness of how dead he has had to become to fit into the "reality" of his world.

Executive producer Jodie Foster and producers Keith Gordon, Stuart Kleinman, and Linda Reisman have given us a gift of immense proportions by reminding us that the hopeful moments of the past cannot be fully eradicated by the dreary stupidity of the repressive present. Breakthrough moments of love remind us that a society based on materialism and narcissistic self-interest is not our only possibility.

Yet it's often hard to remember.

I could start by mentioning the incredible opportunism reflected in Al Gore's call for legislation to make the little Cuban boy Elián González an American citizen. Pundits speculate only about Gore's desire to win Florida, assuming that opportunism is what one does in politics. No one asks

what happened to the Al Gore who once opposed the war in Vietnam. The memory of moments when millions of Americans took personal risks to stand for unpopular principles has disappeared, just as it did for the congressional candidate in *Waking the Dead*.

Underneath that failing memory are layers of insights—here about Cuba—that we once had but with which we've lost touch:

- that the freedom of speech Castro (in my view, inexcusably) limited was never a reality to the overwhelming majority of Cubans under the previous pro-American dictators;
- that the Cuban revolution dramatically improved the education and freedom of women, and the sense of self-worth of the majority of Cubans, without ever reaching the totalitarian extremes of Stalinist Russia or China;
- that tens of thousands of Cubans barraged by American television images of material well-being have "escaped" as refugees to Miami while people who are far more oppressed in Haiti and many other countries have been offered no refuge; and
- that the economic failure of Cuba has been a product of America's economic boycott and blockade (even as we increase trade with far more repressive countries, such as China).

Don't misunderstand. If I were in Cuba I would be struggling against Castro and fighting for a democratic regime there. But the hypocrisy in U.S. policy is possible only because of levels upon levels of forgetting. We have especially forgotten the endless arrogance of American imperial power, which feels free to proclaim its opposition to Cuba even as we simultaneously foster positive relationships with far more repressive regimes.

But this is only one of a zillion levels of repression in a political climate in which Al Gore can act so cynically and yet know that most of us will end up voting for him anyway. Why? Because we (in my view, mistakenly) believe that we would be "throwing our votes away" to vote for someone who shares more of our views but has been dubbed politically irrelevant and thus made so by the media.

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world where people
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Even this is only the beginning of what we've forgotten.

Every day when we eat or overeat, we forget the tens of millions of people who are slowly starving to death. (Is this a misprint? Did Rabbi Lerner really have his facts checked? "Isn't that a bit of exaggeration?" No, it isn't.)

We've forgotten that many of the individual illnesses we experience are linked to environmental poisons that are poured into the air, water, and ground by corporations whose executives pour millions into candidates for office who can be counted on not to demand too many environmental constraints (and who we in turn will be convinced to vote for because they are the "lesser evils").

We've forgotten that we once lived in a world where people sacrificed their own narrow self-interest for the sake of their highest principles—and it felt great and liberating.

We've forgotten that we ourselves really feel best when we are most deeply aligned with the spiritual energy of the universe, most fully actualizing our capacities to be loving and generous and caring for others.

TIKKUN magazine has as one of its goals to revive our memories in this way. Which is why we get excited when we see a film like *Waking the Dead*. Because the first central task of *tikkun olam* is to awaken the dead part within each of us, the part of us that experienced what was possible and then got too scared to hold on to it, too afraid to look at what was really happening and to take the risks involved in changing things. So, like the character in the movie, we let that part of us die, and now it's time for resurrection, for waking the dead consciousness within us and slowly and reassuringly bringing it back to life.



One reason it's so exciting to be conscious at this moment is to see how many people in various ways are awakening the dead parts of themselves and reconnecting to the fullness of our possibilities as beings created in the image of the divine. Yes, it's depressing to watch mainstream politics. But there are millions of people who feel that way as well—and every once in a while a movie like *Waking the Dead*, or, God willing, a book like *Spirit Matters* comes along and reminds us that we are really not alone at all, and that the real task is to recognize each other, see through our various masks, and have confidence that there is enough love, that we are enough, and that together we can go for our highest visions again. □

Two Books to Wake the Dead

SPIRIT MATTERS by Michael Lerner

Written in a conversational tone, *Spirit Matters* helps explain to people how much we've all been hurt by living in a world in which our highest ethical and spiritual aspirations are systematically thwarted, and describes in detail what we could do to build a different kind of world. It will be available in June. Please read it. To get a taste: read the selection on Emancipatory Spirituality (pages 33–38). Please ask your local book-

store to carry and prominently display it (if you talk to the manager, they are often responsive to consumer requests).

THE BANK TELLER AND OTHER ESSAYS ON THE POLITICS OF MEANING by Peter Gabel

In a brilliant set of essays applying the politics of meaning to many contemporary issues, Gabel gives real texture and depth to our joint project of healing and transforming the world.

Michael Lerner and Peter Gabel will be speaking this summer at bookstores, synagogues, churches, university campuses, and other communal meeting places. They hope to meet the people in your community who really agree with what TIKKUN is about and with the vision of *Spirit Matters*. Those face-to-face encounters sometimes help everyone to wake the deadened parts of our highest hopes. Call us at 415-575-1200 to arrange a visit to your community. □

Fathers' Rights

Thane Rosenbaum

A divorced father takes his young son, and without his former wife's consent, embarks on a treacherous journey, risking the child's life and all but assuring that the mother will never see her son again. Along the way, the father drowns, but the child miraculously survives and arrives safely on the shores of freedom. In this new land, the child has remote relatives who wish to become his new parents. Meanwhile, his grieving mother sits in his empty room for over four months and anxiously awaits his return.

Sound familiar? We all know that if you reverse the parental roles, this tragic story parallels the fate of six-year-old Elián González. Elián's father, Juan Miguel González, spent four months waiting in Cuba, distraught and tearful about the son who was taken away from him and held as a Cold War hostage in a war that is no longer hot, except in Miami. González' tears were ignored, as though fathers are incapable of generating that kind of emotion on account of a lost child. Does anyone doubt that had Elián's journey to Florida rendered him fatherless rather than motherless, Americans—and perhaps even the exiled Cuban community of Miami—would have had an altogether different sense of sympathy for the child and his surviving parent?

Indeed, had the situation been reversed, each passing day that Elián remained in Miami might have set off an international incident to reunite the mother with her child. Air Force One would have been enlisted to shuttle Elián home. Few would have had the temerity to question why Elizabet Brotons Rodríguez, Elián's mother, had not come to retrieve her son. And surely no one would have suggested that after four months of living in Florida, Elián's bond with his mother had been irrevocably severed and his emotional ties miraculously transferred to his Miami family.

Of course, this sad and hypocritical incident should once again remind us of the hardships that fathers face when it comes to matters of child custody. Regardless of what progressives, as well as jurists, say or wish to believe, parental rights are not equal. Fathers are routinely valued somewhere below mothers but above strangers—although shockingly, in González' case he seemed to have ranked below even them.

Thane Rosenbaum is the literary editor of TIKKUN.



What González probably doesn't understand is that democracies neither guarantee fairness nor are immune to contradiction. American courts often excuse mothers who act in ways that damage the father-child bond. For example, if a mother unlawfully removes a child from a home without the father's consent and files for divorce, she is seen as heroically pursuing a new life. If a father, however, should ever do the same thing, his picture would immediately be plastered on post offices and milk cartons throughout the country.

One person's freedom fighter is another's kidnapper. When it comes to parental rights, gender makes all the difference in the world. Rodríguez' actions were neither heroic nor virtuous, but rather selfish, cowardly, and surely not in the best interest of her child, who floated on an inner tube for two days and nearly died.

The fact that so many have sought to honor the wishes of Elián's dead mother by having him remain in America is absurd. They are assuming that Rodríguez had the legal and moral right to act on her wishes to the detriment of Elián's father, with whom she shared joint custody of her child.

I grew up in Miami, and so I am well aware of how high the acrimony can run against Castro's Cuba. Unfortunately, however, Cuba is where Elián's father lives.

So in the blind and arrogant rush to nationalize this boy and entitle him to a lifetime of the Miami Dolphins and the Miami Sound Machine, let us not forget that doing so would deprive him of his father. And, if successful, we would also be perpetuating a double standard and prove once again how little regard we have for the paternal bond—as if the only connection that ever matters is the umbilical one, even long after it's been severed.

Yes, freedom is the supreme virtue of American culture, and over time we have made many moral compromises to that end. But with each day that went by in the life of Elián González and his forcibly estranged father, let us at least have the decency to admit that we endorsed and enabled a kidnapping. Because that's what it was. □

INTERVIEW

AN INTERVIEW WITH Budd Schulberg

Jack Newfield with Mark Jacobson

Budd Schulberg, eighty-six, has been one of America's most popular novelists and screenwriters for sixty years. His novels include *What Makes Sammy Run?* and *The Disenchanted*. He won an Academy Award for the screenplay of *On the Waterfront*. After the Watts riots in August 1965, Schulberg founded the Watts Writers' Workshop. He has been a liberal, anti-Communist activist since the 1950s.

TIKKUN: Budd, let's start with the creative origins of *On the Waterfront*, the film you wrote the screenplay for, one of the greatest films ever.

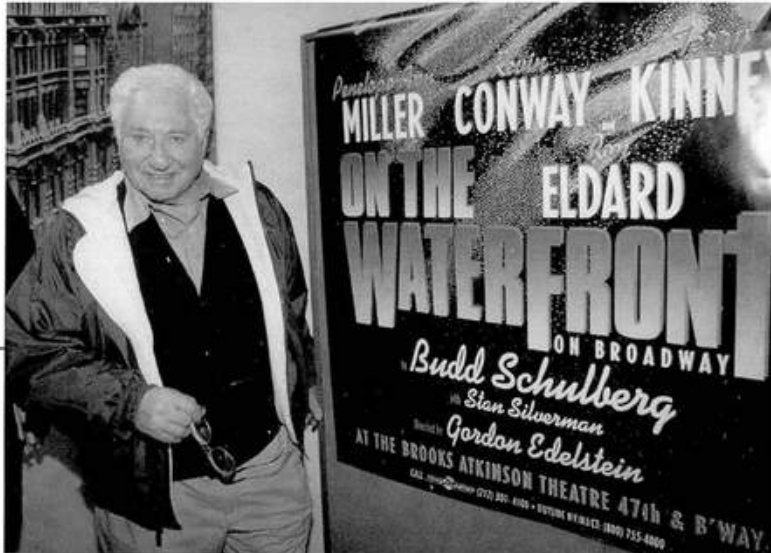
SCHULBERG: Around 1950, Joe Curtis, a pretty good director, came to me and asked me if I had read the series in the *New York Sun* called "Crime on the Waterfront." I'm always interested in that kind of thing, so I wrote a screenplay called *Crime on the Waterfront*. But we could not get the movie done.

The next step, I get a call from Elia Kazan. I'd never met him, but I'd seen him on Broadway. He was an actor. He asked if I would be interested in doing a film with a social background in the Northeast. I mentioned the waterfront and the script I had done.

Kazan was interested. I picked up all the leads I had from Malcolm Johnson, who won the Pulitzer Prize for the "Crime on the Waterfront" series, and I went down to see Father Corrigan on the Lower West Side. At first he said, "Look, we don't need a Hollywood movie," but I kept going back.

I started to hang out with the guys that were in the rebel longshoreman movement. Father Corrigan was really acting like an honest organized labor leader. He was telling them what the issues were. And once I gained his confidence, it dawned on him that I might be someone that they needed to get the story out. I lived with them, actually stayed in their tenements, got very involved. And on the basis of that I wrote the treatment, which I called "The Bottom of the River." It was a very familiar phrase: you're gonna wind up on the bottom. And it happened—not every day, but every other day.

Jack Newfield is the author of six books and a columnist for the *New York Post*. His three-hour documentary film on Robert Kennedy aired on the Discovery Network.



TIKKUN: Some people say that the intent behind the movie was to create a distinction between being a whistleblower and being a defector as a rebuttal for those who criticized what you and Kazan did at the House Un-American Activities Committee.

SCHULBERG: It wasn't that way. Can you imagine Kazan coming to me and saying, "Budd, I want to write a movie that justifies my testimony before the Un-American Activities Committee ..." and me saying, "Jesus, I just can't wait to do that!"? What happened was that as I researched, I was still working on the ending. I attended the hearings of the waterfront commission every day for forty days, just the way anybody writing for the *Herald Tribune* was doing it. I told Kazan that I felt that life was writing the end of our film.

Not only was I at the hearings, but I was in the basement with Father Corrigan while he was talking to these guys. And Corrigan was saying very much what Father Berry says in the movie: "The only chance to break the power of these sons of bitches is to testify because the spotlight is on us." These guys were saying, "But Father, I'll get killed, they'll kill me." I saw all that and reported it to Kazan. It was very dramatic stuff. And then, after seeing Father Corrigan work on them in the basement, I watched them up there testifying. I didn't have to write very much, I just had to report what I was seeing.

TIKKUN: What got you to join the Communist Party?

SCHULBERG: That's a huge question, Jack. It's an all-day and all-night question. You have to understand the feeling that young people had in 1933 that fascism was growing and growing. Our Bible was not exactly Karl Marx, it was, like, John Strachey's *The Coming Struggle for Power*. With the world in the mess that it was, it seemed like we were seeing the breakdown of capitalism in the Western world and in America, in a country like ours, with millions of people out of work because of the Depression. The impact of it was all around us. I mean, we really saw people in double-breasted suits selling apples, and suicide, and all the rest of it.

The argument was that democracy is a luxury of capitalism, and when capitalism is threatened with its own failure and the revolution of the workers, at that point it goes from democracy to fascism. We saw it in Germany, we saw it in Italy; it was on everybody's mind, right, middle, and left.

And it seemed to us idealistic kids that the vanguard of the movement for the working class and for the future of the world was the Communist Party. We didn't exactly rush in and join it, we sort of backed into it. We realized that even though we were upper-middle-class people, our sympathies were with the working class, and the working class was getting oppressed and getting the shit kicked out of it.

TIKKUN: Could you describe a little bit what it was like to be a young Communist at that time?

SCHULBERG: It was a lot of work. It was very well organized. We were in cells based on the European underground, eight or nine in a cell. We'd meet every week with a definite agenda. Everybody had an assignment. You had to work in a front organization. Somebody would work on the Young Democrats, the Screenwriters Guild, someone in the group against war and fascism. We all worked very diligently at it but it took a lot of time and study and energy.

TIKKUN: What was the process of disillusionment, when you finally quit? What opened your eyes?

SCHULBERG: Two or three steps I think. In the Thirties [there were the] Moscow trials. We worried about whether Karl Radek, the outstanding Soviet writer/journalist, really was working with a traitor who worked with the Nazis. We were shaken a little bit. But they sent in the great explainers—Herbert Biberman, Sam Minstrom—and they would say, “We understand because you come from the bourgeoisie, you would not have the same understanding of the working class. You're confused.” And we'd be ... shaken, but we went on.

What happened next was a big step. About three years later, Bennett Cerf was at Random House. He had come up to Dartmouth and read the daily paper, which I edited. I wrote a series on the marble workers. He read it and called me and said he was very impressed with this stuff and if I ever wanted to write a novel, he would give me a contract.

By about 1938 I had written a couple of short stories for *Liberty* magazine, one called “What Makes Sammy Run,” and another called “Love Comes to Sammy Glick.” I talked to Cerf about making them into a novel [and he gave me a contract to do it]. I then went to my cell and said, “I want to be excused from my assignments.” That's when my troubles started. They said, “Well, why?” I said, “Because I want to write a book.” And they said, “Outline the book and submit it to the boss,” who was John Howard Lawson, “and see if he agrees that this will be more valuable for the Party than what you're doing.” I said, “I don't want to do that.” I was raised in Hollywood. I already objected to the way writers were treated by Louis B. Mayer and so forth, and now I was getting the same feeling on the other side.

I can understand that from where they were coming from, everything had to be valuable to the Party, otherwise

why let this kid out of his assignments, but I said, “No, I don't want to do that.” That then became a problem. I finally talked to Lawson about it. He was the head of the Party in Hollywood. He was the boss no matter what.

TIKKUN: He had a charter from Moscow?

SCHULBERG: Practically. Lawson was a gifted playwright in the Twenties, he wrote some marvelous stuff. I almost believe that becoming a functionary of the Party destroyed him as a playwright. Anyway, he said, “Budd, you must understand that this book will take a year or so and we're fighting against fascism and all the rest of it and we would have to see.” I said, “I just can't work that way.”

Meanwhile I'm getting little squeaks about what's happening in Moscow. I went to the 1934 International Writers' Congress in Moscow that Gorky presided over. Fantastic. Marvelous. Jesus Christ, we're in the room, and you get a chill. I remember Gorky with his little skullcap, like a yarmulke. As it turned out, everyone who talked in 1934, except a few of the Stalin favorites, was gone by 1939. About the same

time that I was having my troubles with Lawson, they were having more than trouble. When Lawson couldn't convince me, V. J. Jerome was brought in; that was like saying Stalin. V. J. Jerome was a terrifying figure.

TIKKUN: Can you describe the scene a little bit?

SCHULBERG: He was very imperious and cold. I realized I was in a whole new area. This was not a Hollywood Communist or a fellow writer; this was some new element. The chill in the air—it was like, how dare you even consider yourself a member of the Communist Party. He said, “Once we decide this, there is no excuse for not carrying out your assignments. You have to realize your responsibility to the Party.”

It was the start of a change. I was still sort of pro-Soviet Union and still thinking that this is the future of the world, that maybe we've seen the future in the works. I wasn't yet over, but I knew that the Party was a very different animal from what we idealistically, in 1935 and 1936, thought it was. And that this was not in any way an intellectual exchange or discussion. This was, “Do it or else.”

TIKKUN: So what did you do?

SCHULBERG: I went back to my wife and said, “Georgie, I think we have to leave.” Now, leaving is another thing you don't understand in 1999. You couldn't leave. You couldn't get on a train and go to New York. You had to ask for permission to go to New York.

TIKKUN: Sounds like it was like a cult.

SCHULBERG: Well, yes, I guess so. It was very tightly organized. If you were going to stay a week, ten days, vacation, so forth, okay, you can be excused for a week. If you're gonna stay a month, two months, three months, then they would arrange for you to be transferred to some contact in New York.

I went back to my wife and said, “Georgie, I think we have to leave.”

So what we did was, we just got in the car. It was a very strange feeling. I mean, it sounds crazy today that you'd think that driving somewhere you want to go was a major act, but that was my major act. We drove back to Vermont, where I started working on *Sammy*.

It's a very strange feeling. When you leave the Party, you feel sort of scared. You feel like an orphan. As the daily events happen, you're so used to sort of discussing them and being guided as to how to react to them. I remember the feeling of reading the *Times* or something and having to decide for myself how to react. You miss the camaraderie. It's so tight, and it's sort of secure, and you feel lonely.

TIKKUN: What did the Party do to you when you left?

SCHULBERG: For a while friends were still friendly.

At some point around 1940 the group met and sort of expelled me around the same time that I quit. I didn't formally quit; I just left, which is bad. You can't do that.

TIKKUN: What was the reaction when *What Makes Sammy Run* was published?

SCHULBERG: Charles Glenn, the reviewer for the *People's World*, which was the Western edition of the *Daily Worker*, reviewed *Sammy* very favorably. He said, "This is the first Hollywood novel that takes the side of the writers against the producers in a class struggle in Hollywood," which it did. It was a radical book.

Now, a week later Lawson and company summoned him to Hollywood and pointed out to him his political mistakes in having praised this book. One week later Charles Glenn writes in the same *People's World*, he actually says, "It has been pointed out to me ...," and then he goes on and just kills the book, I mean, demolishes the book, the same reviewer a week later.

By this time I'm realizing this is what is happening in the Soviet Union. You make a mistake, you're called in, you either take it back or you go to the Gulag. And these are guys who they call progressives. Victor Navasky still calls John Howard Lawson a progressive. A progressive is what we know in Wisconsin. I consider Navasky a neo-Stalinist because he should know better.

TIKKUN: Once you left the Party you always remained a radical anti-Communist or a liberal anti-Communist while so many other people became right-wingers. How did you keep that equilibrium?

SCHULBERG: Very easily. The same feelings that brought you into the Party, I mean those feelings never change. And then you realize this is the wrong vehicle, and you come out of it. It seems to me that is the more normal way to go. I believe that the Communists became a reactionary force in America, and that we had to really continue the real left-wing movement in America. I think the Party enormously damaged what would have been a much stronger, healthier America—groups like the labor party or the left wing. I



think the Communists really sucked in so much of the energy of that time.

TIKKUN: Do you think the Communists made it impossible to create great art with that kind of thought control or by imposing politics on the imagination?

SCHULBERG: I strongly do. For instance, when still a good Communist, I would say to myself, "Jesus, I think Faulkner is a very, very good writer. But Faulkner cannot be a good writer, Faulkner is a reactionary." There were some people who would argue that the Party should take a much more flexible attitude toward art. These arguments were going on in the cell meetings.

TIKKUN: Was it an easy decision for you or a hard decision for you when you had to testify in front of the McCarthy committee?

SCHULBERG: It was not an easy thing to do. But I felt that it was sort of necessary. Everybody thinks it was just the McCarthy right wing but, you see, there was a left-wing anti-Communist movement going on.

TIKKUN: Who was in it?

SCHULBERG: Dwight Macdonald, people like that. Kazan was quite active and I think that Molly [Kazan's wife] had enormous influence on Kazan testifying. She felt strongly that we needed a sort of left-wing answer and that the Communists were dangerous. Maybe not to the country so much, they weren't going to overthrow the country, but they were dangerous to artists and to the left-wing movement.

TIKKUN: Can you describe your feelings when it became apparent that you might be called to testify?

SCHULBERG: I was watching it like everybody else. Maybe by 1952 I thought it was likely that I would be named.

TIKKUN: Who named you?

SCHULBERG: Richard Collins. Collins had been the chairman of the sort of intellectual police committee that expelled me. He had worked with my father. I think I got him the job.

TIKKUN: Can you describe the scene?

SCHULBERG: Oh, God. You've watched it and seen it. The crowded room, big room. Very strange feeling. It's not your favorite activity. Given the circumstances you can't say, "I refuse to testify on the grounds that it will incriminate me." They already knew the somewhat public fight I'd had with the Party. They knew the whole thing. Every step of it, inside and out.

TIKKUN: What was your feeling about the people who were asking the questions?

SCHULBERG: I don't think these were the best people I ever met in my life. I signed a protest about their methods. I think that they were not diligent enough. I think that they rushed to judgment about people and they were fairly reactionary. But I thought at the same time that if they'd been investigating the Ku Klux Klan, the Communist Party would have supported the investigation, just as in Minneapolis the Party actually supported the Smith Act when it was used against the Teamsters.

TIKKUN: Was there an element of liberal anti-Communist principle when you testified?

SCHULBERG: Definitely. And I think that's something that nobody knows anything about, except a few people that were there. I didn't have to testify to keep in with Hollywood. Bennett Cerf at Random House had told me, "Whatever you say, I don't care one way or the other." I would have gone on writing and publishing. Until Kazan came I never really thought I would go back there.

TIKKUN: Did the Kazan thing last year really bring back a lot of stuff?

SCHULBERG: Yes it did. It infuriated me, because the new generation, if you ask them about Kazan, they'll say all they know about him is him testifying. I thought it was outrageous not to say on every single show, "Look, whatever you feel about this—and there is some division—the reason he's getting this award is that he brought to Hollywood an acting style, the Stanislavsky method, and he made a series of liberal films." Nobody has made as many liberal films as Kazan consciously did.

And then you had all those shows. Rod Steiger saying that if he had known that Kazan was going to testify, he would never have appeared in *On the Waterfront*. Now, he said this about twelve times on different shows. Not one reporter said, "Mr. Steiger, as a matter of fact, Kazan testified eighteen months before you were in the film." Not one! He went right to the end saying this.

TIKKUN: Tell me about the Watts Writers' Workshop that you founded. Did it just come out of watching the Watts riots and feeling something had to be done?

SCHULBERG: I was living in Beverly Hills, watching the riots like everyone else, on television. I felt drawn to it. The morning the curfew was lifted, I went down there. The fires were not burning, but there was a lot of smoke. You would

see one building still intact and everything around it gone. And that sort of had its own language.

It sounds pretentious to say, but I felt I came out of a tradition of socially active writers. I just felt it was a responsibility. I was raised in Los Angeles, and I just felt some need to go down there. I didn't know what I was going to do.

The next morning I went down there. I went into the Westminster Neighborhood Association and told them that I would like to know more about it and think about what one person could do. The social worker, Bobbi Holland was

her name, sort of angrily said, "Well, you know, the high school is terrible. There are some kids who are geniuses down here, just full of ideas that are not being released." I said, "Well, maybe I can start a writers' workshop." I put a notice on the board of the Westminster about the Watts Writers' Workshop, and that's how it started.

TIKKUN: Who was the first person to show up?

SCHULBERG: For two or three months nobody came, then Charlie Johnson showed up. I read out loud from *Manchild in the Promised Land*, and when I read about the Harlem riots and looting from the grocery stores, his reaction was just amazement. He said, "I didn't know you were allowed to write that." People started to come in and bring in poems. Some of these guys could really write. Some of them—you know, Johnny Scott is a tenured professor at California State University, Northridge, and a published poet. And Quincy Troupe is really quite a well-known poet. He also wrote a book on Miles Davis.

TIKKUN: I didn't realize he came out of the writers' workshop.

SCHULBERG: What really kicked it off was, I published the poems in *Los Angeles Magazine*. Johnny Scott, Jimmy Sherman, and a mysterious kid called Ymmas Sirrah, which is Sammy Harris spelled backwards, who really wrote just amazing stuff. The words he used were so abstract, I would ask him what they meant, and he didn't know. I showed it to a number of people who thought he had stolen it from Blake. I asked him, and he said, "Blake who?" Very strange. But anyway, *Time* magazine wrote a very laudatory piece, and that helped, and then more people came.

TIKKUN: Since 1964 how many writers have come through the Writers' Workshop? Is it still going?

SCHULBERG: Well, out of the Watts I would say forty or fifty. Then it came east in 1969, 1970, as an offshoot, and it got much, much bigger, even though it doesn't have any of the cachet. We need a friendly riot or something to kick it up, to dramatize it. It's a school now, with like twelve workshops, and there are about 350 students. So thousands have come through there and many have changed their lives. They haven't all become famous, but it's had enormous success.

TIKKUN: Thank you. □

The CIA and the (Jewish) Liberals

Some Fresh Perspectives

Paul Buble

Sidney Hook, Irving Kristol, Daniel Bell, Nathan Glazer, Seymour M. Lipset: the core of Jewish neo-conservative pioneers. What do they have in common with liberal Cold Warriors like Arthur Schlesinger, Jr., Lionel Trilling, Saul Bellow, Arthur Koestler, Leslie Fiedler, Isaiah Berlin, Dwight Macdonald, Elliot Cohen of *Commentary*, Sol Levitan of the *New Leader*, and William Phillips of the *Partisan Review*? These notables, along with a circle of professors and literary critics, offered a public face for the CIA through the CIA's own pet intellectual creations, the Congress for Cultural Freedom (CCF, 1950–1967) and the more short-lived American Committee for Cultural Freedom (ACCF, 1950–1957).

The story of this cooperation between the Cold War liberals and the CIA hasn't been a secret since *Ramparts* magazine published the then-scandalous revelation in 1967, followed by an in-depth essay by Christopher Lasch in the *New York Review of Books*. But somehow the message has been lost or forgotten until now, with recent further Freedom of Information Act discoveries, capped by British author Frances Stonor Saunders' controversial volume, *The Cultural Cold War: The CIA and the World of Arts and Letters*. The revelations in 1967 certainly did nothing to stop the CIA's covert activities on the culture front. The CCF and its lavish international conferences had another decade to run, and the publication of hundreds of CIA-funded or CIA staff-written scholarly volumes on many political subjects (with their financial sources carefully hidden) had scarcely begun.

More striking, however, is the extent to which the CIA's backing of Cold War liberals has been forgotten in accounts of the demise of the Left as an important force in late-twentieth-century American politics. To this day, intellectuals assert that the bright and brimming promise of American liberalism was lost because leaders of the New Left were too stubborn or irrational to place themselves on the side of the



labor movement and the liberal Cold Warriors. Driven away by the anti-Americanism of the New Left, the anti-Semitism of Black Power, and the cultural unruliness of the emerging culture, Cold War liberals claim they had no choice but to leave their historic home on the Left and become the neo-conservatives they are today.

Yet the evidence of these liberals' involvement in CIA activity suggests they had already left the Left. So set had they become through a combination of personal career advancement, knee-jerk anti-communism, and post-socialist assumptions that not even the most polite movement could have kept them aboard the foundering liberal ship. Just look at the money trail. According to Saunders, the Cold War hard-line but social-democratic *New Leader* was pulled back from collapse in the early 1950s by an injection of \$10,000 from CIA subsidiaries and regular further advances from friendly sources. In 1965, the quarterly *Public Interest* (co-edited by Bell and Kristol) entered the fray considerably rightward, with \$10,000 from the same sources. The line had already changed while the New Left was still in babyhood.

A New Generation

The issue was not just the money, however. The great appeal of the Congress for Cultural Freedom at the time was probably the celebrity and personal connections it fostered more than anything else, a chance for a new generation to make its mark. McCarthyism had destroyed Popular Front intellectuals more thoroughly than their own disillusionment with Russian Communism had, including the majority who'd jumped the Communist Party ship

Paul Buble's largely Jewish memory book, *Images of American Radicalism (Christopher)*, recently appeared in paperback. He teaches radical history at Brown University.

but refused to testify against their friends and their own past liberal-left involvements. Some of the formerly highest-paid screenwriters in Hollywood, prestigious actors, playwrights, cultural impresarios, and novelists were finished, along with the political vision of a Democratic Party big enough for the New Deal and the Popular Front. Liberals who supported the Cold War, some but by no means all of them former Trotskyists or certified "New York Intellectuals," were now to have *their* day, their cocktail parties and international flings, their charismatic cultural figures, and their favorite causes.

We can trace this generational shift through each group's embrace of the arts. In notable contrast to the Popular Fronters, who swooned to the sound of Paul Robeson singing "Ballad for Americans" and wrote films for the likes of Katharine Hepburn, Cary Grant, Mickey Rooney, Lucille Ball, John Garfield, Hopalong Cassidy, Abbott and Costello, and numerous other pop culture stars, the Cold War liberals were militant High Culture types. Popular Fronters had grown up artistically in and around New Deal public works culture; for better or worse, they mined the artistic veins of folkish humanism (including its themes of oppression, alienation, social solidarity, and an early version of multiculturalism). The Cold War crowd urged a distinctly different scheme of cultural uplift, best symbolized by their appreciation of action painting and their disdain of mass culture (Schlesinger himself warned of the "dangerous inroads upon the moral fabric of American culture" caused by the "lowering and softening of artistic standards in a pseudo-democratic direction"). They celebrated the artistic escape from restraint, most ironically amidst a burst of university expansion and endowed chairs, of grant-giving foundations and of hot-selling intellectual paperbacks—in short, the very kinds of perks and useful connections that the CIA expanded through the CCF/ACCF. For a while, they were on top of their world. Yet a mere decade later, the Cold War liberals nevertheless found themselves thoroughly out of fashion among the young, i.e., the next generation of intellectuals. With the help of the Bob Dylan-loving, anti-war, counter-cultural, and feminist New Left, the Cold Warriors' old enemies (in real life, unrecovered from blacklisting) and even their kitschy tastes had somehow triumphed again.

This real and perceived constellation of generational events helps explain, at least as well as Vietnam does, the growing rage of once-distinguished liberals at radicalized undergraduates ("spoiled brats who posed as revolutionaries while being subsidized by their parents," a *New York Times* staffer recently called them), at peacenik junior professors, at Marxist graduate students, and at the newer

vogues of scholarship. It does not quite explain so well why, after all this time and the further passage of generations, the *New York Times*, the *New Republic*, or for that matter the *New Yorker* seem to cling so firmly to the memory of the 1950s giants and the reverence of the CCF's favored New York Intellectuals. Perhaps we can understand better by reconstructing the intelligence role in the intellectual/cultural scene at midcentury and unraveling its larger significance.

Cold Warriors All

The story goes back to the dawn of the Cold War era. A few years after former Communist leader and then-current AFL functionary Jay Lovestone hired his political lieutenant Irving Brown on agency funds during the 1940s to set up a covert global network, the two found the perfect counterpart and collaborator in the stridently anti-Communist leader of the Americans for Democratic Action, Arthur Schlesinger, Jr. Brown and Schlesinger began, as Saunders painstakingly details, with projects dispensing millions in secret Marshall Plan funds to U.S. supporters in Europe. Plans proceeded onward, greatly aided when super-spy Allen Dulles joined the CIA as director in 1950.

National Security Directive NSC-68 specifically created an International Operations Division (IOD) that could handle the dispensing of very large sums through an assortment of false fronts. Thus CCF hit the ground running that same year with a well-funded

and highly publicized meeting in Berlin. The IOD's second director, Cord Meyer, was Schlesinger's close friend and a longtime personal liaison with the CIA. Its first director, Thomas Braden, ultimately blew the whistle on the whole program.

