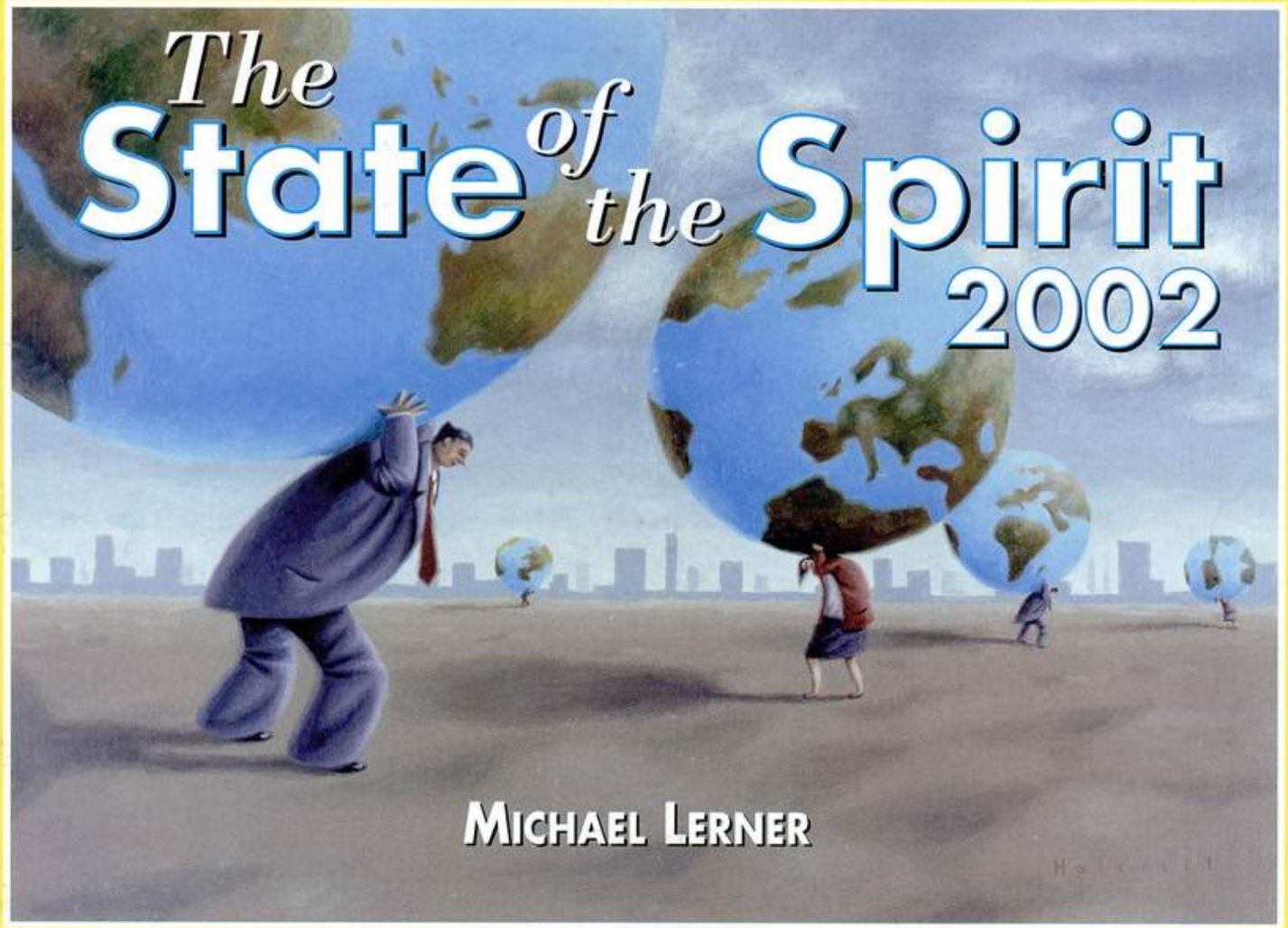
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uncertainly, you don't have to be Jewish
to love Levy's rye. Or to love anything:
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of the four o'clock enclosed in pastel petals
late afternoon— you know it's there and
you don't have to be Jewish. you don't
have to be Jewish to walk a mile
with the sun going down rosy in the park
or to love Rosy in the park or at home
(and Rosy loves you back.) You don't have
to be Jewish to chew slowly, tasting the rye
breaking down into sugar, you just have to be
willing to slow time down to a poster, a still
photograph of you in your ethnic garb
in the days when ethnicity was okay not yet
terrifying or indistinct: Kiss Me I'm Irish
and kiss me again, I'm gay Italian Chinese
and No Parking This Space Reserved for Polish
You don't have to be anything, really to love.
You don't have to be Jewish you could be anything
amazing or distinct, you could have just once
for maybe an hour, a day, forgotten you were
different, you don't have to be Jewish, you
don't have to be, to love, to love bread, you
don't have to be wry to love Jewish—but it helps.

—Rodger Kamenetz

TIKKUN

A BIMONTHLY JEWISH CRITIQUE OF POLITICS, CULTURE & SOCIETY VOLUME 17 NUMBER 3



2 **LETTERS TO THE EDITOR**

8 **EDITORIAL:** *Stop the Violence and End the Conflict*

FEATURES:

8 **THE MIDDLE EAST MESS—Breaking the Cycle of Violence**
In his editorial, **Michael Lerner** calls for an international force to separate and protect both Palestinians and Israelis, and an immediate end to the Occupation and to all acts of terror by both sides (8). **Lev Grinberg** parses the difference between state terrorism and terrorist acts (12). **Ian S. Lustick** reminds us how far we actually came at Camp David II and gives us reason to hope that *Through Blood and Fire Shall Peace Arise* (13). **Ofer Zur** offers a surprising short-term solution in *Time for a Wall* (20), while **Cherie R. Brown** gives us a formula for *Healing Israel* (23). Addressing the spiritual dimension, **Aryeh Cohen** and **Shaul Magid** unveil *A New Prayer for the State of Israel* (25).

29 **War and History**
If there was ever a time to question U.S. policy abroad, it is now. In *The Question of the Millennium*, **Joel Kovel** reminds us that there *are* alternatives to the end of history (29), while **Howard Zinn**, in *Born Yesterday*, points to a long history of governmental deception in wartime (30).



33 **The State of the Spirit**
Though the Middle East is a pressing priority, it is only the most immediate manifestation of an abiding global spiritual crisis. In developing a New Planetary Consciousness, and in locating ourselves in the sixteen-billion-year process of the development of love and generosity in the universe, TIKKUN Editor **Michael Lerner** presents a framework for understanding our current place in history and the meaning of our lives (33).

42 **Everyday Tikkun**
Tikkun Olam occurs on both a grand and small scale. **Arthur Waskow** uncovers a rich tradition of nonviolence within Judaism in *The Sword and the Plowshare as Tools of Tikkun Olam* (42). **Thomas R. Cole** urges us to rethink *Aging in America* (50). **Joshua Levine Grater** suggests *Teaching Kindness* in the classroom (51) while **Leonard Felder** offers a *Mindful Way of Eating* (53).



ARTICLES:

56 **Samuel S. Epstein** tells how we can *Reverse the Cancer Epidemic.*

66 *Craft and Commerce:* **Mark I. Pinsky** describes hawking his *Gospel According to The Simpsons.*

80 **Susan Dermond** helps us *Help Children Deal with Scary News.*

Opposite:
"You Don't Have to Be Jewish"
by Rodger Kamenetz

Front Cover:
Untitled by John Holcroft.
Acrylic on canvas. Courtesy of Superstock.



REVIEWS:

68 *Creative Kabbalah.* **Jason Shulman** on *Isaac Luria's Earlier Mysticism.*

69 *Nazi Art.* **Thane Rosenbaum** reviews the show at the Jewish Museum of New York.

71 *Wandering Jew?* **Eunice Lipton** asks whether the image can be recuperated.

73 *Shop Talk.* **Ken Gordon** on **Philip Roth**'s latest work of non-fiction.

75 *Mad As Hell?* **Roger S. Gottlieb** on *Anger* by **Thich Naht Hahn.**

77 **Miriam Greenspan** reviews **Phyllis Chesler**'s *Woman's Inhumanity to Woman.*

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Web Design
David King, Jer Welter

Publisher
Trish Vradenburg
Controller
Valerie Bach

2107 Van Ness, Suite 302
San Francisco, CA 94109
415-575-1200
fax: 415-575-1434
magazine@tikkun.org
Visit the TIKKUN website at
http://www.tikkun.org

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Letters to the Editor

An Open Letter to American Jews (and other friends of Israel)

A few days ago I was informed of an interesting phenomenon: a peace-supporting Jewish organization, named the TIKKUN Community, published an ad in favor of us—the Israeli reservist refuseniks—and was immediately bombarded with hate mail and phone calls from other American Jews. What's more interesting is that even other Jews considering themselves supporters of peace have denounced the ad. This has so saddened, alarmed, and angered me, that I find myself writing this open letter to you all.

It is clear that there is a general theme behind these attacks: the tribal theme. A very loud voice (and in Israel nowadays, it is the only voice that is allowed to be fully heard) keeps shouting that we are in the midst of a war between two tribes: a tribe of human beings, of pure good—the Israelis—and a tribe of sub-human beings, of pure evil—the Palestinians. This voice is so loud, that it has even found its way to the op-ed pages of *The New York Times* (William Safire, March 25). To those who find this black-and-white picture a bit hard to believe, the same voice shouts that this is also a war of life and death. Only one tribe will survive, so even if we are not purely good, we must lay morality and conscience to sleep, shut up, and fight to kill—or else, the Palestinians will throw us into the sea.

Does this ring a bell to you? It does to me. As a little child growing up in Israel under Golda Meir and Moshe Dayan, all I heard was that the Arabs were inhuman monsters who wanted to throw us into the sea, yet who, since our wonderful IDF won the Six Day War, know not to mess with us anymore—or else. Of course, they reasoned, we must keep the Liberated Territories to ourselves, because there's no way to have a dialogue with these people. Then came the Yom Kippur war, and for a child of seven it was the perfect proof that, indeed, the Arabs want to throw us into the sea; what a great opportunity it was for our glorious IDF to teach them a lesson.