The high-prestige CCF events, more of them in Europe than in the United States, have been discussed so often that a mere description sounds like a rerun. Invitees flew and hoteled first class, wine and dined in a fashion that understandably thrilled the sons and daughters of the immigrant lower class, chatted with more distinguished European counterparts, and listened to political presentations and concerts. Many of them contributed to the CCF's own journal, *Encounter* (staffed, according to Braden, directly by a CIA field officer—a charge that Kristol, one of the editors, denies), or to the *Partisan Review* (itself bailed out with \$10,000 from the Luce Foundation and \$2,500 from CCF "festival funds"). Viewed at the time as a sort of "Cultural NATO" (Saunders' phrase), these events and personalities seem from our later perspective a good deal less monumental than, say, Elvis Presley's contemporary appearance on

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American Bandstand. But such postmodern judgments misunderstand how far-flung and tenacious intellectual influences can be, at least within the world of intellectuals.

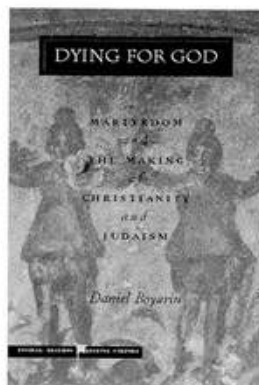
The intelligence operation quickly developed a wide spectrum of useful allies in various foundations, 170 in all, many of them mere fronts or "pass throughs" (legitimate or artificial constructions for passing along CIA funds). The foundations in turn subsidized a family of like-minded journals, from *Kenyon Review*, *Hudson Review*, and *Daedalus* in the United States to *Transition* (in Uganda), *Censorship* (in London), and less-remembered magazines from Asia to the Middle East to Latin America. The "pass through" Fairfield Foundation, to take an interesting case, listed for the early 1960s literally hundreds of grants to intellectuals, artists, musicians, and dancers for travel and study. Few, it may be surmised, went to the politically suspect. According to Saunders, CIA viewpoints on politics and culture would also be aired through articles arranged for the commercial press, from slick magazines to leading newspapers.

Knowledgeable participants in such activities have argued, in self-defense, that the CIA operation actually served as a benefactor of the arts and of serious discussion in ways that European governments consider normal. This rationalization always seems to avoid not only the absolute secrecy of the funding but the extraordinary effort put into denial and deception. Braden himself observed to a

sympathetic interviewer (the biographer of Irving Brown) that the secrecy was essential for the funding and operations to continue. Describing AFL-CIO president George Meany's flat-footed denials of agency operations within labor: "For Meany to have admitted CIA money would have absolutely ruined the AFL.... Meany also would have been regarded as an absolute scoundrel by his closest European allies." Fortunately, Braden concluded, Meany "had the persona to carry this off." Within the labor movement, the spell of intelligence agencies remained firm until the 1990s, thanks largely to the centralized power at the top. The CIA's favorite intellectuals fared less well—they had to contend with the new anti-war generation that had arisen to protest Vietnam.

The scale and scope of the Fairfield Foundation's grants had already raised the suspicions of congressional investigators before the Tonkin Bay Resolution, and topical British television comedy had hinted at certain well-known U.S. financial connections to certain cultural luminaries. With the growing unpopularity of the war, intellectuals simply could no longer be kept in line. Arthur Schlesinger, Jr., reflected later that he *should* have switched the funding to "open" agencies during the Kennedy years and thus, presumably, disguised the internal logic of the operation more effectively. By 1965 or so, the essential secrets began to

(continued on page 60)



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Fighting the Trans-Israel Highway

David I. Block

The fight in Israel over the Trans-Israel Highway, Israel's first toll road and first privatized road, is an expression of the dissolution of the Israeli ethos, yet at the same time is quintessentially Israeli. On this battlefield, where protesters handcuff themselves to bulldozers, traditional enemies unite against new adversaries. On one side, secular Jews join the religious traditionalists who despise them to extract profit from a nature that the traditionalists perceive only as an expression of G-d's will. On the other side, Israeli Arabs join with both religious traditionalists and secular Jews who understand that the fight against the highway is not only a battle for Israel's soul, but for its very existence.

The ten-lane highway, which polls show a majority of Israelis oppose, will run the length of the country, from the Galilee to the Negev. Approximately 75 mostly poor communities will have their land taken by the highway, including over 6,000 Arab families within Israel who will be uprooted and who have vowed to do whatever it takes to keep their land. Among all Israelis, the increased dependence on automobiles which the highway will promote, in a country with striking disparities between rich and poor, can only lead to increased social unrest at a time when Israel can least afford it. In a land where some families have two or three cars but most have none, the decision to build the highway could well jeopardize the ability of Israel to maintain itself socially and ecologically.

On the ecological side, the highway may well be disastrous. The air pollution levels in some Israeli cities, which have already reached the level of American urban areas like Los Angeles, will intensify with the increase in traffic that will come with the road. Runoff from the highway will pollute waterways and endanger wildlife habitats, and scientists believe that increased concrete and asphalt will actually reduce rainfall and direct aquifer recharge, a very serious concern for a country now looking to import drinking water from Turkey.

The attempt to use nature for profit or religion at the expense of people blurs the distinction between social and ecological issues. Henry Gold, an environmental consultant who regularly puts in forty-hour pro bono weeks in the fight against the highway, has helped to put together a coal-



tion of forty-two environmental and social groups, spanning Israelis from every possible political perspective—from the National Religious Party and Likud to Meretz to Green Action to Arab. Noting that Israel has one of the largest disparities between rich and poor within the Western world, Gold argues that "it's not a fight about a highway, it's a fight about social structure. We are subsidizing a highway that is going to be used by 20 to 30 percent of the population." He points out that the fight is between "women, children, Arabs, [and] the religious" who are dependent on public transport and won't use the highway on one side, and "businessmen who want a highway for their McDonalds and their gas stations" on the other.

Opponents are concerned not just about the ten-lane highway, but about the parallel development of strip malls and suburbs and business parks, creating urban and suburban sprawl from Tel Aviv to Jerusalem. Many charge that the desire for development, more than transportation considerations, is pushing the move for the highway. Since the land surrounding the highway is being sold in large chunks, development will tend towards large retail outlets and malls designed to benefit from—and to spur—increased traffic. It is not a coincidence that the same corporations that build malls and gas stations are already investing in the highway. For example, the Africa Israel Corporation (one of the prospective highway contractors) is part owner of the Alon gas station chain and develops shopping malls.

In order to entice financial backing of the private construction, the Treasury has guaranteed to make up the difference should toll revenue fall below a certain point.

PHOTOGRAPH BY EYAL MORAG / GREEN COURSE

David I. Block is the environment chair of Congregation B'nai Jesburun of New York City.

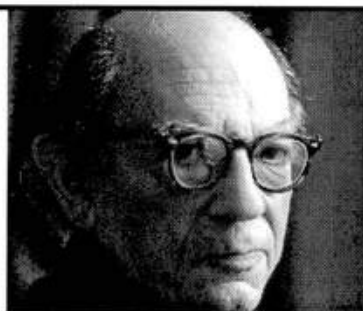
Critics of the highway charge that this guarantee makes it unlikely that Israel will build mass transportation which might compete for that toll revenue, cutting off the majority of Israelis who are too young or too old to drive or who otherwise do not have access to cars. Israel is roughly the same size as the Netherlands and is projected to have the same population density as both the Netherlands and the Los Angeles region; hence, it can model its transit infrastructure after either one. Rather than follow the Dutch model of compact cities and towns centered on mass transit, pedestrian walkways, and bicycle routes, the highway will force Israel to emulate Los Angeles.

Education Minister Yossi Sarid told the Knesset in December that the highway is "irrelevant to our transport concerns, and eats up land." He puts the danger this highway poses very succinctly: "We're not going to be a country with a highway, but a highway with a country."

Cultures tend to view nature as an extension of society. From even before its inception as a state, Israel was renowned for its traditionally compact, community-based settlements. Influenced by the kibbutz movement, everyone lived either in relatively small, densely spaced individual homes or in apartment buildings, setting aside the remaining land for agriculture. Though the kibbutzniks were secular, their embrace of a culture of boundaries, sacrifice, and

discipline was not far removed from the culture of religious Judaism, which itself has a long tradition of separation: of *keishrut* from *traif*, men from women, Jews from non-Jews, sacred from profane, and, by building a fence around it, the Torah from everything else. Nascent Israeli society acted on the belief that individual freedoms and desires must be contained, bound tightly by the social fabric woven securely by our obedience to G-d and our desire for G-d to keep us separate and protected from the Others. If we maintained these boundaries, prophetic Judaism promised, G-d would protect us from natural disasters and provide for us bountiful harvests.

The relationship of both secular and traditional Jews to the land changed severely after the 1967 war. With the annexation of new territory, the traditional culture that sought to preserve the land as an extension of G-d's will quickly became a culture that worshipped the land itself. Believing the land was theirs to rule, both secular kibbutzniks and religious Jews too easily accepted the role of occupier. Yeshayahu Leibowitz, in his essay "The Territories," written shortly after the war, predicted that this decision to retain rule over the occupied territories would have tragic consequences. He suggested that the religious traditionalists, in arguing that the land has biblical significance, were actually idolizing the land, thus corrupting the very religion they strove to maintain. Instead of Jews working together on the



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LINES THAT DIVIDE

land and in all levels of society, the process of maintaining rule over a hostile population of 1.5 to 2 million foreigners within the territories would have significant social repercussions. Arguing that hierarchical relationships would necessarily develop between Jewish Israelis and the Others, he predicted that in a few years there would be no Jewish workers or Jewish farmers, that Arabs would be the working people and Jews the administrators, inspectors, officials, and police. In short, he predicted the dissolution of Israeli social fabric and boundaries as surely as the boundaries of the country itself.

The culmination of Leibowitz' forecast came with the Intifada in the early 1980s. The way many Israelis felt about the Intifada was analogous to how many Americans felt in early 1968 during the Tet Offensive in Vietnam—that moment when many of us realized that maybe we were not on the side of all that is right and pure and good in the world, and maybe we were not going to win this thing after all. In his book *Rubber Bullets*, Yaron Ezrahi writes about watching an Israeli soldier on television raise his rifle to an unarmed Palestinian. At that moment he wanted to simultaneously cover the eyes of his father, who could not bear to watch what Israel had become, and to pry open the eyes of his son, to force him to see his future. Like the American Vietnam experience, the Intifada led to the evaporation of the unquestioned faith that many people had in the army, in its leadership, and in the justness of any battle in which it engaged. Losing such faith often leads to cynicism, and to a retreat into individualism at the expense of the values of the tarnished society as a whole. Instead of a nature to be managed and conserved in order to sustain the nation, people began to see natural resources to be manipulated, extracted, and used up to create profit. With this, Israeli culture began to dissolve, and the tightly woven community unraveled, sprawling out over the countryside.

It seems, in fact, that many of Leibowitz' predictions have come true. Dr. Uri Shanas, an Israeli who recently returned after a lengthy sojourn in New York, remembers that "the kibbutzim used to be the symbol of land lovers, and of devotion to the land of Israel. We used to say that the people of Israel returned to their land and the kibbutz people are symbolizing this movement. Now these socialists turned into the worst capitalists. There is nothing left from the old kibbutz, and I am glad I don't belong to this movement anymore." The dissolution of the "old kibbutzim" is illustrated by the population that now works on them. As Leibowitz predicted, it is difficult to find "Jewish workers or Jewish farmers" in Israel today. There are currently 70,000 legal foreigners and 80,000 illegal foreigners in the country. As on the kibbutz, so in the rest of Israel. The social fabric previously incubated on the kibbutzim has been corrupted. As Israelis accept a new hierarchical order in which others—particularly non-Jewish Others—do their work for them, Israeli culture has become permeated with new, primarily American, ideals.

The Trans-Israel Highway illustrates how this sprawl reinforces the hierarchical inequities that broke down those communities. The bypass and connecting roads that were already built over the last three or four years have created disjointed sections of the West Bank, potentially producing bantustans in which Palestinians can be disconnected from each other and easily controlled. As the highway is developed, Israelis who do not have access to cars will find mass transit starting to atrophy rather than competing with the toll road for revenue, and this will exacerbate the already-existing divisions between rich and poor. Finally, and most ironically, the very land the settlers idolized will begin to decay, as the highway disrupts the economy of the region. By occupying and idolizing land, Israelis' attempts to dominate nature threaten the nature of Israel itself.

Jews for several millennia have lined up, admirably, shoulder to shoulder, in the face of great odds, to fight common enemies. Recently, the breakdown of Israeli culture has tended to pit Jew against Jew, traditional against secular, demonizing each in the eyes of the other, in a fight for traditional values of Halachah and biblical justice against secularized notions of freedom. This makes it all the more remarkable that a broad spectrum of members of Knesset, led by hawkish Likud party member Uzi Landau, Zevulun Orlev of the National Religious Party, and Anat Maor of the left-wing Meretz, have visited the site to publicize their opposition to the highway, as has Dalia Itzhik, the environment minister. In fact, 58 of the 120 Knesset members, including seven ministers, have signed petitions to reexamine the highway. The opposition to the highway, in fact, has been called a "Rainbow Coalition" by the *Jerusalem Post*.

Yet the bulldozers continue to roll. Professor Heinrich Mendelssohn, who is Israel's leading zoologist, a winner of the Israel Prize, and one of the founders of both Tel Aviv University and the Society for the Protection of Nature in Israel, was interviewed earlier this year by the Israeli newspaper *Ha'aretz*. At eighty-nine, he has seen the country evolve from before its inception. In the interview, he says, "there is no conservation in Israel; there is only accelerated development. They are investing in the Trans-Israel Highway; I'm no transportation expert, but I know that that highway is an ecological disaster, because it destroys huge swathes of the countryside. If they continue, we will reach the stage where all that we will have here will be a steel and concrete ghetto with parking lots. I'm very sorry, because the country was very beautiful. The Arabs destroyed part of it, the British destroyed another part, and the Jews destroyed the rest."

If the highway is completed, there will be no way back. Israelis will have incontrovertibly sprawled over the countryside, dissolving the communities that held the nation together from its inception, disenfranchising those without wheels, and taxing the land far beyond its ability to support the nation itself. □

The Lines that Separate Us

Borders in a "Borderless" World

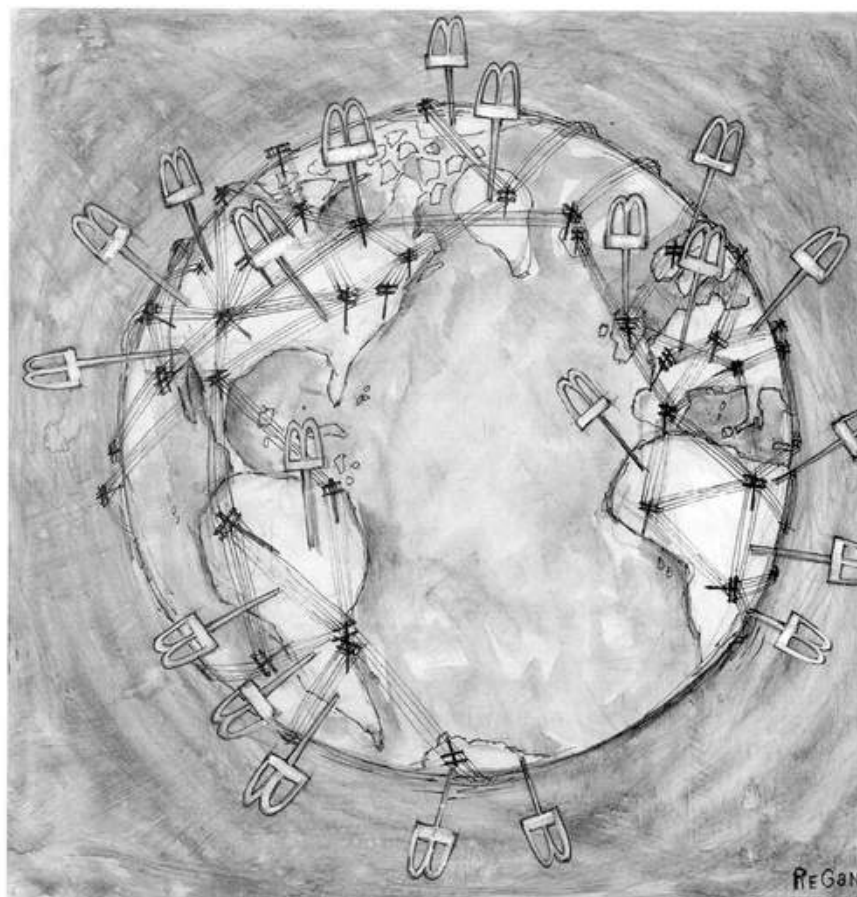
David Newman

We are, so the economists tell us, living in a borderless world. The nation state has come to an end, globalization has taken over, and the boundaries separating political entities have simply disappeared, or are in the process of doing so. Yet in all the excitement over globalization, one important point has been lost: globalization is not global. The impact of globalization is not even, and is not universal. We do not yet, and probably never will, live in a boundaryless world.

There is no question that boundaries are breaking down. Just ask the economists. Look at the way in which global capital crosses boundaries, they will say, taking little, if any, account of the economic sovereignty of the individual nation states. The McDonaldisation of the world's landscapes allows my Bedouin neighbors in the Negev desert of Israel to order a burger and fries and take them back to a shanty town encampment which is still fighting to get a paved road and piped water from the government. For those who can afford it, the Internet and cable TV allow us to surf anywhere in the world whenever we want and receive almost instant information. No longer can boundaries serve the interests of state governments, acting as barriers to information considered "inappropriate" for the local population.

Indeed, the protection provided by the boundaries of the state—ensuring tariffs, quality standards, and adherence to local cultural standards—are but minor obstacles on the way to global uniformity. Witness, for instance, the final removal of all duty-free transactions within, and between, the countries of the European Community. As contested national boundaries are reduced to little more than administrative lines of separation, as information becomes instantly and freely available everywhere, as distinct cultures become increasingly homogeneous, we are seeing, so globalization's proponents argue, the end of the nation-state

David Newman chairs the department of politics and government at Ben Gurion University of the Negev, and is editor of the international journal Geopolitics.



and the dawning of the era of the "global village."

A world without nation-states almost automatically assumes a world without boundaries. After all, boundaries traditionally have been no more than the physical lines demarcating the areas within which states exercise sovereignty and implement their agencies of control over their own citizens. If sovereignty is exercised elsewhere, who needs states and their boundaries? In this view, the division of the globe into territorial compartments known as states, each of which recognizes the sovereign rights of the other—an arrangement dating back to the Westphalian Treaty of the seventeenth century—no longer makes sense.

The weakness of these pro-globalization and "end of nation-state" arguments is particularly apparent to one who is a geographer, whose professional interests focus on the territorial organization of space. The very notion that the world can, in some way, become "deterritorialized," can become a place without boundaries, just doesn't make sense. The territorial configurations of power may be changing, the Westphalian state may be losing its significance, but territory, space, and place remain central components in the way we organize our lives. There never has been, and it is unlikely that there ever will be, a society that does not accentuate the differences between groups, between the "us" and the "other," by means of space. The world can become deterritorialized only to the extent that we become monolithic entities, speaking a single language, sharing our (previously separate) spaces and behaving pretty much as robots.

Though it is presented as an all-encompassing fact, the globalization thesis is both discipline and culture specific. It is the argument made by economists who see the expansion of world markets into a single global conglomerate, and it is the argument of information specialists who see their high-tech developments sweeping across the face of the globe with little, if any, impediments as they cross from one state into its neighbor. But ask a political scientist, a sociologist, or a geographer whether they see the walls tumbling down and the emergence of a single, undifferentiated, global space, and the answer is no. The world may be undergoing a process of territorial reconfiguration, and the relative impact of a boundary as a barrier to the movement of goods, people, and information may be changing, but boundaries themselves are a long way from disappearing.

Today, most of us live in a hierarchy of spaces, of which the state is but one. Each of our social interactions, whether it occurs within the family, the school, our professional milieu, or in the course of our travels, is reflected in the different spaces that we occupy and within which we interact. Some of these spaces have clearly defined social and territorial boundaries—others are looser. Some can be drawn as lines on maps, while others reside within our minds at an abstract level. But each of these boundaries automatically includes some and excludes others. And when we combine these spaces, one on top of the other, we find ourselves part of a world in which our daily interactions have become freer and more complex at one and the same time, a world in which boundaries have become much more permeable than in the past, but in which there are many more of these lines which determine our spaces of interaction. It is not that boundaries and borders have disappeared, it is just that they have taken on new dimensions and new meanings.

Many of us who belong to the postindustrial information superhighway world are enjoying the greater freedom of thought that accompanies this shift in boundaries. We are part of the select few, those who have access to the technology, who read and speak the language of cultural and global hegemony, who, so we hope, are able to make rational decisions concerning what we consume (be it goods, ideas, or information) and what we choose to ignore. Some of us have become increasingly mobile and travel around the world, across boundaries, with little thought to the fact that the majority of the world's residents have rarely left the area within which they were born, have a single passport and citizenship (in some cases not even that), and continue to live in conditions of poverty and subsistence. Tell the residents of rural India and China (the two major markets targeted by

Microsoft for expansion of their products) about the joys of having multicitizenship, of reading the *New York Times* while sitting in one's office in Beer Sheva, Israel, and they will, very likely, look at you aghast. This is not their world, and the chances that they will become part of this world in the foreseeable future are not particularly high.

And what about the countless hundreds of thousands of refugees, a truly global phenomenon if ever there was one, who have no form of citizenship whatsoever? These out-number, by far, the privileged among us who experience a

If refugees seek to move freely but run up against boundaries they can't cross, there are many others who still desire the privileges boundaries traditionally bring.

"boundaryless" world, who can travel freely from one country to another with little fear of being refused entry, the right to work, or the right to participate in an alternative political culture. For refugees, the so-called "nonexistent" boundaries continue to be their major barrier to a better life, away from the physical insecurity of a dictatorial regime or the economic insecurity of not having the means with which to feed their families and loved ones. Our Western narrative of a borderless world does not go so far as to include those groups who we see as "undesirable" or

threatening. We continue to do our best to exclude these groups or, at the most, to suffer them to perform menial labor on our behalf without affording them equal rights of citizenship within our borders.

If refugees seek to move freely but run up against boundaries they can't cross, there are many others who still desire the privileges boundaries traditionally bring. Ethnic and national minorities, in particular, seek the sort of borders that will ensure their own separate and independent territories, that will finally grant them the basic right of political self-determination. Israelis and Palestinians want separate territories, as do the Kurds, the East Timorese, the Bosnian Muslims, and a host of other ethnic groups deprived of their own independent political rights. Tell them about the Western European experience, about the gradual removal of state boundaries as a newly emergent political and economic federation attempts to challenge the hegemony of the United States, and they will tell you that the removal of boundaries is all very well for states which already wield economic and political sovereignty, states which feel little threat to their own security. But we, they will tell you, want to hold our heads up high, we want to be political equals, we want to put an end to conflict—all of which can only take place in our own separate territories which have clearly defined lines separating us from our former oppressors. If that succeeds over a period of two to three generations, come back and talk to us about the gradual removal of boundaries, the opening of the lines which may bring about long-term mutual economic and social benefits.

One of the most ironic aspects of the “borderless” world argument is the fact that it has emerged from Western Europe and North America. These are the same cultural heartlands which imposed their own form of fixed Westphalian territories on other cultures, notably in Asia and Africa, when such borders were clearly at odds with the local perceptions of tribal and nomadic territorial and spatial behavior. Suddenly, many of these tribes were artificially prevented from moving from their winter to summer grazing grounds, forced to reside within a given territory, and, in many cases, forcefully sedentarized by new state governments afraid of groups who did not demonstrate an automatic loyalty to the government of the territory within which they now resided. Many ethnic groups (the Kurds being a classic example) found themselves carved up and dispersed amongst a number of state territories, with the new boundaries running through their own homeland areas. In other cases, tribes that did not get on with each other found themselves located within the same single territorial compartment and suddenly expected to display a new, single loyalty to the European-created states.

Just when Asian and African states are beginning, often after decades of unrest and civil war, to come to terms with these new territorial realities, along come the Europeans and North Americans who now tell them, forget about boundaries, forget about separate state territories—it is a new world order, one in which boundaries have disappeared, movement is free, and human rights (*sic*) is the issue which most affects all the residents of the globe. Throw off your loyalties to the state we ourselves superimposed on you, we say to them. Follow us. We will enlighten you once again, showing you the way forward into the new millennium, into the era of the borderless world and the globalization of capital. Is it surprising these states are unwilling to listen?

Ironically, the myth of globalization is not that it does not exist, but rather that globalization is a truly global phenomenon. Like all other processes of social and economic change, globalization impacts different places with different intensities. Boundaries have become more permeable in some places (Western Europe) than in others (Africa, areas of ethnic conflict). Some have greater access to information and human rights, while others are still denied these rights, either because their governments prevent them from gaining access, or because they lack the resources—economic,



The myth of globalization is not that it does not exist, but rather that globalization is a truly global phenomenon.

educational, social awareness—that would enable them to benefit from the information. So while globalization can impact a global environment, it does not necessarily affect every place on the globe. When our current understanding of globalization is superseded by yet newer forms of human behavior in North America and Western Europe, there will be other places in the world that are just entering the global phase of activity, just as there are states that are only now finally coming to terms with European notions of territoriality.

Even Western Europe and North America themselves do not completely express a borderless world paradigm. On the ground, North American borders—between the United States and Canada, between the United States and Mexico—still remain closed and sealed to the movement of capital

and people in a way Western Europe has left behind. NAFTA may exist, but tell that to the thousands of Mexicans seeking to work within a single economic region, or to the residents of Cascadia in British Columbia and Washington state, who are prevented from creating a truly transboundary activity area. Even here, at the heart of the Western capitalist world, the impact of boundaries remains intense, hardly dented by the free movement of Canadians and Americans who wish to travel beyond their boundaries on a one-day tax-free shopping spree.

Nor is the globalized world that does exist a multicultural world. It is one in which uniform standards are imposed by a small elite upon the rest, normally for their own economic benefit. It is a world in which a relatively small number of powerful governments and corporate companies have succeeded in imposing a postmodern version of neocolonialism, without the need for military intervention, on large parts of the globe which do not yet have access, and do not yet enjoy, the levels of technology being churned out by Microsoft on an almost daily basis. It is a world whose standards are being reduced to the plastic, lifeless, noncaring control of chips and satellites, while the human dimension and the rights of the individual are pushed aside. It is certainly not a world without borders, but one in which some borders have become more permeable and open to transboundary movement, while others have remained as closed and as sealed as ever before.

The world political map is changing. New states emerge as old states disappear. Some ethnic communities gain independence, others find themselves vanquished and lose their

(continued on page 57)

THE LINES THAT SEPARATE US (continued from page 21)

sovereignty. Some groups become minorities within a multinational state, others find themselves excluded from political entities defined exclusively as nation-states. This process of spatial reconfiguration is accompanied by the redrawing of boundaries, the functions of which are more permeable than in the past. These boundaries continue to express the essential nature of the lines and the fences that separate us from each other. By contesting the power and sweep of globalization, I am not arguing against efforts to remove those barriers and boundaries, be they territorial, social, or perceptual, which artificially construct difference where difference does not exist. But we should not be naïve or deterministic in automatically assuming that a globalized world is a world without borders and that, somehow miraculously, all difference will simply disappear as a result of the globalization process. Good fences may make for good neighbors, but the removal of these fences does not necessarily provide for better neighborliness—certainly not where their removal is spurred on by global capital and corporatism rather than by recognition and appreciation of the “other.” We must work instead for the inclusion of these groups within the more flexible and permeable boundaries we are in the process of creating. □

WAR, SEX AND GOD (continued from page 25)

representation. Religious nationalists in general are fighting to defend two kinds of borders, both masculine and national. Threats to masculinity are read out into the blurring boundaries of the nation, and threats to the country are read in, experienced personally as a feminization. Homosexuality marks both what is desired—a masculinized world—and what is feared—the homoerotic desires that provide part of the psychic energies that make that form of identification and bonding so powerful. It is in the homoerotics that haunt male identity, and particularly within this community, I suspect, that we can find psychic sources for terrorism. It is for this reason that religious nationalists attack their foes as embodiments of disorder, shadowy enemies beyond the conceptual grid, foes, as Juergensmeyer puts it, who are “symbols for amorphousness itself.” Religious nationalists fear the foreign, demand that it be kept out, if not expelled, not infrequently engaging in collective violence against those they consider “other.” These are violent rites of purification.

This alien presence inside the nation is both mark and source of its weakness, its porosity, its inability to bound and bond. That disorder, that amorphousness, is experienced within, particularly among those men for whom the global order has made it increasingly difficult to be a man. The violence marks what is both feared and desired, in that men collectively stage the submission, the subservience, the impotence, which they so fear and yet to which they wish so passionately to yield. □

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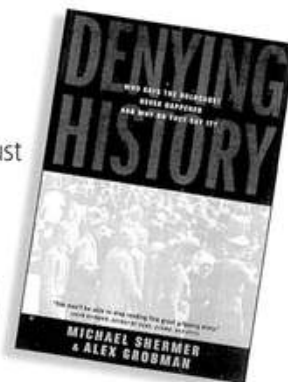
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War, Sex, & God

Religious Terrorism in the Mind of Mark Juergensmeyer

Roger Friedland

Religious terrorism, an ancient practice, is back. Until recently, in the good old days of the Cold War, populist carnage was orchestrated on behalf of the people, the nation, the proletariat, but not God. In *Terror in the Mind of God: The Global Rise of Religious Violence* (University of California Press, 2000), Mark Juergensmeyer explores the mindset of a startlingly diverse array of those men—and they are men—who conduct political killings because they believe they can read the mind of God. Over the last decade, tracking his subjects into high-security prisons and into sites under heavy surveillance, Juergensmeyer has interviewed figures like Michael Bray, the American abortion clinic bomber; Rabbi Meir Kahane, the founder and leader of Kach; Sheik Ahmad Yassin, the spiritual head of Hamas; and Mahmud Abouhalima, an Islamic radical implicated in the World Trade Center explosion. From Ireland to India, from Israel and Palestine to the United States and Japan, Juergensmeyer takes us into the minds and movements that create such carnage. For this alone, for probing the particular maneuvers and understandings of what these religious terrorists were doing, the book is well worth reading.

We tend to view the religious nationalist project as a retreat from modernity. The Enlightenment philosophers, who set us on modernity's path, made the separation of state authority from religion an essential condition for freedom. In place of religion, the person and the polity would now assume sacred status in the modern Western world. Nationalism would don the trappings of a religion, while religion was to set up shop in the interior of the believer's soul. Religion, whose transcendence and absoluteness used to bolster the rule of state, to set states into conquest and war, and to establish the ethical habits conditioning the accumulation of productive wealth, was sequestered within the walls of the family, made safe and platitudinous.

Roger Friedland teaches in the departments of religious studies and sociology at UC Santa Barbara.



Juergensmeyer argues that the desacralization of the modern state has gone hand in hand with the return of religion as a political force, as those who seek an alternate order on which to ground state authority return to religious nationalism. Religious terrorism is only the most extreme form of this general movement, this reclaiming of religion's inherent political powers, its final judgments. Juergensmeyer insists that we must understand religious terrorism as theater, as cosmic war, and as homosocial ritual.

Terror as Theater

Juergensmeyer argues that religious terrorism is not primarily an instrument to transform government policy, normal politics by abnormal means, as much as it is a ritual drama designed to be noticed, typically targeted at symbolically charged sites—the World Trade Center, the United Nations building, Hebron's Ibrahimiyyah mosque, the Murrah Federal Building in Oklahoma City, Tokyo's Kasumigaseki subway stations in the government area, the Indian government's secretariat in the Punjab capital, Chandigarh. These outrages are also timed to sacred days in religious ritual and/or political calendars—McVeigh, for example, struck in Oklahoma on the day the American Revolution began, which was not only the same day the Branch Davidian compound was burned to the ground but the day the Nazis moved to wipe out the Jews of the Warsaw Ghetto. Goldstein struck on Purim, when Esther countered Haman's plot to destroy the Jewish

LINES THAT DIVIDE

community. Religious terrorism is a demonstration, a drama designed to show that the state does not hold a monopoly on the legitimate use of violence. Juergensmeyer writes: "When we who observe these acts take them seriously—and are disgusted and repelled by them, and begin to distrust the peacefulness of the world around us—the purposes of this theater are achieved."

Onward (Christian) Soldiers

Religious terrorism is a theater of war. Religion, Juergensmeyer argues, gravitates naturally to the language and the postures of war. War affords a distinctive moral architecture, an absolute partitioning of the world into good and evil, us and them. Religious terrorists, many themselves former soldiers, inhabit a world which they understand to be already at war, a "cosmic war" that their terror makes manifest. For those who take it up, terror is a defensive declaration, an enjoining of the war that the state has already declared against God. Osama Bin Laden, for example, in his fatwa before the bombing of the American embassies in east Africa, declared that America's actions in the Middle East were "a clear declaration of war on God, his messenger, and Muslims."

If religious terrorists understand themselves as victims, as besieged guerrilla defenders of God under siege, Juergensmeyer suggests that they also find that war can be a fortifying condition: "To live in a state of war is to live in a world in which individuals know who they are, why they have suffered, by whose hand they have been humiliated, and at what expense they have persevered." Indeed, Juergensmeyer argues that the military logic of terrorism is aimed at the domestication of disorder, particularly the meaningless grounded in "the most chaotic aspect of reality, death." Terrorism controls death by summoning it on its own terms. While I agree with Juergensmeyer that terrorists seek the means to reorder a disordered world, I disagree with his attribution of that disorder to death and the natural "messiness of life." Religious terrorism is the outer envelope of religious nationalism, a fusion of religion and state, which, as I have argued (TIKKUN May/June 1999), can be understood as a desperate effort to provide the nation with an identity, a dignity, and a power in an inexorably expansive global order in which all three are at risk. Religious terrorists react to the incomprehensible logic of global capitalism. Its flows multiform and instantaneous, its mechanisms and propulsions outside of view, global capitalism features no sovereign who makes decisions, no one who opens and closes the floodgates. The eschatology of cosmic war captures the systemic quality of the forces of global capital while converting them into something intelligible, namely, into cosmic evil. Terror is war by those without power. The

religious terrorist's willingness to kill for something not sanctioned by the state challenges the state's monopoly on killing. It mimes, prefiguratively, divine action, God's severe and cleansing judgment. Religious terrorism thus performs an alternate order, not the defeat of disorder.

Bomb-Throwing Guys

When Juergensmeyer catalogues the social origins of religious terrorists and those who support them, he finds that in every case they are peopled by powerless or vulnera-

ble groups whose public honor, indeed existence, appears at risk—white American working-class folk threatened by the new economy and its nonwhite immigrants; young Palestinians without prospect or homeland; upper-caste rural Jats being displaced by the urban Sikh castes; Jewish settlers fearful of displacement; young Algerians without jobs, housing, or the prospect of marriage; blocked professional scientists in

Japan. While group powerlessness may be a necessary condition, however, it is surely not a sufficient condition for terrorism: in our world, the powerless are legion. It is not on the who of religious terror, but its how, the psychic pathways by which religious commitment explodes into physical terror, where Juergensmeyer makes his mark.

Religious terrorists, all of whom are men, experience themselves as humiliated, as shamed. Meanwhile, in their eyes, the world against which they war is characterized by its disordered sexuality—it is a world in which women are moving forcefully into the male domain and a world in which men can display their erotic desires for other men. In short, it is a world they believe feminizes men. Against these terrifying symptoms of an evil world, cosmic war offers the religious terrorist the position of warrior, a man who manifests his masculine power on the public stage.

For these "bomb-throwing guys," as in any ritual, it is first and foremost the doing of it, the throwing, that is the value of terrorism. Humiliation is a sexual experience, here redressed violently in sexual terms. "What they have in common," Juergensmeyer writes, "these movements of cowboy monks, is that they consist of anti-institutional, religio-nationalist, racist, sexist, male-bonding, bomb-throwing guys. Their marginality in the modern world is experienced as a kind of sexual despair that leads to violent acts of symbolic empowerment." For many, this symbolic empowerment is enough; indeed, it is all there is.

That these men abhor women who take what they perceive to be the role of men and men who take what they perceive to be the role of women makes sense. But what is so striking in Juergensmeyer's account is the religious terrorists' almost universal celebration of male bonding, of the pleasures of exclusive male camaraderie (whether the

unmarried men of the Hindu Nationalist RSS or the Sikh militants joined by a "bond of love"), as the cellular base for the constitution of a new society. While the masculinization of the public sphere is explicable within Juergensmeyer's framework, the pleasures of male bonding, its relation to the terrorists' masculine identification, and its role in the reorganization of collective representation are not.

One way to understand the religious terrorists' simultaneous embrace of heterosexual masculinity and homosocial male bonding is to see the sexed ego and the nation-state, the individual and the collective subject, as parallel psychic projects imagined in terms of each other. This means that challenges to individual males can be projected onto the collective body, the national state. It also means that the material and cultural vulnerability of the nation-state can be introjected, experienced personally, as a quality of the bodily male subject. In every case of religious terrorism, it is the collective territorial body whose boundaries are at stake, understood to be under siege. This is true, for example, in the case of U.S. Protestant postmillennial abortion bombers who feel threatened by a secular, globalist government they believe is dominated by Jewish financiers; of Jewish nationalist settlers threatened by a secular government they feel is dependent on Arabs for its rule and is unwilling to defend the lands covenanted to the Jews; of India's Hindu nationalists threatened by the Indian secular nationalists who they believe not

only bestow privileges on non-Hindus but have failed to maintain the territorial body of mother India; or of the Ulster Protestant loyalists beleaguered by the "satanic deception" of the Papist Irish who threaten to engulf their territorial entity.

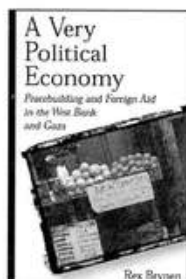
In each of these cases, religious terrorism coincides with two of modernity's other transformations. First, there is the massive entry of women into the market and the public sphere with the accompanying expansion of women's civil and familial rights, which threatens traditional male prerogatives. Second, there is the extraordinary explosion of global capitalism which has put the parameters of national economic growth and the bases for cultural identity increasingly beyond the nation's grasp. Both of these are experienced as threats to the collective body, to its perceived maleness. Homosociality, exclusive male bonding as the basis of collective organization, is a way to masculinize the public sphere, to restore the maleness of the collectivity against an erosion of the nation's power, an erosion which is understood as a feminization, a making womanly. In the imagination of the religious nationalists, an all-male public body is understood as a more potent collective body, more resolute, less permeable.

Women are not only seen as more physically vulnerable, but they are cast as agents of private life, indeed as spurs to sexual competition among men. There is, in short, a homoerotics at the heart of their male-dominated collective

(continued on page 57)



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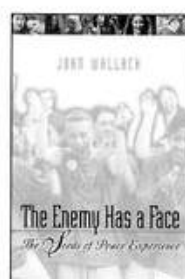
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Robert Pinsky is poet laureate of the United States. Reprinted with permission from Carved Memories: Heritage in Stone from the Russian Jewish Pale (Rizzoli International Publications, Inc., 2000). Photographs © David Goberman, courtesy of Goberman Archive and SoHo Triad Fine Arts, New York. All rights reserved.



Uzhgorod. 1816.
Ephraim son of Ber. A righteous and honest person.

memorial marks and symbols are weathered or crumbled away by the elements—by air moving, by water dripping and freezing and melting, by earth shifting.

But the light striking the grain of these stones reveals for us the historical as well as the elemental processes of loss. The silence of light and the silence of stone defer to the articulate imagination of the European Jews who designed and commissioned and carved and tended these stones, markers that now memorialize more than their original intention: the death of a world.

Revenant in Goberman's work, the world returns in images: flowers, tools, menorahs, geometrical shapes in relief like a cloth draped over the background stone; an elegant deer amid leaves and ferns, looking over its shoulder as if in calm retrospect at life in nature; a charmingly dynamic lion anticipating gazing at the viewer with insouciance, its forepaws on a branch, its tail breaking the enclosing frame, the cat afloat yet solid, an anticipation of Marc Chagall; hands; peacocks; and above all the flamelike Hebrew characters that are images and runes. This world so intensely populated in stone, then repopulated in light by the photographer, indicates the variety and infinite mystery of a mortal, violated abundance. □



Snyatin. Early 1800s.
Yitzak son of Jacob. A very upright man.



Kutu. 1788.
A double-sided stone. On the left, *Yetta*. On the right, *Simcha Bunem Yisroel, son of Eleazar Pinchas*.

Confessions of a National Jewish Book Award Judge

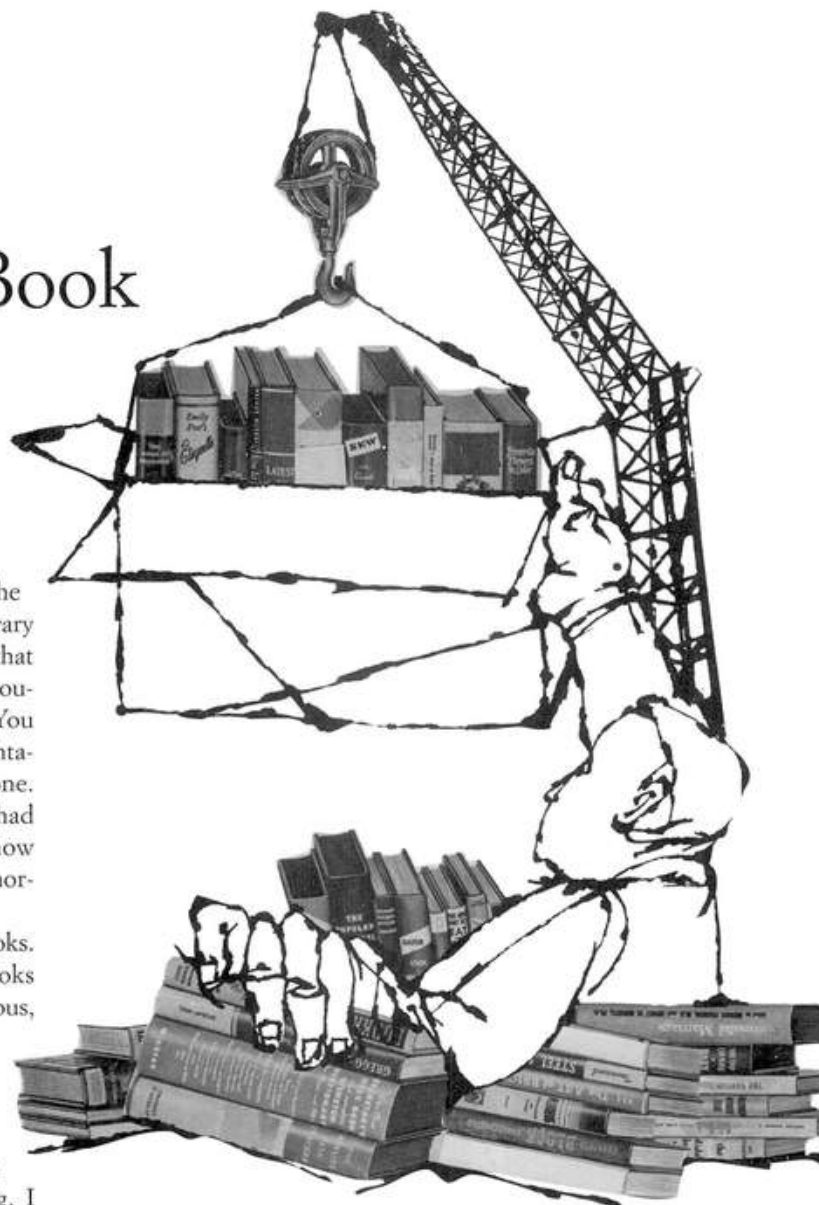
Andrew Furman

It seemed like quite an honor at the time. Out of the blue, I was asked to judge a rather prestigious literary award. An award prestigious enough, at any rate, that publishers of the winning books usually take the trouble of announcing the fact on the paperback editions. "You come strongly recommended," the book award representative assured me somewhat cryptically over the phone. "Plus," he continued, "the other person we contacted had to bow out because his own book is a nominee. So, how about it?" My enthusiasm unabated, I accepted the honorable post.

Then, of course, the books began to arrive. Thick books. Thin books. Books from large commercial presses, books from various university presses, and books from mysterious, miscellaneous presses of which I had never heard. Beautifully bound books and tastelessly bound books. Nearly forty of them in all, stuffed rather indignantly into three heavy cardboard boxes. I didn't exactly have to harness any of my nonexistent mathematical acumen to figure out that, noble intentions notwithstanding, I would never be able to read every word of every book. My two fellow judges and I were given just over a month to select our finalists, and just a bit longer than that to select a winner from this group. Even if I quit my day job, ignored our rather strict city ordinances regarding lawn length, sent our nanny in my place to afternoon Gymboree with our son, and locked myself in my study, I would never be able to read roughly a novel a day for some thirty-odd straight days.

Setting my sights markedly lower, I can claim now to have read no less than one-third of each of the legitimate entries. (A slim volume of Jewish haikus, in my view, represented the most intriguing "illegitimate" entry. Even if one were to bend the definition of fiction to allow for such an entry, can one think of a less suitable artistic medium for our loquacious people?) As I write these lines, the finalists have yet to be notified, the winner yet to be announced.

Andrew Furman, a contributing editor of TIKKUN, is the author of Israel Through the Jewish American Imagination and the forthcoming Contemporary Jewish American Writers and the Multicultural Dilemma (Syracuse University Press).



But, corresponding over email and conference call, my eminent colleagues and I have done our duty and arrived at our decisions. I have emerged from my cave bleary-eyed, to be sure, but with certain clear impressions. One year of literary productivity, of course, can hardly tell us everything about the state of Jewish letters, but it certainly can tell us something. This guiding principle in mind, I am prepared to offer the following observations about the state of Jewish fiction writing to any and all who may be interested:

1. Jews, the world over, continue to write fiction at a fierce clip. The book award representative presiding over our committee informed us that our pool of entries in the fiction category was the deepest in recent memory. A heady development for at least two reasons. First, a bear market in fiction discourages many of those who would pursue the endeavor. Second, Jewish writers have yet to tap successfully into the popular and academic demand for multicultural voices. As Mark Shechner recently suggested in the pages of this magazine, Jewish writers increasingly find themselves ghettoed off by themselves, away from the multicultural

ILLUSTRATION BY GRADY McFERRIN

mix that now defines the American literary scene. Caught between the Scylla of a dwindling fiction market and the Charybdis of a narrowly (and unfortunately) conceived multiculturalism, it is heartening that Jewish writers continue doggedly to hammer out their stories and novels.

2. Jewish women writers, in particular, are busy as never before retrieving lost generations of their female forebears. This is not to say that Jewish imaginative writing has ever been completely off-limits to female voices who have created female protagonists. As if to challenge Abraham Cahan's powerful, male-centered immigrant novel, *The Rise of David Levinsky*, Anzia Yezierska trenchantly explored the struggles of Jewish American immigrant women in such early twentieth-century works as *Bread Givers* and *Hungry Hearts*. Still, the confluence of novels written this past year by Jewish women that actively retrieve and reconstruct elaborate multigenerational, female-centered stories suggests to me that Jewish women writers are still making up for lost time. I mention this significant trend with some embarrassment, as we did not select an individual work from this category as a finalist (Rebecca Goldstein's *Mazel*, a novel clearly belonging to this category, won the National Jewish Book Award in 1996). I am convinced by the wealth of such novels, however, that we are in the midst of a significant development in Jewish writing, one that will leave an indelible mark on our canon.

3. Jewish writing is, well, Jewish.

The guiding criteria of our committee, upon which we all agreed, was that the books we selected as finalists be of exceptional literary quality and of significant Jewish content. That we tended to squabble a bit over "literary" definitions but hardly found occasion to dispute "Jewish" definitions betrayed the current wealth of Jewish voices actively engaged in constructing distinctively Jewish characters, imagining distinctively Jewish settings, and grappling with distinctively Jewish ideas and concerns. At a pace as dizzying as a bar mitzvah receiving line, I have been introduced to pious and impious rabbis, false and true Jewish prophets, anguished sons and daughters of Holocaust survivors, wayward Orthodox husbands and wives. The "ethnic," midcentury wave of Jewish American writing, fueled by the immigrant consciousness, has clearly given way to a new wave of Jewish writing. Concomitantly, the burden of alienation and marginality amid a host culture are no longer the twin preoccupations of Jewish writers. Rather, the literary grandchildren of Bellow, Roth, and Malamud—at home now amid their environs—look increasingly inward these days as they engage more explicitly Judaic concerns: the toxic legacy of the Holocaust, the retrieval of extinct Jewish worlds (e.g., the European shtetl, New York's Lower East Side), Jewish feminism, the viability of Orthodoxy, and the biblical resonances in the modern world.

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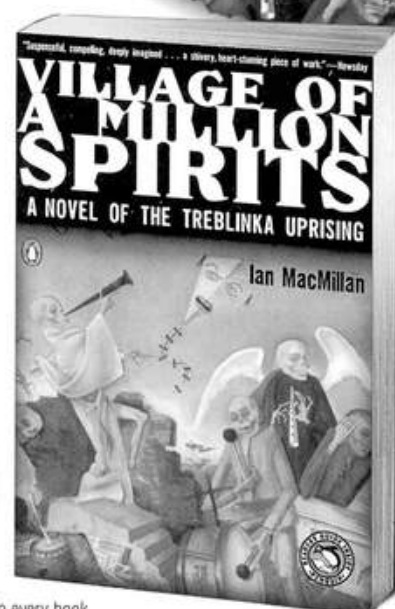
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4. The Holocaust continues strangely to inform, or terrorize, rather, the Jewish imagination. In the mid-1960s, the literary critic Robert Alter could bemoan the dearth of Jewish American imaginings of the Holocaust. "With all the restless probing into the implications of the Holocaust that continues to go on in Jewish intellectual forums," he wrote, "it gives one pause to note how rarely American Jewish fiction has attempted to come to terms ... with the European catastrophe." At the very moment of Alter's observation, Jewish writers in America and abroad (writers such as Edward Lewis Wallant, Jerzy Kosinski, Saul Bellow, Aharon Appelfeld, André Schwarz-Bart, and Arthur Allen Cohen) were busy writing what would eventually become a rather voluminous canon of Holocaust fiction. Some thirty-five years after Alter's bemused observation, I find myself puzzling over the exact opposite phenomenon. In the year 2000, it gives me pause to note how many young Jewish writers in the past year explicitly struggled in their work to come to terms with the European catastrophe. The most innovative and intriguing of these books, in my view, were the small handful that explored the specific burden of growing up a child of Holocaust survivors. While the catastrophe, chronologically speaking, becomes further and further removed from us, the literary output of 1999 suggests that the atrocity still remains hauntingly close for all Jews, and especially for the sons and daughters of Holocaust survivors.

5. Jewish writers exhibit a curious predilection for linked collections of stories. I am not sure how much Jewish hay to make over this trend. Short stories, generally—written by Jewish and non-Jewish writers—seem to be garnering more attention in the literary marketplace these days. Even so, I suspect that the Jewish writers' long-standing absorption in the dynamics of the family has something to do with this trend. As Ted Solotaroff has noted, "What Walden Pond is to Thoreau or the West End of London to Henry James, a family situation is to the Jewish writer." Given the inexorable demands of family on the Jewish imagination, small wonder that parents and grandparents, brothers and sisters, husbands and wives, aunts and uncles, refuse to remain obediently within the confines of a single story and clamor to be heard above one another throughout linked short story collections.

6. As Jewish writing becomes more Jewish, national distinctions seem less and less significant. I shouldn't give the wrong impression. To be sure, Jewish writers continue to write in various national languages and continue to evoke distinctive national settings the world over. Over the past month, I've logged a good many frequent flyer miles as I've journeyed vicariously to Stalinist Russia, Tehran, Istanbul, Memphis, New York's Lower East Side, the Upper Galilee, Tel Aviv, Jerusalem, war-ravaged Budapest, fifteenth-century Spain, the Danube Delta, Prague, and Argentina. Yet

national distinctions tend to blur when, say, female writers from Israel, America, and Canada each explore the difficulties of growing up female in Orthodox Jewish environments. Or when the imaginations of these same writers take flight to lands far beyond their home turf. If the literary output of 1999 reveals anything, it reveals that Jewish writers are among the privileged citizens of the global village.

All of which makes me wonder how Jewish writers living in America (and, to a lesser degree, those living elsewhere) will seek to define themselves in the years to come. Given

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the unprecedented international reach of their imaginations, their absorption in Jewish history and theology, and the staggering diversity of emergent American voices, it just may be that these young Jewish American writers find that they share more in common artistically with their Jewish contemporaries

writing in Israel, Europe, Asia, and the rest of the Americas than they share in common with their non-Jewish contemporaries writing in the United States. Likewise, as they continue to turn inward for creative inspiration, they may eschew William Faulkner, Ernest Hemingway, and Toni Morrison as literary forebears to claim instead the eminent likes of Shmuel Yosef Agnon, Natalia Ginzburg, Bruno Schulz, Franz Kafka, Isaac Babel, and Grace Paley.

And the finalists are ...

By the time this essay reaches print, the winner and the finalists will have already been announced. So I'm not giving away anything to honor the winner, Steve Stern's *The Wedding Jester*, and the four distinguished finalists, Thane Rosenbaum's *Second Hand Smoke*, Judith Kalman's *The County of Birches*, Moacyr Scliar's *The Collected Stories of Moacyr Scliar* (translated by Eloah F. Giacomelli), and Nathan Englander's *For the Relief of Unbearable Urges*.

I am left now with the boxes. Three heavy boxes at my feet beside my desk chair, overbrimming again with the books I clumsily restocked. Soon, I'm sure, I will pluck them from their boxes once again and slide them into my bookshelves between the Balzacs and the Bellows, the Malamuds and the Melvilles, the Paleys and the Prousts, the Faulkners and the Fitzgeralds. My wife has already stubbed her toe on one of the boxes and has begun to grumble about my laziness. Yet something besides—or at least in addition to—laziness keeps me from straightening up the mess at our feet. For most of these books, I know, will essentially disappear on the bookcase amid so many other titles; I'm not quite ready to part with them. There is something I like about these heavy, hastily ripped open boxes. The obtrusive "thingness" of them; their tangible heft. Their collective bulk and weight remind me daily of the great effort that goes into the writing of books. It is a desperate struggle, and a noble one, I continue to believe. For just a little while longer, then, these cumbersome boxes shall continue to lie at my feet. □

Is There Any Connection?

Congregations and Jewish organizations throughout North America have long emphasized programs of good works under the heading of "social action" or *tikkun olam* ("repair of the world"). Now these same groups are developing programs under the general heading of "spirituality," which usually expresses their renewed interest in prayer, meditation, and religious observances. Unfortunately, however, in these organizations, "social action" is over here and "spirituality" is over there without any apparent connection between the two.

Among a multitude of modern Jews, *tikkun olam* has come to refer *only* to social justice or social action programs. But the ancient rabbinic expression, *tikkun olam*, included all kinds of Judaic observance and practice without distinction. All was sacred observance. All was an "ordering of the world under the sovereignty of the Almighty."

What would such an understanding of *tikkun olam* mean for us today? What, for example, does interpersonal ethics have to do with kindling lights, with the Havdalah service at the end of the Sabbath, or with the Judaic practice of the recitation of blessings, *berachot*? Do these have anything at all to do with moral life or social consciousness?

In this respect, the Talmud can instruct us or at least hint at a direction. Three entire long and complex treatises of the Babylonian Talmud, under the heading "Nezikin," are devoted to the issue of injuries, that is, harmful or damaging acts, and the fixing of culpability for these hurts. One small case in the section dealing with the laws of damages (b. Baba Kamma 30a) is particularly relevant to this question.

The case is as follows: let us say that to save time, money, and personal bother, a person disposes of potentially damaging refuse, perhaps old, rusty pieces of metal or broken glass, in the apertures of a hollow wall while it is being built, in the expectation that the wall be plastered or cemented over. For some reason, perhaps because the wall is impaired and falls

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down, or perhaps because the next owner does not like the wall and knocks it down, some of the refuse in the wall falls into the public thoroughfare and someone is injured. It could be a child running along who trips and is cut by some of the junk and whose blood is infected in this manner. Who is responsible? Is it the original builder of the wall? The new owner? The person who hid the refuse? I once asked a group of attorneys: "Who would be sued these days in such a case?" They answered (only half in jest): "Everyone!" "Even," said someone, "the manufacturers of the glass!"

The Talmud does go on to explore this question of culpability, but only as preliminary to moving on to a higher level of discussion. On that next level, the text notes the example of "pious people" (*hasidim*) who took great pains to deal with such refuse in order to make certain that no one would be hurt as a result of their own negligence. (We get a notion here of what and who the Talmud considers "pious.") One of them, for example, took the time to dig deeply in a field to bury his refuse, perhaps concerned that his junk not even nick the plow of anyone who might some day cultivate the field. In other words, there were, and hopefully are, people who had the kind of concern for others that takes priority over one's own material self-interest or self-indulgence.

The next stage of the talmudic discussion moves even further up and out: how do we bring more people to this ideal level of moral consciousness, which could prevent such hurts to others? At this point, the dimension of education is brought into play, or what we might call "consciousness raising." Ecologists now recognize, for example, that however advanced our science and technology, the environmental crisis cannot be resolved without a new environmental *consciousness*—that is to say, a change in attitude and outlook, a transformation of values, which could affect moral behavior. But what kind of education is required? At this point in the talmudic discussion, three suggestions are made in sequence.

The first suggestion is to make certain that everyone learns the laws of injury so that no one will break the laws. But is this sufficient? After all, "good" lawyers are available to those who have the means and power to get around the law. Without a moral consciousness, greed can still get the better of the laws, whether people know the laws or not.

Because recourse to widespread legal education will not suffice, a second suggestion is made, namely, *moral* education: everyone should be tutored in the talmudic text called "Avot," which deals with ethics. Today, the fact that schools of medicine and law have introduced classes in medical, legal, and business ethics reveals the growing perception that sheer knowledge of the law or of medicine on the part of its practitioners is not enough to protect humans from hurt. We must be ethically sensitized in order to build respect for the laws that protect other people.

But the Talmud moves on to a third opinion, suggesting that in order to lessen hurts and damages to others in our world, all should be schooled in that section of the Talmud called "Berachot," which deals with spirituality! This section prescribes engagement in spiritual life, in prayer, worship, and religious observances.

Why in the world is this suggestion made? What does religious "observance" have to do with ethical concern for the "other"? In other words, we are back to our question: what does "social action" have to do with "spirituality"? The answer is that religious practices like the recitation of blessings make us continually aware of the dimension of the Spirit, of the sacred in which ethics are rooted.

Our culture has often discounted the "spiritual," the dimension of ideals and values, as having little impact on "practical" affairs. Many in our time believe that there is no spiritual reality. But friendship, love, and caring are not material things. They cannot be weighed or measured, yet they are real. If laws are merely utilitarian arrangements made for material self-interest, then indeed they are made to be broken if one is shrewd enough or capable enough or has the power to do so. If there is no abiding domain of the

spirit in which ethical principles are rooted, then no law has ultimate sanction. Why not murder, steal, or dishonor your parents if you can get away with it? So the Torah speaks in this manner. "You shall be *Holy* as I the Lord Your G-d am *Holy*.... Each person shall revere his mother and father. *I am the Lord your G-d*" (Lev. 19). The principle of respect for parents, in other words, is rooted in an eternal spiritual dimension. All values that make life possible are sacred. Blessings, like other religious observances, affirm a realm of the spiritual and preserve our respect for the sanctity of moral principles.

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Each blessing opens a channel through which the divine spirit can enter our lives. Each religious observance is a wake-up call to the reality of the realm of the sacred. "The world is full of lights and wonders," said Rabbi Nachman of Bratslav. "But just as one little hand can blot out the sun, so can the materialist outlook obscure the wonder," the dimension of the spirit.

The passage in the Talmud began with a single, "small" case of injury due to an act of negligence born of material self-interest or self-indulgence. In our society, we can find many examples of such selfishness on a far grander scale. Consider the environmental injury caused by the toxicity of our water, air, and soil. Such pollution is a product of human selfishness and greed, of the bottom-line materialist mentality that does not take into account the sanctity of values. Or take the machinations of the tobacco and gun lobbies based on greed alone, which manifest a ruthless disregard for human life. *Tikkun olam* is the consciousness of the seamless oneness of the realm of the spiritual and the realm of moral action on the interpersonal and social levels.

In a film heavily laden with Jewish religious references, Woody Allen depicted the grievous sins and transgressions (including adultery, theft, and murder) committed by a wealthy suburban Jewish physician. He did not, however, entitle the film *Sins and Transgressions*, which are the categories of the spiritual, but rather, significantly, *Crimes and Misdemeanors*, the categories of secular law. In a culture of secular modernity, which lacks any sense of the sacred, there are, to be sure, sanctions in civil law against grievous offenses. But in a *religious* world outlook, all ethical principles are thought of as sacred, set apart from the realm of material self-interest. Law, ideally, is rooted in the ethical, and the ethical is rooted in the spiritual.

In the perspective of *tikkun olam*, every act of hurt to another is not only a crime; it is a sacrilege, a denial of the affirmation that there is a moral order to the world. To engage in a spiritual act, to recite a blessing, to kindle lights, is to preserve that moral order of the world; it is a *tikkun* that makes it possible for people to live together in equity and justice, motivated by mutual compassion and care. □

EMANCIPATORY SPIRITUALITY

Michael Lerner

Jewish tradition relates a story of a rabbi who sought to understand his place in the universe. To keep a balance between too much grandiosity and too much self-diminution, he had two notes, one for each of his two pants pockets. One note read: "For me the world was created." The other note read: "I am nothing more than dust and ashes." The task of the rabbi is our task: to integrate these two messages and keep them in appropriate balance.

"For me the world was created." The grandeur of creation comes to full expression in the creation of human beings. Magnificently complex, able to become an object of our own awareness, able to transcend that which is and to move towards what ought to be, human beings are truly "created in the image of God" and reflect the universe's greatest outpouring of love and generosity.

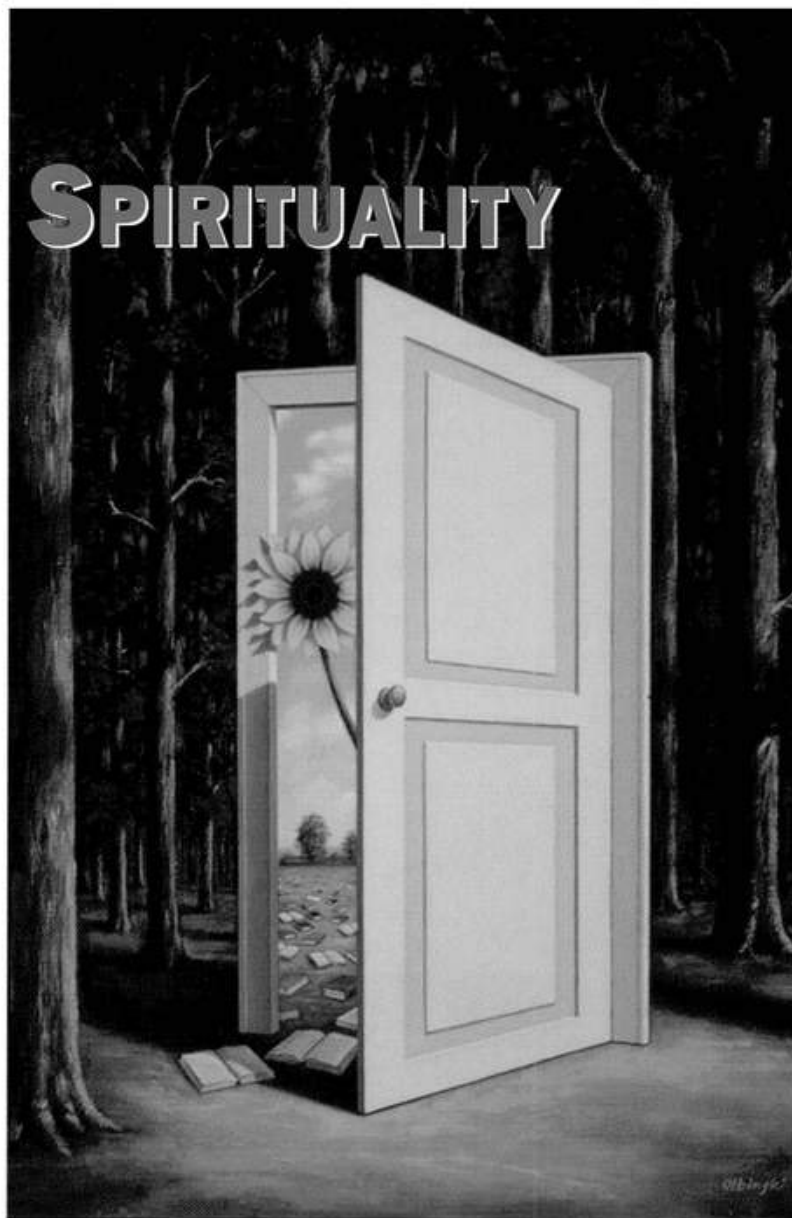
But we are also "nothing more than dust and ashes." We are part of the totality of all that is, and we are ever arrogant when we see ourselves as somehow better than everything else, as having the right to use everything else for our own ends. We are here on the planet for a brief moment, and for much of that time we are deeply enmeshed in foolish schemes to perpetuate ourselves for eternity, imagining that if somehow we amass enough power or control we can become immortal.

Emancipatory Spirituality offers a very different kind of immortality—not a promise that our own individual personalities with their specific sets of memories and experiences will last forever, but the immortality of being part and parcel of the Totality of All Being. To appreciate this other kind of immortality, we need to reach a fuller awareness of our place in the universe and our identity as manifestations of the totality of all that is.

We are what Ken Wilber calls "holons": that is, entities who are both separate beings seeking to maintain our own individual existence and simultaneously parts of something much bigger than ourselves. In the contemporary world, it's easy to sustain the consciousness of ourselves as separate beings, but it's very hard to develop a sense of ourselves as part of the Unity of All Being.

I must constantly remind myself that the food on my table, the shelter over my head, and the information I

Excerpted from Rabbi Michael Lerner's forthcoming book, Spirit Matters (Hampton Roads, 2000).



receive are the products of a planetary economy. That economy has been made possible by all of humanity's previous experiments with forming larger and more inclusive cooperative enterprises. You and I are the beneficiaries of the goodness of tens of millions of human beings who struggled to get information, who developed techniques, tools, systems, and institutions. It was out of their love for each other and for the future of the human race that you and I can now live in peace, ease, dignity, security, affection, and harmony.

And that's what the universe is—a vast system of cooperation. Though many contemporary social institutions teach us to see others as enemies or potential rivals for scarce resources, the truth is that we live in a world in which the basic principle is one of cooperation.

What makes this cooperation possible is the force of love. Each of us is a product of the love of the universe pulsating through our parents. Though our parents may not have been as loving as we would have wanted or needed them to be, the fact that we survived at all is testament to

the interaction between their love and the love manifested by the social institutions that made it possible for children to be fed, housed, clothed, and protected.

The Legacy of Love

On this platform of embodied love we can create our world afresh. We are positioned to take the next step in the evolution of human consciousness.