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A few years passed and a funny thing happened: those throw-us-into-the-sea Arabs came to talk with us. In exchange for all of Sinai, they would sign onto a full peace. The IDF chief of staff shouted that it was a hoax, that we should not believe Sadat, but the politicians had to sign. Already a teenager, I went and protested against the withdrawal from Sinai. After all, it was a purely logical issue: the Arabs are not to be trusted. That's what we've learned from day one. Well, lucky for the country, the government and the majority of the people employed a different logic, and peace with Egypt was not missed.

But the throw-us-into-the-sea paradigm just shifted elsewhere. There was an inconvenient reality on the Northern border, and even though the forces on the other side (Palestinians! Ick!) had strictly adhered to a secret cease-fire for about a year, they were Arabs and therefore could not be trusted. So we talked ourselves into invading Lebanon and setting up a friendlier regime there. The mastermind of the invasion was defense minister Ariel Sharon, and Shimon Peres, then head of opposition, voted together with his party in favor of the invasion. For me at sixteen, it was a turning point. When I understood that the government had lied to me in order to sell me this war, I turned from "center-rightist" to "leftist." Sadly enough, it has taken me almost twenty more years, in a slow and painful process, to understand how deeply lies and self-delusion are rooted in our collective perception of reality.

When Peres withdrew most of our forces from Lebanon in 1985, the Arabs could still not be trusted. And so, to soothe our endless paranoia and suspicion, we created that perpetual source of death and crime ironically known as "the Security Zone." It took many years, a lot of blood and Four Mothers—against the admonitions of almost all the politicians, generals, and columnists—to finally pull us out of Lebanon. We learned the long and hard way that even

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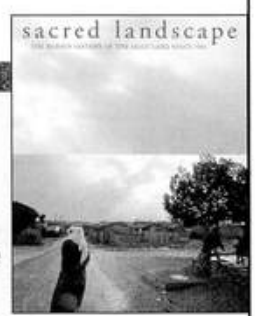
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the Lebanese are human beings whose rights must be respected.

But not the Palestinians. Because they are too painfully close, like a rival sibling (and—may I add—because they have always been so weak), we have singled them out for special treatment. We have perfected this treatment in the strange no man's land created in 1967, known as the Occupied Territories. There we have created an entirely hallucinatory reality, in which true humans, members of the Nation of Masters, could move and settle freely and safely, while the sub-humans, the Nation of Slaves, were shoved into the corners, and kept invisible and controlled under our IDF boots.

I know. I've been there. I was taught how to do this back in the mid-1980s. I carried out and witnessed, as a matter of fact, deeds that I'm ashamed to remember to this day. Since 1987, this cruel, impossible, unnatural, insulting reality in the Territories has been exploding in our face. But because of our unshakeable belief that the Palestinians are monsters who want to throw us into the sea, we reacted by trying to maintain what we've created at all costs. This has meant of course, employing more and more force, with the natural result that we have received more and more force in return. When a fledgling and hesitating peace process tried to work its way through this mess, one major factor (perhaps *the* factor) that undermined it was our establishment's endless fear and suspicion of the Other.

To resolve this fear and suspicion, we chose the insane route of demanding full control of the Other throughout the process. When this Other finally decided that we were cheating him out of his freedom, violence erupted, and all our ancient instincts woke up. "There they are," we said with relief. "Now we see their true face again. The Arabs want to throw us into the sea. There's no one to talk with" ("no partner" in our beloved ex-PM's words). And so we responded as we know and love, with more and more and more force. This time, the effect was that of putting out a fire with a barrel of gasoline. And that's the moment when I said to myself, NO, I'm not playing this game anymore.

But what about the existential threat, you may ask? Well I ask you, have you not eyes? Don't you see our tanks strolling in Palestinian streets every other day? Don't you see our helicopters hovering over their neighborhoods choosing which window to shoot a missile into? What type of existential need are we answering in trampling over the Palestinians?

Prevention of terror, I hear you say. Let me use the wonderful words of my friend Ishay Rosen-Zvi: "You are 'fighting against terror'? What a joke. The Israeli government, in its policies of Occupation, has turned the Territories into a nursery for terror!!!"

We have sown the seeds, grown them, nurtured them—and then our blood is spilled, and the centrist-right-wing politicians reap the benefits. Indeed, terror is the right-wing politician's best friend.

When you treat millions of people like sub-humans for so long, some of them will find inhuman strategies to fight back. Isn't that what the Zionists and other Jewish revolutionaries argued about a hundred years ago in order to explain the questionable strategies of survival that Jews used in Europe? Didn't our forefathers say, "Let us live like human beings, and see how we'll act just like other human beings"?

I don't buy the "they want to throw us into the sea" argument. It's an extremely dangerous, collective self-delusion of ours. More importantly, I don't see tribes. I see people, human beings. *I believe that the Palestinians are human beings like us.* What a concept, eh? And before everything else, before *everything* else, we must treat them like human beings without demanding anything in return. And no (to all die-hard Barak fans), throwing them a couple of crumbs so they can set up pitiful, completely controlled Bantustans in between our settlements and bypass roads, and believing this to be a great act of "generosity," does *not* come close to answering this basic requirement. In a perfect demonstration of historical justice, treating Palestinians as human beings is also a vital requirement for the survival of our own state.

I do believe once we do so that the Palestinians will calm down, and that the elusive "Security" and peace will finally come upon us. I don't have any insurance policy for that (well—almost none, except the solemn promise of the entire Arab world), but we are seeing now all too well what type of insurance policy the opposite paradigm is providing us.

In the meanwhile, I refuse to be a terrorist in my tribe's name. Because that's what it is: not a "war against terror," as our propaganda machine tries to sell it. This is a war *of* terror, a war in which, in return for Palestinian terror and guerrilla attacks, we employ the IDF in two forms of terror. The more visible form is the violent acts of killing and destruction, those which some people still try to explain away as "surgical acts of defense." But even worse is the silent terror, which has continued unabated since 1967 and through the entire Oslo process. It is the daily terror of Occupation, of humiliation on a personal and collective basis, of deprivation and legalized robbery, of alternating exploitation and starvation. Together, these two types of terror provoke and encourage the Palestinian terror, and so the cycle goes on, pushed even harder now by our current prime minister, whose clear goal seems to be to subdue the Palestinian people once and for all—or even worse if they resist.

I have a tremendous fear, that the moment our government senses that the lights are out and that no one in the world sees or cares—say, after a huge terror attack, or during an American attack on Iraq—there will be a horrible bloodbath in the Territories, that will make this past year and a half seem like a picnic. This moment may have already arrived.

I have very little hope that the Israeli public will wake up to prevent this from happening. In its fear and confusion, it has made a decision (aided by the politicians and mass media) to go to sleep and wake up only "after it is all over." Will you join the hypocrite mobs that sing lullabies to Israel, and pounce upon people like us who try to wake Israel up? Or will you finally take responsibility and be the true friends that Israel needs now? True friends, who know when it's time to stop being "nice?"

As you go about your lives, please remember the twenty or so refuseniks who are currently in military jail. More importantly, please remember the thousand or so people, three-quarters Palestinian and one-quarter Israeli, who were here with us a year ago and have been murdered. Most of them could have been here with us, if you and we had

acted sooner. We have now acted, done what little we can do. Please think of the many thousands that may be doomed soon, if you continue sitting on the fence.

Please help us struggle free from fear, racism, hatred, and the deaths they produce.

ASSAF ORON
Moshav Nehora, Israel

Responses to The New York Times Ad (reproduced on page 4)

To the Editor:

Thank you for that ad. My small contribution is in the mail. As a refugee from Nazi Germany (I was sent out on a *Kindertransport*) it is especially painful to see Israel, which we thought would be a shining example to the world, as the cruel oppressor. I had no problem going to jail for the Civil Rights movement in the Sixties, but it's been very difficult to criticize Israeli policy in front of other Jews. Thank you for your vision and your work. I can't help organize, but I'll participate.



INGRID FRANK
New York, NY

To the Editor:

Your ad is not only anti-Israel, it is anti-Jewish. Many Jews sympathetic to your approach, including myself, are now distancing themselves from you. You've done great harm to our cause. Israel did not acquire the "occupied territories" in colonial-imperial fashion, but in the course of three wars, each of which was started by its Arab neighbors who never recognized Israel (even at its original borders) and have persistently refused to either make peace or to negotiate. They still do.

SOL SHALIT
Washington, DC

Editor Responds:

The Palestinian people did not support or start the 1967 War which led to the conquest of the West Bank. On March 27, 2002, the surrounding Arab states offered peace to Israel on condition of return to the pre-1967 boundaries and dealing with the civilian refugees from previous wars. On March 28, 2002, using as an excuse the terrorist attack by a group of fundamentalists seeking to destroy any possibility of peace, Israel responded to the surrounding Arab states by intensifying its incursion into the West Bank and began a crusade to wipe out the Palestinian Authority, just as we had predicted it would do a few months ago.

To the Editor:

Keep up the good work. You are responsible for the deaths of many Israelis because you are giving moral equivalance to Palestinian terrorists. They are murderers and fiends who blow up Jewish women and children. And after they are through killing all the Jews in Israel and wiping Israel off the map, they will come after you. Appeasement never, never works.

STEPHEN KANE
Boynton Beach, FL

To the Editor:

I'm sending ten dollars to help further your admirable cause. Sorry it can't be more. I'm eighty-one years old and living on Social Security.

When I was a member of the crew of Haganah ship *Exodus 1947* I dreamt there would be a State of Israel living in peace with its Arab neighbors. I never expected that in fifty-three years there would be a butcher like Ariel Sharon and settlements on Arab territory.

I wish you good luck in your noble efforts for a true and lasting peace.

ELI KALM
Santa Barbara, CA

To the Editor:

I'm not sure what you think you are going to accomplish by this ad campaign of yours, besides the obvious, showing how divisive the Jewish people are at the moment. In addition, you are feeding directly into the hands of those who love to show Israel and Jewish people in a bad light. We have a hard enough time as a people dealing with lack of Jewish support around the world as well as the recent surge in anti-Semitic sentiment; we must stand united (*Am Echad Lev Echad*) and not add "fuel to the fire."

I do not know exactly of the conditions you or the respective petitioners are referring to; however, I do know that on a daily basis the Palestinian Army and their related terrorist cells are targeting innocent civilians. What you and the others are doing is re-directing people's focus from the daily killings of your fellow brothers and sisters, not to mention the fact that you are indirectly legitimizing the Palestinians barbaric methods during the past eighteen months. There are those that claim the terrorists acts are in self-defense, and your campaign may reinforce those ludicrous claims.

This is not time for people to join the *Erav Rav*, but rather it's time for *Klal Yisrael* to join forces to unite and fight for our right to exist. I suggest you spend your time and money wisely and don't let your legacy be one of as an American rabbi who did not stand with his people and perhaps even responsible for further Jewish bloodshed.

MARC ZWEBNER
Teaneck, NJ

Israel and Palestine

To the Editor:

You neglect to report on the majority of Israeli Jews who in fact want to be tougher on Arafat's terrorist organizations and fail to report on the even greater numbers of demonstrators of the "right wing." The few hundred reservists you mention are a very small minority. TIKKUN or anyone who still insists on "negotiating," or that there exists something else but a state of war between Israel and the so called "Palestinians" under Arafat is blind and dangerous. Fifty years ago, some of us Jews couldn't conceive of gas chambers, of men that evil, the kind that incinerated little babies and their mothers. Up until the doors of Auschwitz, we couldn't believe it. Today those who can't believe the "Palestinian" agenda are suicidally stupid.

Judaism teaches: "If someone comes to kill you, kill him first." There's no room for: compromise, dialogue, accomodating the U.S. State Deptartment or world opinion. Arafat never rescinded his declaration of his aim to destroy Israel. His purpose is to annihilate Israel. Learning from world history, Israel must first defeat its enemy completely and render them helpless before talking peace. Israeli Arabs hostile to Israel should be expelled—unless they agree to live peace-

Note: The article *Sephardic Renaissance*, by Kyla Wazana, which appeared in the March/April 2002 issue of TIKKUN, was produced under the George Washington Williams Fellowship for Journalists of Color, a program sponsored by the Independent Press Association and funded by the Ford Foundation.

fully under the laws of the Jewish State. All Jewish lands given to the Arabs must be returned to Israel. Then there will be security, and eventually—G-d willing—peace will come and thousands of Jewish and Arab lives will be saved.

AARON SERUYA
San Francisco, CA

To the Editor:

Having been brought up in the Labor Zionist movement and having reassessed my feeling about the possibility of acheiving peace with the current Palestinians, I can respect the ideas of the left-wing Peace Now crowd while I personally reject them. What I cannot respect is the anti-democratic attitudes expressed vis-à-vis the organized effort to damage the IDF. Israel learned its lesson early on with its uncompromising destruction of the Altalena arms ship of the Irgun: one elected government controlling the critical resources of the state. From then on, solidiers, Left and Right, have performed their duties apolitically (the dismantling of Yamit for example) to the strength and benefit of Israel. I resent your support for an organized movement that attempts to deprive me of my democratic rights to elect a government and carry out its responsibilities according to their mandate (first Barak and then Sharon received their mandate).

Your anti-democratic values speak volumes about your respect for Jews who happen not to agree with you and happen to be in the majority. By the way, not even Meretz can support the reservists position. At the risk of making this personal, Mr. Lerner and his friends sit in their insular bubble and like to pontificate, while Jews of good will (the same ones who were willing to suspend disbelief and go along with Barak) wonder whether they'll survive a cup of coffee in Jerusalem.

RICHARD BAMBERGER
Herndon, VA

Editor Responds:

We are being consistent. Many of us also resisted the democratic choice of the U.S. government to pursue the war in Vietnam, and the democratic choice of southern states to support segregation. But there's one difference: Israel can't rule over three million Palestinians, deny them the right to vote inside Israel, deny them the right to create their own independent state, and still claim to be a democracy. There is not even a prima facie claim to follow orders that enforce a non-democratic occupation in such a society.

To the Editor:

You go through great pains to disassociate Israel from Western imperialism. You do this at a time when F16s are bombing refugee camps in Palestine and the Israeli coalition government is preparing the population for another round of ethnic cleansing.

For you there may be some unsullied Zionism where the intent to harm Arabs is not the unifying principle. But Israel is about facts on the ground, so to speak, not American Jewish wishes for a state to represent their best selves.

So long as Israel bars the refugees from 1948 a rightful, legal, and just return to their homes and actual lands, any talk of peace is merely a demand for Arab surrender. And that will, hopefully, not be forthcoming.

It is only the racism inherent in Zionism that allows you to continue believing it is not a colonialist system. You don't intend for it to be oppression, yet after fifty years it is clear that oppression is the defining characteristic of the Jewish State. You refuse to give up the ghost. One group here in New York has finally mustered the courage to speak up for a just solution—Jews Against the Occupation (JATO) has openly called for the Palestinian right to return. While this is a reasonable demand, and one fully backed by the United Nations and every country bordering Israel, American Jews continue to view this as some form of extremism. It is not. It is justice.

Until you come to grips with that, you are still mere apologists for the fascism gripping the Jewish community.

For democracy and a one-state solution,

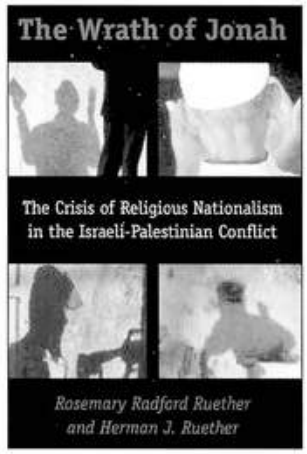
JED BRANDT
New York, NY

To the Editor:

I agree that anti-Semitism is wrong and has no place in the world, but I must also add that the conditions of Palestinians in Israel and the Occupied Territories must change before there can be any reasoning with those who equate Zionism with racism. From what I have seen, the Palestinian people are regarded as third-class and not worthy of equal protection under the law in Israel. Its also

(continued on page 55)

RELIGIOUS NATIONALISM



ROSEMARY RADFORD RUETHER and HERMAN J. RUETHER

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EDITORIAL

Prophetic Witness

Michael Lerner

Most Americans and most Israelis are unable to acknowledge the magnitude of horror that has been happening in the past weeks in the Middle East.

The trauma inflicted on both peoples has been immense, and we will be paying the price for decades to come. The inaction of the United States was a covert "go-ahead" message to Ariel Sharon, and he used that go-ahead message to decimate the institutions and infrastructure of Palestinian society. The pain doesn't disappear just because the tanks have withdrawn from the cities they ravaged.

After witnessing the unimpeded slaughter of innocents on both sides, we at TIKKUN were impelled to call for nonviolent civil disobedience in protest of the U.S. policy of inaction, and in support of the following demands:

- creation of an international force to separate and protect Israelis and Palestinians from each other.
- resumption of an international negotiations process on the basis of the Saudi proposal.
- immediate resumption of Israeli-Palestinian negotiations on the basis of the negotiations at Taba in 2001. These negotiations must explicitly include a commitment from the Israelis to ending the Occupation, to sharing Jerusalem, and to creating an international consortium capable of providing reparations to the Palestinian people, as well as a commitment from the Palestinians to end all acts of terror against Israeli civilians.
- true repentance by both sides for the cruelty and violence inflicted upon each other.

Our activist arm, The TIKKUN Community, has functioned as a catalyst to awaken the energies and interests of people around the world who share our horror at the carnage. Created to be, in part, the progressive pro-Israel alternative to AIPAC, The TIKKUN Community offers a voice of sanity and reason which recognizes that Israeli self-interest (as well as Jewish morality) requires that Israel have a full reconciliation with the Palestinian people.

We insist that Palestinians and Israelis are equally precious in God's eyes and that the loss of life on both sides is equally tragic and unnecessary. The Planetary Consciousness which we proclaim recognizes that the well-being of each of us depends on the well-being of all of us. These themes, developed more fully in the *State of the Spirit* address (in this issue of TIKKUN on p. 33), must be applied to the crisis in the Middle East. In doing so, we approach both sides in a spirit of compassion for the terrible pain that both have suffered, and a passionate commitment to alleviate that suffering. Yet compassion requires speaking with honesty and integrity, even when that forces us to confront difficult truths. This is what we mean by Prophetic Witness.

The Occupation

To effectively protest the current violence, we must understand its history.

Hundreds of thousands of ordinary Palestinian civilians lost their homes in 1948, when the State of Israel was created. They and their children, grandchildren, and great-grandchildren have been living in exile, many of them in refugee camps that have some of the worst living conditions in the world. Since 1967, over two million Palestinians have been living under the rule of an Israeli military occupation.

The Palestinian opposition to the return of Jewish refugees to their ancient homeland was fundamentally wrong, immoral, and humanly insensitive. The vast majority of those seeking refuge in Palestine in the years 1920–1948 were people who were desperately jumping from the burning buildings of Europe, escaping persecution, seeking to avoid the gas chambers and crematoria.

But we landed on the backs of the Palestinian people. And because our pain was so intense we were unable to acknowledge their experience: that Zionists had bought land from absentee landlords and displaced Palestinian families who had been working the land for generations; that Zionists had built a "socialist" labor movement and "socialist" kibbutzim which refused membership to Palestinians; and that some Zionist parties talked explicitly of throwing Palestinians out of their land even before the 1940s. So when they saw hundreds of thousands of us arriving in their land, they resisted, sometimes violently. And that resistance was all we, the Jewish people, needed to convince us that these Arabs were only the latest instantiation of an experience we had been having all our lives: the non-Jews would always hate us.

Instead of listening to their fears, and acknowledging that the sudden appearance of a huge European population in their midst would understandably generate upset and would need years of healing and patient working through of anxieties, we instead treated every act of resistance to our coming as a proof that we were dealing with the worst non-



Palestinian men lie down on the street as they surrender to Israeli Defense Forces in downtown Ramallah Saturday, March 30, 2002.