Human beings have never been as isolated as our philosophers have suggested. Since the Enlightenment, philosophers from Hobbes to Leibniz to some existentialists have seen human beings as isolated monads who voluntarily contracted to enter into community in order to avoid the war of all against all. This so-called state of nature was never an accurate description of the life experience of most of humanity throughout most of history, though ironically, this war of all against all may be a good picture of what it's like to live in our contemporary "looking out for number one" society.

Instead, much of human history has been the history of smaller groups beginning to see common interests and ties to larger groups, first as clans, then as tribes, then as peoples, then as national groups. The idea of our fundamental interconnection with each other and with nature was already articulated in the Bible. The Prophets warn that without a society based on justice, peace, love, and caring, the whole world will face ecological catastrophe. We cannot act immorally and not expect global consequences. The central message of Torah is that we have been born from God's love and the love that permeates the universe, and that we have every reason to see each other as created in the image of God, as embodiments of God, and to treat each other as such.

When I talk of God I am talking about YHVH. Mis-translated in the King James version as "Jehovah," YHVH comes from the root HVH, the Hebrew word for "the present tense." The "Y" indicates the future tense, so what the word really means is "the transformation of the present into that which can and should be in the future." Jews never pronounce the four letters precisely because they do not signify a specific being, but a world process—a God-ing, as David Cooper puts it in the title of his book, *God is a Verb*. In this root biblical sense, God is the Power of Healing and Transformation in the universe—and the Voice of the Future calling us to become all of who we should and need to become.

The word "God" has accumulated so much authoritarian and patriarchal baggage that many people find it impossible to believe in the God they were taught about as children. Part of my reason for using the word "Spirit" has been to avoid those associations. But if we think of God as the total-

ity of all that is, was, and ever will be, as seen from the perspective of its transformative evolution toward higher levels of consciousness and higher levels of loving connection, then many people who do not believe in God can still come to see the universe from this Spirit-oriented perspective.

Looking at the world in this way, we can understand ourselves as one of the billions of ways that Spirit has chosen to pour out its love into existence. We are at once a manifestation of all the love of the universe, and an opportunity for the universe through us to manifest greater lov-

ing, cooperation, and harmony. That is what the angels meant in the Psalm when they said, "What is Man that thou shouldst think of him or the son of man that thou shouldst take account of him? But you have made man just a little lower than the angels."

While we are here on earth, we have an incredible opportunity—to recognize and rejoice in the Unity of All Being, to stand in awe and wonder at the glory of all that is, and to bring forward as much consciousness, love, solidarity, creativity, sen-

sitivity, and goodness as we can possibly manifest.

Developing and refining this kind of consciousness is a central element of what it means to develop an inner life. And this is one of the central aspects of spiritual practice.

Reactionary Spirituality

If Spirit is ennobling, how come so many spiritual traditions end up being bulwarks of fundamentalist reaction and opposition to progressive social change?

Let me be clear that I am not an advocate of reactionary forms of spirituality or religion. On the contrary, I believe that the fundamental tension of the next few centuries will be between reactionary and emancipatory forms of spirituality, and I hope that my work will be part of the process that encourages people to develop an emancipatory consciousness. Yet the difficult truth is this: reactionary forms of spirituality can play a positive role in the struggle against the globalization of selfishness.

At the current moment, capital moves across borders without significant constraints. Democratic efforts to rein in the flow and make it more responsive to the needs of people in any given area are frequently of little avail, because capital is able to withdraw its resources quickly, threaten disinvestment, and purchase substantial political power.

Labor movements lack any corresponding power to organize or to limit the way that capital can take advantage of differentials in wages and profits around the world. The result has been a widening income inequality both among and within nations.

Even nation-states often find themselves at the mercy of capital—they feel that they must attract and retain

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investment in order to provide jobs for their people. But to do that they must accede to capital's demands: limit ecological regulations, lower taxes, and make less money available for welfare, health care, child care, or education.

Religious communities offer a counter-logic to the logic of capitalism. The realm of Spirit does not subordinate human needs to the needs of "progress."

Religions inherently value human beings as embodiments of the sacred—and thus restrain capital from seeing human beings as a means to an end.

Religions often tell historical stories, and the nurturing of historical consciousness is itself subversive to the extent that it reminds people that the social world is not fixed, that it once was different and hence might be different again in the future.

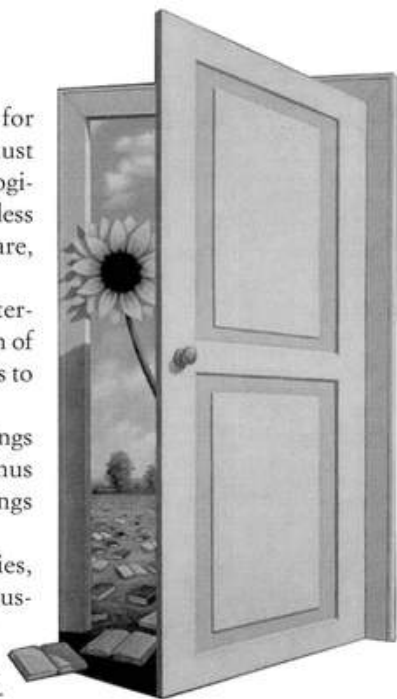
Religions offer a language of solidarity that transcends the individualism of the competitive marketplace and the broader, but still limiting, self-interest of class politics.

Religions offer a sense of sacred time that cannot be colonized by the work ethos of the capitalist world. And they offer a sense of beauty, goodness, responsibility to others, and a sense of the sacred—all of which can hardly be translated into the language of capitalist development. It's no wonder, then, that so many people turn to religious communities to find solace and escape from the logic of the marketplace.

Those who feel most attracted to religious communities are often those who have come to believe that they will not "make it" in the capitalist market. In the religious world they are judged valuable not by virtue of what they can do or accumulate, but because they *are*—their very being is judged intrinsically worthwhile.

Instead of turning to Emancipatory Spirituality, however, too many religious people connect to reactionary spirituality. Reactionary spirituality can be easily identified by three characteristics:

1. Reactionary spirituality usually asserts the ability of one group to have the authoritative account of truth which it holds in perpetuity by virtue of some special feature of its being. For example, fundamentalists may claim that they received God's revelation first and that only they have the exclusive ability to correctly interpret God's will. Or they may claim they have some current special tie to God or to Spirit that makes their understanding superior to that of everyone else. Or they may claim that people of a certain



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kind (men, women, white people, people who share some physical or emotional attribute) are necessarily more attuned to spiritual truth than others.

2. Reactionary spirituality rejects the claims of science and rational inquiry and asserts that its truths necessarily supersede these other activities, rather than recognizing some legitimate sphere in which science and rational inquiry should have a definitive say.

3. Reactionary spirituality critiques the values of capital or those of the ruling elites of a given society, but it is not willing to propose and fight for the democratization of the society, the economy, or the political order. Usually its followers find themselves backing other elites who are no more democratic than the elites they initially opposed.

The usual outcome of this combination of characteristics is to glorify some particular part of the human race and to denigrate some "other." Demeaning of the Other runs counter to the highest goal of Spirit. It undermines the belief in the Unity of All Being and in the possibility of recognizing every other human being as equally created in the image of God. It is this disdain for the Other that is the worst and most unacceptable element in reactionary forms of spirituality, and the main reason any alliance with them must be seen as merely

temporary and always as morally problematic.

That said, however, I believe that fundamentalist religions will, for some short period of time, be one part of the movement of Spirit against the globalization of capital. To the extent that reactionary spirituality provides such an alternative and restrains the march of capitalist progress, it can at times be an ally in the struggle for a more humane world.

I have in mind an alliance like the one amassed to stop Hitler. Each of the Allies (including the United States, France, and Britain) had imperialistic agendas that they hoped to advance through the defeat of the Axis powers. Most obviously, the Soviet Union was a totalitarian dictatorship run by none other than Josef Stalin, whose plans for domination over Europe were matched only by his ruthless opposition to the idealists and internationalists at home. Nevertheless, I'm glad that these forces allied to stop Hitler. It is in this very limited sense that I see reactionary forms of religious and spiritual life as having the potential to be, at some specific times and places, momentary allies in the struggle against the globalization of selfishness and materialism.

Emancipatory Spirituality

As more and more people turn away from the selfishness and materialism of our society, we must work to ensure that they turn instead to Emancipatory Spirituality. Emancipatory Spirituality has the following characteristics:

1. Cultivating our capacities to respond to the universe with awe and celebrate it with radical amazement. This celebration is not the same as a detached aesthetic appreciation. Celebration is a way of seeing which involves a deep recognition of the Unity of All Being and a humble recognition of ourselves as one small but valuable part of the totality. To see in this way is to recognize other human beings, the earth, and the entire universe as sacred. We do not see ourselves as dominating them, but in relationship to them, involved in their well-being and a beneficiary of their goodness. Awe and radical amazement elicit a complete involvement of one's whole self, moments of being overwhelmed, having one's breath taken away, being captivated and excited by the marvel of all that is.

2. Cultivating our capacities to see each other as ends, rather than as means. Every single person on this planet is to be treated as valuable and deserving of love, respect, and solidarity (in secular language) or as created in the image of God (in religious language). I do not mean by this a simple embrace of politically correct opinion. Rather, once you experience this insight you will immediately—without need for argument or reflection—feel empathetic toward every other human being. Feeling a strong sense of connection to others, you will feel (rather than just believe in) a passionate commitment to democratic forms of government and economic decision-making as well as to the separate development of each individual.

3. Affirming the equal worth of every human being, regardless of race, gender, sexual orientation, nationality, religion, cultural ties, or anything else that has been used to deny equality of respect.

4. Seeking the healing and transformation of the world so that all of our public institutions cooperate to enhance peace, tolerance, mutual respect, ecological sanity, social justice, and the celebration of the grandeur of the universe. To achieve and sustain this transformation, Emancipatory Spirituality encourages people to work together in social and political movements filled with a powerful spiritual practice that includes a genuine recognition that its goals cannot be achieved by means that are not as holy as its ends.

5. Cultivating our capacities to transcend our individual egos so that we can experience connection to the Oneness of All Being. To transcend the ego does not mean to permanently eliminate ego concerns, but rather to allow our egos to defend our individual needs without having these needs

displace the primary focus of our activities or attention on this planet. It takes a strong ego to be able to transcend ego.

6. Developing mindfulness, a form of alert attention to each act and experience, so that we are alive to everything we encounter in ourselves, in each other, and in the world, and so that we are able to experience the potential sanctity of every aspect of our lives.

7. Emancipatory Spirituality encourages us to develop a rich inner life connected to Spirit—and an ability to sustain that connection even through periods of adversity and pain. It is not a “feel-good” spirituality that calls attention only to

that which is pleasing in the world, but rather a spirituality that asks us to attend to all that is, to be present to the pain and suffering of humanity and to overcome our tendencies to “space out” on that which seems disagreeable or frightening. It is only through fully experiencing our own emotions that we can free ourselves from past fears sufficiently to be present to the needs of others. And it is through this alert attentiveness that we can begin to recognize our own ego distortions and

begin to connect to the totality and unity of all.

8. Enhancing our capacity to play, to experience joy and pleasure, to honor our emotions and the emotions of others, to educate the next generation with love and compassion, and to experience solitude and silence. It means building communities and social practices that encourage and foster these capacities.

9. Rejecting all forms of censorship. Emancipatory Spirituality encourages non-goal-directed aesthetic creativity in music, dance, painting, poetry, theater, fiction, video, audio, and all other forms of human artistic expression.

10. Affirming pleasure and sexuality. Emancipatory Spirituality recognizes that spirituality is embedded in the body, and promotes a sexuality that is integrated with a sense of the sanctity of ourselves and others.

11. Encouraging an overwhelming feeling of love toward others that manifests in respectful caring for their needs, without abdicating an awareness of our own preciousness and our own needs. Loving others involves, in part, a desire to help them leave the goal-directed consciousness required by the struggle for survival. It means recognizing others in their full complexity, deepening our understanding of the multilayered nature of reality, sharing love without fear that there won't be enough to go around, rejoicing in the well-being of others, generously sharing our talents and material resources with others, sharing responsibility for the raising of children and the care of elders, respecting individual differences and life paths, and respecting privacy and the desire of people to not always participate in what others are doing. It also encourages every form of spiritual counseling, spiritually

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sensitive variants of psychotherapy and family counseling, and every transformative process that leads to this kind of spiritual and emotional healing.

12. Promoting respect and care for the well-being of the entire universe, a desire to live ecologically sustainable lives, to create human societies that are environmentally sustainable and that embody respect for all other life forms. That respect does not translate into a nonjudgmental acceptance of all as equally valuable (it must still allow us, for example, to engage in research to prevent or combat cancer or heart disease, no matter how “natural” they might be deemed to be). But it does insist that to know whether a given path is desirable we need to know its impact, not only on human beings but also on the rest of nature.

13. Supporting the deepening of our intellectual capacities both for their own sake and so that they can best be directed toward our highest spiritual goals and, to the extent that we can receive and understand them, God’s goals for us. Emancipatory Spirituality teaches that there is not just one appropriate set of intellectual or theoretical frameworks for understanding our world. What is appropriate when we are trying to foster cooperation or hopefulness is different from the tools we need when seeking to provide some form of control over certain aspects of our environment. In particular, Emancipatory Spirituality acknowledges and honors the importance and contribution of science and technology even as it sees their limits and refuses to make them the measure of all knowledge or wisdom.

14. Integrating our various capacities and strengths, both on the individual and planetary level, without abdicating the importance of each particular strand and without insisting that the healthy parts of our particularistic traditions be made subservient to some new universal (and potentially totalitarian) view of “the single right way.” The integration of the different forms of wisdom that we have acquired both as individuals and as part of the human race is not a call to abandon particularity, but to share what we each have to contribute with the wisdom emerging from all others.

15. Supporting efforts to “change the bottom line” of society from an ethos of selfishness and materialism to an ethos of love and caring. Emancipatory Spirituality seeks a fundamental redefinition of concepts like rationality, productivity, and efficiency so that they are expanded to include efforts to increase our capacity to be loving and caring, capable of awe and wonder at the universe, capable of sustaining loving commitments to others, and capable of ethical, spiritual, and ecological sensitivity. If any economic, political, or social system cannot accommodate this “new bottom line,” it needs to be transformed in ways that make this new set of concerns seem realistic instead of utopian. That the world can be based on this kind of love and awe, not just in our private lives but in the fundamental ways we interact with each other and build our economic and social institutions, is a central tenet of Emancipatory Spirituality.

SPIRIT MATTERS



MICHAEL
LERNER

author of *The Politics of Meaning*

16. Encouraging the evolution of the human race toward higher forms of knowing, loving, sharing, and rejoicing. This openness to evolving higher levels of consciousness and connection to the Unity of All Being involves a willingness to let go of old ways of thinking and to allow ourselves to be guided by Spirit, approaching the world with open-heartedness, rejoicing in serving God’s plan, radiating blessings and health to all whom we encounter, and permitting ourselves to sink into a paradoxical state of relaxed trust and animated engagement, to surrender to a greater awareness, to bask into the luminous lovelight of the One.

The Socially Engaged Soul

The globalization of Spirit requires that we overcome the false dichotomy between changing ourselves and changing our societal structures. We may sometimes be inclined to say, “I need to work on my own head first, then later I’ll try to change society.” But this strategy can be the beginning of a slippery slope toward narcissistic self-absorption.

Emancipatory Spirituality encourages a living synthesis of individual and social transformation.

No amount of social change activity can replace a focus on one's inner life, and no engagement in social change activity can have an enduring impact if it is implemented by people who are out of touch with their own spiritual dimension. At the same time, no amount of inner enlightenment can adequately nourish a spiritual life if one's day is drenched in soul-destroying social realities.

So where do we start? At both places—with spiritual practice in our own lives and with concrete attempts to transform the world around us.

We know that spiritual practice can be an important part of the collective experience of those engaged in social transformation. The Civil Rights movement in the South began each of its marches with a religious service at a community church. Those who seek to save our environment and challenge the globalization of capital need similar spiritual sustenance for the long, complicated, and often frustrating political challenges that lie ahead. Only those who are rooted in a spiritual practice will be able to persevere in the face of media marginalization, ridicule, and distortion of our message.

Today there are tens of thousands of nonprofit organizations whose mission is to bring healing and change to society. Millions of people have chosen to work in these organizations because they already feel connected to a higher purpose—and they've decided to give their life energies to this goal. These people deserve to be celebrated—and many will play an important role in advancing the spiritual transformation of this planet.

Unfortunately, many of them will end up having a discouraging experience, which will lead them to despair of ever achieving the values that led them to work for their ideals. The reason: all too often the experience of actually working for a nonprofit is not very different from working for organizations with less noble goals, except that at nonprofits the pay is markedly lower. Nonprofits too often become so focused on achieving their goals that they forget to nurture the subjective and spiritual experience of people working for them. It becomes very easy for both individuals and organizations to lose their original vision and focus only on the narrow "tasks at hand."

Reconnecting with their own highest visions could be extremely helpful for such organizations and such individuals.

Consider the sphere of electoral politics. Year after year people vote for candidates they do not believe in, only because they are better than the "other guy." Given this option, tens of millions of people end up not voting at all, and tens of millions more vote for candidates who don't

come close to representing their viewpoints. Engagement in a spiritual practice can give people the inner confidence to vote in favor of their own highest beliefs rather than to throw away or waste their vote by voting for someone who doesn't really represent them. When people overcome the pathogenic belief that they are the only ones who really care about building a more loving world, they will begin to vote for political parties that articulate a deeper vision.

But those parties have yet to be created. At the moment, most of the alternative parties mirror the spiritual emptiness

and one-dimensionality of the Big Two. It may be decades before we see a credible party that can confidently espouse the kind of Emancipatory Spirituality I am articulating. Imagine a party that would state that its number one priority is to redefine efficiency and rationality so that the productivity of institutions is measured by how much loving and caring they are able to promote, how much capacity to experience the world with awe and wonder they admit, how much ecological and ethical sensitivity they generate. If such a party were willing to make that idea the center of its public

articulation, if it were unmoved by the opportunists who always advise that too much emphasis on spiritual vision might lose it votes or popularity, if its members would be genuinely interested in the kinds of spiritual practices I have described—sign me up!

It won't be long before political consultants and media mavens begin manipulating the language of spirituality. This must not sour us on an authentically spiritual politics. Spiritual people should guard against dismissing all political activity as a waste of time and a seductive distraction from real spiritual work. Similarly, the politically oriented should not dismiss an engagement in personal growth as a waste of time and a seductive distraction from real social-change work. Each needs the other. More and more people are coming to realize that we will not be whole until our inner and outer realities are congruent. That's why an integral spirituality and integral politics go hand in hand. □

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Michael Lerner in Your Community

Would your friends and community benefit from having Michael Lerner speak at your local university, synagogue, church, or bookstore—or at some large local cultural event? If so, help us set that up. Call us at (415) 575-1200 and tell us what would work in your community, the name and email of the best bookstore to contact, and what you might do to help arrange some speaking engagements.

INTERVIEW

AN INTERVIEW WITH Arianna Huffington

We recently read Arianna Huffington's new book *How to Overthrow the Government* and found her articulating a critique of American politics that was morally sensitive and biblically rooted. Given our media-generated perceptions of who she is, this was hard to believe, but Huffington has become an articulate advocate for social justice and transformation. This interview was conducted by Michael Lerner.

TIKKUN: How did your transformation happen?

ARIANNA HUFFINGTON: It's actually been more of an evolution—and a gradual one at that. When I was in my mid-twenties, I wrote a book called *The Other Revolution* that had many elements similar to the ideas you've developed in your new book *Spirit Matters*, challenging the materialism in our politics. I see that same problem today, when our candidates talk about how well we are doing as though the only criterion for how well we are doing is how much aggregate money the society has.

When my ex-husband decided to run for Congress in 1991 from Santa Barbara, I became involved in the campaign. And I was amazed to find how much pain and suffering existed beneath the idyllic surface of American life, even in a community as affluent as Santa Barbara. As I became exposed to the levels of poverty and deprivation in this society, I came to feel more strongly than ever that the programs put in place by the Great Society were not working, but neither was the Republican ideology that said that a rising tide will lift all boats.

When we got to Washington in 1993, I gave a speech called "Can Conservatives Have A Social Conscience?" which stated the theme I've gone on to develop in my new book *How to Overthrow the Government*: that we will be judged by what we do for what the New Testament calls "the least among us." That is my definition of public morality—not what politicians are doing in their private lives, but what they are doing to eliminate poverty. When Newt Gingrich saw that speech on C-Span, he called and told me that he agreed with what I'd said, and invited me to speak to Republican members of Congress. Then, in his first speech as Speaker, he

*Arianna Huffington is a syndicated columnist whose latest book is *How to Overthrow the Government*.*



I was amazed to find how much pain and suffering existed beneath the idyllic surface of American life.

repeated those themes, and said that the greatest moral imperative was dealing with poverty, not balancing the budget. It was an amazing speech, but it soon became clear that he didn't mean any of it, that it was empty rhetoric. And readers of my column were made privy to each disillusioning realization I had as it occurred. For people who have been reading my column for the past five years, my book is not a surprise, but for people who have not read me and who only have a caricatured, media-generated impression of me, this book comes as a big surprise. So this has been a process of rethinking based on the evidence of what works.

TIKKUN: By what criterion of "what works"?

HUFFINGTON: Democracy is supposed to produce a "more perfect union." But we actually have what Benjamin Disraeli called "two nations" living in one country but separated by walls of indifference. Leaders of both political parties have contributed to this division because they only refer to one of these two nations when they talk about what's happening. When Bill Clinton says that "the state of our union is stronger than it has ever been," he is only talking about one of these two nations, implicitly writing off not only the 36 million people living under the poverty line but

INTERVIEW

those who are struggling with two jobs, no health care, inadequate child care, huge credit card debt, etc.

I used to think that some of these issues would best be addressed by supporting local programs through private donations from corporations and the wealthy, but I discovered firsthand how hard it was to raise money for programs concerned with assisting the poor. It was much easier to raise money for the opera or a fashionable museum. I don't really consider my gift charitable when I give to my child's private school which happens to be incorporated as a nonprofit, but

this is what many people think of as their charitable giving. When Microsoft's *Slate* magazine put out the Slate 60, a list of the "most charitable Americans" to balance the Forbes 400 list of the wealthiest Americans and give public recognition to those who were caring for others, I wrote a column critical of the list's compassion-blind criteria. It was time, I said, to start deconstructing charitable giving and to stop defining it as any tax-deductible contribution to any old 501(c)(3)—a classification that lumps together a soup kitchen and a university with an endowment larger than the GDP of the poorest 100 countries. More specifically, we should not be treating as equivalent Robert Mondavi's gift of \$20 million to the American Center for Wine, Food, and the Arts in his hometown of Napa, California, and a gift to a poverty-fighting program.

The truth is that at this moment, when America is at its most prosperous, we are doing less to fight poverty than at previous historical moments. This realization has led to another: we are not going to solve social problems without significant appropriations from the federal government. But I also believe that government dollars—no matter how many trillions of them—will never mend broken lives without citizen engagement. So I've been working on a new model, very different from the Great Society model, one that focuses on identifying what works on the ground and then using money—private and public—to take these programs to market, to significantly expand their reach.

The people in the trenches are original and creative. There is a wealth of creativity there—and if we really pay attention to the different models being developed, we will develop programs far more effectively than the federal government can. Since welfare reform passed, and many of the poor fell off the rolls, people have assumed that there is no longer a problem. But what is really happening is that many of these people are suffering. We just don't care enough to want to find out about this reality. The top goal of Al Gore and George W. Bush is to increase the prosperity of the prosperous. John McCain wanted to stop the dominance of the special interests in Washington, and though he certainly didn't raise the issue of poverty, the reality is that unless we challenge the dominance of money in our electoral system, none of the other changes we want to see will ever happen.

Nothing is going to change in politics until we change the way that things are decided in Washington, which means reducing the power of lobbyists and big-bucks donors.

TIKKUN: But if McCain raised these issues, why didn't he generate enough of a mass following to win the primaries?

HUFFINGTON: Because he didn't stick with his message at the end of the campaign. Instead, he tried to run as a generic Republican and play down his reform message, mistakenly listening to the political advisors who told him he needed to reassure the conservative base that he was mostly concerned

with their traditional issues. He didn't stay on his message as a passionate reformer. And he allowed the negative attacks on him to literally enter him. He then started to project an angry feeling that was more about what was being done to him by Bush than about what was being done to the American people by our corrupt political system. As a result, he lost the momentum that he had built in New Hampshire. McCain's ads in California were

about having a strong military and cutting taxes. So the people who might have been galvanized to vote for the sake of achieving some change in the system stayed home.

If we are going to change anything, we have to change ourselves. But what you argue so brilliantly in *Spirit Matters*, Michael, is that while we need to start by changing ourselves, we should not stop there—and this is the problem I've seen with some of my friends in the New Age movement who become so focused on their own lives that they never get to the next stage of addressing the needs of others.

Your emphasis on spirit is critical when it comes to some major social issues, like the drug problem, which I devote a chapter to in *How to Overthrow the Government*. Drug use is rooted in the spiritual emptiness of daily life. If "spirit matters" in the way that you argue, and we make spirituality a reality in our lives, we won't need drugs. But if we pretend in public life that we are really only material beings without any spiritual needs, then privately in our personal lives many of us will turn to drugs to fill the emptiness in our souls. You can see this same distortion in our current mental health industry, which treats people's unhappiness as a product of chemical imbalances and doesn't recognize the imbalance in spirit and soul. When was the last time your doctor raised issues about spirit?

So the task now is to build a movement. Change will happen when a critical mass of people get involved and "change the wind," as Jim Wallis puts it. Then politicians will stick their finger in the air to feel which way the wind is blowing and act accordingly. It's a movement that has to be built on the model of the Civil Rights movement, and I'm optimistic that it can be done once we transcend old Left/Right dichotomies, and refuse to settle for a Dow Jones-juiced reality. □

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Buddhists Armed with Apples

Cultural Contradictions of the New Networking Technologies

Raymond Barglow

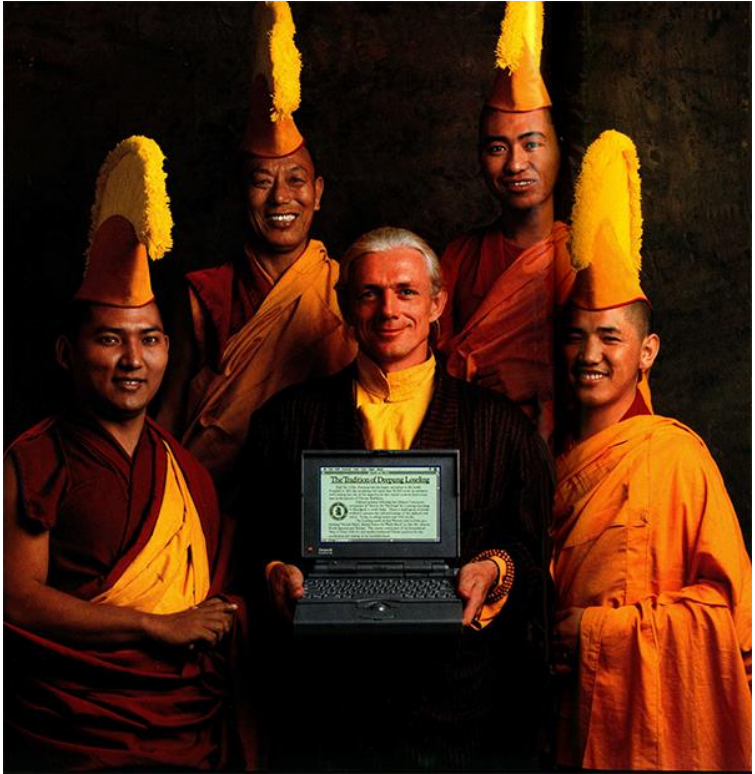
Is Technology Turning Over a New Leaf?

The past millennium has been one of world-transforming technological advance. With the Industrial Revolution several centuries behind us, and the Information Revolution well under way, humankind seems to approach the destiny promised in Genesis: “dominion over all the earth.” Yet this project of mastery—implemented to most dramatic effect in industrialized nations—has not fulfilled the ideals of emancipation enunciated during the European Renaissance and Enlightenment. Rather, as German theorists of the Frankfurt School first pointed out in the 1930s, the technological domination of nature has served the ends of social domination, providing weapons of war and of police states, industrial machinery that regiments workers and pollutes the environment, and mass media that manipulate audiences. During the past century, it became possible for nuclear technologies to wipe out human existence on the planet altogether.

Entering a new millennium, are we now prepared to resolve the historical contradiction between the liberating promise of technology and its actual applications? Advocates of the new technologies argue that the old stereotypes about technology—that it objectifies and deadens nature, homogenizes cultural differences, distances the mind from the body, detaches technical means from ethical purpose—overlook technology’s recent revolutionary turn: the new information technologies are integrative; they help people communicate and connect. Literally weaving a worldwide web, they can serve a community-building function, linking us directly to one another in ways that encourage mutual understanding and respect.

Recognition of the “Other”

In a world fractured by ethnic, religious, and territorial rivalries, this is welcome news. An advertisement for Apple Computer suggests that today’s information technologies might even support the preservation and communication of ancient non-Western ways of life. In the advertisement, Tibetan Buddhism is being kept alive with the assistance



of the notebook computer that the fellow at the center, surrounded by smiling monks and perhaps himself a student of Buddhism, displays for us to admire. On its screen we see the title of a document, “The Tradition of Drepung Loseling,” and immediately beneath a description of the recent history of this Tibetan monastery.

At the lower right corner of the advertisement, we see the computer company’s trademark, an apple with a bite taken out of it—suggesting that, contrary to what we read in Genesis, there is no reason not to eat from the Tree of Knowledge. The text visible on the monitor screen speaks of the monks’ recent worldwide tours, “performing ‘Sacred Music, Sacred Dance for World Peace’ in over 100 cities in North America and Europe.” The current tour, the text continues, “applies traditional Tibetan practices for the purification and healing of our troubled planet.”

This juxtaposition of a recent and highly sophisticated Western technology with an ancient Eastern tradition presumes their harmony. Consider, however, the subtext of the Apple advertisement: the monks are represented as circling the Westerner, who links the two cultures and holds in his hands the computer, whose operations he, not they, has mastered. Meaning is drawn down from the peripheral figures and lodged in the information-processing object, around which the scene is centered. The text to the right of the image drops any reference to Tibetan religion and speaks only of the machine:

Raymond Barglow is a psychologist and computer programmer.

PowerBook.™

It's from Apple.

It's not just a new computer.

It's a new idea.

It makes numbers scream.

It makes words sing.

It makes people smile.

It can talk to computers.

It can talk to fax machines.

It can talk.

Offered to us in haiku-like form, this advertising copy pays homage to a technical artifact elevated to the status of a spiritual icon. The formal design of the advertisement's imagery resembles that of traditional Christian representations of Madonna and child: male figures replace Mary and her admirers, and a computer displaces the Christ child as the center of wonder and authority. The laptop computer has become the Incarnation!

From one perspective, what is represented here is an altruistic relationship between Western technological rationality and an ancient spiritual tradition. From another perspective, however, the advertisement represents yet one more instance, however subtle and disguised, of cultural imperialism—a non-Western way of life is incorporated within a Western technology-centered and market-centered concept of how the world is put together. A discourse of the “Other,” treated with intolerance in the past, now becomes too easily accessible and assimilated: how pleasant and appealing Tibetan Buddhism's representatives seem, decked out in their colorful robes and ceremonial caps.

Obscured by the advertisement is a problematic relationship between Tibetan traditional beliefs and practices on the one hand, and a postindustrial order on the other. I'm thinking here not only of the obvious priorities of the current global order—the emphasis on consumption and “getting ahead,” for instance—but also of “materialism” in the literal sense of the word, which attributes fundamental reality only to physical entities and processes. An Apple computer is not merely a value-neutral vehicle of communication and calculation. Rather, it concludes centuries of scientific advance and economic development and thereby embodies a particular set of understandings and values. Objects such as computers, televisions, and cellular phones amount to “facts on the ground” that provide a kind of obvious evidence for the truthfulness and power of Western ways of knowing and changing the world.

The attempt to harmonize those ways with an Eastern tradition such as Buddhism is contradictory on two counts. There is first of all a metaphysical conflict: can religious or spiritual belief of any kind be compatible with the materialist bent of natural science? A second conflict is ethical: can the values of the world's spiritual traditions be reconciled with those of the global marketplace?

The Scientific Contradiction

Here in the pages of TIKKUN and elsewhere, it has been argued that spirituality need not contradict scientific



reason, that at the core of the world's diverse religious traditions we find a shared and scientifically tenable understanding. The current Dalai Lama tells a story that illustrates this point. In 1955 he went to China to meet with Chairman Mao Tse Tung. At the conclusion of their discussions, the chairman congratulated the Tibetan monk for having seen through the illusions of religion. The Dalai Lama reports in his autobiography that he was astonished by Mao's misperception:

How could he have misjudged me so?... The only possible explanation was that he had misinterpreted my great interest in scientific matters and material progress. It was true that I wanted to modernize Tibet ... and true also that my cast of mind is basically scientific.... I have always been open to the discoveries and truths of modern science. Perhaps this is what tricked Mao into thinking that my religious practices were nothing more to me than a prop or convention.

The mistake here, says the Dalai Lama, consists in assuming that a high regard for science is incompatible with a spiritual perspective. On the contrary, he submits, Eastern and Western ways of knowing ultimately converge. The Dalai Lama reminds us that, after all, “both science and the teachings of the Buddha tell us of the fundamental unity of all things.”