PHOTOGRAPH BY NASSER NASSER / AP WIDE WORLD PHOTOS

Jews, perceived by some of us as "indistinguishable from Hitler," and as people who had brought upon themselves their own suffering.

So when Palestinians fled their homes, Israelis decided to never let them return. Imagine how we would have felt in similar circumstances if, after the hostilities had ceased, we were told that we could not return to our homes, which were being taken over by others, ransacked, remodeled, sold, or torn down. No wonder that the founding of Israel, an event that we the Jewish people celebrate as a modern day miracle, is remembered by the Palestinians as "*al nakba,*" the disaster.

Every act of violence by Palestinians since then has been interpreted by us not as an act of desperation by a displaced people, but as part of a scenario to wipe us out just like the Nazis.

So after our 1967 victory against Egypt, Jordan, and Syria, instead of allowing the Palestinian people (who had been occupied by Jordan and had not chosen to be involved in the 1967 war) to shape a state for themselves, Israel proceeded to set up settlements under the protective cover of the Israeli army. Eventually the Palestinian people rebelled (Intifada I) and their rebellion led to a negotiating process that led to the Oslo accords, which were supposed to provide for a five-year process of disengagement by Israel from the West Bank and Gaza. But from the standpoint of daily life on the ground, the Occupation grew worse after Oslo.

The army built an extensive set of roads, crisscrossing Palestinian lands, and set up check-points throughout the West Bank, so that whenever Palestinians wished to move from one place to another they were forced to wait in line for hours at a check point and experience humiliating and time-consuming body searches. There were systematic attempts to force Palestinians to move out of their lands and Israel bulldozed many Palestinian homes.

Most disillusioning of all: instead of ending the Occupation, Israel increased the number of West Bank settlers from 120,000 in 1993 (when Oslo was signed) to 200,000 in 2000 (when Ehud Barak went to Camp David).

The failure of this second-round of Camp David negotiations to produce a resolution to the conflict was unfairly blamed on the Palestinian people (read the details in Ian Lustick's piece, p. 11), but in fact the Palestinians continued to negotiate with Israel until Israel broke off the process once Ariel Sharon was elected to replace Ehud Barak.

Sharon had never accepted the Oslo accords, and his agenda has always been to reoccupy as much of the West Bank as his American patrons would allow. His strategy has always been to destroy the Palestinian Authority and allow Hamas and other extremists to take over, which would then legitimate Israeli expansion into the West Bank and the dismantling of the Palestinian Authority (few would argue against Israeli conquest of Palestine if the only alternative were terrorists).

So Sharon proceeded to increase the level of repression on the Palestinian people, confident that some would respond with violence, which could then be used to justify assassinations of "suspected terrorists" (no need for a trial—

just murder them) who turned out to be the leaders of Palestinian society.

So far, this plan has largely worked for Sharon. Each new act of Palestinian retaliation has brought new levels of violence by the Israeli army, finally culminating in full-scale reoccupation of major civilian centers.

The Terror Campaign Against Israel

There is little question that Palestinians would have resisted the Israeli Occupation with armored tanks, planes, and conventional warfare—had the Palestinians had an army. But the Palestinians were in 1967, and remain to this day, a people without an army, without an air force, without tanks, without heavy artillery. And so, as their disappointment at Israel's failure to withdraw from the West Bank grew more intense, so too did ordinary Palestinians' disillusionment with Yassir Arafat and his Palestinian Authority. More and more Palestinians were attracted to Hamas or other extremist groups who never wanted any kind of reconciliation with Israel because they had their own maximalist fantasies of totally destroying Israel. Terror seemed the only tool of resistance they could imagine.

TIKKUN unequivocally condemned the growing popularity of suicide bombers as "martyrs" for the cause. Particularly over the last few years, as Israeli repression increased and the PLO seemed increasingly ineffective, more Palestinians began to cheer as a small handful took up the instruments of terror—planting bombs or becoming themselves suicide bombers, destroying Israeli civilians as they blew themselves up. True enough, there were few methods of struggle that a powerless people had available to it. Yet the suicide bombers have been a particularly noxious way to seek freedom. We have consistently maintained that the Palestinians would already have achieved a state had they followed the strategy of Martin Luther King Jr. and Mahatma Gandhi and made a principled commitment to nonviolence as a way of life.

We, and most other Jews, have been in deep mourning for the many, many victims of these suicide bombings. These victims are ordinary Israeli civilians living their lives, shopping in malls, sitting in coffee shops, dancing at nightclubs, or riding buses to work or school. None of them deserved to die. It means little to us to be told, "Well, neither did any of the Palestinian civilians killed by the occupying army." Of course that's also true, but it doesn't alleviate the pain and shock and horror of these murders of our own people.

So let us be very clear: these acts of terror are murder. They are immoral acts. We may "understand" their context and the reasons why people do them, but we find them detestable, outrageous, and totally unacceptable.

Not only are these acts of terror immoral, but they are the worst thing that could happen to the Jewish people. We have had a long history of feeling that everyone is against us. It is that trauma that needs to be cured before we can live in harmony with other peoples. Suicide bombers increase the trauma and convince us that danger could be any place, come at us unexpectedly from any direction; such bombings reconfirm our worst fears that the world is fundamentally dangerous and that we need power to protect ourselves. We see how these dynamics have distorted American society in the seven months since September 11, so it's not hard to see how much greater the distortion might be in an Israel that has been facing these kinds of terror attacks throughout its existence.

And the terror attacks are the worst thing that could happen to the Palestinian people. They have undermined the voices of the peace forces in Israel and have led many Israelis to embrace the most extreme elements in Israeli society. Suddenly we see a dramatic growth of support (45 percent in April) for "transfer" of West Bank Palestinians (a polite way to describe ethnic cleansing), and even for transfer of the quiescent Israeli Arab citizens (25 percent support in April). No wonder, then, that the Passover eve massacre in Netanyah gave Ariel Sharon yet another excuse for a massive assault on the Palestinian people.

Israel's Gratuitous Violence Against Civilians

Though a few thousand Palestinians have guns and a few hundred have mortars, most of the Palestinian people are defenseless against the most powerful army in the Middle East. This spring, when Israeli tanks rolled into large Palestinian population centers, they did not focus solely on the small pockets of armed resistance. IDF strategists admitted that the goal was punitive—to make the Palestinian people suffer for the crimes of the terrorists.

What ensued was a rampage that will forever make a mockery of the IDF's notion of "purity of arms." Israeli tanks shelled civilian buildings. Troops stormed through apartments, terrorizing families, destroying whatever could be destroyed, looting money, and gratuitously destroying precious possessions. The details of this atrocity are documented at our website www.tikkun.org, so keep in daily touch. Please send us your email so that we can keep you informed.

Though Ariel Sharon talked about dismantling the infrastructure of terror, he was doing just the opposite. The dead and wounded will be avenged by future generations of Palestinian haters. Violence will beget more violence. There is only way to dismantle the infrastructure of terror: provide a generous and open-hearted reconciliation with the Palestinian people, even at this moment when we are still grieving from the losses they have imposed on us. It will still be easier for us to take the first steps in that direction than for those who still are powerless before Israel's might.

Immediate Solution

Palestinians are unlikely to greet the withdrawal of Israeli troops and tanks from their cities with a new determination to repress all terror. As long as they feel surrounded

and unable to defend themselves, symbolized best by the imprisonment of Arafat in his compound by Israeli tanks, Palestinians will look to the armed resisters as their only source of pride and their only symbol of power. That is just one of many reasons why we are calling for the United States to support and send troops to be part of an international force to separate the two sides, and provide protection to each. Palestinian violence must end—but that will not happen until a greater incentive in terms of a real settlement to the conflict, along lines we've specified, is offered them—not the hollow gesture of troops and tanks being withdrawn so that they sit outside the cities they have just destroyed, ready to re-enter the moment Sharon chooses to do so.

Oslo was the test of the possibility of these two peoples making peace on their own. That process has failed. Peace will require the active and forceful intervention of the international community imposing a settlement on both sides. That settlement must include security for Israel within its pre-1967 borders (slightly adjusted to allow the incorporation of Jewish sections of Jerusalem and Gush Etziyon), the sharing of Jerusalem, generous reparations for the Palestinian refugees, and a Palestinian state with economic support sufficient not only to rebuild the damage done by Israel but to create an infrastructure sufficient to make it economically viable.

We should learn from Bosnia: don't wait for UN intervention until after ethnic cleansing has taken place—it is needed now, before the next disaster occurs. Israeli troops must go back to the pre-1967 borders and be replaced by a large and well-equipped international peace force. Anything less than what we have proposed will be meaningless—an attempt for George Bush to buy time while he conducts his war in Iraq. We should not let him get away with that. Nor should we accept attempts by Ariel Sharon to create "buffer zones," which actually means incorporating large sections of the West Bank into Israel, just as he unsuccessfully tried to do in Lebanon.

Do Not Despair

This is a painful time for all of us who hope for a world of peace and justice. So many people have reverted to a deep depression about the possibility of anything but endless war. Yet it is that very belief which is the most dangerous element of the picture and likely to be self-fulfilling.

Our task is to proclaim another possibility. People in Israel and Palestine want the same things that everyone else wants: a life of peace, justice, love, dignity, fulfillment. Even in this dark hour, we need to remember and honor the humanity and decency of most people on both sides of this conflict. And we need to reassert our deepest commitment to a world in which love and caring, generosity and openheartedness, repentance and compassion will ultimately triumph. This is our Prophetic Witness.

Join Us

Here's how you can help:

- Fill out and mail the postcards between pages 16 and 17. Now is the time to make sure your senator and your president hear your voice for peace.
- Create some form of *non-violent* "direct action" in your locality. Create a tent city in front of city hall or in front of a nearby federal building to demonstrate the conditions our U.S. arms are creating for the Palestinian people. Or rent a group of bulldozers and drive them slowly through the streets of your area with signs making the point that Israel has been bulldozing Palestinian homes. Or in some other way, dramatize what is happening. But also give focus to Palestinian terror as unacceptable—our desire is not to stigmatize one side, because both have created this mess.
- Help us create a day-long set of meetings with "opinion shapers" in your community—so that we can provide education for a balanced perspective. If you want to be an educator in this process, come to our activist trainings. We will have a booklet, *Healing the Middle East Mess,* with a more detailed history, analysis, and hints for organizing available for sale by June—send us $15 and we will mail it to you as soon as it is printed.
- Send letters in support of peace to your local media. Clip out or make copies of TIKKUN articles like this one and send it to reporters, asking them to provide a more balanced account of the situation in Israel. For guidance, go to the Media section of our website www.tikkun.org.
- Check our website every day, at www.tikkun.org, for events you can attend and projects you can do. Check particularly the sections labeled "Current Thinking," "TIKKUN Forums," "Current Projects," and the calendar under "TIKKUN Events." Plus add your own info to "The Directory."
- Come volunteer at our San Francisco office. Or form a local TIKKUN Community group. Come to the training for activists (July 4–7 at Walker Creek Ranch in Northern California, or August 10–14 at Omega Institute in Rhinebeck, NY). Help us organize a national conference of students (October 11–14 in New York City). Or join our Rapid Response network. Information on all these projects is at www.tikkun.org; contact us directly by email at community@tikkun.org or call Liat at 415-575-1200.
- We need contributions of $1000, $500, $250, $100 or whatever you can put behind these ideas. We want to buy more ads (like the one reprinted on page 4) in American and Israeli newspapers advocating peace. Make checks out to "The TIKKUN Community" and send them to 2107 Van Ness Avenue, Suite 302, San Francisco, CA 94109.

And thanks and blessings to all of you who have already generously donated to keep our voice being heard in the public arena. ❑

State Terrorism in Israel?

Lev Grinberg

What is the difference between state terrorism and individual terrorist acts? If we understand this difference we'll also understand the evilness of U.S. policies in the Middle East. Israel's state terrorism is defined by U.S. officials as "self-defense," while individual suicide bombers are called "terrorists." Yassir Arafat is kept hostage in his own offices for not doing "enough" to condemn and combat terrorism, while Ariel Sharon is given the OK to continue his invasion of Palestinian cities.

There is a difference between Israeli and Palestinian acts of agression—the difference is that Israeli aggression is the direct responsibility of Ariel Sharon, Benjamin Ben Eliezer, Shimon Peres, and Shaul Mofaz, while individual terrorist acts are done by individuals in despair, usually against Arafat's will. One hour after Arafat declared his support for a ceasefire and wished the Jews a happy Passover feast, a suicide bomber exploded himself in an hotel in Netanya, killing twenty-six innocent Jews celebrating Passover. Arafat was blamed for this act, and the IDF re-occupation of the West Bank has been justified through this accusation.

Every Israeli terror attack is always justified in terms of the last Palestinian terror attack, ignoring the fact that each attack is part of an unfinished circle of mutual violence and futile retaliation. This was the case with the killing of Israeli Minister Rehavaam Zeevi, which served to legitimize the seige of Arafat. What was neglected was the fact that Zeevi was killed in retaliation for the targeted killing of Abu Ali Moustafa, the secretary general of the Paletinian Popular Front, the second largest party in the PLO. All of Israel's military activities and repression since the beginning of December were based on the demand that Arafat arrest the killers of Zeevi. Why did no one demand that the killers of Abu Ali Moustafa be arrested? Because the Israeli government killed him.

Suicide bombs killing innocent citizens must be unequivocally condemned; they are immoral acts, and their perpetrators should be sent to jail. We will not be able to continue living together in Israel and Palestine if these acts are not uprooted. However they cannot be compared to state terrorism carried out by the Israeli government. The former are individual acts of despair of a people that sees no future, vastly ignored by an unfair and distorted international public opinion. The latter are cold and "rational" decisions of a state and a military apparatus of occupation, well-equipped, financed, and backed by the only superpower in the world.

I would like to ask: Who should be arrested for the targeted killing of almost 100 Palestinians? Who will be sent to jail for the killing of more than 120 Palestinian paramedics? Who will be sentenced for the killing of more than 1,200 Palestinians and for the collective punishment of more than 3,000,000 civilians during the last eighteen months? And who will face the International Tribunal for the illegal settlement of occupied Palestinian lands, and for disobeying UN decisions for more than 35 years? When is Sharon going to be defined as a terrorist, too?

How long will the U.S. government ignore the Palestinian cry that all they want is freedom and independence? When will it stop neglecting the fact that the goal of the Israeli Government is not security, but the continued occupation and subjugation of the Palestinian people? Only when Arafat has an independent state, with borders and well-equipped policemen and intelligence, will he be able to be fully responsible to his citizens. Only when Arafat is able to achieve the goal of Palestinian independence and supply security to the Palestinian population will he be able to legitimize an open struggle against any kind of terror.

As Israelis in the opposition, we are fighting against our government, but the international support that Sharon receives is constantly jeopardizing our struggle. International public opinion must be reversed, and the UN must deploy intervention forces to stop the bloodshed and restore water, electricity, medical aid, and other necessities to Palestinian cities whose supplies have been cut off by Israel. The obstacle to this deployment is the United States, whose policies still define Israel as the side that is suffering terrorist attacks, and de-legitimize the Palestinian struggle for independence as terror. No nation has reached independence without struggle. It is absurd that we are still witnessing, in the twenty-first century, a case of occupation where the dominant side is seen as the victim.

Israelis and Palestinians desperately need the awakening of the international community's public opinion and a reversal in the global attitude. These are needed both in order to save our lives (literally), and to preserve our hope for a better future. ❑

Lev Grinberg is a political sociologist and director of the Humphrey Institute for Social Research at Ben Gurion University.

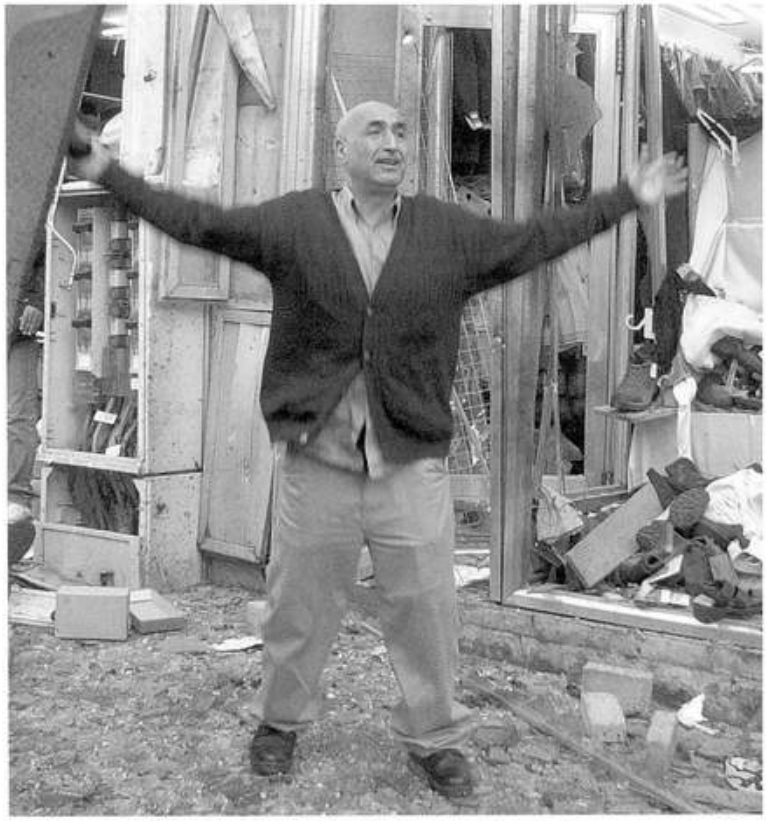
ISRAEL

Through Blood and Fire Shall Peace Arise

Ian S. Lustick

The most unfortunate aspect of the failed Camp David summit (Camp David II) in the summer of 2000 was *not* the failure to produce a signed peace agreement between Israel and the Palestinians. After all, this was the very first time the two sides had actually faced the toughest issues between them—borders, settlements, Jerusalem, and refugees. The odds against such a spectacular success on the first attempt were enormous. Nor was the most unfortunate consequence the tide of violence that erupted after the summit's failure, a spiral of distrust and hatred triggered by Ariel Sharon's visit to the Temple Mount/Haram el-Sharif in September, the heavy-handed response to this violence by Israeli police and soldiers, and the intense, long-simmering discontent of Palestinians in the West Bank and Gaza Strip. No, the single most unfortunate consequence of the Camp David failure has been the utterly wrong idea that Israeli proposals met or exceeded minimum Palestinian requirements—and that the impossibility of reaching a two-state solution was proven by their rejection. Clearing away these catastrophic misimpressions is a tremendous analytic, communicative, and political task, although one that, ironically, is helped along by the clarifying effect of unbearable pain.

The crescendo of violence and bloodshed we have witnessed in Israel and the occupied territories has begun to reopen many eyes, both in the United States and in Israel. This is not unusual. Painful losses suffered by Israelis (sometimes accompanied by direct and irresistible pressure from Washington) have been the prelude to every territorial withdrawal the country has ever made: whether from Sinai in 1948, 1957, 1975, or 1981; Kuneitra after the Yom Kippur War; Lebanon after the Lebanon War; or Palestinian cities after the first intifada. Understanding this pattern, and the political dynamics it reflects, makes the loss of life over the last year and a half no less tragic. It can, however, offer hope that the suffering in the streets of Israeli cities and the rubble of so many Palestinian cities and villages reflect more than a vortex of irrational hatreds. Logics are at work—bloody logics—but logics all the same. If past history is a guide, the kind of suffering Israelis and Palestinians are now enduring is probably a necessity before they become sufficiently receptive to renewed attempts to achieve a negotiated peace based on the "Clinton parameters"—the thirteen points President Clinton specified just before he left office, which describe with admirable precision the workable terms of Israeli-Palestinian agreement on refugees, Jerusalem, settlements, and borders (copies of Clinton's talk, "Remarks by the President at Israel Policy Forum Gala" given at the Waldorf Astoria Hotel, New York, on January 7, 2001, are available at http://usinfo.state.gov). The refuseniks of the Israeli Army are paving the way for the next round of peace.