Unresolved by the Dalai Lama's remarks, however, is the metaphysical question underlying the perennial “religion-versus-science” debate: is the “unity” in which Buddhists believe the same as that postulated by science? The kind of unity recognized by spirituality in most of its traditional forms assumes the existence of design and purpose in the universe: God's plan, Allah's Sharia, Buddhist karma and reincarnation. Science's unity, on the other hand, assumes a universe populated only by physical processes and forces. Science finds no evidence for the hypothesis that our universe has been designed or guided in a purposeful way—by a divine intelligence for example.

In this debate (whose arguments are too complex to be tracked in this brief essay) much turns on the meaning of concepts like “design” and “purpose.” They may be taken to point us in the direction of a Designer or Creator, much as—to use the shopworn example—the existence of a watch implies that of a watchmaker. But there really is no need to invoke such supernatural agency in accounting for nature's ways.

Contemporary writers about science such as Swimme, Goodenough, and Suzuki point out that the scientific story of the origins of our planet and of life on its surface is compelling and enchanting in its own right. With its account of the interdependence of all beings, science weaves a narrative of creation and evolution that is as dramatic as Genesis. Nature has, by a kind of miracle, given rise to conscious, meaning-creating beings capable of reflecting upon its harmonies and dissonances. Understood in this way, scientific reason need not contradict, and might even complement, the wisdom in a Sanskrit text, Rumi poem, or kabbalist reading of Torah.

*The World Wide Web
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more than a network of
tunnel visions.*

The Ethical Contradiction

An Apple computer incorporates not only a scientific understanding, however, but also economic principles of the postindustrial marketplace. These principles—unlike the scientific discoveries that have made the machine possible—can't be reconciled with a Buddhist philosophy. The manufacture of electronic components, which typically occurs under abusive labor conditions here in the United States and abroad, is hardly in keeping with a Buddhist emphasis upon respect and compassion for all sentient beings. (I do not mean to single out Apple here; electronics assembly worldwide is notorious for its abusive labor practices.) Tibetan Buddhism, like other religious traditions at their best, teaches an unconditional generosity toward others that is radically at odds with prevailing economic priorities.

Today's information technologies provide the nervous system of an international order that impoverishes and exploits a global underclass. This electronically networked order, which integrates governments, corporations, and banks, recognizes no geographical boundaries. The walls that contained the factory and office environments of the past have disappeared in the "electronic office" represented on the cover of *Byte* magazine (see figure on p. 44), which merges a workplace setting with the entire universe. The depths of outer space are suggested by white dots spread randomly across a black expanse and circuit paths in the shape of comets. Information processors—people sitting or standing in front of computer monitors—occupy an all-encompassing grid of pathways that recedes infinitely into the background. Each person is allocated to a workstation, and all the stations are linked by the network. Each is a node, a receiver and sender of information—like an electronic "chip" plugged into a circuit board, the picture suggests. Even where two individuals are located in physical proximity to one another, on the right side of this cosmic work space, they look not at one another but at the screen that absorbs the attention of both. Removed from this network, this picture seems to suggest, someone would become as aimless and lifeless as an electronic component yanked from an information system. To be sure, the "electronic office"

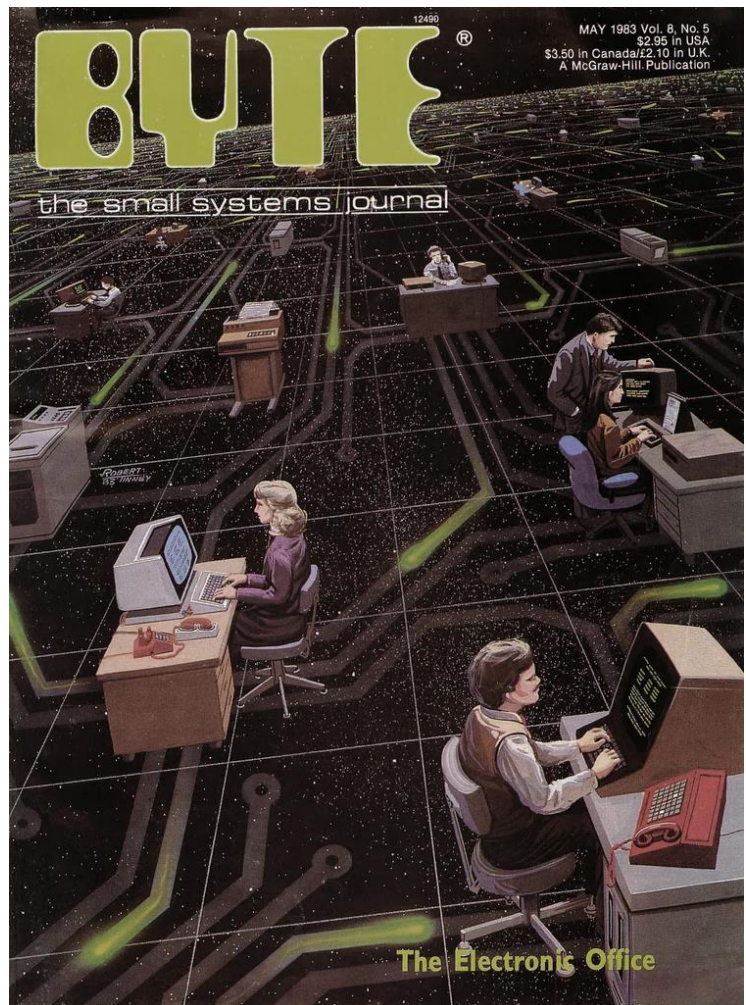
connects people, but it neither empowers them nor provides their lives with any meaning beyond integration into the controlling apparatus.

Of course it is not only within corporate environments that the new technologies are deployed. Does the "personal computer," with its capacity for electronic networking, return a measure of freedom and self-determination to the individual?

Anticipating the explosive growth of Internet traffic, Michael Dertouzos, Director of MIT's Laboratory for Computer Science, proposed in 1991 that the United States make a major investment in a "National Information Infrastructure" (NII) that would enable us to recreate our social relationships:

Philosophically, the NII should be viewed as a new means of controlling our personal locality—choosing our working associates, vendors, entertainers, and perhaps even friends—without being limited to those that happen to be physically near. With the importance of physical proximity diminished, every person on the national information infrastructure could assemble his or her own electronic "neighborhood."

Currently, Al Gore is one of the enthusiastic advocates of this vision. In his speeches he touts the Internet's ability



to extend the freedom of human communications. But how will this freedom be exercised? Will we populate our “electronic neighborhoods” only with people who are more or less like ourselves, and in whose company we feel comfortable? We might welcome into our “neighborhood” the smiling Tibetan monks in the Apple advertisement, but not have anything to do at all with the disenfranchised and homeless who aren’t sending us electronic mail.

Networking technologies are celebrated as the basis for a more connected and integrated world, seemingly in keeping with the Dalai Lama’s dream of a worldwide community of peoples. But the World Wide Web may amount to little more than a network of tunnel visions: a world compartmentalized along lines of social class and professional specialization. When automobiles were first mass-produced, they too were advertised as a technology that would bring us together by making everyone accessible to everyone else. Yet automotive travel turned out to have quite different consequences, including the formation of suburbs insulated from the ghettos of the inner city. Similarly, the “information superhighway” is as likely to atomize as to integrate: the individual self will find its purpose and identity within an electronically contrived virtual reality inhabited only by like-minded others.

Communities: Virtual and Real

How might a different kind of outcome be achieved? The challenge is to go beyond our specialized “virtual communities” to create real ones—inclusive communities that embrace what the Dalai Lama calls in his most recent book, *Ethics for the New Millennium*, a “sense of universal responsibility ... of the equal right of all others to happiness and not to suffer.” One reason that the Dalai Lama’s message resonates so widely is that it speaks to a longing so many of us share—across national and religious and cultural boundaries—for a transformed world. “We are only just beginning to see,” the Dalai Lama notes, “the emergence of a global consciousness (which has been made possible by the communications revolution) ... a growing sense of a single, mutually dependent, human community.... Given human beings’ love of truth, justice, peace, and freedom, creating a better, more compassionate world is a genuine possibility.”

But if the desire for justice and peace is so widely shared, then why has there not been more movement of the world toward these values? At the end of a millennium of extraordinary technological advance and global integration, why do poverty and war and xenophobia abound? Part of the answer is that our forms of social association, from the fiefdom to the nation-state—and more recently the World Trade Organization (WTO), as protesters in Seattle this past November pointed out—have not encouraged solidarity across borders, nor even internal democratic decision-making. If the wider scope of communication provided by the new networking technologies is to yield more than the delivery of e-commerce packages to our doorsteps, then these technologies must be married to an old-fashioned ideal:

grassroots democracy. This ideal is deeply embedded, the Dalai Lama pointed out in a recent address to the National Endowment for Democracy, in Eastern as well as Western traditions: “Not only are Buddhism and democracy compatible, they are rooted in the same understanding of equality and the potential of the individual.”

The principle of democratic self-determination is obviously relevant to the Tibetans’ desire to reclaim their homeland from Chinese domination. But as the Dalai Lama suggests, taking this principle seriously would transform every human institution. At a company like Apple, democracy would mean that workers at all levels, from assemblers in Third World countries to software developers in Silicon Valley, could use the networking technologies that they themselves produce to deliberate upon and reshape the conditions and direction of their own labor. These technologies could also help communities external to the company to have their say in setting standards of environmental safety, for example, but also in arriving at broader policy decisions about the purposes that technology should serve.

Such cooperation already occurs in embryonic forms. Last year’s protest in Seattle against WTO policies, for example, relied a lot upon electronic networking, beginning with worldwide discussions among some 700 non-governmental organizations to plan the protest and culminating in video streaming of information to the Internet from many street locations in the city during the week-long demonstrations. These electronic media have been helping a new generation of activists to come of age and convey their message to the world.

Among those marching in the streets of Seattle were members of the Buddhist Peace Fellowship (www.bpf.org), expressing a global awareness quite at odds with Apple Computer’s image of a multicultural marketplace. Especially in countries like Burma and Thailand, Buddhists have been effective in challenging corporate power. When faith traditions are true to themselves, the Dalai Lama believes, they travel a path as committed to social justice and protection of the environment as any other activism. In fact, the insights of these traditions are essential to the movement we aim to build. To worldwide conversations that help us clarify the values and direction of that movement, the new technologies can make an invaluable contribution. □

Clean Money, Clean Elections

Micah L. Sifry

In the field of campaign finance reform, these are the worst of times and the best of times. The 2000 election is already shaping up as the most expensive in history, and Congress has shown no sign of doing anything about what, in essence, is a crisis of democracy. The excesses of the past few years have been stunning. The selling of the Lincoln Bedroom. The foreign contributions scandals. "Season passes" for the highest-rolling fat cats, guaranteeing them privileged access to party leaders. The ever-expanding exploitation of the system's many loopholes. The repeated defeat of even the stripped-down McCain-Feingold bill. The record-shattering fundraising spree of George W. Bush.

But another wind is blowing in this first spring of the new millennium. The surprising success of John McCain in the early Republican primaries is just the latest proof that the public is tired of the campaign finance status quo. There is good news coming from the courts and new activism in the streets. And the states continue to lead the movement, from Maine, where the country's first-ever Clean Election law has just been upheld in federal court and candidates are beginning to run under the new system, to Missouri and Oregon, where broad-based initiative campaigns seeking to duplicate Maine's approach are gearing up for the fall ballot.

Are we on the verge of throwing the money-changers out of the temple of democracy? Obviously not. But there are many reasons to be optimistic about reaching that goal, especially if we keep our eyes on the prize.

Most people understand instinctively the need to get big money out of politics, or at least to push it as far to the sidelines as possible. This is a gateway reform that will make other reforms more possible. But we must proceed with care, to insure that the changes we make really solve the problems of the existing system.

Micah L. Sifry is Public Campaign's senior analyst. For more information on Public Campaign and its state partners, call (877) OUR-VOICE, or visit www.publiccampaign.org.



There are four basic problems with the current system of privately financed election campaigns.

- Campaigns cost too much.
- Wealthy interests that fund campaigns get benefits that ordinary people don't.
- Candidates have to spend most of their time raising money rather than meeting with constituents and discussing issues.
- There's little electoral competition since many good candidates who lack wealth or ties to wealthy donors can't run viable campaigns.

Against this backdrop, it quickly becomes clear that there's little reason to lose sleep over partial solutions, like the McCain-Feingold bill blocked by a Republican minority in Congress for the third year in a row. Yes, McCain-Feingold's ban on soft money—those huge, unregulated

contributions from corporations, unions, and rich individuals to the parties—is a critical piece of any comprehensive solution, and a useful first step in that direction.

But by itself, nothing in the McCain-Feingold bill would slow the galloping cost of campaigns, or break the dependence of public officials on wealthy private contributors, or end the debilitating money chase, or open campaigns to candidates who are unwilling to sell themselves to the tiny elite that provides most of the funding today. Nor would it open up the political system to women or communities of color, who are disproportionately underrepresented in the ranks of the donor class as well as in elected offices. Or change the dynamics of the presidential wealth primary—after all, every cent of George W. Bush's intimidating \$70 million has come not in soft money, but from individual hard-money contributions.

That's why much of the campaign finance reform community is coalescing around the long-range goal of Clean Money, Clean Elections reform. Under this system, candidates who voluntarily agree not to raise any private money and to abide by spending limits get an equal grant from a Clean Elections fund to pay for their campaigns, both primary and general. To qualify, they have to collect a large number of very small (i.e., \$5) contributions from voters in their district. Additional public funds are provided to Clean Money candidates who are outspent by privately financed opponents or targeted by outside groups with independent expenditures.

Since 1996, when a Clean Elections system was adopted by the voters of Maine by a 56 to 44 percent vote, the concept has spread to Vermont, whose legislature adopted it in 1997, and to Massachusetts and Arizona, whose citizens supported Clean Elections referenda on the 1998 ballot. Activists are hoping to pass similar initiatives in Missouri and Oregon in 2000, and there are strong legislative efforts under way in states as diverse as Connecticut, Illinois, New Mexico, North Carolina, and Wisconsin. More than 2,000 elected officials nationwide have signed a statement of support for the principles of Clean Money reform, including a number of Republicans along with many Democrats.

By ending candidates' dependence on deep-pocketed donors, Clean Money makes it possible for a much wider range of candidates and voices to be heard in American elections. Unlike more incremental proposals, it is simple to explain and capable of generating support from a broad range of groups and individuals. It also has the virtue of turning the tables on reform opponents, who find themselves having to defend a "dirty" system that few people really like.

In addition, unlike other approaches that focus on trying to limit private contributions and spending, Clean Money

does not require a constitutional amendment or the overturning of the Supreme Court's *Buckley v. Valeo* precedent. (For these very reasons, it has received the support of the ACLU, which supports public financing while opposing measures aimed at curbing private contributions or spending.) Indeed, while ruling in *Buckley* that mandatory campaign spending limits were unconstitutional, the Court explicitly said that Congress could set up a system of public financing and condition participation in it on a candidate's acceptance of voluntary spending limits. This, in essence, is exactly what Clean Money does.

Clean Money makes it possible for a much wider range of candidates and voices to be heard in American elections.

Can we get from here to there? While the path is still a long one, there are many encouraging signs on the road ahead.

First, there is no question that the public cares about campaign finance reform. In fact, according to exit polls from the first six Republican primaries, it stood higher than abortion and edu-

cation as the "most important issue" to voters, and nearly as important as world affairs and social security. This is a highly unusual finding; campaign reform as an abstract issue almost never ranks in voters' top concerns alongside more bread-and-butter matters like health care, jobs, or crime. But, at least until John McCain and Bill Bradley dropped out of the race, the voters showed that they would flock to candidates making reform their central message. This is a tribute to how both men linked the need for reform to more tangible concerns like taxes and health care, and also a sign of how support for genuine reform has become a prism through which many voters judge a candidate's overall ethics and character.

Another sign of which way the wind is blowing came from the Supreme Court at the end of January. In a six to three ruling in *Nixon v. Shrink PAC* the Court upheld mandatory limits on what individuals can contribute to candidates. The case grew out of a challenge to a Missouri law limiting contributions to \$1,075 for statewide candidates, and was seen as a real threat to the current federal limit of \$1,000. With this ruling, the Court affirmed what nearly every American believes: big money plays a pernicious role in our politics and we have a compelling interest in reducing the corruption—including the appearance of corruption—that results when candidates are dependent on large private contributions to pay for their campaigns.

As Justice Souter wrote in the majority opinion, "there is little reason to doubt that sometimes large contributions will work actual corruption of our political system, and no reason to question the existence of a corresponding suspicion among voters." This was a major setback for self-styled constitutional scholars like Senator Mitch McConnell, who has been predicting for years that the Court would overturn

contribution limits, or at a minimum agree with him that the limit be indexed to inflation. Instead the Court told McConnell: "the dictates of the First Amendment are not mere functions of the Consumer Price Index."

The fine print of the *Shrink PAC* ruling has led a number of constitutional scholars and advocates to predict that the Court is prepared to revisit *Buckley v. Valeo* and reopen the question of mandatory spending limits, which has been until now a First Amendment no-no. Whether that happens or not, the ruling was an implicit green light for the Clean Money approach of reasonable limits on private contributions coupled with the option of full public financing for candidates who voluntarily agree to spending limits. Indeed, in their concurring opinion Justices Breyer and Ginsburg emphasized that the *Buckley v. Valeo* decision explicitly upheld public financing.

Lower courts have taken the same view.

In a series of rulings this past winter in Maine, the federal district court and the court of appeals upheld the constitutionality of that state's path-breaking Clean Election Act. Chief District Judge D. Brock Hornby's decision was a ringing affirmation of what Clean Money activists have been saying all along: a voluntary system of full public financing for candidates who raise no private money and accept spending limits is fully constitutional and a positive way to expand political speech.

Maine's law also provides a modest level of matching funds to candidates when they are faced with higher spending by privately financed opponents. The opponents of the law had hoped to convince Judge Hornby, a Bush appointee, that this matching funds provision would "chill" their own private spending on campaign speech. He dismissed that argument, writing that "the plaintiffs want to preserve the ability to 'out spend' their publicly financed opponents. Their view of free speech is that there is no point in speaking if your opponent gets to be heard as well." But, Hornby concluded, "more speech is better."

Now, more than 100 candidates for Maine's state legislature have qualified for Clean Elections financing for their 2000 campaigns. Though it will probably be several years before we can fully judge the effects of the new system on the electoral and legislative process, it is already clear that it has transformed the way candidates run for office. Glenn Cummings, a candidate for Maine's House of Representatives, was the first to qualify under the new law for \$4,400 in state money to run his campaign, an amount that could triple if an opponent outspends him. To do so, he had to gather fifty contributions of five dollars each to demonstrate



It appears that the campaign finance struggle is reaching critical mass.

that he has a real base of support, and to pledge not to raise any other private money. Cummings told the *New York Times* that some supporters had offered him more than the five-dollar qualifying contribution, and "it's the first time in my life when I've turned away money."

While Clean Money continues to demonstrate popular support and constitutional strength, it is still a fragile flower in a hostile political environment, in need of careful nurturing and support. To take one recent example of the threat to real reform, in Massachusetts, where the voters passed the Clean Elections law by a whopping 67 to 33 percent, the top leaders in the statehouse nearly succeeded in gutting the intent of the law in a dizzying series of backroom legislative moves last fall. But concerted action by grassroots activists led by Mass Voters for Clean Elections, who alerted the local media, rallied hundreds at the state Capitol, generated thousands of protest

phone calls, and threatened civil disobedience in front of the governor's office, ultimately convinced the governor to respect the will of the voters and restore the Clean Elections law to its original form.

The emergence of public protests—who hasn't heard of Doris "Granny D" Haddock and her 3,500-mile walk across the country for campaign reform—and civil disobedience as a new front in the fight for reform suggests that the issue is finally escaping the province of good-government types and legal eagles. Over the last few months, several dozen people have been arrested inside the Capitol Rotunda in Washington while reading an indictment of Congress for "Crimes Against Democracy." The Alliance for Democracy, which organized these "democracy brigades," plans to continue protests at the Capitol as a way to increase the pressure on Congress and to educate the public. It appears that the campaign finance struggle is reaching critical mass, where an engaged public can make a huge difference.

The moment is not as bleak as those huge fundraising totals and congressional inaction might suggest. There is a way forward that is both politically viable and effective. The growing success of the Clean Money movement at the state level shows the public is more engaged by sweeping proposals that offer comprehensive reform than it is by piecemeal approaches dependent on legislative compromise and backroom dealing. And since real campaign finance reform is an issue that threatens the entire incumbent class and its wealthy special-interest allies, getting the public engaged at the grassroots level is the only way this fight can be won. □

Frank Talk on Free Trade

Jeff Gates

Imagine an idealized free trade environment—a single economy world with freely mobile capital, both physical and financial. In such a neoclassical nirvana, investors will gravitate to locales with the most favorable labor costs, causing pay rates to steadily narrow for those with comparable skills. As liberalized trade barriers make developed countries richer while making many clerical, production, and semiskilled workers within them worse off, who pockets the difference? Obviously it's those who own the capital as open markets both increase the supply of labor and lower its cost. That's not abstract economic theory; we see that phenomenon emerging worldwide as unfettered free trade has steadily gained favor in policy circles. Tragedy awaits us if the global citizenry begins to equate the fast-growing economic insecurity that accompanies free trade with the spread of democratic freedoms it promises.

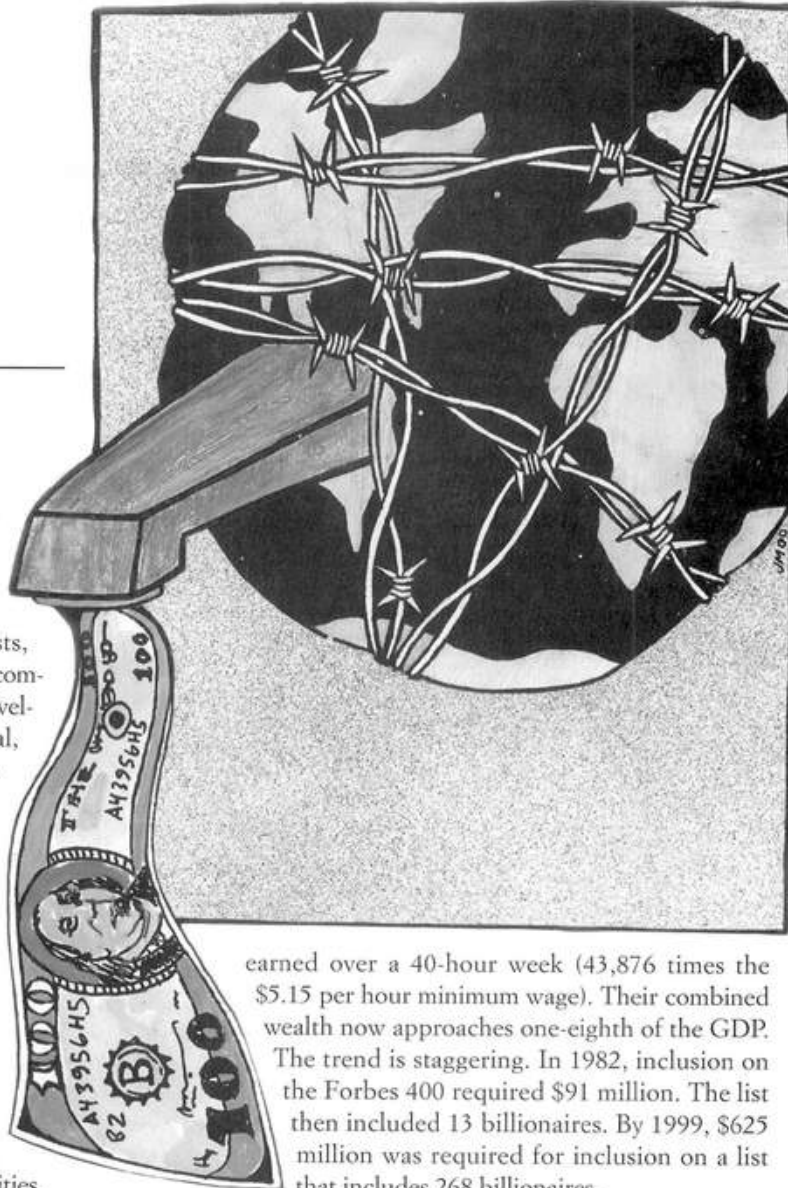
Let's examine first what's happening to the distribution of wealth both domestically and abroad, and then take a look at fast-growing income disparities. The world's 200 richest people more than doubled their net worth between 1995 and 1999 to more than \$1 trillion, for an average \$5 billion each. Their combined assets now equal the combined annual income of the world's poorest 2.5 billion people. Just three Americans—Microsoft cofounders Bill Gates and Paul Allen plus Berkshire Hathaway's Warren Buffett—have personal wealth greater than the combined GDP of the world's 41 poorest countries with their 550 million citizens.

Domestic trends mirror that fast-widening global divide. The financial wealth of the top one percent of Americans now equals that of the bottom 95 percent, according to New York University economist Edward Wolff. The wealth of the Forbes 400 richest Americans grew an average \$940 million each over the past two years. That's a per capita increase of \$1,287,671 per day or \$225,962 per hour if

earned over a 40-hour week (43,876 times the \$5.15 per hour minimum wage). Their combined wealth now approaches one-eighth of the GDP. The trend is staggering. In 1982, inclusion on the Forbes 400 required \$91 million. The list then included 13 billionaires. By 1999, \$625 million was required for inclusion on a list that includes 268 billionaires.

The Federal Reserve's latest survey of consumer finances (published January 2000) found that for all under-55 age groups, medians of net worth remain "substantially below their 1989 levels." That's consistent with Wolff's findings that 86 percent of stock market gains between 1989 and 1997 flowed to the top 10 percent of households while 42 percent went to the most well-to-do one percent. While the total number of households grew 3 percent from 1995 to 1998, the number of households with a net worth of \$10 million or more skyrocketed 44.7 percent.

How about income? The Fed survey found that "median income between 1989 and 1998 rose appreciably only for families headed by college graduates" (i.e., the top 20 percent). The Census Bureau confirms that analysis, finding that pretax median income rose just \$1,001 between 1989 and 1998. Thus, for the free trade decade of the 1990s, the typical American family saw an average annual raise, adjusted for inflation, of \$111.22, or 0.3 percent. Meanwhile, the work year expanded by 184 hours over the decade. That's another 4.5 weeks on the job for about the same pay. A 40-hour work week at today's minimum wage



Jeff Gates is president of the Atlanta- and Cambridge-based Shared Capitalism Institute (<http://www.sharedcapitalism.org>) and author of *The Ownership Solution* (1998) and *Democracy at Risk* (2000). Copyright © 2000 by Jeff Gates.

nets a pre-tax annual income that's \$6,355 below the official poverty line for a family of four.

The top one percent of income-earners now makes more than the bottom 100 million wage-earners combined. The Census Bureau confirms today's record-level inequality, with the top fifth of households claiming 49.2 percent of national income while the bottom fifth gets by on 3.6 percent. The after-tax income flowing to the middle 60 percent of households is the lowest recorded since 1977. Meanwhile, *Business Week* reports that the pay gap between top executives and production workers grew from 42:1 in 1980 to 419:1 in 1998, excluding their lavish stock options.

Of course, this widening disparity is also driven by other factors as well, including the sweeping impact of information technology, the ongoing shift to a knowledge economy (along with the premium paid the well-educated), and the decline of unionization. Yet along with the embrace of free trade came another policy shift that reinforced trade's rich-get-richer tendency: the steady skewing of tax rates in favor of the most well-to-do. If the richest one percent of the population had received the same share of the nation's after-tax income in 1999 as it did in 1977, it would have received \$271 billion less in 1999. That's \$226,000 less per household. The average annual tax cut granted the top one percent since 1977 exceeds the average annual income of the middle fifth of households.

Globalization exacerbates this growing divide by reducing the ability to tax highly mobile capital, ensuring that a growing share of the tax burden is borne by labor. The hugely regressive Social Security payroll tax (a "flat tax" of 12.4 percent on income up to \$72,600) is now the largest single levy paid by a majority of taxpayers. It's the greatest tax paid by 90 percent of GenXers. Meanwhile, the number of off-shore tax haven corporations has skyrocketed from 200,000 in the late 1980s to more than 1.5 million today, with an estimated \$8 trillion now hidden away by those who would capture the benefits of globalization without bearing any of the costs. Reflecting an irony of historic proportions, anticipated social security payments are now the largest single "asset" for a majority of Americans. Thus, in the world's foremost "capitalist" economy, the largest single asset for a majority of its citizens is an assurance that someone's job will be taxed on their behalf.

Freedom and Free Trade

What's it like to live amidst such economic freedom? The national poverty rate remains above that for any year in the 1970s. One in every four preschoolers now lives in poverty. Parents spend 40 percent less time with their children than they did 30 years ago. More than 65 million antidepressant prescriptions were written in 1998. The United States now imprisons 1.8 million people, up from 350,000 in 1973. Florida spends more on corrections than colleges. Security services, gated communities, and prison construc-

tion have emerged since 1980 as three of the key growth sectors in the New Economy.

Surely free trade must raise living standards abroad? According to the United Nations Development Program, 80 countries have per capita incomes lower than they were a decade ago. Sixty countries have been growing steadily poorer since 1980. Three billion people now live on less than \$2 per day while 1.3 billion of those get by on less than \$1 per day. Meanwhile, the combined wealth of the world's 84 richest individuals exceeds the GDP of China, with its 1.3 billion people. Surely free trade must be narrowing the gap between rich and poor countries, a key premise underlying its embrace? In 1960, the income gap between the fifth of the world's people living in the richest countries and the fifth in the poorest was 30:1. By 1990, the gap had widened to 60:1. By 1998, it was 74:1. World Bank president James D. Wolfensohn confirmed in January that the gap continues to widen. Surely our promotion of "emerging markets" is destined to close the gap? In Indonesia, 61.7 percent of the stock market's value is owned by the nation's 15 richest families. The comparable figure for the Philippines is 55.1 percent and 53.3 percent for Thailand.

With global population expanding at the rate of 80 million each year, Wolfensohn argues out that unless we address this "challenge of inclusion," we could face, three decades hence, a world in which 5 billion people live on \$2 or less per day. Eighty percent of the world's people live in developing countries. Ninety-five percent of the next generation's children will be born to women there. Seventy percent of those women now live on less than \$1 per day. Seventy percent of them are illiterate, yet we know that for every year women attend school beyond the fourth grade, the birth rate declines 20 percent. We also know that every jet fighter sold to a developing country is equivalent to the expense of schooling 3 million children.

Domestically, a nationwide October 1999 survey by the *Washington Post* found that 67 percent of respondents worry that jobs will move overseas and that workers here will not be paid enough. In a Pew Research Center nationwide survey, 52 percent of those earning over \$75,000 see globalization as positive while that view is held by just 37 percent of those earning less than \$50,000. Similar polling in 1998 by Pew and Gallup reflects the same split. The research and the surveys confirm what common sense suggests: unfettered free trade favors most those who are already most favored. It's disingenuous to argue that free trade results in trickle-down when it's clear that the benefits are gushing up. In a functioning democracy, trade would be fully free only when its benefits are demonstrably broad-based. Why allow unfettered access to our markets when the result is to enrich and entrench an economic elite, whether here or abroad? As a policy tool, trade is far too important to be used in a way that undermines democratic values. □



Time to Be

What Families & Communities Need Most

The Committee for FREE TIME/FREE PEOPLE, from a draft by Arthur Waskow

For many of us, the hardest work we do is finding time to rest. This is no anecdotal oddity of the driven baby-boomers. In *The Overworked Americans*, Juliet Schor reports in analytic detail that most Americans work longer, harder, and more according to someone else's schedule than they did thirty years ago. This life situation crosses what we usually see as class lines: single mothers who

are working at minimum wages for fast-food chains feel desperately overworked, and so do wealthy brain surgeons.

Much of the public dialogue in America worries more about unemployment or "disemployment" than about overwork. But the two are intimately connected. Many of us, in order to make barely enough money to meet our basic needs, feel forced to take two or three part-time jobs, each of them inadequate and ill paid. Because of "underwork," we end up being badly overworked. At the same time, when employers increase profits by downsizing, many of us find ourselves working far harder and longer to replace one or two of the workers who have been dismissed.

The Committee is an interreligious working group brought together by The Shalom Center, whose director is Rabbi Arthur Waskow. For a list of signers of the Free Time statement, see page 54.

Why is this happening? Because doing, making, profiting, producing, and consuming have been elevated to idols. While corporate profits have zoomed and the concentration of wealth has increased, real wages have remained stagnant for twenty years. People work harder and longer, just to stay in the same place.

At the root of our religious and spiritual traditions is a critique of these idolatries. We know that human beings need time for self-reflective spiritual growth, for loving family, and for communal sharing. And the earth itself needs to be nurtured by human communities that allow for it to rest, to renew itself from meeting human needs. Yet the workings of American society increasingly squeeze dry the time for spirit, family, and community.



Free Time

What Americans need is Free Time to renew what it means to be a Free People:

- Free Time for hands-on childrearing and for loving rather than violent or disconnected family relationships;
- Free Time for neighborliness in neighborhoods;
- Free Time for personal spiritual growth;
- Free Time for active citizen participation;

In short, a self-renewing rhythm of time to help individuals and society heal from overstress and burnout.

Free Time means not only the nourishment of freer individuals, but the nurturing of a Free People—a society—that can take joy in family and community, govern itself democratically, achieve social justice, heal the environment, and seek its spiritual growth.

And Free Time has an effect upon work time as well. To feel a sense of dignity at work and to feel that our work is worthy and sacred requires that we see ourselves as free human beings. Only people who have some time free from work to shape loving families, caring communities, and self-reflective spiritual growth can see their work as itself a worthy partnership with the Creator in the cocreation of the world. Without that sense of dignity, rooted in economic as well as spiritual realities, work becomes ill paid, disrespected, dishonored, and degrading, rather than dependable, financially sustaining, meaningful, and honorable.

Moreover, a society driven by work is likely—as ours does—to treat the earth, the air, the oceans as mere objects and tools of exploitation, rather than as sacred aspects of Creation. Free Time is essential to the healing of the earth, as well as the healing of society.

Sabbath Time

The biblical tradition teaches us how to shape such a society. We are instructed—even commanded—to rest: “Keep the day of Sabbath-ceasing, by hallowing it, as YHWH has commanded you. For six days you are to serve and do all your work; but the seventh day is Sabbath-ceasing

for YHWH your God—you are not to do any work. Not you, nor your son, nor your daughter, nor your male or female servant, nor your ox, nor your donkey, nor any of your animals, nor your sojourner that is within your gates—in order that your male and female servants may rest as one-like-yourself” (Deut. 5:12–14).

What do we mean by time for restful self-reflection? Do we mean turning away from community and society into individualistic fantasies and the mass media—or into a rhythm that society itself could breathe in, a rhythm that would breathe society? Let us hear what Rabbi Abraham

Joshua Heschel wrote about the Sabbath: “To set apart one day a week for freedom, a day on which we would not use the instruments which have been so easily turned into weapons of destruction, a day for being with ourselves, a day of detachment from the vulgar, of independence from external obligations, a day on which we stop worshipping the idols of technical civilization, a day on which we use no money ... a day of armistice in the economic struggle with our fellow men and the forces of nature—is there any institution that holds out a greater hope for man’s progress than the Sabbath?”

When it comes to work itself, we are taught that there are some aspects of life more important than producing a profit: “Now when you harvest the harvest of your land, you are not to finish to the edge of your field in harvesting, the full-gathering of your harvest you are not to gather; your vineyard you are not to glean, the breakoff of your vineyard you are not to gather. Rather, for the afflicted and the sojourner you are to leave them, I am YHWH your God!” (Lev. 19:9–10).

In biblical tradition, every landless person—most famously, Ruth the Moabite, immigrant from a despised nation—was entitled to walk onto the land of any farmer to glean and eat from the corners of the field and whatever the harvesters had missed. This was not Boaz’ charity. It was law. And Ruth’s work was not demeaning—it was the work that most people of that era did.

Ruth’s ability to do this honorable work depended on the regular field workers’ limiting themselves in their own work: they put limits in space as well as the Sabbath limits in time upon their work: they did not pursue every ounce of economic efficiency, nor did they overwork themselves to gather every grain of barley. For their work to be honorable, they had to allow Ruth the space for honorable work. For Ruth to be able to rest and renew her spiritual life, she had to know that honorable work was available.

Honorable work and restful renewal: both are aspects of our responsibility.

The Spiritual Challenge

Doing, working, making are not intrinsically evil. Modernity has made possible much that is valuable. But a society that never pauses to catch its breath and reflect on

its values, never pauses to love and affirm community and family—such a society makes Making into a grotesque mockery and turns production, consumption, and overwork into idols.

Religious and spiritual communities can help individuals, families, congregations, and neighborhoods change this pattern in their own lives. Indeed we have a special obligation to each other as members of communities of faith to help strengthen our spiritual lives in this way. Together we can move in the direction of sharing work, encouraging rest, strengthening family and community, and living more simply—rather than piling up still more and more costly material goods by working yet harder and harder, longer and longer.

To do this, we will need to strengthen the spiritual life that arises through far more joyful festivals, far more deeply loving families, and far more soul-satisfying prayer and meditation. Those who are spiritually famished are almost certain to gobble up material goods; the spiritually well-fed can more easily choose to limit their material intake.

But such changes within our own communities of faith will be extremely hard to protect so long as we are vulnerable to the overwhelming cultural and economic pressures to reward only the cycle of production and consumption with money and with prestige. To protect the sphere of Being, religious and spiritual communities must also take action to change the social institutions that make for the idolatry of Doing.

What Can We Do?

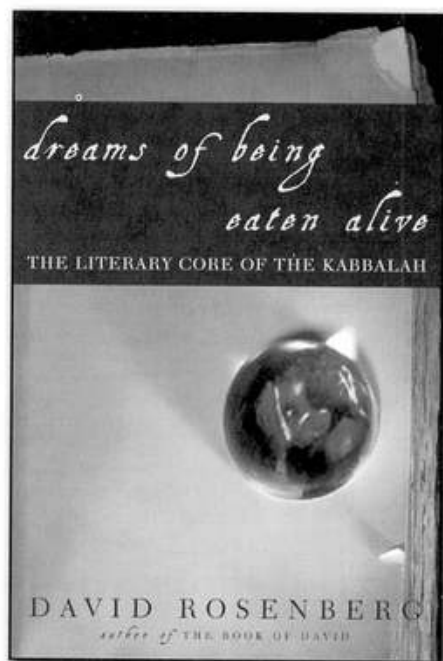
We must seek for everyone what Ruth the Moabite received: the right to time for self-renewal in family, neighborhood, community, and spiritual life, rooted in the right to a decent and honorable job with a decent and honorable income.

How do we in our high-technology society achieve what the Bible describes for farmers, shepherds, and tree-keepers?

One key to winning such changes is to shape coalitions among groups that now see each other as alien or hostile. The well-off and the poor both suffer from being driven into overwork, so we invite labor unions, family-oriented groups, women's organizations, environmental organizations, and also forward-looking business leaders to join in a campaign for Free Time/Free People.

The creation of Free Time could be accomplished in many different ways. One of them, however, we regard as profoundly and strategically important: making more time available for face-to-face neighborhood and community volunteer activism. Such a beginning would free volunteers to put new effort into grassroots democratic change and grassroots communities and institutions, like our congregations themselves. It would make possible more grassroots effort to achieve Free Time. And it would give new breathing time to many overworked and many ill-worked people to once more meet their neighbors, renew their own selves, and rediscover their deepest visions of a sacred world. □

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The Name and winner of
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The Meaning of the Growing Wage and Wealth Gap

Market Values Trump Civic Values

Chuck Collins and Felice Yeskel

How do we ethically evaluate an economy where two of the biggest growth industries are prison construction and the building of gated residential communities?

Each day we hear reports about the booming economy, but the rising economic tide is still not lifting all boats. The conventional indicators of economic health fail to grasp the eroding quality of life, community fragmentation, and loss of free time that many households are facing. Even as the stock market reaches new heights, the real material wealth of the average American household is eroding.

The wealthiest 1 percent of households, those with \$2.4 million or more, now own 40 percent of all private wealth, more than the bottom 95 percent of the population combined. This is double the percentage of national wealth they owned in 1970.

The inflation-adjusted net worth of the middle fifth of Americans went down 11 percent between 1983 and 1995, according to the most recent data available. The bottom 40 percent of households have seen their net worth decline 80 percent! What this amounts to is shrinking savings, growing consumer debt, and declining home ownership.

The number of households with negative net worth, those owing more than they own, increased from 9.8 percent in 1962 to 18.5 percent in 1995.

The racial wealth divide is most dramatic when we compare what financial reserves households have to fall back on. The median net financial worth for white households, taking home ownership out of the equation, is \$18,100. For African American households it is \$200, and for Latino households the number is zero, meaning half of Latino households have negative financial net worth.

*Chuck Collins and Felice Yeskel are codirectors of United for a Fair Economy in Boston (www.ufenet.org; call toll free: 877-654-6833). Collins is coauthor of *Shifting Fortunes* (1999), the source of data mentioned in this article. The New Press will publish their forthcoming book, *Economic Apartheid in America*, in August.*



The booming U.S. economy has worked remarkably well for people who own a lot of assets, stocks, bonds, and real estate. The economy is not working for those who rely on wages for their security. Average wage earners, even with modest gains in 1997, 1998, and 1999, are still trying to recover the real buying power they had in 1973.

In the last ten years, the gap between highest- and lowest-paid employees has dramatically widened. The average CEO at a Fortune 500 company now makes 419 times what the average employee makes, up from forty to one in 1975. If average production-worker pay rose at the same rate as CEO pay between 1990 and 1998, average annual worker pay would be \$110,399 today, rather than the current \$29,267.

Numbers and statistics can be numbing. What do they mean? Why does this matter? Growing income and wealth polarization weakens our democracy, contributes to economic instability, and undermines our civic life and values.

AMERICAN POLITICS

Concentrated wealth leads to concentrated power, which explains why the rules that govern such things as global trade, Federal Reserve policy, and government spending and tax policy are tilted in favor of investors to the detriment of wage earners. Recent tax bills proposed in Congress have showered tax cuts on corporations, people inheriting estates, and capital gainers, but offer little for ordinary working families.

Too much concentrated wealth creates instability in the economy. The last time there was such an imbalance of power and wealth in the United States was in the 1920s, on the eve of the Great Depression. The current prosperity is precarious because it is founded on high levels of speculative investment and personal debt. The wealthy, with their assets multiplying exponentially, are shifting more money into speculative investments in high technology and the paper economy, including hedge funds like Long Term Capital Management that was bailed out a year ago by a consortium of New York banks convened by the Federal Reserve.

Meanwhile, lower- and moderate-income families work longer hours, hours taken away from family, community, and religious involvement. They go deeper into debt to maintain an eroding standard of living and to buy the latest gadgetry. The U.S. savings rate, the amount the average household saves each year, has plummeted from 10.6 percent in 1983 to 2.3 percent in 1999. Consumer debt, while at the moment propping up the economy, is a precarious fault line in our midst.

As wealth and power concentrate further in the United States, the values of the market begin to crowd out other values; commercialism and consumerism trump community. The market has become the new religion, writes Christian theologian Harvey Cox last year in the *Atlantic Monthly*. "Disagreements among traditional religions become picayune in comparison with the fundamental differences they all have with the religion of The Market." Cox notes that all traditional religions teach that "human beings are finite creatures and that there are limits to any earthly enterprise." Yet in the religion of the Market, "There is *never* enough."

Each week we witness more and more parables of excess—bigger sport utility vehicles, statement mansions, unspeakable levels of profligate consumption—what author Robert Frank calls "luxury fever." In this new dispensation, the most heretical question is, "When is enough enough?"

The good news is that a new social movement is emerging to educate and mobilize people around growing economic disparities. Exciting coalitions of religious, labor, and community organizations are organizing to address our current inequities and are beginning to articulate the values and policies that undergird a more equitable and sustainable economy.

What are these values? The belief that work should provide a living wage. The belief that the economy should serve people and sustain human life and community, rather than

people serving the Market. The belief that an economy and society should be judged by how well they maximize community, caring, and ecological and spiritual sustainability. These coalitions question the overvaluing of a few people's contributions in creating wealth and the undervaluing of the contributions of workers, consumers, communities, and the natural world in building prosperity. They advocate increased minimum wages, asset-building programs such as universal savings accounts, broad-based access to health care and higher education, tax equity, and fair global trade and investment agreements.

At the core of this analysis is the belief that there has been a power shift, that the power of global corporations and the wealthy has eclipsed the power of ordinary people and their communities. A fair economy program, therefore, needs to expand democracy as well as make the rules of the economy more equitable. Campaign finance reform, expanding the rights of workers to organize, and reining in runaway corporations are all part of the solution. The notion of requiring corporations to receive a new corporate charter every twenty years (as proposed in *TIKKUN* July/August 1997) goes to the core of the problem by reasserting democratic controls over corporations and requiring them to disclose a satisfactory ethical impact report should they wish to continue their operations.

Religious congregations are teaming up with organized labor to improve the prospects of low-wage workers. The National Interreligious Task Force on Worker Justice, based in Chicago, has over forty local chapters linking religious and labor activists. They are supporting unionization efforts in the poultry industry and "right to organize" efforts in a number of low-wage sectors.

Since 1995, over forty-five municipalities and counties have passed living-wage ordinances requiring employers receiving contracts and subsidies to pay more than a poverty wage. Living-wage campaigns are currently being organized in seventy other communities. National efforts are growing to boost the federal minimum wage and to eliminate the corporate deduction for excessive CEO pay.

Many people are making the connection between global trade and investment agreements and local economic inequality and insecurity. In late November 1999, 50,000 U.S. and international activists rallied in Seattle to challenge the World Trade Organization's first North American summit, seeking to reverse policies that are usurping democracy and fueling a global "race to the bottom" in wage and environmental standards.

In short, religious people, labor unions, municipalities and grassroots economic and social justice organizations have all come together to challenge the market-driven direction of our current economy. Such a partnership gives us signs of hope that we will be able to restore our lost democracy and regain an economy and culture that values working people. □

Consciousness-Based Defense

David R. and Lee M. Leffler

We live in dangerous times. Many nations, states, cities, terrorist groups, and even individuals have enough wealth to buy weapons of mass destruction. Lightweight, backpack-size nuclear weapons are allegedly available on the black market. Biological and chemical weapons can be transported just as easily. Even high levels of security cannot guarantee total protection, nor can even the most well-armed security force prevent terrorist attacks, but that doesn't stop the sales of massive amounts of weapons around the world. Those sales are driven by one thing: fear. Fear is a driving force in the current defense paradigm. This fear-based model applies to opposing factions within countries as well as to conflict between countries. While the cycle of arms buildup enriches arms dealers, it drains resources that could be used to alleviate environmental, social, and economic problems.

Is there a better way? Perhaps. A new defense model is emerging—one based on prevention rather than fear. Using group meditation, the technique, known as consciousness-based defense, can actually prevent an enemy from arising by reducing collective stress in society. Psychologist David Orme-Johnson, Ph.D., is the director of research at the Institute of Science, Technology, and Public Policy (ISTPP) at Maharishi University of Management in Fairfield, Iowa. Orme-Johnson explains that collective stress is the sum total of individual stress. The individual is the basic unit of society, he says, and when stress, tension, and fear build up in the individual, the rest of society is degraded as well.

ISTPP scientists, including Orme-Johnson, assert that society's collective stress is the root cause of conflict and terrorism. If collective stress is high, fear and anger thrive in the population. Ethnic hatreds flare, old wounds open, and distrust festers. Territorial, political, cultural, and religious differences become more difficult to resolve, creating seemingly endless chains of conflict.

Orme-Johnson points out that nothing our government does now addresses the cause of this violence. On the contrary, he says, forceful response to conflict increases the problem. "Fear in the world spurs arms buildup and the development of arms technology, which only causes more

fear," he says. "Disarmament is not realistic because no one can rationally disarm when facing an armed aggressor."

To counteract this fear and promote peace, scientists at ISTPP are encouraging every country to spend about one percent of the military budget to implement a consciousness-based defense program that they are calling Prevention Wings of the Military. Soldiers would be given one additional duty: to practice the Transcendental Meditation (TM) program daily in large groups. The theory is that this would result in a more peaceful world.

Vedic scholar and physicist Maharishi Mahesh Yogi revived the TM program from the ancient tradition of India. Bob Rabinoff, who has a Ph.D. in physics from the University of Arizona, describes TM as "a simple, easily learned, nonreligious meditation practice." Rabinoff is a teacher of the TM technique and an independent computer consultant in the Midwest. He says that over 5 million people have learned TM worldwide. "Everyone who learns TM is taught the same way throughout the world," says Rabinoff. Because of this standardization, he says, it has been possible to study the TM program scientifically. Indeed, the benefits of practicing TM have been well documented. "Over 600 scientific studies show that the TM technique can measurably reduce stress and increase coherence in the individual," Rabinoff says.

According to Orme-Johnson, the effects of the TM technique on society have also been extensively studied. "This research has used state-of-the-art statistical methodology and objective sources of data, including official government statistics and databases created by independent researchers," he says. "The researchers have controlled for a wide range of alternative explanations. Results have been repeatedly replicated on different populations, and the studies have been published in leading peer-reviewed journals such as *Social Indicators Research*, *Journal of Conflict Resolution*, and *Proceedings of the American Statistical Association*." The results include statistically significant reductions in war deaths, improvements in economic conditions, enhanced quality of life, and reductions in crime, violence, accidents, and illness.

The research indicates that meditation by just one percent of a population can have an effect. In the 1980s, research showed positive changes while an organized group of about 200 meditators practiced an advanced TM program near Lebanon. War deaths in Lebanon went down 71

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percent, war injuries dropped 68 percent, and the level of conflict fell 48 percent. Cooperation among antagonists rose by 66 percent. After the intervention period, these measures returned to previous levels.

Researchers theorize that the consciousness of each individual meditator affects the group, and the group's consciousness radiates into the surrounding population. In one experiment, when an experienced meditator in one room practiced TM and began to show increased brainwave coherence, an individual in a room nearby showed increased brainwave coherence as well. When the groups are large, similar increases in coherence are produced in subjects far removed from the group. For example, an experiment showed an increase in intersubject EEG coherence 1,000 miles from the group. A biochemical study has shown that on days when large numbers of people meditated, both practitioners and nonpractitioners in the local area exhibited higher availability of serotonin, a neurochemical associated with feelings of well-being or happiness. Low levels of serotonin play a role in human aggression, hostility, and substance abuse.

A study published last year in *Social Indicators Research* predicted that violent crime would plummet while a group of about 4,000 advanced TM practitioners meditated in Washington, D.C. The researchers predicted that during the eight-week study period, the calming influence of group meditation practice could reduce violent crime in this city by over 20 percent. A review board of independent scientists was given the predictions in advance.

The predictions proved to be accurate: the rate of violent crime—which included assaults, murders, and rapes—decreased by 23 percent during the experimental period. The odds of this result occurring by chance are less than two in one billion. Rigorous statistical analyses ruled out an extensive list of alternative explanations.

Responding to all the research, David V. Edwards, a professor of government at the University of Texas at Austin, says, "I think the claim can be plausibly made that the potential impact of this research exceeds that of any other ongoing social or psychological research program. It has survived a broader array of statistical tests than most research in the field of conflict resolution. This work and the theory that informs it deserve the most serious consideration by academics and policymakers alike."

Of course there are plenty of skeptics. For instance, Robert D. Duval, a political science professor at West Virginia University, wrote in 1988 about a study from the *Journal of Conflict Resolution*, "This article is of questionable value to mainstream international politics research because its basic premises are suspect. The fundamental assumptions of a 'unified field' and a 'collective consciousness' are not within the paradigm under which most of us operate." Even Duval, however, admits that "if one will, for the sake of argument, accept these premises as plausible, then the

research conforms quite well to scientific standards."

The military has started to take notice of the notion of consciousness-based defense. Readers of military publications, including Britain's *Jane's Defence Daily*, were recently introduced to the idea by several full-page advertisements. Along with the usual ads for conventional weapons—tanks, bombs, and armored aircraft—the paper carried flashy ads promoting consciousness-based defense. The ads were met with skepticism. However, the *Londoner's Diary* section of *The Evening Standard*, published in the United Kingdom, quoted a *Jane's* spokesperson about accepting these ads as saying, "We haven't had a chance to test the system, but spiritual defence systems could be the next generation of weapons."

The world has witnessed more than 186 wars since the founding of the United Nations. If consciousness-based defense lives up to its promise, perhaps we will see the end of fear-based defense in our lifetime. The late Major General Franklin M. Davis, TM meditator, futurist, and former commandant of the U.S. Army War College, predicted in 1973 that the twenty-first century would be the "age of the mind," and that the TM program could have a very important place in it. He may be right. Prevention Wings of the Military could offer hope of real defense. Militaries that implement consciousness-based defense may finally achieve genuine and lasting world peace. □

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THE LIBERALS' BETRAYAL

THE CIA AND THE (JEWISH) LIBERALS (cont. from page 15)
come out, President Lyndon Johnson roared at the untrustworthy liberals, and the CIA announced the termination of domestic covert programs at the end of 1967.

Of course, they did not actually terminate, especially not at the international level. CIA/CCF spin-offs continued, and certain foundations began to take up the slack, as more would do in ever greater financial volume for explicitly conservative projects to come. Notwithstanding the closure of the CCF's scarcely disguised successor, the International Association for Cultural Freedom (1967–79), someone, most recently Reagan's pet National Endowment for Democracy, has kept picking up the tab for related personalities and their activities ever since. Isaiah Berlin, according to Saunders' gripping account of the IACF's last days, had his reasons for pleading with veterans not to write tell-all memoirs. Useful connections continued, flourishing in the Reagan years and beyond. Old junketeers out of touch could (and presumably still do) easily find each other in the pages of the *Public Interest*, the *National Interest*, the *New Republic*, or *Commentary*.

Post-Socialist Technocrats

What was the wider and more lasting impact of the intelligence agency's interventions into American intellectual and cultural life? It's a good question, and one that we're not likely to see a final answer to soon. If it gave birth to neo-conservatism, then surely that would be impact enough (or a good deal too much, for most of TIKKUN's readers). But if I am right, the CIA operation had the more troubling effect of encouraging and crystallizing a new strain of post-socialist thought that remains at the heart of neo-liberalism (even more than neo-conservatism) today.

In *The Vital Center*, Schlesinger condemned America's "sentimentalists, the utopians, the wailers," that is to say, the old-fashioned radicals of various kinds, as outdated and destined to be rightly cast aside for "the politicians, the administrators, the doers." Moving slowly away from the painful days of McCarthyism but even further away from the 1930s–1940s era of labor radicalism and anti-capitalist popular sentiment, liberals envisioned the technocratic energy of intellectuals and experts as the new driving force of the change. They exalted a world governed by social scientists, top union officers, and other policy-makers working closely with corporate and foundation leaders of the permanently prosperous, post-industrial order. Thus, with a significance hardly appreciated or even acknowledged in those years, the Cold War liberals had effectively taken issues of income distribution and popular control of corporate institutions off the table. America would need to guide

the world—and intellectuals lead the nation—in substituting the expansion of "social resources" like education, health, and the security net for the old class resentment and the increasingly dreaded threat of redistributed wealth.

This trend had special importance for Jewish liberal intellectuals of the 1950s–1960s. The Depression had reminded Jews bedazzled by the prosperous 1920s that only a more cooperative, egalitarian society would create a decent place for themselves and other outsiders, most conspicuously African Americans. The New Deal lent weight to these familiar socialistic goals even while making the recovery of capitalism possible. The postwar economic (and consumer) boom with the GI Bill and unprecedented Jewish entry into the professions highlighted different prospects. Bright and hard-working Jewish men (along with a far smaller proportion of women) could now rise to the center of the knowledge system. As they did, they began collectively, almost unconsciously, to suspect the capacity and even the virtue of groups whose members failed the test of mobility.

Meritocracy, an old goyishe idea originally designated for the WASP lad who could, at least hypothetically, grow up to be president, now came to be translated into a binary racial theory, which famed psychologist Abram Kardiner elaborated (and Daniel Patrick Moynihan later popularized) as the psychological source of black backwardness. Not economic oppression but the absence of a strong father figure apparently doomed its victims to ghettos. "Exploitation" disappeared from proper vocabularies, considered (like "imperialism" or any criticisms of the West's underpayment for Third World goods and resources) an outdated idea at best, Communist propaganda at worst. The messy nationalism of emerging nations confirmed a grand, if mostly implicit, theory of the worthy and the unworthy.

To be sure, a large swath of Jewish America continued to believe earnestly in desegregation. No community apart from blacks themselves held Martin Luther King, Jr., in such esteem. But from early on, calls for equality were matched (especially in the pages of *Commentary*) with warnings against militancy, any tactics and organizations either tainted by association with Communists or offering threats to public order. No one should ask for more.

"Abundance," a most popular word of the day, did not lack its critics. But they worried about racism, poverty, or even the disappearance of well-paying industrial jobs far less than the impending crisis of "leisure." Worriers predicted untold psychological disorientation in the twenty-five- or even fifteen-hour work week evidently looming ahead. Mass culture, feeding off the power of the media and the tastelessness of the average consumer, would continue to swallow both art and culture: hardly what the experts

Old junketeers out of touch easily find each other in the pages of the Public Interest, the New Republic, or Commentary.

had in mind. In this climate of cultural criticisms, which Irving Howe summed up in the one-word description, "Conformism," the constrained ambivalence of Daniel Bell's *The End of Ideology* (1960) marked the outside limits of acceptable discussion.

Bell fretted that bureaucratic rationality, however badly needed, nevertheless lacked the capacity to compel sustained commitment to work or discipline of any kind. For this problem, technocrats had no magic solutions. At the first glimpse of the emerging, increasingly rebellious popular culture of young people, Bell and other distinguished veterans of the CCF/ACCF quickly found an anti-solution, the very devil in the flesh. By undermining authority, not only weakening the posture of the West against the still-dangerous ideologies but also unbalancing familiar stable relations between parents and children, men and women, the rebellious young were capable of infecting society with something as bad as the old ideologies, perhaps even worse for an otherwise reasonably stable and consensually liberal America.

This surviving suspicion of capitalism apparently stopped, however, at the border. Confounded by the apparent flaws of middle-class society at home, liberal intellectuals nevertheless projected its growth abroad as the solution to the revolutionary threats that spread from Cuba and Latin America to Africa and Asia. "Development" with new middle classes at the helm became the catch-all answer to poverty and instability, with new global operations from the Peace Corps to the Alliance for Progress. Never mind the suffering and ultimate ecological craziness of driving mass populations from the countryside for pesticide-dosed burgeoning monocrop economies. Never mind that "development" evidently needed to be protected at all costs from expropriation of corporate holdings, with vastly increased levels of weaponry and native troops trained in sophisticated anti-insurgency techniques. Never mind the casualties, so long as Americans themselves were not killed in numbers. Even the U.S. presence in Vietnam was initially hailed as a long-awaited "modernizing" force set to emancipate rural Vietnamese from their backward social relations, bringing a happier, more productive individualism to another corner of the globe.

The Vietnam project was doomed, the little jungle nation surely "lost" and many of the accompanying assumptions badly shaken. But it was only a setback. The same assumptions have returned—and how.

Victory over the egalitarianism of either the 1930s–1940s or 1960s–1970s versions seems, nevertheless, to bring the lucid survivors of CCF/ACCF circles scant satisfaction. As



Larry Bush once quipped, We can't go back to the Sixties but They can't go back to the Fifties, and often it's hard to say which troubles the sufferers worse. Unlike the AFL-CIO, which could boast successes in public-sector unionism to balance its steady slippage downward from earlier glory, the participating intellectuals of the CCF/ACCF had only themselves to look to, their public successes and the admiration of sycophantic younger intellectuals. Given the collapse of the Soviet Union, given the triumphalism of the market, given the marginalization of arguments for equity and a redistributive rebalance of resources and power, it should be enough. And yet ...

And yet the embarrassment over these new revelations and even the denial of

knowledge about, or of influence from, intelligence agencies upon intellectuals, remain amazingly strong. (A recent festschrift, *The Liberal Persuasion: Arthur Schlesinger, Jr., and the Challenge of the American Past*, conspicuously covers every aspect of a political-scholarly lifetime but this one.) Perhaps behind the optimism of the techno-market still lurks the seemingly banished fear of capitalist failure with all the dark implications for the intellectuals' social visions? Or perhaps the fear is still older, like Abraham Cahan's self-revelation in *The Rise of David Levinsky* that he who gains fortune and power thereby risks his soul. In any case, the flat-out failure of the CCF/ACCF to achieve the cultural aims of its creators, like the unresolved memories of Vietnam, survives even now as a marker of American intellectuals' disappointment after the heroic liberal-radical crusades of the 1930s–1940s.

Just look at the *New York Times Book Review*. Or the *New York Review of Books* (amazingly, once regarded as the nemesis of the CCF). Or the surviving slicks. Every writer for *TIKKUN* (and readers too, presumably) knows that apart from the *Nation*, there's hardly another magazine or paper with a circulation over 5,000 that will print anything beyond the gate of the gatekeepers, unless the writer is famous or the publisher wishes to make an occasional gesture of open-mindedness. To get ahead means to learn how to say what they want to hear, which usually comes to the idea that we live in the Light Unto the Nations and our history proves it (America has faults, but it always overcomes them). And everyone else out there had better get out of the way—or become a threat to democracy, and you know what *that* means. A tiresome narrative, fixed a half-century ago in the backwash of disappointment with Communism and the frontwash of liberal triumphalism; it remains, and we do not yet know when it will pass. But a moment of crisis is coming.... □

Can We Be Postzionists?

Mark LeVine

- *The Postzionism Debates: Knowledge and Power in Israeli Culture*, by Laurence J. Silberstein. Routledge, 1999.

Twelve years ago, writing in the pages of *TIKKUN*, Israeli historian Benny Morris first introduced Americans to the intense debates kindled by a generation of “new historians”—as he first labeled them here—who were challenging mainstream Israeli scholarship to come to grips with the blatant paradoxes and contradictions in Israeli history, politics, and society. The stakes of this debate became apparent in the fierce attack on Morris’ article by Shabtai Teveth, a doyen of the “old” historians, in *Commentary*. There’s good reason for the witty aphorism on the back cover of *TIKKUN*.

In the ensuing decade, “new historians”—willingly or not—have become the poster children for a movement since labeled “postzionism.” As Laurence J. Silberstein defines it in his important and enlightening new book, postzionism is the most recent and effective effort within Israel to “reject the axiom embedded in zionist discourse ... that Israel is the state of the Jewish people,” and instead to envision a pluralistic democratic state of all its citizens. In *The Postzionism Debates*, Silberstein gathers gadflies like Ahad Ha’am, contemporary liberals like Amos Elon and Amos Oz, and their more radical (and often less well known) Mizrahi, femi-

nist, and Palestinian counterparts as he weaves together a century of postzionist scholarship and literature.

Much of the success of this book is owed to Silberstein’s deployment of some of the defining figures in contemporary critical theory (Foucault, Deleuze, Hall, Derrida) to examine both the mechanics underlying postzionist critiques, and why they are viewed as such a threat by the academic and political establishment. He shows how postzionists reveal Israeli culture, history, and identity to be a power-ridden yet contingent and contested set of discourses and practices—the very opposite of their portrayal in traditional Zionist scholarship and ideology. At the same time, Silberstein’s restrained yet piercing analysis of the mainstream assault on postzionism demonstrates the intellectual confusion, romantic nationalism, and, often, racism underlying these McCarthylike attacks.

No doubt because of their own engagement with critical theory, the primary concerns driving postzionist thinkers are neither theoretical nor historical; taking to heart Foucault’s dictum that to theorize is to engage in a struggle against power, postzionist scholarship is clearly a function of its adherents’ commitment to social change. This fact has led many establishment Israeli scholars to criticize their work as biased (i.e., “antizionist”) and unscientific, claims that Silberstein rightly criticizes as being ignorant of the insight of critical theory that all scholarship is political and ideological, and none more so than the supposedly

“objective” positivist/empirical paradigms that have long governed Western and Israeli scholarship.

The political and moral dilemmas within Israel have clearly raised questions over the role of the intellectual in Israeli culture (and, I would say, American culture as well). This being the case, I wish Silberstein had explored this relationship between theory and praxis in more detail, because without engaging in such an anthropology of postzionism it is difficult to evaluate the extent to which the efforts of this admittedly small group of intellectuals and academicians have transformed power relations within and between Israeli and Palestinian societies. Such an analysis would help us understand, for example, the historical and societal roots of the March Supreme Court decision that Palestinian citizens cannot be barred from living in private Jewish communities such as Katzir or the mainstreaming of binationalism in Palestinian society symbolized by the “declaration to the Jewish and Israeli public” by dozens of leading Palestinian scholars the same month.

Silberstein also limits his analysis to Jewish and Palestinian citizens of Israel whose writings have come to be regarded in Israel as part of postzionist discourse. Yet, in my experience, postzionism is a much broader movement. If Americans can be Zionists, can we be postzionists? Can Palestinians? Can Silberstein? Can I? Can *TIKKUN*?

In fact, the “discourse” of both Zionism and postzionism has always included Palestinians as either polemical Others or as colleagues, while the intellectual courage and honesty of postzionists has openly inspired

(continued on page 64)

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Off the Boat

Ehud Sprinzak

■ *From Catastrophe to Power: Holocaust Survivors and the Emergence of Israel*, by Idith Zertal. University of California Press, 1998.

Idith Zertal, an Israeli essayist and historian, tells the story of the Mossad Le-Aliya Beth (Institute for Alternative Immigration), the organization responsible after World War II for the massive illegal immigration that set the small Jewish community in Palestine on an intense collision course with the British. The fact that the potential immigrants were tormented Holocaust survivors who were temporarily placed in wretched refugee camps in central Europe had little effect on the British. Determined to cultivate the growing Arab Middle East, but also bitter over right-wing Jewish terrorism in Palestine, the British kept intact the infamous 1939 White Paper, a major Palestinian policy statement that reduced immigration certificates to a meaningless number.

Between 1946 and 1947 the fierce confrontation between the small Zionist community of Palestine and the British Empire assumed colossal proportions. While the British were tactically successful in closing the gates of Palestine, in stopping the ships, and in deporting the haunted immigrants to the island of Cyprus, they lost the political campaign. The international media increasingly portrayed them as brutal and heartless colonialists using

their enormous resources against helpless, stateless, and tormented Holocaust survivors.

The ruthless British campaign against the illegal immigrants to Palestine had a profound effect on Americans. Guilt-ridden by their failure to save their fellow Jews in the Nazi death camps, American Jews were now determined to help the survivors reach Palestine. The fact that the United States had refused to open its own gates to the "Displaced Persons" (as the refugees were called in the postwar terminology) was instrumental in swaying American public opinion in favor of the survivors. Increasingly, the Zionist campaign became an American struggle, with President Truman and leading members of Congress applying great pressure on the British. There is little doubt that the heroic campaign for illegal immigration played a critical role in finally forcing the British to give up on their previous plans and to pass the issue of Palestine to the United Nations. Then it was just a matter of time before the UN General Assembly approved of the November 29 Partition Resolution, calling for the establishment in Palestine of a Jewish and an Arab state.