A man screams for help minutes after a Palestinian suicide bomber blew himself up in downtown Jerusalem Thursday, March 21, 2002, killing at least two and wounding at least 42 people.

PHOTOGRAPH BBY IVAN BENITEZ / AP WIDE WORLD PHOTOS

> *The crescendo of violence and bloodshed ... has begun to reopen many eyes, both in the United States and in Israel.*

The yawning abyss of suffering and destruction opening before our eyes highlights the Camp David II negotiations as by far the best failure we have ever had and provides powerful encouragement as to the possibility, and even proximity, of peace based on the "two states for two peoples" formula. Because a settlement based on two states, one Israeli and

Ian S. Lustick is professor of political science at the University of Pennsylvania and the author of Unsettled States, Disputed Lands: Britain and Ireland, France and Algeria, Israel and the West Bank/Gaza.

one Palestinian, is the only vision of a negotiated solution that has ever attracted majority support among Israelis and Palestinians (or among any Arab or Israeli leaders who have seriously engaged in negotiations since the late 1970s), every attempt to move toward a negotiated settlement can be measured by the distance it travels toward reaching the establishment of a real Palestinian state in the West Bank and Gaza Strip. With this criterion in mind, we can see that there have been three kinds of "peace" policies adopted by Israeli governments over the last twenty-five years. These policies contributed to the failure of various "peace processes" in three distinct ways. Prime Ministers Begin, Shamir, and Netanyahu each adopted variations on the theme of pretending to negotiate seriously while actually seeking to destroy any prospects for substantive success toward a two-state solution, by using the negotiations to camouflage massive and pre-emptive settlement of the West Bank and Gaza or to discredit the process itself. Prime Ministers Rabin, Peres, and Barak (in the first half of his brief tenure in office), adopted policies of gradualism, dissimulation, and fact-creation to avoid facing the real issues between the two sides, and to establish limits on the Palestinian state that would be as politically comfortable for Israel as possible, regardless of its consequences for the Palestinians. The Camp David II accords, however, proposed by Barak in 2000, though flawed in the details of their substance and presentation, nonetheless represented a new approach to peace. In these negotiations, Barak offered a genuine basis for moving to the actual achievement of a two-state solution. His failure was dramatic, but it was the result of tactical errors, not strategic intent or strategic error.

Prime Ministers Begin, Shamir, and Netanyahu *pursued failure as a strategic objective*—pretending to negotiate while seeking to destroy any prospects for a two-state solution. Their supposed efforts to achieve peace with the Palestinians—meaning addressing the key questions of borders, settlements, Jerusalem, and refugees—resemble a mountain-climbing expedition whose leaders are afraid of heights, but won't admit it. These were "expeditions" that never left the base camp.

Prime Ministers Rabin, Peres, and Barak (again in the first half of his brief tenure in office) did negotiate with the Palestinians at Oslo (after suffering a painful rise in Palestinian violence against Israelis in 1993), but avoided the key issues. They *ensured failure by strategic error*. Each hoped to use time and fact creation to produce a phony Palestinian state, one that would be as comfortable for Israel as possible regardless of its consequences for the requirements of the Palestinians. They avoided tackling the key problems, deferring them for the "permanent status" talks. They were mountain-climbers who left the base camp but circled the mountain rather than seeking to ascend it.

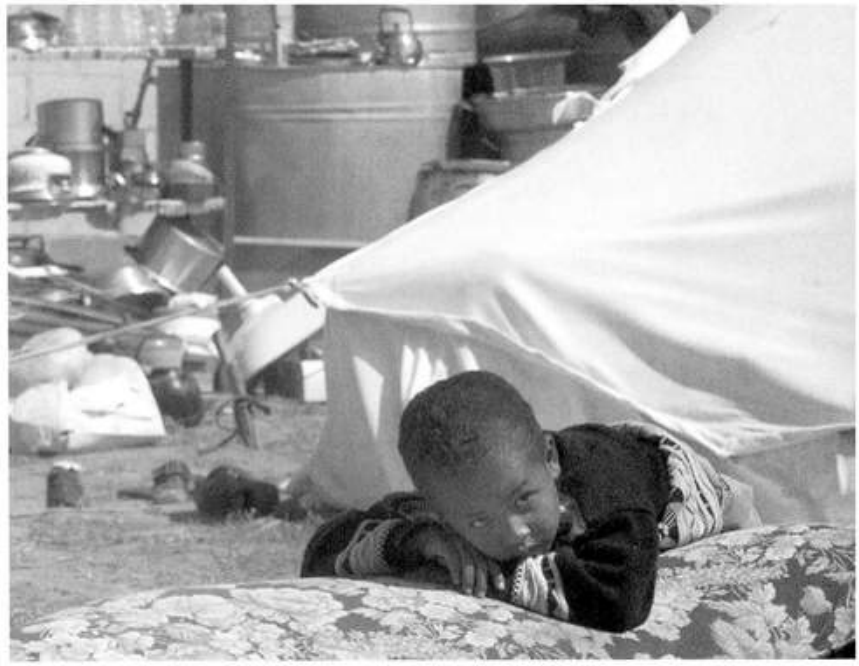
But late in 1999 Barak changed his policy. He made proposals flawed in the details of their substance and presentation, yet representing a real basis for moving toward a two-state solution. He contributed to failure, not by strategic error but by *tactical blunder*, a fact clearly apparent from the success of Israeli-Palestinian talks at Taba just a few months after Camp David II. Once Barak abandoned traditional Israeli demands for sovereignty over Muslim holy places, for keeping existing settlements, and for a West Bank divided into more than one hundred Palestinian pieces, virtually all the main issues were resolved, leaving negotiators just a few months from an agreement. Unlike any Israeli leader before him, Barak actually led the expedition up the mountain, though he failed to reach the top.

Looking back, we may ask which is more amazing—that an Israeli government climbed 95 percent of the way to the summit of peace on its first real attempt, or that most observers believe that the failure to reach the summit that first time proves the futility of ever trying it again. In any case, the traumatic effect of the collapse at Camp David II requires a more careful look at the evolution of Barak's peace policies. His 1999 victory was at least partially due to Netanyahu's failure to convince the Israeli public that the Palestinians alone were to blame for the stagnation of the peace process. Upon winning the election, Barak claimed a mandate to negotiate more actively toward a Palestinian state. However, in an effort to isolate the Palestinians and weaken Arafat's negotiating position, Barak imitated Rabin and spent most of his first year trying hard to reach a peace treaty with Syria. But Syria refused to budge from its all or nothing demands. The situation in the territories continued to deteriorate. Economic distress intensified, political repression increased, and the Palestinian Authority (PA) became less reliable as a subcontractor for Israeli security.

Although Barak made some forward motion on issues of safe passage and Gaza port construction, he allowed virtually all the settlement construction authorized by Netanyahu to proceed and undertook the paving of bypass roads at a feverish and disruptive pace. In general, in this phase, Barak did not go very much beyond the Rabin-Peres strategy of gradualism, indirection, and delay. The effect of this approach was to force the PA to bear almost all the political burdens of reaching a settlement so as to shield the center of the Israeli political spectrum from hard truths, and to keep the right-wing and the settlers off-balance.

But this position began to change in December 1999/January 2000, when Barak launched trial balloons regarding the possibility of Palestinian rule over Arab neighborhoods in East Jerusalem. By the spring of 2000 it was becoming apparent that Barak had decided on a change in policy.

With President Clinton nearing the end of his term in office, a September 2000 deadline loomed. Barak pushed very hard for a summit and a do-or-die effort to achieve a conflict-ending comprehensive agreement. Although the Palestinians pleaded with Washington not to go forward



A Palestinian boy lies beside the tent where his family is now living after their home was bulldozed by Israeli troops in the village of Mograka, Gaza Strip, Monday, March 18, 2002.

PHOTOGRAPH BY CHARLES DHARAPAK / AP WIDE WORLD PHOTOS

with the summit without more preparation, Clinton insisted and Arafat could not refuse. Despite the length of this Camp David summit (it lasted almost two weeks), and despite the unprecedented discussions that took place on crucial issues—including exact final borders, settlements, Jerusalem, and the refugees—it was clear from early on that it would fail. Indeed, not only did it fail to produce agreement, but its failure set the stage for the explosion of the Al-Aqsa intifada, the eruption of a virtual war in the occupied territories, the final demise of the Oslo peace process, and the rise to power in Israel of Ariel Sharon—a man whose career has been based on rejection of a viable Palestinian state, maintaining the indivisibility of the enlarged municipality of Jerusalem, and on expansion of Jewish settlements in the West Bank and Gaza Strip.

Why, then, did this last, and most promising effort fail? First let us recognize that the list of causes of this failure does not include some of the most significant causes of previous failures. Unlike each of the Likud governments, this Israeli government actually wanted the negotiations to succeed, with the centerpiece of their success the establishment of an independent Palestinian state. Nor was it the case, as it had been in the mid-1980s, that Palestinian quiescence had lulled Israelis into a sense that there was no need to reach painful compromises with the Palestinians. Public opinion polls showed that even though Israelis opposed specific elements in the agreement Barak was pursuing, when these elements were combined and then coupled with a promise of the end of the conflict, most Israelis were ready to be supportive. Finally, unlike the timid and gradualist strategies adopted under Oslo by Rabin and Peres, and by Barak himself during the first half of his tenure, Barak did finally commit himself to an aggressive, high profile, and dramatic course of action to achieve a peace settlement based on an independent Palestinian state. Instead of seeing political payoffs in gradualism, obfuscation of negotiating objectives, and deferral of difficult issues, the Prime Minister of Israel saw rapid consummation of a deal for a two-state solution as perhaps his only chance for political survival.

Small things were important in the failure of this effort. The summit was poorly prepared. Clinton made serious missteps by aligning himself too closely with Israeli positions and by not preparing the ground in Arab capitals for the heavy-lifting he would ask Arab leaders to do in support of the agreement. There was absolutely no personal chemistry between Arafat and Barak, who indeed hardly spent any time together. Barak left his best peace advocates—Yossi Beilin and Yossi Sarid—at home. His peremptory demand that Israel required sovereignty over the Temple Mount/Haram el-Sharif, though quickly abandoned, was a blunder from which the negotiations never recovered. Another was Barak's concept of non-contiguous settlement "clusters" to remain under Israeli rule, rather than contiguous "settlement blocs." The notion of settlement "clusters" portended webs of Israeli-controlled roads extending beyond the settlement blocs and much less territorial contiguity for the Palestinians than anyone thought reasonable.

Indeed Barak's entire negotiating style, based on a dramatic revelation of his far-reaching plan with the expectation that the Palestinians would simply accept it, was itself a significant obstacle. To be sure, some Barak proposals at Camp David were ground-breaking, including his willingness to trade some Israeli territory for annexed areas of the West Bank, to withdraw completely from Gaza, to permit unlimited Palestinian immigration into the new state, to withdraw from more than 90 percent of the West Bank, to recognize Palestinian governance rights (and later sovereignty) in many important neighborhoods in and around el-Quds (Arab Jerusalem), to agree to eventual Israeli withdrawal from the Jordan Valley, and to accept a resolution of the refugee issue that would include return of 70,000 Palestinian refugees into Israel proper. But not all his positions were clear at the outset. Not a word was spoken as to dismantling any West Bank settlements. It was politically impossible for the Palestinian side to accept an Israeli offer when such large concessions on settlements, borders, refugees, and Jerusalem—not to say Barak's initial demands regarding the Haram/Temple Mount—were to be required. Nor could they make counter-offers and hope to survive accusations of betrayal should Barak respond positively.

Barak's response to Palestinian objections was a propaganda barrage designed to blame the difficulties on irrational Palestinian intransigence and the supposed Palestinian penchant for "never missing an opportunity to miss an opportunity." This line, which sold very well in the press, made it difficult for Palestinians to appreciate the importance of changes in Barak's negotiating position that

opened up room for improvements on matters relating to Jerusalem, borders, and some other questions. Meanwhile the Palestinians replied confrontationally, highlighting their in-principle demands for all of East Jerusalem, sole sovereignty over the Haram el-Sharif, and complete satisfaction of the right of return for Palestinian refugees.

These difficulties were serious. But if compared to the previous causes of failure, we can appreciate how very different they are. For the first time, what may be termed "accidental" factors played an important role—aspects of the particular time, place, personae, and circumstances of this negotiating encounter, such as Barak's errors, Clinton's errors, Arafat's anger, the shortness of time, the absence of personal trust, etc. Although a peace agreement to end a protracted conflict can be prevented by such tactical or accidental factors, no such agreement can be reached unless the sides are close enough so that such factors matter in the first place. The big news at Camp David II was that, for the first time, it was worth worrying about the negotiating strategies and talents of the leaders, rather than reporting that substantive talks failed to materialize or that the fundamental positions and objectives of the two sides made any agreement impossible.

The forces pushing toward agreement must be overwhelming and they must be strong on both sides.

The other cause for failure in the summer of 2000 attached to specific and substantive differences between the sides on how to implement a joint commitment to the two-state solution. As is clear now from the Moratinos document (the notes taken by the EU observer at the Taba negotiations between Israeli and Palestinian negotiators following the breakdown at Camp David) the sides were, apart from the posturing at Camp David, within relatively easy reach of agreements on borders, territorial exchange, demilitarization, immigration, water and technical issues, division of Jerusalem, and Jordan Valley arrangements (for details about the Taba negotiations in the Moratinos document see http://www.monde-diplomatique.fr/cahier/proche-orient/tabaminutes-texte). Yet even at Taba, some differences remained, regarding some aspects of the refugee question, the symbolic dimensions of the Temple Mount/Haram el-Sharif issue, and details of a fundamentally agreed upon plan to divide "Jerusalem" into Yerushalayim and el-Quds. This failure, however, was itself immensely important: for the first time, Israelis and Palestinians failed to reach agreement because, in talking more or less directly to each other, they could not reach *full* agreement on a few issues—Jerusalem and refugees—that were so highly freighted that they had hardly ever been formally discussed before Camp David II. But peace negotiations between Israelis and Palestinians finally had penetrated through procedural and representation questions, technical issues, and many if not most of the large substantive issues, to founder largely on tactics and on the highly inflammatory issues that all parties have recognized as requiring the kind of negotiation took place at Taba, only as the result of Camp David II.

The Role of the United States

It is natural to ask whether the failure of Camp David II was inevitable and, if not, how likely it is that future negotiations will move beyond proposals discussed there to a real peace agreement based on a State of Israel/State of Palestine solution. The short answer to the first question is: No, failure was not inevitable. But it wasn't only an outside chance either. In order to engineer a settlement of a conflict as protracted and severe as the Israeli-Palestinian conflict, the forces pushing toward agreement must be overwhelming and they must be strong on both sides. If they are not, then any number of small errors or accidents, terrorist incidents or diplomatic misjudgments, inconveniences of time or flaws of personality, can derail the attempt. The most important question is why, after all the years of deadlock, failure, and mutual pain, and in light of the absolute failure of virtually any mainstream leaders on either side to suggest realistic alternatives to the two-state solution, the forces for peace on each side have been less than overwhelming.

Space does not permit evaluation of the failures on the Palestinian side. Suffice it to say that, in many respects, by its refusal to ever allow peaceful political organization by Palestinians in the occupied territories, Israel effectively produced the kind of Palestinian leadership it now feels doomed to negotiate with. Focusing just on the Israeli side, there are two causes for the historical failure of the forces for peace. Most fundamental is the policy of creeping or de facto annexation, begun by Labor Party governments in the late 1960s and early 1970s, but enormously accelerated by subsequent Likud governments. As I have argued in detail elsewhere (as in my book, *Unsettled States, Disputed Lands: Britain and Ireland, France and Algeria, Israel and the West Bank-Gaza,* Cornell University Press, 1993; see in particular pages 7–25 and 351–438), these policies were powerfully, though not wholly, successful in transforming the costs any Israeli government would have to pay to implement a viable territorial compromise with the Palestinians.

The next most important Israeli contribution to the failure to attain a two-state solution, particularly under Oslo, was the strategic choice made by Rabin, Peres, and Barak (in his first year in office) a strategy of prolonging a step-by-step process in order to reduce the scale of political disruption inside Israel. This strategy was a profound mistake. It made the entire Oslo effort hostage for much too long to the hatreds and fears that rejectionist terrorism, provocation, and assassination could unleash. A more forthright effort to

move quickly toward a workable agreement—either right after Rabin's election, after the Hebron massacre in 1994, or after Rabin's assassination in 1995—would have had excellent prospects for success, even if the initial level of disruption inside Israel would have been high.

There is one more important explanation for the insufficient strength of peace movements on both sides, but particularly on the Israeli side: American foreign policy. The George W. Bush administration tells us, as have previous American administrations, that the United States will not pressure Israel into accepting compromises it does not want to make; that a less than thoroughly active U.S. policy is justified by the fact that the Israeli-Palestinian problem, or parts of it, are simply "not ripe" for action; and that in general we will not intervene in the affairs of another democracy to impose our preferences.

There is a fundamental, but usually overlooked, problem with this position. Consider Israel, for a moment, as a drug addict. The United States stands toward Israel as a rich benefactor might toward an addict. The benefactor knows, and will privately express the view, that the addict needs treatment, and assures the addict that when the addict decides, using his own sense of what is good and bad for him in the long run, to get treatment, that the benefactor will be there to arrange entry into a rehab facility, finance the treatment, and reward its successful conclusion. In the meantime, however, the benefactor will deposit $1,000 per month in the addict's bank account, thereby allowing him to maintain his habit.

My point is that decades of American aid to Israel at the annual rate of three to five billion dollars, and virtually complete political protection against adverse United Nations Security Council resolutions, have shielded the Israeli polity from feeling the real costs of both grandiose ambition and decisions not to decide in its policies toward the occupied territories and the Palestinians. In this context it is small wonder that many Israelis feel there was little to restrain them from indulging their hatreds, fears, and greed by making Ariel Sharon their leader. Just how sensitive the Israeli public can be to even a hint of American displeasure was revealed when Shamir lost tens of thousands of votes to Rabin in 1992 because the Bush administration expressed its opposition to settlement activity by holding up, not direct military and economic aid, but just a portion of loan guarantees for over-the-green-line housing construction. It would be a phenomenally disciplined and far-seeing drug addict who would seek treatment while receiving all the money he needed to support his habit. Similarly, it has been, and will continue to be, extremely difficult for Israel to produce a decisively strong peace movement in the face of the reality that it can receive rivers of aid from the United States, and virtually complete political protection, no matter what policies Israeli governments follow toward reaching a political solution to the Palestinian question.

In the spring of 2001 I wrote:

> Until the horrors of the current war of attrition recede there is little the United States can do to advance prospects for peace. But when both sides feel the balance of horror has been re-established, the United States will be called upon to make a crucial contribution. It cannot do so by pretending that diplomatic silence and massive political support are not enabling the addict's most self-destructive tendencies. ("Camp David II: The Best Failure and Its Lessons," *Israel Studies Bulletin,* Vol. 16, No. 2, Spring 2001, page 7).

It has taken almost a year of terror and escalation, blood, fear, dehumanization and destruction, to bring the Israeli polity to the point where the United States has, again, a crucial and urgent role to play. General Zinni, the Bush administration's new point man on the Middle East, is capable, knowledgeable, and tough. Indeed these were the qualities that convinced Sharon and his supporters to work hard to sabotage previous Zinni missions.