Zertal's major accomplishment in *From Catastrophe to Power* involves the uncovering of the political and manipulative side of the Zionist campaign for illegal immigration. She also includes a

masterful portrayal of the paternalistic and instrumental approach to the refugees by the Israeli elite. Although she does not ignore the heroic and selfless dimension of the great rescue operation, which required enormous sacrifices from tens of thousands of immigrants and hundreds of Mossad officers, Zertal exposes the highly

*Rescuing refugees
was not the leaders'
major concern.*

sophisticated staging of the struggle for external purposes. She also documents the pious framing of the glorious struggle for internal *yishuv* purposes. The study makes clear that the need to actually rescue helpless Jewish refugees, and to bring them to safe haven, was not the major concern of *yishuv* leaders. Of much greater importance was the devastating impact of the refugee-British confrontation on Western public opinion, and its use in gaining support for the establishment of a Jewish state. The illegal immigration was, in this respect, a most effective public relations campaign, aggressively marketing the idea of the moral inevitability of a Jewish state. Zertal reveals in her book that out of more than 70,000 refugees transported to Palestine in Mossad ships, only 3,000 actually arrived in Palestine. The rest



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were, as anticipated by yishuv leaders, either sent back to Europe or deported to Cyprus. There were cases in which Mossad ships never reached Palestine, but simply deposited their passengers in Cyprus.

Fully aware of the impact on public opinion of heavily crowded refugee ships ruthlessly intercepted by British war frigates, David Ben-Gurion, the great Zionist warlord, as well as his colleagues, craved confrontations. Ship commanders and officers were not just trained in navigation and seamanship necessary to bring the refugees safely to Palestine. They were also carefully prepared for real and symbolic confrontations with the British in order to get the utmost publicity from every situation. The timing of ship arrivals in Palestine, the rules of engagement with the British, and the staging of hunger strikes aboard the ships were all decided in Tel Aviv. While Zertal does not charge the yishuv leaders with unnecessary and cynical abuse of the immigrants, she gets as close as one can to an instrumental interpretation of the great immigration struggle. It was not the refugees who the Zionist leaders cared about but their state in the making. In order to legitimize their demand for a Jewish state, these leaders were ready to "shlep" thousands of devastated refugees from Europe to the Middle East and back, and to keep men, women, and children aboard crowded ships for months.

Zertal's book should be of particular interest to the hundreds of thousands of Jewish and non-Jewish readers who first learned of Israel's struggle for independence from Leon Uris' moving novel *Exodus*. Some of them may not, however, like Zertal's version. Uris based his novel on the ship *Exodus* 1947. Following meticulous planning and careful staging by Zionist leaders, 4,500 refugees were rushed to France from their German camps in a record time of ten days. Boarding the *Exodus* promised for most of them an end to their travails, and a hope of final respite after years

of endless suffering. This was never meant to be. The task of the *Exodus* was not to solve the personal problems of its passengers. The ship's calling was to accentuate the struggle against the British, and to force them into public relations suicide. The last thing yishuv leaders needed was a British tactical concession and permission for an immigrant landing in Palestine.

Furious at the French, who allowed the ship to sail to Palestine, and full of hate for the Zionist tricks, the British fell into the trap. Not only did they refuse entry to Palestine, but they were also drawn into a highly publicized, bloody struggle between soldiers and survivors aboard the ship. *Exodus'* passengers were forced to board three British prison ships, then sent back to France, thereby creating unprece-

dented world uproar. For its passengers, the whole drama of *Exodus* took months of struggle, deportations, restless sailing in high seas, hunger strikes, a stay in temporary refugee camps, and suffering. Most of them arrived in Israel only after its establishment in May 1948. Israel's future leaders could not, however, have been more content. *Exodus* produced a great victory over the British and became a landmark on the road to independence.

Zertal's book has, understandably, created a controversy in Israel, with critics charging the author with a hidden anti-Zionist agenda. The strength of *From Catastrophe to Power* derives, however, not from its politics but from its meticulous research and solid analysis, making it a significant addition to Israel's new historiography. □

CAN WE BE POSTZIONISTS? (continued from page 62)

Palestinian scholars to face down their own national myths. Yet Silberstein limits his treatment of Palestinians to Anton Shammas and Emile Habiby, two Israeli citizens and novelists to boot. The absence of dozens of Palestinian academics—along with the voices and contributions of the dozens of scholars in Israel, Palestine, and abroad whose work has redefined our understanding of Israeli and Palestinian history and politics—leaves readers with little indication of the continual interaction, and often friendships, that have developed between scholars in Israel/Palestine and their Diasporas during the last decade or more.

Finally, Silberstein rightly highlights the need to "map" out the intellectual landscape, yet he excludes the work of leading Israeli geographers (many of whom, like David Newman and Oren Yiftachel, have appeared in these pages) whose work on Israeli land, housing, and labor policies is crucial to understanding the very material and spatial effects of the "modernist" Zionist discourses challenged by postzionist ethics and scholarship. Indeed, such a post-modern concern for space (and Silberstein rightly terms the equation of

postmodernism and postzionism "highly problematic") is at the heart of the critique of an even more complex and powerful discourse—globalization—whose power to weaken nation-states and transform political economies and civil societies is already exerting a profound effect on Israeli and Palestinian societies. In fact, Israel's self-positioning as the engine of globalization in what Shimon Peres (in)famously dubbed the "New Middle East" reflects a vision that is at once profoundly Zionist and postzionist, whose implications seem to be much clearer to Israel's Arab neighbors (I've spotted Arabic translations of Peres' book in Beirut, Cairo, and Amman) than to Israeli scholars of either persuasion.

Ultimately, these omissions do not damage Silberstein's argument, or the importance and value of *The Postzionism Debates*. Rather, they point to the breadth and implications of the debates spawned by postzionism and the theoretical and empirical research possibilities they have opened and that Silberstein's analysis has facilitated. Let's hope that Silberstein will soon apply his insights to the issues he was unable to address in this volume. □

Senator Kennedy

Michael Tomasky

■ *Edward M. Kennedy: A Biography*, by Adam Clymer. William Morrow and Company, 1999.

When John F. Kennedy, Jr., died so tragically last year, it was by all accounts his uncle Ted who delivered the private ceremony's most moving eulogy, quoting Yeats to the effect that "we dared to think" that young John would live "to comb gray hair." Ted had, indeed, spoken those same words at John's father's funeral, thirty-six years previous. It's impossible to imagine the horror he must have felt in revisiting those lines on such an occasion; impossible to imagine, as many have observed over the years, how the family has managed to confront the tragedies it has faced, all of them relayed around the globe via the camera crews on board the helicopters hovering mercilessly above the beaches of Hyannis Port; most impossible of all, in some ways, to imagine being the one who witnessed them all, and, not to be coarse about it, caused one or two yourself. I don't believe Yeats, in the poem in question, intended to imply that living to comb gray hair was in and of itself a gift.

The question at hand, or one question, is whether the Kennedy who did receive the gift of years made full use of them. Adam Clymer's answer, with a few of the obvious disclaimers, is an emphatic yes, and one is inclined on the evidence Clymer presents to second the

motion. It is not Clymer's intention in this door-stopping biography to defend the man's, well, character; in fact the author argues, implicitly if not always explicitly, that what the pundits now call character was in no small part invented around the person of Ted Kennedy in all his flaws and failings, and in this argument, too, he is persuasive. But Clymer's main goal is to show us how effective a maker of laws and a shaper of the national debate Kennedy has been over the years. He concludes that Kennedy "deserves recognition not just as the leading Senator of his time, but as one of the greats in history, wise in the workings of this singular institution, especially its demand to be more than partisan to accomplish much." This assessment, particularly that last part, will win more than a few groans from the conservative commentariat for whom Kennedy is nothing more than the poster child for ultraliberal profligacy, both political and personal; whose idea about Kennedy, in other words, can be reduced to the crude sentiment of the old bumper sticker, which held that "more people died in Teddy Kennedy's car than at Three Mile Island."

But Clymer builds the case. Civil-rights legislation. Minimum-wage bills. Healthcare advances. Meals on Wheels, a Kennedy invention. The vote for eighteen-year-olds. Elimination of the poll tax. Diplomatic pressure on apartheid South Africa. Expansion of democracy in Latin America, Chile most especially. And, lest one conclude that the accomplishments are entirely



in service of the Left, airline deregulation, which he spearheaded, and the ending of parole in the federal prison system. All these facts of American political life, and many others, bear Kennedy's stamp, in ways large and small, and most passed with a serving of bipartisan cooperation that would surprise the reader who hasn't followed Kennedy's career closely. It's well enough known, for example, that Kennedy has developed a close relationship over the years with Orrin Hatch. Clymer fills in the details, the most striking of which, to me, involves a \$1 billion AIDS research bill passed in 1988 on which Kennedy and Hatch teamed up against Jesse Helms.

Hatch, persuaded by Kennedy, gave a speech (open-minded, for a conservative Mormon Republican in 1988) on the Senate floor; a Helms counteramendment was rushed, and the AIDS bill finally passed by a margin of eighty-seven to four. All that time Kennedy spent in Hatch's office indulging Hatch's avocation as a composer of religious music and visiting the Utah senator's office to listen to his latest recording demos (picture that scene!) seems to have paid off.

So that, in a nutshell, is Ted the legislator. There is, of course, another Ted. The mythic Ted. This Kennedy Clymer reproduces less thoroughly, which is more or less by design. Clymer is, after all, a Washington correspondent of the *New York Times*, whose main interest, at least as your reviewer reads that

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newspaper, has been covering the way legislation moves on Capitol Hill. He has set out to write a book making the case that Kennedy is one of the country's great legislators, and the sympathetically disposed reader will agree that he's made it.

There are moments when his narrative about the nonlegislative Ted shines. The book's early chapters are, for me, its most interesting. Here, Clymer shows a flair for the tempo and demands of political biography that is sometimes left suffocating in the later chapters under the weight of committee mark-up sessions. Here, the amusing aside, such as Jack whispering to Teddy—as he stood at the altar, waiting for Joan to make her way up the aisle in 1958 in Bronxville, New York—that marriage “didn't really mean you had to be faithful to your wife,” advice young Ted, as we know, took to heart; there, the anecdote that lifts the curtain on the haphazard symphony that was the meeting place of politics and journalism—so different from today, in some ways, yet in others not so different at all. Teddy had cheated on a Spanish exam his freshman year at Harvard, sending a classmate to take it for him. The proctor recognized the other boy as Bill Frate, not Ted Kennedy; the game was up, and Ted was out for a year.

When it came time for Ted to seek his Senate seat in a special election in 1962, the family knew the exam would reappear. They decided it would be best to act preemptively, so they gave the story to Bob Healy of the *Boston Globe*—the president himself called Healy, trying to persuade him to sneak the incident into the lower paragraphs of a more general profile (not so different from today). Healy refused to comply, on the reasonable grounds that the incident would be in all the other papers' leads, and the *Globe* would then appear to be mollicoddling; the Kennedys turned the documents over anyway, and the *Globe* ended up writing it soft, because the paper's publisher, in Healy's words, “believed in not hurting the Presidency” (very different).

Clymer does not dwell incessantly on either tragedy or folly. What strikes the reader, taking in the whole sweep of Kennedy's life, is just how oddly, not to say cruelly, fate has consistently arranged matters. For example: the president was killed, of course, on November 22, 1963—the day before John, Jr.'s, third birthday, which the family somehow managed to celebrate; Ted, Jr., at age thirteen in 1973, was diagnosed with cancer and had a leg amputated—the day before Bobby's

*Bobby's death, though,
was the fulcrum
in Ted's life.*

daughter Kathleen was to marry David Townsend, to which ceremony Ted scurried from his son's bedside in order to give the bride away; and, most recently, John, Jr.'s, plane went down last year—the day before Bobby's daughter Rory married. Gosh. There's not really much one can add to that.

Bobby's death, though, was the fulcrum in Ted's life. The information is not new, but somehow it's always haunting to read the details of Ted, traveling with John Seigenthaler, giving a speech on Bobby's behalf in San Francisco; returning to the Fairmont Hotel; hearing the first news flashes on television; commandeering an Air Force plane to fly to Los Angeles; arriving, at three in the morning, at Good Samaritan Hospital, just as the surgery was beginning. Other family tragedies had cast a pall over what were supposed to be joyous occasions, but this one's shadow hung over Ted alone, because, as Clymer writes, “Robert Kennedy had not been dead an hour before Ted was urged to run for President in his place.”

That was a cry that went out among liberals for years, ending, really, only in 1992. “Will Teddy run?” became a question of more than mere political interest; it became cultural, totemic. Chappaquiddick complicated things, of

course; but it by no means ended the speculation. As Clymer notes, Ted's Republican opponent when he ran for reelection in 1970, Cy Spaulding, did not mention Chappaquiddick at all for fear of backlash. Of course Massachusetts is not America, and, if Ted had run in 1972 or 1976, it would have been brandished fiercely (Nixon's obsession with Ted pulses through this biography's middle pages). But few observers considered it an automatic disqualifier, save perhaps the (non-) candidate himself, who somehow always found reasons not to run, except, of course, in 1980, when the chances of winning were slim and the chief impact of his race was symbolic.

One cannot digest this biography and fail to wonder what a Ted presidency might have been like. It would seem that 1976 would have been his most likely year—before the Reagan realignments, in other words. Would we have universal health coverage in this country, which was a goal Congress actually took rather seriously back in the 1970s? Could he have held off Reagan? Don't laugh—in 1978, Ted Kennedy was a formidable political figure, and Ronald Reagan was an extremist buffoon. We could ponder these what ifs forever, I suppose; while we're doing it we might include among them a personal question: would Ted's life have been better? The discipline of the job would probably have made him drink less. He probably would not, that Good Friday of 1991, have been dragging son Patrick and nephew William Kennedy Smith out to Palm Beach's Au Bar for that fateful nightcap. But that, too, is the Teddy Kennedy story. Jack and Bobby had the good fortune, in historical if obviously not personal terms, of dying tragically, and at a time when America's taste for the tawdry was in its prenatal stage. Ted had to live into that age, and had to do so not as observer but as observed. As Clymer makes clear, Kennedy has used those years to do a lot for the country, but I'm confident he'd agree that the blessing of the gift of years can be a mixed one. □

Racism Black and White

James G. Blight

■ *Race in the Mind of America: Breaking the Vicious Circle Between Blacks and Whites*, by Paul L. Wachtel. Routledge, 1999.

In the preface to his highly original and refreshingly objective new book on race relations in America, psychologist Paul Wachtel recalls that during the half-dozen years the book was in preparation, nearly all his friends and colleagues who learned of the project responded by telling him that he was "courageous to be writing such a book." Why courageous? Because, as Wachtel demonstrates, most whites in contemporary America believe racism has been virtually eliminated during the past thirty-five years; at the same time, virtually all blacks believe that whites who come to this conclusion are either deluded or racist, or both. The result is that many whites conclude that blacks would apparently rather feign victimhood than achieve a level of success commensurate with what whites now take to be the equal opportunities enjoyed by blacks. This is the mother of all vicious circles in black-white interactions about race in America.

It is impossible to do justice in a short review to the virtuosity with which Wachtel applies his central notion of "vicious circles" to black-white relations in America since the civil-rights legislation of the mid-1960s. But to Wachtel, vicious circles are patterns of behavior that are rooted in the past, are active in the present, and will be perpetuated into the future unless a

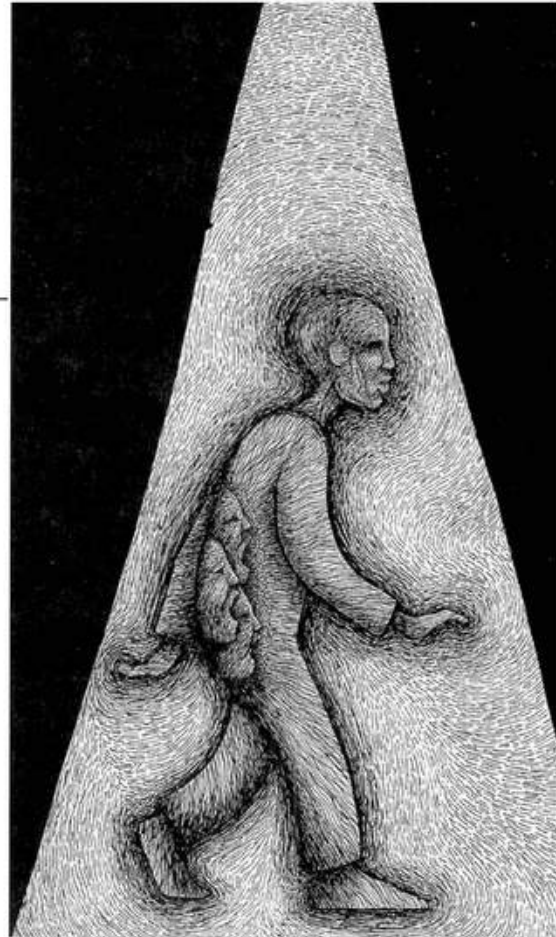
way is found to step outside them and to see black-white interaction as the circular pattern it is. The problem, in short, is that of paired, limited perspectives, in which "both sides tend to hold a linear view in which they are simply reacting to the behavior of perceived provocation of the other." Instead, Wachtel shows in case after case the extent to which behavior is cyclical, rather than linear, leading both sides to act in ways that tend to confirm the worst expectations of the other.

Wachtel traces the devolution of post-Civil Rights era black-white interaction in a brisk intellectual history of the past several decades. His analysis of the 1965 Moynihan Report is especially instructive. The Moynihan Report asserted that a defective black family structure, derived from centuries of slavery and discrimination, was the principal obstacle to black assimilation into the (mostly white) middle class. Wachtel is equally stern in his judgments of whites and blacks who used the report as an occasion to score points against one another rather than to engage in genuine conversation, which was Moynihan's intent. And Wachtel is scathing on Richard Herrnstein and Charles Murray's controversial 1994 book, *The Bell Curve*, which asserted that the achievements of children of the (mainly black) lower class are inferior to those of (mainly white) children from the middle and upper classes due to genetically based differences in intelligence. "Herrnstein and Murray," says Wachtel, "are masters of the crocodile tear" who affect sympathy for those (mainly black) per-

sons who have "less gray matter than the 'cognitive elite.'" Wachtel asserts convincingly that such a view is both scientifically preposterous and "socially poisonous." But Wachtel also rejects the "Afrocentric" objection to Herrnstein and Murray by African American psychologist Janet Helms. She claims that it is improper even to assess the abilities of black Americans because "Eurocentric" methods, based on "dichotomous" thinking, are incompatible with African American modes of thought. Wachtel dismisses such analyses because they "consign blacks to an intellectual ghetto" in which "rational" or "scientific" thinking is ceded to whites.

What is to be done? Wachtel addresses the policy questions in the last section of his book, suggestively titled "The Seamless Web of Problems and Solutions." He identifies vicious circles in the ongoing discussion of such issues as: inequality, crime, and rehabilitation; segregation and integration of housing; affirmative action, a particularly volatile issue for both

(continued on page 72)



James G. Blight is a professor of international relations at Brown University and co-author of *Argument Without End: Searching for Answers to the Vietnam Tragedy*.

Short Takes

A Look at What's in Other Monthlies and Bimonthlies

Here TIKKUN continues our conversation with American intellectual, political, and cultural monthly and bimonthly magazines.

Cultural Survival Quarterly

The Spring 2000 issue of *Cultural Survival Quarterly* focuses on the growing struggle for recognition among the indigenous Hawaiian people. This detailed and multifaceted examination opens with a piece by Haunani-Kay Trask. She notes: "our Native people have suffered all the familiar horrors of contact: massive depopulation, landlessness, christianization, economic and political marginalization ... increasing Diaspora...." A political coalition comprising groups concerned with issues of sovereignty, self-determination, and governmental recognition for Native Hawaiians is gaining strength. While the movement shares some concerns with mainland Native American tribes, it is more strongly allied with other small Pacific island nations that are also working through postcolonial trauma, such as the Solomon Islands, Tahiti, and Samoa. Now, linked by the Internet, political organizations in these geographically isolated nations are joining forces, sharing information and strategies. Although this movement is an important chapter in America's still-unfolding history, you're unlikely to find any mention of it in the mainstream media. That makes this intelligent report even more valuable.

Fast Company

Fat, sleek *Fast Company* magazine caters to the newest breed of businessperson. The theme of the April 2000 issue is "The Agenda," which the

editors define as "grassroots leadership, total teamwork, social justice, and people and technology." It is important to note that "social justice" comes before "people and technology." For example, an article on Pioneer Human Services, a corporate-style nonprofit whose mission is to provide employment training, housing, and counseling services to ex-convicts and former drug abusers, demonstrates that corporate success need not come at the expense of society, nor does helping the marginalized preclude high revenues (Pioneer takes in \$52 million a year); rather, the two are seen as complementary. One exec, who left "an impressive job" at Starbucks to join Pioneer, explains, "Taking profits and reinvesting in people has more long-term value than being a company that just takes from society and reaps profits. I'm a capitalist, but I'm a socially responsible capitalist." And Pioneer's CEO Mike Burns advises, "Directors of nonprofits have to realize that 'profit' is not a dirty word."

In These Times

Tear gas and pepper spray are the two "non-lethal" weapons most commonly used by police departments around the country. Yet, in the April 3, 2000, issue of *In These Times*, writer Terry J. Allen reports that little research has been done on their toxicity or long-term effects. The manufacturers themselves argue over issues of safety. Allen writes, "Zarc International, which makes only pepper spray products, charges in its literature that the tear gases its competitors make promote cancer and cause allergic reactions and eye injuries." (Unsurprisingly, the other companies disagree.) Regulations on appropriate use of the agents are

inadequate because police departments "set their own guidelines and enforce them with varying degrees of rigor. Seattle police, for example, are authorized to use chemical weapons against people engaged in peaceful civil disobedience." The ACLU cites many instances around the country where the spray was used to "mete out pain and punish unruly or uppity suspects after they had already been subdued," a practice, notes Allen, that Amnesty International says is "tantamount to torture." Non-lethal, while preferable to the alternative, is far from benign.

Tricycle

Is it codependence or selflessness? An article in the Spring 2000 issue of *Tricycle, the Buddhist Review*, suggests that for many Americans, Western psychology may be an important, possibly essential, adjunct to serious spiritual practice. Psychotherapist John Welwood, who is also a student of Tibetan Buddhism, says that in contrast to the religious context provided by traditional Asian cultures, modern Western culture is "marked by social isolation, personal alienation, lack of community, disconnection from nature, and the loss of the sacred at the center of our lives." The result is that even devoted students sometimes find that aspects of their personalities present obstacles to a fully integrated spiritual practice. Their Eastern teachers, says Welwood, "may not understand their pervasive self-hatred, shame, and guilt." Psychological inquiry "can break up the hard, rocky soil of our personality patterns so that this soil becomes permeable, allowing the seeds of spiritual realization to take root and blossom there more fully." □

Hurricane Warnings

Mark Jacobson

- *The Hurricane*, directed by Norman Jewison. Universal Studios, 1999.
- *Hurricane: The Miraculous Journey of Rubin Carter*, by James S. Hirsch. Houghton Mifflin, 2000.

Bob Dylan's epic story-song of boxer/accused murderer Rubin "Hurricane" Carter's life and times announces, "Here comes the story of the Hurricane, the man the authorities came to blame, for something that he never done...." From there, neatly assuming investigative reporter-cum-polemicist mode, Dylan runs through the now-familiar details of the Carter case. How, on a night in the winter of 1966, "pistol shots ring out in the bar-room night," leaving three people lying dead in Paterson, New Jersey's, Lafayette Tavern. And how Carter and his friend John Artis were fingered by petty crooks Alfred Bello and Arthur Dexter Bradley and charged with the murders by a severely compromised Jersey court. And how "the all-white jury agreed."

In a century of explosive trials based on race, from the Scottsboro Boys on up through O. J. Simpson and the recent Amadou Diallo verdict, the matter of Rubin Carter continues to occupy a significant and still hotly contested position. "The story of the Hurricane" is, after all, a fabulous one—a saga of race hate and fear, legislative corruption, and, in the end, the overweening effects of celebrity. Once a hardnosed



Denzel Washington plays Rubin Carter in *The Hurricane*.

street punk, Rubin Carter's path has taken him from a bad-ass, shaved-head prizefighter through a nineteen-year incarceration during which he became a 1970s *cause célèbre* in the manner of Huey Newton and Mumia Abu-Jamal to the ultimate redemption of his release in 1986. Now widely seen as an indomitable saint/icon, the sixty-two-year-old Carter recently addressed the United Nations General Assembly, where his story of personal will in the face of brutal institutional falsehood was greeted with much applause from the global body.

But still people argue over which "story of the Hurricane" to believe. The current release of the Hollywood movie *The Hurricane* and, to a lesser degree, author James S. Hirsch's far more nuanced authorized biography, *Hurricane*, has elicited a mini-firestorm of criticism. Much of this vitriol has come from noted liberal writers, people like Selwyn Raab and Robert Lipsyte of the *New York Times* and Jack Newfield of the *New York Post*, many of whom either championed or actively worked for the fighter's cause throughout the years.

According to these critics, the film version of the story, which was nominated for several Academy Awards and

proved to be something of a hit, is riddled with distortions of fact and outright lies. Serious questions have been raised about the sanitized version of Carter's early, often brutal, criminal career, as well as the portrayal of the Passaic County judicial process. Playing fast and simple with well-documented events, critics charge, the film invents a single vindictive, patently racist cop who dogs Carter almost from the cradle, thereby compromising a more difficult to dramatize indictment of the entire New Jersey legal system. Also lambasted is the role of "the Canadians," a mysterious group of whites from Toronto who, according to the movie, take the lead role in securing Carter's eventual release. According to fault-finders, the emphasis on the Canadian contribution—including the pivotal role of a young black man adopted by the group who initially reaches out to the imprisoned Carter—unfairly slights the largely unpaid efforts of a bevy of New York-based lawyers, notably Myron Beldock and Lewis Steel, who worked long and hard to free the prizefighter.

The degree of outcry, bordering on outrage, greeting the film is somewhat surprising considering that, at least on the surface, *The Hurricane* appears to be an old-fashioned, standard-issue workup of Hollywood faux-social realism not unlike liberal tomes once

Mark Jacobson, currently a contributing editor at New York Magazine, is the author of two novels: *Gojira and Everyone* and *No One*.

directed by well-meaning types like Stanley Kramer. Indeed, one expects little else when Denzel Washington is the star. After portraying (and smoothing out the ragged edges of) such figures as Steve Biko and Malcolm X, Washington has, for better or worse, succeeded Sidney Poitier as the mainstream conduit for the translation of the African American experience to the larger middlebrow audience.

As most entertainment business mavens know, if you want a black hero, especially one to make you dewy-eyed (in that tough-minded inner-strength way), you've got to have Denzel. This owes as much to the way Hollywood movies are conceived and sold as it does to Washington's obvious talents. There are few choices among black actors if you want to sell a "big issue" story; Samuel L. Jackson, he of the baleful, scary stare, or Forrest Whitaker, who connotes far too much ambiguity, simply will not suffice. Only Denzel fills the bill as the Virtuous (and Bankable) Black Man. Call this racial profiling or not, but it is an exigency of modern popular culture, a fact of commerce.

Given such socioeconomic exigencies, Washington the actor need not adjust his persona to fit the character played; rather the part must be tailored to Denzel's goody-two-shoes image. In the problematic case of Rubin Carter this process required no small amount of editorial alchemy. To explain away an early assault arrest, the movie asks the audience to believe Carter's actions came in defense of a friend who was being menaced by a white pervert. A notably brutal mugging spree in 1957, which returned Carter to prison after a stint in the paratroopers, is totally ignored. Likewise passed over is Carter's well-known reputation as a bad hat on the fight scene, a man to whom other boxers gave wide berth, at least outside the ring where he was most dangerous. José Torres, former light-heavyweight champion, remembers Carter as a good, if limited, fighter but a surly training mate who often

came to camp with a personal arsenal of guns and who once, for no particular reason, shot a neighboring farmer's cow in the head. Somehow it is difficult to picture Denzel Washington playing such a scene.

One of the more hotly debated elements of the movie is the depiction of Carter's 1964 fight for the middleweight title against then-champion Joey

*A cynic might argue
that the culture abhors
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selling of that story.*

Giardello. The movie shows Denzel, rocking his shoulders in a finely observed imitation of Carter's herky-jerky fighting style, knocking the stuffing out of a Giardello stand-in, only to be cheated (by those nasty white judges) of the decision, properly outraging the eminently fair-minded, fedora-wearing fight crowd unfortunate enough to witness this miscarriage of fistic judgment. A videotape of the actual contest reveals another scenario. The fight, while close, was a clear-cut victory for the wily Giardello who out-boxed the slugging Carter. As for the crowd booing, the fight was held in Philadelphia, Giardello's hometown. The idea that local fans would jeer a decision favoring their *paisano* Joey is ludicrous. Giardello, now sixty-nine years old, is suing makers of *The Hurricane*, contending that the film's inaccuracies have damaged his reputation and legacy.

Speaking about the Giardello incident and other questionable facets of the film, producer Rudy Langlais defends *The Hurricane* by saying, "Look, we were making a movie here." Echoing this sentiment, the film's director, oldline middle-of-the-roader Norman Jewison (maker of *In the Heat of the Night*) calls the movie

"powerful but heartwarming ... Frank Capraesque."

Indeed, this appears to be an essential bone of contention when discussing *The Hurricane*: how beholden should dramatizers be to actual events, especially recent, highly disputed events? The sobriquet, "based on a true story," is a can of elastic worms, especially in situations where the so-called "truth" is far from established. The Rubin Carter case falls into this shadowy turf. Even now, it is not difficult to find apparently reasonable, nonracist individuals working in the northern New Jersey court system who continue to maintain healthy doubts about Rubin Carter's whereabouts on that fateful 1966 night. Bob Dylan, Denzel Washington, and Carter's own sanctified personal presence notwithstanding, it is useful to remember that while the fighter was convicted twice by juries, he was never acquitted by an assembly of his peers. Federal judge Lee Sarokin freed Carter by throwing out the state's case, which arrogantly claimed racial revenge as motive for the crimes. The matter of Carter's innocence or guilt was not at issue, nor has it ever been finally determined in a court of law.

Then again, most matters of guilt and innocence tend to be less than clear-cut. Often the best that can be done is to say, "according to...." But according to whom? As noted in the movie's credits, it is based on two texts: Carter's accusatorily compelling prison autobiography, *16th Round*; and *Lazarus and the Hurricane* by Terry Swinton and Sam Chaiton. The latter, cloyingly written by members of the controversial "Canadian commune," provides the essential "hook" which no doubt removed the Rubin Carter story from the high-minded but doomed back benches of the Hollywood development slough. It tells how Lesra Martin, a young black man from Brooklyn, is adopted by a close-knit group (some might call them a cult) of yuppiesque Toronto do-gooders, reads and identifies with

Carter's book, and then, with the tireless help of his "new family," jumpstarts the long-stalled process to free the prizefighter.

"This is what we are working from," Langlais told me a few years ago when he sent me the two books, saying there had been several versions of the script and wondered if perhaps I might have an idea or two. There was no mention of any exhaustive investigative search to determine, beyond a doubt, the true facts of the Carter case, even if such a hunt were possible. The company had paid good money for *16th Round* and its companion piece—two accounts with very large axes to grind—and it was on these books that they were determined to base their version of the Hurricane's story.

A cynic might argue that the culture abhors a truth that gets in way of a good story, or the selling of that story. But still, it is useful to page through James Hirsch's thoughtful, well-documented *Hurricane*, as a kind of control,

when dealing with the various versions of the story. While Hirsch is clearly a sympathetic witness (the subhead is *The Miraculous Journey of Rubin Carter*—a reference to the fighter's favorite prison reading matter, P. D. Ouspensky's *In Search of the Miraculous*), the former *New York Times* reporter has gone to great lengths to set the record as straight as possible. As this is an "authorized" biography, it is to Hirsch's—and Carter's—credit that *Hurricane* does not steer clear of its subject's less angelic side.

Here we find corroboration of Carter's early violent streak. After what the book calls "a good deal of drinking," Carter went on "a brief, reckless crime spree. He ripped a purse from a woman, a block later struck a man with his fist, then robbed another man of his wallet. All the victims were black." The Giardello fight is brought into focus, Hirsch reasonably concluding that even though "a number of sportswriters thought Carter won," the challenger

typically must beat a champ decisively, "and Carter didn't." Hirsch also sheds much light on the movie's distressing "one bad cop" gimmick. Certainly the model was Lieutenant Vincent DeSimone, described by Hirsch as a "coarse and intimidating old-school cop." A fearsome and racist figure, DeSimone resolutely singled out and stalked Carter, withheld evidence at his trials, and threatened nosy reporters with violence. But he did not brutalize the fighter as a child, nor was he still alive to have his comeuppance (as in the film) when the fighter was finally released. DeSimone was an ample bogeyman to be sure, but the movie-makers (who call him Della Pesca) went to town extending his character arc.

Most interesting to the Carter buff is Hirsch's description of the involvement of "the Canadians," whose depiction in the movie has drawn considerable ire. While detractors have marginalized the contribution of the highly secretive cult, Hirsch devotes much of his book

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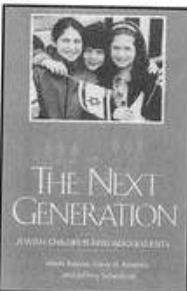
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to the odd, evolving relationship between Carter and the Toronto-based group. Painstakingly describing the commune's monomaniacal pursuit of evidence and their key role in rallying Carter's then-sagging spirits, Hirsch's assessment of the Canadians' commitment largely coincides with what is shown in the film. Indeed, after reading *Hurricane* one might be left with the idea that the astrological chart-reading Canadians, while clearly paranoid, controlling, paternal, and possibly even racist themselves, are the real reason—beyond his own remarkable resolve—that Carter walks free today.

This said, perhaps the most telling discrepancy between *Hurricane*, the movie, and *Hurricane*, the book, is the role of Lisa Peters, the iron-fisted, unquestioned commune leader. Hirsch allows that the "juice" of the *Hurricane* movie, the meeting between the imprisoned prizefighter and Lesra Martin—the near-illiterate ghetto boy who would grow up to be a Ph.D.—provided the starting impetus for Carter's eventual release. But it was Carter's relationship with Peters, whom he would later marry, which quickly took precedence and proved more far-reaching. The spark between these two, an inner-city black man convicted of murder and a white cult leader from northern Ontario—a woman who would deal severely with any of her subordinates found smoking a cigarette, and who would later demand that the spiritually inclined but still exceedingly macho Carter get a vasectomy—was apparent from the beginning. As described by Hirsch, the two had several "contact" visits while Carter was still in prison.

Aside from a few laughably coy interactions between the Rubin and Lisa characters (Denzel mentions to the pretty Lisa, "I didn't think you'd look like this") the film studiously ignores this potentially dramatic matchup in favor of the after-school special, Lesra Martin angle. Likely the image of Denzel the Pure making love, and being dominated by, a white

woman in a windowless room did not fit either the actor's or the filmmakers' "Frank Capraesque" vision of the Carter story. I do not mean to denigrate films that attempt to portray positive black images, but the moldy wimpiness of *The Hurricane*, especially with so much meaty material available, is simply uncalled for.

Then again, as the minutes of the recent Diallo trial demonstrate, if there is one thing any trial (or movie) that is essentially about race is reluctant to address, beyond the usual posturing, it is race. That button is simply too hot; people's reactions are too extreme, and often distressingly predictable. A fact of modern life is that, in polite company, it is easier to talk about someone's sexual preferences than their racial feelings. So it is with reluctance that I suggest that one reason for the liberal uprising over the movie is, in part, reflexive racial backlash. With its relentless fabrications and cartoonish white bad guys—like the DeSimone character—the film is just dim enough to get under the increasingly thin skin of older liberals. Seeing the picture with a friend of mine, a great supporter of civil rights back in the old days, was depressing. "Same old shit," he kept groaning, with growing defensive anger, taking the whole thing personally.

All said, probably the most salient criticism of the film is that something approaching "the real story"—i.e., one that included Carter as he truly was, muggings and all, one that included thorniness like his relationship with Lisa Peters—would have made a better movie, one that made more money, not to mention one that spoke more clearly to the issues of corruption and race. Then, instead of the familiar Denzel heroics, Carter would have gotten the dignified Zola-like treatment "the story of the Hurricane" truly deserves. For, in a pure, perfect world, Rubin Carter wouldn't have had to, as Dylan says, "sit like Buddha in a ten-foot cell" to be cleared of the Lafayette Bar murders; he would only have had to be innocent. □

RACISM (continued from page 67)

whites who feel "reverse discrimination" and blacks who must confront the implications of (possibly) having obtained a position because of their color and—even more disturbing—the knowledge that many whites will believe this is the case, whether it is or not; and, in the penultimate chapter, the possibilities and limits of Head Start and various approaches to early education.

Throughout this challenging book, Wachtel manages in a wide variety of contexts to incorporate what he takes to be the fundamental assumptions of both blacks and whites. On the one hand, we must begin with slavery: "In applying the analysis of vicious circles to our contemporary racial difficulties, we will not get far unless we acknowledge that these circles virtually reek of their origins." On the other hand, according to Wachtel, "it is essential ... to recognize how our contemporary difficulties have been shaped by the changes, both positive and negative, of the past few decades and by the way blacks and whites have responded to those changes." Wachtel requires whites (as well as blacks) to come to grips with the full historic impact of slavery and blacks (as well as whites) to examine their personal responsibility in black-white relations. These are his basic prerequisites to "breaking the vicious circle between blacks and whites."

Alexis de Tocqueville once wrote that Americans talk about everything but converse about nothing. On the matter of contemporary race relations, Tocqueville was uncannily prescient. Paul Wachtel's objective is nothing less than to establish ground rules for a new kind of black-white conversation about race in America. It is, as his friends noted, a courageous effort. Time will tell whether our society as a whole can muster the courage and detachment to unravel and extricate itself from the vicious circles he has painstakingly identified. *Race in the Mind of America* provides a road map to racial reconciliation, if only we will follow it. □

Biotech *before* Birth

Amnio, Abortion, and (dis)Ability

Michael Bérubé

■ *Testing Women, Testing the Fetus: The Social Impact of Amniocentesis in America*, by Rayna Rapp. Routledge, 1999.

In the spring of 1991 my wife, Janet, was pregnant, and because she was thirty-six years old, she was advised by our doctor to consider having an amniocentesis. Like many Americans, Janet and I thought of the procedure primarily as a screen for Down syndrome. The test would be done sixteen to eighteen weeks into the pregnancy, and would come back within two weeks. If the test proved “positive”—if it revealed genetic anomalies in the fetus—we would then face the decision of whether to continue or terminate the pregnancy.

Immediately Janet and I began performing an intricate moral calculus. Though we were and are pro-choice as a political matter, we had deep reservations about abortion as late as twenty weeks into a pregnancy; something would have to be drastically wrong with the fetus, we reasoned, before we would take that option. Gradually, we agreed that we did not consider Down syndrome “wrong” enough to warrant a late abortion. I noticed that the risk of spontaneous miscarriage as a result of amniocentesis was 0.5 percent: amniocentesis is, after all, an invasive procedure, and roughly once in every 200 tests it terminates a pregnancy in and of itself. The numerical odds,

when combined with our misgivings over mid-pregnancy abortion, seemed to speak for themselves; better a child with Down syndrome, we thought, than a late abortion or an amniocentesis-induced miscarriage.

That September, James Lyon Bérubé was born. He has Down syndrome. He’s now in the second grade, fully “mainstreamed” with an in-class aide in our local public school, where he’s occasionally stubborn, sometimes mischievous, very well liked by his peers, and unexpectedly good at math and spelling and reading.

In 1983, feminist anthropologist Rayna Rapp had an amniocentesis, which turned up positive for Down syndrome. With great regret, she and her partner chose to terminate the pregnancy. The experience, it would appear from *Testing Women, Testing the Fetus*, simply changed her life. For fifteen years following that one prenatal test, Rapp turned a fierce and probing critical intelligence on every aspect of the experience, from biotech lab procedures to genetic counseling to inner-city prenatal care to the politics of abortion and disability. Yet *Testing*

Women, Testing the Fetus is nothing like a memoir. Rather, it undertakes an in-depth ethnographic examination of the social impact of prenatal testing, culminating fifteen years of fieldwork among “seven constituencies: genetic counselors, geneticists, laboratory diagnosticians, pregnant women who accepted amniocentesis, those who refused it, women who received a positive diagnosis and chose to end their pregnancies, and families with children who have conditions that the test can now reveal before birth.” Even more ambitiously, it shows how biotechnologies of reproduction are “culturally constituted.” And what might “culturally constituted” mean in this field, at this historical moment? That’s precisely what Rapp has tried to answer, by way of showing, via the practice of ethnography, “why a routinizing technology does not always stay en route.”

It’s worth noting, first, that before amniocentesis can become a “routinizing technology,” a lot of other stuff has to be routine. Humans have to have discovered genes and chromosomes; the Foucauldian sciences of population management have to have matured to the point at which maternal conditions (age, ethnicity, family history) can be assessed in terms of statistical quanta; and, not least among these, abortion has



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to have become legal and—to some degree, at least—destigmatized. Part of what's astonishing about the routinization of amniocentesis is that the procedure was born, so to speak, yesterday; as Rapp points out, "The current generation of pregnant women is the first to be given an epidemiology of trepidation, and taught to live by the numbers." The stakes would appear to be high enough to warrant Rapp's central claim that this technology is turning the women to whom it is offered into moral pioneers: "Situated on a research frontier of expanding capacity for prenatal genetic diagnosis," Rapp writes, "they are forced to judge the quality of their own fetuses, making concrete and embodied decisions about the standards for entry into the human community."

Of course, most of the women in Rapp's study do not think of themselves as gatekeepers to the human community; most often, their decisions turn on more local matters, such as how a disabled child will affect their relationships with husbands, partners, extended families, and/or children already born. Concern for those children is particularly pronounced among women who choose amniocentesis and abortion. As one woman says, "If I had this baby at 44, and it had Down's, who would inherit it? Oh, not Alex, not Stephan—it's always the girls, the girls who get caught. If I had that baby, it would be Livia who inherited the family problems."

It is part of Rapp's implicit point—and it's important in itself that the point be made implicitly—that our national debates about abortion so rarely include such voices because our national debates about abortion are just not complex enough to do justice to the extraordinary difficulty of the questions and decisions attendant on prenatal testing. Rapp briefly references a case in New York City, where the Catholic Church owned the airspace rights to a new hospital building under construction and demanded that "genetic counselors be barred from working in the new maternity service

to be located there." At the same time, most pro-choice Americans, myself included, are justifiably uneasy about the potential for biotechnologies of reproduction to revive the dismal science of eugenics, ushering in the brave new world depicted in films like *Gattaca*, where a society believes it can read the minute details and finite possibilities of individual human lives *in utero*, right off the fetal karyotype. Rapp's research thus leads her directly into one of the most volatile crossroads created by the liberal discourse of "rights." As Rapp puts it, "At the intersection of the disability rights movement and the feminist movement for reproductive rights lies a thorny problem: How is it possible to contest the eugenic and stigmatizing definition of disabilities which seems to underlie prenatal diagnosis, while still uphold-

and not others. Yet the book is also filled with stories of women who equate amniocentesis with abortion and abortion with murder, as well as women who agreed to be interviewed by Rapp so that they could testify to how Jesus had worked miracles in their lives and perhaps convert Rapp to evangelical Christianity in the process. Not least among the book's moral complexities, then, is the question of who gets to interpret whom, and in what terms.

Rapp's study does not suffer from a lack of variables. Although her focus is confined to New York City (and not the more general "America" of the book's subtitle), New York's diverse ethnic and immigrant populations provide Rapp with a form of particularism that in effect is cosmopolitan. In few American cities could one obtain so complex a cross-section of social

The book is filled with husbands and pregnant women who oppose abortion but grant that it is sometimes a lesser evil.

ing the rights of individual women to determine what kind of medical care, and what sorts of pregnancy decisions, are in their own best interests?"

Rapp eventually crafts two moral imperatives—as well as the meta-imperative to see these two as complementary rather than contradictory: "The first is the need to champion the reproductive rights of women to carry or refuse to carry to term a pregnancy that would result in a baby with a serious disability. The second is the need to support adequate, nonstigmatizing, integrative services for all the children, including disabled children, that women bear." A striking number of people from across the political spectrum seem to have adopted these guidelines. The book is filled with husbands and pregnant women who oppose abortion but grant that it is sometimes a lesser evil, or that the decision should remain private, or that it is justifiable for some disabilities

attitudes toward reproduction and prenatal testing. On the other hand, the study's location in New York does skew the results somewhat, for, as Rapp admits, New York state "stands out as arguably one of the best-served states in the nation in terms of genetic services mandated and funded by statute." Even this claim, however, has to be hedged by the acknowledgment that, when compared to state-funded European health services, U.S. record-keeping with regard to genetic services is ridiculously shoddy. This shoddiness is due in part to the Reagan-era federal policy that "enjoined the states from using federal monies to keep statistics on expenditures made with health block grants"—in effect, a policy to ensure that the federal government would not be able to find out precisely how poorly the poorest Americans in the poorest states were being served by "block grants" in the first place.

Despite these geographical and political constraints, however, Rapp renders a richly detailed account of the "cultural constitution" of amniocentesis. Comparing notes gathered from a variety of hospitals that she amalgamates under the headings "Elite," "Middle," and "City," Rapp shows how the science of genetics is made comprehensible to women from wildly disparate backgrounds. Not surprisingly, educated, professional middle- and upper-middle-class folks tend to speak the language of biostatistics, whereas less educated women and recent immigrants bring to the table a complex mixture of beliefs, some of which have to be directly challenged by responsible medical practice. Like the couples who fear that the fetus will "catch" mental retardation if the mother spends time with people who have mental disabilities, or the woman who thought that her first amniocentesis was sufficient for all her pregnancies—these are the people for whom genetic counseling involves a serious disjunction between the language of science and the language of received wisdom.

Yet it would be ethnocentric, not to say simply *wrong*, to believe that curious beliefs are confined only to the impoverished, "at-risk" populations of City hospitals. Well-educated, statistically literate adults, too, turn out to hold strange and/or contestable beliefs: one of Rapp's interviewees, a white economist, rejected amniocentesis on the seemingly rational ground that the birthrate of children with Down syndrome was 25 percent lower than the reported rate of prenatal detection of Down syndrome, and that the test must therefore turn up a high number of false positives. The real reason is, as Rapp points out, that "late spontaneous abortions and perinatal deaths of Down syndrome fetuses account for the difference in rates."

Then again, in a more morally nebulous zone, are those prospective parents who believe, as one woman puts it, that "having a 'tard, that's a bummer for life" or that if the baby "can't grow up to have a shot at becoming the president,

we don't want him." Such beliefs are qualitatively different from the belief that a fetus can "acquire" mental retardation from contact with developmentally delayed adults, since they do not involve actual misstatements of fact; but they too are based heavily on misinformation and intellectual parochialism, and they make up a crucial part of the terrain any genetic counselor must traverse. And then, yet again, there's the question of how we should understand the administrative secretary who tells Rapp, "I don't think I really believe in chromosomes, I mean, I could see the pictures, but I can't believe everything is in the chromosomes."

As ignorant (or as spiritually obvious) as this last remark may sound, the funny thing is that as a description of amniocentesis it's actually quite right—and it points out the limits of the practical rigor and the hegemonic claims of this particular technoscientific practice. Amniocentesis will not detect autism, or cerebral palsy, or deafness; it will not protect newborns from polio, rubella, diabetes, or farm machinery. Of all the frailties to which human flesh is heir, amniocentesis can identify only Down syndrome, which "accounts for about fifty percent of the chromosome problems detected," and a mere 800 "much rarer, arcane genetic disabilities." Amniocentesis, in other words, sees only a fraction of what can go wrong between conception and death. Genes can code for disabilities, but not all disabilities are genetic; not everything is in the chromosomes, after all.

Determining the meaning of amniocentesis, then, positively requires class analysis, since, as Rapp writes in her discussion of general prenatal care for women in poverty, "chromosomes are relatively small and distant factors in the risks that many pregnant women understand themselves to face." One genetic counselor phrases it more starkly: "How do we convey a chromosome risk when a low-income pregnant Afro-Puerto Rican woman experiences a one hundred percent chance of running out of



food stamps this month, a twenty-five percent risk of having one son or brother die in street violence, and an eighty percent chance of getting evicted by the end of the year? A 1-in-180 chance of having a child with a chromosome abnormality at age thirty-five is probably the best odds she's facing." It is in this sense, finally, that amniocentesis can be said to be "culturally constituted." But does this mean that chromosomes themselves are socially constructed, their chemical properties subject to human interpretation?

In her eighth chapter, "Culturing Chromosomes, or What's in the Soup" (we're not to miss the pun on "culture"), Rapp undertakes a tour of laboratory life, reporting on her three internships as lab technician in training, first at New York's Prenatal Diagnosis Laboratory and then at "another lab at Middle Hospital." Noting that "techs are confronted by an onslaught of ambiguous material," Rapp begins to question them as to whether their language and imagery don't in fact determine what they claim to see, and begins to understand why they regard such questions as extraneous to their work:

Throughout my apprenticeship, I kept wondering if the internal world on the slide under the microscope would have meaning without reference to these prior and external images. But my question is not meaningful when interpreted through the powerful and routinized practices by which diagnostic work takes place, for it posits the destabilization of a world to whose material stability technicians are, of course, committed.... Indeed, producing that stability is tantamount to producing routine diagnoses; without an agreement on the norms of chromosome recognition and the boundaries of normalcy, cytogenetics would be meaningless.

Analytical nuance on this order requires careful attention—on Rapp's part, and on ours. The chromosomes are real, in the sense that they have specific

(continued on page 79)

Caring for the Disabled

Roger S. Gottlieb

- *Love's Labor: Essays on Women, Equality, and Dependency*, by Eva Feder Kittay. Routledge, 1998.
- *Dependent Rational Animals: Why Human Beings Need the Virtues*, by Alasdair MacIntyre. Open Court, 1999.

Who should care for the disabled or those made extremely dependent by age or illness? And who should care for those doing the caring? Modern Western philosophy, pretty much like modern American society, has tended to ignore these questions or to answer them in confused—and often unjust—ways. Yet in the last ten years a growing disability rights movement has challenged the oppression of the disabled, and feminist theory has stressed the ethical and psychological importance of care.

To understand why they so often miss the social and ethical implications of dependency and dependent care, we should remember that modern philosophy and the social order it expresses are rooted in the concept of the autonomous, rational individual. A focus on the autonomous, rational individual was historically progressive because it allowed philosophers an alternative to justifying knowledge, morality, and political power on the basis of tradition, inherited authority, and religious dogma. By imagining the rational, autonomous individual, Enlightenment philosophers created

an alternative standard. As an individual knower, I could subject church teachings to rational science. As a free citizen, I could ask whether political arrangements respected my personal rights, rights which predated my participation in the social order. As an autonomous moral agent, I could enter into equal and reciprocal relationships with other moral agents.

The dependent or disabled, however, do not fit the model of the autonomous individual. They may require others' help for the most basic of bodily needs and be unable to reciprocate for what they receive. They may be incapable of fully voicing their own interests in the realm of politics. How then will they exercise their rights? How then can they receive "justice"?

Of course, much of the last century and a half of philosophy has been highly critical of individualism. Hegel and Marx argued that social life was shaped by collective action; feminist theory asserts that connection rather than autonomy is basic to both ethics and psychology. And politically there are times in our society when a collective concern supersedes individual interests. Workers, women, and racial minorities came to the fore in law and politics when they learned to argue collectively on their own behalf. For instance, the rights of individual restaurant owners to refuse service to African Americans were overcome by an activist black movement seeking rights for an entire group.

Yet it is doubtful that the extremely dependent, especially the aged or

the developmentally challenged, can achieve their rights or organize to have their needs met in the same way. They need to have others organize for them. Similarly, those who care for the extremely dependent carry a burden far in excess of the normal subjects of political struggle. Typically, they simply don't have the time, energy, or money to organize.

Alasdair MacIntyre and Eva Feder Kittay continue modern philosophy's struggle to overcome its legacy of individualism and to find a place for the disabled and dependent. I turned to their new books with great interest, both because MacIntyre is one of the world's most recognized philosophers and because respected feminist philosopher Kittay, like me, parents a child with disabilities. Kittay's thirty-year-old daughter has profound cognitive and physical deficits; my own fourteen-year-old has mild cognitive deficits and a severe neuromuscular disorder.

I was not disappointed, for what these books present is so breathtakingly simple as to verge on the simple-minded—yet so breathtakingly new to the world of ethics and social theory as to be groundbreaking and critically important.

Like the feminist classics *Women and Madness* or *In a Different Voice*, Kittay's *Love's Labor* opens our eyes to the obvious. Only after the rise of feminism could a philosopher seriously examine a commonplace of most women's, but few men's, lives: the effects of dependency on those cared for and those doing the caring.

Kittay asks: what does political equality mean for those who perform the "labor of dependency"? Will women who can vote, own property, and

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become brain surgeons be truly equal if they are expected to take primary responsibility for caring for their own children, their aging parents, their paraplegic sister? When the labor of dependency is poorly paid and assigned to minorities, and when doing it well requires a unique blend of personal involvement and moral commitment, how will dependency workers have the time, energy, or resources to represent their personal interests in a public sphere designed for autonomous individuals?

The answer to both these questions, quite obviously, is that they won't. And thus the situation of dependency workers in our society is one of injustice. Kittay does not hesitate to criticize feminist theorists who suppose that equality can be gotten without altering the way our society meets the needs of the dependent. At the same time, she continues the feminist critique of what has been a male-oriented Western philosophical tradition through her detailed refutation of the leading contemporary philosophical account of justice, that of John Rawls. Rawls, like

the Enlightenment thinkers before him, either ignores or relegates to the sidelines those who do not have normal amounts of physical and mental competence. For him they are distractions or exceptions to the dominant situation of free and equal citizens. Necessarily, then, he also ignores the situation of those caring for the dependent. That it has taken over a quarter of a century for this to be pointed out in detail shows just how culturally masculine most academic philosophy is.

If Kittay's concern is justice for the dependent and their caregivers, Alasdair MacIntyre's is with how recognizing the full scope of human dependency challenges the dominant individualistic conception of rational moral autonomy.

Humans begin life, he argues, as animals. Just like dolphins or gorillas we have desires and beliefs. To enter the particularly human realm of rational autonomy is to have some reflective distance on our desires and beliefs; to be able to say, as it were, "I know I want X and believe Y—but are they really good to want or believe?" To

develop this reflective distance, argues MacIntyre, we require others both to teach us what the good is ("Yes, you like chocolate, but broccoli is good for you") and to help us learn how to frame good reasons for the things we want to do. Only by learning to respond to others' questions about our beliefs and desires can we internalize a critical faculty of moral reasoning. The autonomous moral and thinking subject emerges from—and must stay in contact with—a community. We can no more be good or rational "as individuals" than we can by ourselves be quarterbacks, lawyers, or teachers.

Thus we are "morally dependent" throughout our lives. This moral dependence mirrors both our usual and our more extreme forms of physical and cognitive dependence. As infants and old folks and victims of illness or disability, we are highly dependent. As able adults, we are less so. But the very autonomy of which we are so proud always arises in a context of dependence. It is only a question of more or less, us or someone else, now, before, or later. If we fail to acknowl-

edge these facts, we will be deficient in virtue. For instance, we may fall prey to “an illusion of self-sufficiency, an illusion all too characteristic of the rich and powerful ... an illusion that plays its part in excluding them from certain types of communal relationship. For like virtues of giving, those of receiving are needed in order to sustain just those types of communal relationship through which the exercise of these virtues has to be learned.”

Thus what MacIntyre calls the “virtues of acknowledged dependence” require us to say of any disabled person, “it could have been me”—and to respond to his or her needs accordingly. For if we cannot respond to the needs some people have due to factors beyond their control, we cannot build the kind of community that will help all of us to become just, rational, and caring.

Further, interacting with and caring for the disabled can help us realize some important truths. For instance, our distaste for someone who is physically deformed reveals how we’ve overvalued attractiveness. Caring for a profoundly developmentally delayed person can teach us what it is like to have near total responsibility for someone—the same kind our parents had for us and that we ourselves might require at any time in our lives. Recognizing dependence is part of knowing who we are, and thus of maintaining our rationality.

Someone might ask: since the facts of dependency are obvious to everyone but some doxy philosophers who are hung up on rational autonomy, why should anyone who is not a philosopher care about these books? The answer is that while the facts of dependency may be obvious, the role of dependency in social policy has not been adequately addressed, not by a long shot. When Kittay argues that relegating dependency needs to women—and devaluing both those needs and those who meet them—is unjust, she names a common and damaging reality. Suppose then that we socialized

the care of aging parents or disabled children. That is, suppose we realized that the disabled, their caretakers, the caretaker’s family, friends and colleagues, and the larger community all function in relation to



Yet a problem arises, and the relevance of the concept of rational autonomy returns. Premodern communities not only integrated their members and cared for them in a way individualistic modern society cannot, they were also

Just and caring relations with the disabled and their caretakers seems to contradict capitalism.

each other. Making the requisite institutional changes so that dependency needs could be met without destroying the caregiver’s own life would require massive alterations.

For instance, before I am criticized for missing committee meetings, I could be asked whether my absence has something to do with the hundred or so medical appointments that I take my daughter to each year. Once this fact (and several others) registers, it might be necessary to alter my workload accordingly. If extra help is needed to educate a delayed or hyperactive child in a religious school, perhaps what’s necessary is for the budget, curriculum, and structure of the entire school to be rethought, rather than to be told: “We’re short of funds for an aide this year; you’d better go somewhere else.”

Who is to do such rethinking? Kittay doesn’t say exactly, but her book is a gauntlet thrown at the feet of virtually the entire society. MacIntyre, by contrast, argues that neither the state (necessarily a battleground of competing interests, communities, and visions of the good) nor the family (necessarily dependent on its connections to the larger community) is able to do it. He contends that “intermediate” institutions such as clubs, churches, and neighborhoods—groups formed around a coherent sense of the “good” and thus able to turn to the needs of their members through a shared sense of virtue—are the most likely and proper place.

rooted in hierarchy and tradition. Everyone felt at home, but in most homes authority and privilege were neither equally shared nor democratically allocated. The question then arises: can we have the freedom and equality of modernity and still respond to people’s dependency?

What would a community look like, that is, in which the overriding goal is to meet people’s needs rather than to maximize personal freedom and fulfillment? True to his youthful leftist leanings, MacIntyre invokes Marx’ definition of communism: “from each according to his ability, to each according to his needs.” And Kittay’s position echoes MacIntyre’s.

My own personal life situation, however, leads me to a kind of despairing pessimism. For, as MacIntyre correctly points out, building a community around the goal of meeting people’s needs is “at odds with the fundamental tenets of the market economy.” Like so many other good things—preserving nature, ending patriarchy—just and caring relations with the disabled and their caretakers seem to contradict capitalism. Consider, for example, one of the concrete situations I mentioned above. To compensate for my limited participation in my department, others will have to take up the slack. The department, and the university, would thus have to tacitly agree that equitable caring for my disabled daughter is one of their central goods, something for which they will sacrifice faculty time and energy. They would have to be able

to say that the typical university goals of satisfied students, prestigious publications, and top rankings in *U.S. News and World Report* do not outweigh the "special needs" of my daughter and myself. Institutional and personal "success" would have to be redefined. This would be hard enough at my nonprofit university. Imagine a similar situation arising in a law firm, a software company, or the military.

Despite MacIntyre and Kittay's utopianism, it is important that the intellectual tradition that invented the "autonomous individual" is at last coming to understand that such a person exists only in the contexts of dependency. Once this truism of life shapes philosophical writing, we can begin to explore some other questions, ones not touched on by these two books.

Disabled children require a disproportionate amount of time, energy, and money. Conventional ethical and religious platitudes about the "infinite worth of the soul" or "to each according to his or her needs" are not particularly helpful when a child requires 150 doctor visits a year, three to four hours of direct help for the activities of daily living, and between fifteen and twenty hours of indirect help per week for strategizing by parents and for phone calls to doctors, therapists, HMOs, schools, etc. Given this level of care, what are to become of the parents' other ethical obligations? How can parents fulfill their responsibilities to the disabled child's siblings? And does the "proximity" of the disabled child necessitate or justify the parents' abandonment of their ethical obligations to the wider society? Is their moral horizon to be contracted to one person? Finally, under what conditions—and in what ways—may parents simply give up the struggle to sustain their disabled child's quality of life?

While my daughter can express her feelings and preferences, she cannot fully comprehend the consequences of life choices, nor assess the effects of her actions on her own future experi-

ence. As her parents, my wife and I must speak for her. What norms and virtues are called into play, then, in determining when the way we speak for her is or is not legitimate? And what special skills of listening are required to understand the interests of a disabled dependent who lacks the normal abilities of self-expression?

As I witness my child's undeserved pain, when is rage at God a justified spiritual response? Are familiar spiritual values of submission to God's will or acceptance of our lack of control over life always the preferred response? When disability is socially caused—e.g., traceable to environmental pollution or poverty—what do religious ethics have to tell us about the proper mix of anger and acceptance as I confront my child's fate?

Finally, there is the philosophical question of the meaning of concepts like "intelligence." What does it mean for a society that is polluting itself to death to label children like my daughter "developmentally disabled"?

Supporting the disabled and their caretakers in a loving and equitable way may well be just and virtuous, but in our present society it seems rather far away. These two splendid books, filled with more insightful arguments and plain wisdom than I can possibly do justice to here, move us a little bit in that direction. Kittay and MacIntyre have captured, in modern philosophical prose, a truth with which humans have long struggled. "Man is born to trouble," said Homer, "as the sparks fly upward." Or, as the medieval Catholic priest Thomas à Kempis put it:

God has furnished us with constant occasions of bearing one another's burdens. For there is no one living without failing; no person that is so happy as never to give offense; no person without a load of trouble; no person so sufficient as never to need assistance ... therefore, we should think ourselves under the strongest engagements to comfort, and relieve, and instruct, and admonish and bear with one another.

BIOTECH BEFORE BIRTH (from page 75)

properties that do not depend on human interpretation. But the actual human interpretation of those chromosomal properties has to proceed by way of linguistic and laboratory protocols that produce stability and consensus. Interpretive consensus, then, *is* socially constructed, but its object is not: in this sense, science studies has to understand the way the social practice of science produces knowledge about entities whose properties are independent of any social practice. But once the interpretation of genetic matter becomes part of the social apparatus of biomedicine, it becomes part of our ordinary world of social policies and personal beliefs and moral quandaries, such that Rapp can plausibly claim that "biomedical technology is itself a highly contested cultural object, porous in its diverse social constructions, uses, and exclusions." This means at least two things: first, that trisomy-21, the geneticist's term for Down syndrome, is not itself socially constructed, but everything else about Down syndrome, from abortion to inclusive education and disability law, most surely is; and second, that the anthropologist who tries to understand the interplay between nature and culture at the intersection of feminist theory and disability rights needs to give the precise language of biomedicine a prominent—but not preeminent—role among the discourses that make prenatal testing and childbearing meaningful for her fellow humans.

Not least among the achievements of Rayna Rapp's monumental and challenging study is its success on this score, its rigorous illumination of both the scientific and the social practices of amniocentesis. So impressive is this achievement, indeed, that I think it possible to say that *Testing Women, Testing the Fetus* may provide us with a model of intellectual deportment that anthropologists, genetic counselors, medical professionals, bioethicists, research scientists, and even cultural critics—yes, them too—will do well to acknowledge and emulate.

Life Story

Mira Bartók

A man tells me his life story. Later, I will roast potatoes for my lover, the one who will leave me at the end of dinner. The potatoes are crusty, but soft inside, and the fragrance of rosemary rises from them to my nose—garlic, the finest oil from Tuscany, a touch of saffron. The way he likes them, or so I hope.

Hope, the first man tells me, is not the point. It's all about serendipity. Timing is everything, he says. He's old, this man, has been places. *1941—I remember now. It was winter and the Norwegian guard came to the door of my cell. He motioned me to follow him. I thought it was my time. I was supposed to go to Buchenwald that night. "Go," he said, and pushed me out the door.*

"Go," I say softly to my love, his dinner warm in his stomach, potatoes, a nice omelette with a dash of paprika and blue cheese, a glass of good red wine. He's packing his guitar, his books, the clothes I've held him in. He's trying to rid the house of his evidence, as if he never existed, as if one could really do that. As if a man's soul ever really leaves your heart, your bed, your body.

We both love each other, that's clear, the way we breathe into each other's breath, the way we have so little cruelty between us. But it's not about love, is it? Sometimes you find yourself at the door and someone opens it for you. The night air is chill, you might die tomorrow, be tortured, or be set free. You don't really know. Sometimes a man wakes up and just knows he must leave. He's trying to come back to himself, to that person he knew years ago, before the walls closed in. He leaves his one true love, the one who let him go, so he can find his way back to something, something he can't even name.

It's a long way for the first man, he's hunted at every turn. He's a man without a map, without a country. He's on a slow train to the cold, cold north and has no destination. The train stops and there are men with guns at every exit. He doesn't look like anyone on the train. We know what will happen next, how this story will end. But then—shots are fired, the guards run to find out what happened. Serendipity. The man makes his escape. Crosses the border

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into Sweden. Someone gives him a pair of skis, food, a bed for the night. He travels across the frozen snow for days, makes his way to another town, another street of strangers. He thinks he's safe but there they are again, his enemies. He hides in a hospital for two years. The nurses bring him food and books in the room he lives in with the cadavers.

Hope? No, just minute-to-minute thoughts. Stolen moments of reading Tolstoy, Baudelaire, Hesse. A small tray of food once a day. Maybe an apple once a month. A piece of paper to write on, a torn photograph of his wife.

My lover drives home, his car packed with his life, his life that was on loan to me. He's weeping at his foolishness, his childish need to have more, to think that more exists. It's all here, I say to him, pointing at my soul, holding him close to my heart like a child. But he's already left and I am thinking about that man, alone in the cold room with the dead. How quiet it must have been, how still and lonely. How a day could easily seem like a month, a year.

A man sits in the corner of a room. He's waiting for them to come and torture him, kill him, or open the door and say *Go*. Next to him is a book, a scrap of paper, a picture of a woman in white. He sits very still, listens to his own breath. He's a man without a map, without a country. Still, he strokes the tiny photograph by his side, picks up the book and begins to read.

And in that moment, in 1943, it is all, simply, enough. □

ILLUSTRATION BY LYNNE FELDMAN

*Tikkun (te-kün) ... to heal, repair and
transform the world.
All the rest is commentary.*

תיקון

Spirit Matters

A NEW BOOK BY MICHAEL LERNER

SPirit MATTERS



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LERNER**

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