So why can this Zinni mission be different from all others? Because now the administration is motivated to stay the course for peace by something more important to it than compassion for the victims of the bloodletting, or fear of diplomatic embarrassment—namely, its desire to consolidate an anti-Iraq alliance. As Cheney's failed mission to ten Arab countries confirmed, without an aggressive U.S. policy toward resolving the Israeli-Palestinian conflict, there will be no anti-Saddam partners to speak of in the Arab world. The question remains, however, as to whether Zinni, Powell, Cheney, and company are up to the challenging diplomatic task of clarifying for each side the implications of its vulnerabilities without simultaneously encouraging the other to exploit those vulnerabilities to attain, what in its eyes, constitutes real justice.

The Weapon of Refusal

Assuming that Washington has the will and the talent for a sustained diplomatic campaign for a two-state solution, we must still expect that the road to a two-state peace agreement will be difficult and even violent. As occurred in the mid-1990s in Israel, in France during the negotiations that ended its occupation of Algeria, and in South Africa on the eve of the negotiated end of apartheid, the closer the process comes to success, the more certain it is that lunatics on both sides will unleash their fury in every way possible to derail the process. In Israel settlers, ultranationalists, and religious fundamentalists will respect neither legal nor moral limits on their political action. To urge them to do so is to spit in the wind. For the fact of the matter is that to protect the slim margin of its ability to implement the peace agreement, the government will also play fast and loose with the law, with emergency powers, and with the legal rights of its opponents. Such is the depth of the problem that Israeli settlement policies, shortsighted treatment of moderate Palestinian nationalist leaders in the 1970s and 1980s, and the paralyzing

cocoon of implicit U.S. support for these policies have created, that getting the Occupation out of Israel will shake the legal and political foundations of the State.

It is in this context that one must understand the significance of the wave of refusal by Israeli officers to serve in the West Bank and Gaza Strip—condemned by some on both the left and right as illegitimate because, they say, it is illegal. In fact, it probably is legal; but insofar as it is not legal, it is still politically justifiable in the context of the kind of political struggle that will determine Israel's future.

The recent refusal of hundreds of Israeli officers to serve in the West Bank and Gaza Strip is not the first such movement. The "*Yesh Gvul*" (There is a Limit) organization was active during the Lebanon War and supported the decisions of many soldiers at that time to engage in "*sarvanoot*" (refusal). Six years later, during the first Palestinian intifada, another refusal movement developed. As during the Lebanon War, the incidence of "gray refusal" exceeded out-right refusals by 10 to 1. Gray refusal refers to episodes in which commanders responded informally to accommodate individual refusals with off-the-record arrangements, enabling the soldier to avoid following orders he considers unconscionable.

The advantage to the individual soldier of gray refusal is obvious—no jail time, no negative publicity, and avoidance of the objectionable service. The advantage to the army is also clear: less publicity, fewer political martyrs, and opportunities for sympathetic commanders to respond discretely to their own qualms about the implementation of morally or politically questionable policies. Even so, however, the number of Israeli soldiers who ended up facing and/or serving prison time was substantial. Between December 1987 and April 1991, 135 Israeli soldiers and officers, mainly reservists, were sent to prison for refusing to participate in anti-intifada activities. Indeed the number of Israelis who went to prison rather than participate in suppressing the first Palestinian uprising exceeded the total number of French soldiers sent to prison for similar refusals to serve in Algeria. This is an impressive moral statement about Israel in light of the fact that the number of Frenchmen who served in Algeria during the Algerian Revolution was twenty times the number of Israeli soldiers who were called upon to serve in the West Bank and Gaza during the first intifada.

One reason for this phenomenon in Israel, and its recent reappearance, is legal precedent set by Israel's judiciary in the wake of the Kfar Kassem massacre in October 1956. During the 1956 War, orders were given to the army to place a strict curfew on Arab villages in the "Little Triangle"—a strip of land running along Israel's "narrow waist" border with the West Bank. In the late afternoon of October 29, Arabs from the village of Kfar Kassem were returning to their homes after working all day outside the village, unaware of the curfew that had been imposed. Soldiers enforcing the curfew summarily executed forty-nine Arab men, women, and children. (For a detailed account see http://www.jerusalemites.org/kfar1.html.) In subsequent trials, some officers were give lenient or symbolic sentences, perhaps because they threatened to implicate commanders and/or political leaders. But a lasting effect of the massacre was the Court's declaration that every Israeli soldier is positively forbidden to carry out any order that is "*bilti-chokit b'alil*" (flagrantly or manifestly illegal).

The existence of this legal standard is a fundamental but often ignored aspect of the current mobilization of soldiers to refuse serving in the occupied territories. First of all, no official body has ever been willing or able to precisely define what the formula means. It is therefore up to every soldier to decide. A wrong decision could expose that soldier to prosecution for obeying a "flagrantly illegal" order. The legal basis for soldiers who refuse service now in the West Bank and Gaza Strip is that in the wake of thirty years of Occupation and massive settlement and land expropriation campaigns regarded almost universally as illegal, and amidst repeated cycles of vengeful attacks by both sides, the moral and legal position of the individual Israeli soldier has been made untenable. Once soldiers enter refugee camps and checkpoints the entire framework of action surrounding them inevitably produces a stream of choices regarding whether or not to follow an order (such as shooting blindly into civilian areas, extra-judicial killings, protecting bulldozers destroying houses still inhabited by civilians, or shooting demonstrators with objects in their hands who appear to be over twelve years of age). Under the stress of such situations no one can be sure he would be able to distinguish between those orders which are "illegal" and those which are "flagrantly illegal."

This regulation also plays an important role in determining the IDF's response to those who refuse service. So far, all have been treated as acts of disobedience which individual commanders can treat as disciplinary issues. None has yet resulted in a court martial. That would require an actual trial with a "jury," lawyers, and also the possibility of much heavier sentences. For the army the spectre of soldiers calling witnesses to testify as to exactly what their orders were and measuring them against the standard of "flagrant illegality" is terrifying. The possibilities of moral and political embarrassment, to say nothing of the implication of commanding officers in prosecutable actions, are simply too great.

Israel is unusual in that the officers' refusal can be justified entirely in legal terms, as necessary to avoid exposure to prosecution for being unable to avoid following a "flagrantly illegal" order. But it is also true that the motivation of the officers is not only to avoid criminal activity. They clearly understand their resistance as part of a political struggle, a serious political struggle, and one that raises the question of the limits of dissent in a democracy.

That Israel is a democracy certainly raises the bar for justifying defiance of legal orders, but it does not make such defiance unsupportable. Democracies sometimes stagger into problems whose solution stretches and even breaks the

normal rules of democratic legitimacy. This was true in the United States during the Vietnam War, in France during the Algerian Revolution, in Ulster in 1914, and most recently in Israel. The breaking of laws, the lies, and the betrayals of public trust that contributed to American involvement in Vietnam far outweighed, as challenges to democratic legitimacy, the individual decisions of thousands of selective conscientious objectors. In Algeria, French governments under the Fourth Republic sanctioned massive use of torture and other violations of French law. Combined with the illegal machinations of settler colonies, military officers, and right-wing politicians, in coup attempts, rebellions, and assassination attacks against both the Fourth and Fifth Republics, these contradictions of democratic legality far outweighed the instances of defiance of censorship laws or of draft resistance perpetrated by those who opposed France's policies in Algeria. In the United Kingdom, in 1914, a full-scale revolt was threatened against the legal decisions of Prime Minister Asquith's government to grant Home Rule to all of Ireland. This revolt, which succeeded in blocking that long-awaited design for solving the Irish Problem, included an army mutiny, an armed rebellion by hundreds of thousands of Ulster Protestants, and declarations of war on the government by the leading opposition party—the Unionists. A willingness to defy legal government orders has also been the hallmark of Gush Emunim activists in their settlement activities and their attacks on Arabs and on dovish Jews. The resistance to the evacuation of Yamit, the killing of Emile Grunzweig, the Purim massacre of Muslims in Hebron in 1994, and the assassination of Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin are only the most notorious of such acts. Equally important has been the complicity of a succession of right-wing governments in illegal land expropriations and third party purchase schemes, extra-judicial killings of Palestinian activists, and a severe and prolonged regime of unreported and illegal practices of torture and illegal confinement of Palestinian inhabitants of the territories.

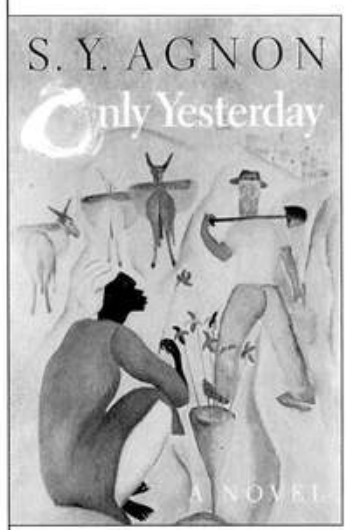
The point is that some problems, such as taking a decision to contract the borders of a state in order to achieve peace, are too big for democratic procedures. This is especially the case when the security of the state's inhabitants is said to be at stake—a claim made with equal conviction by Unionist forces in the United Kingdom, *Algérie française* supporters and governments in France, and annexationists in Israel. When a democracy confronts such a problem over a sustained period of time, the balance of illegality almost always occurs on the side of those with direct control of the means of violence. This means, among other things, that if those who favor concessions to achieve peace foreswear the political advantage of challenging legality (publicly or surreptitiously) in the name of the greater values of the state and its population, it will also greatly diminish or even destroy its prospects for success.

Indeed, those who now refuse to serve in the occupied territories are well aware that the opponents of peace have never and will never use dovish reluctance to defy the law to restrain themselves from using all available means to expand the settlements and prevent a peace agreement. In addition to their responsibility to avoid following "flagrantly illegal orders," the refuseniks see their struggle against the Sharon government's systematic and calculated disruption of peace efforts as warranted for the same reason that the resistance to service in Algeria was warranted in France during the Algerian Revolution. It is a struggle on behalf of their state's future and moral integrity against a violent and doomed policy of domination that is destroying the very possibility of democracy in their community.

In the final analysis, Jewish soldiers fighting in the aftermath of the Holocaust can never fully convince themselves that "following orders" makes murder or wanton destruction justifiable. This fact is expressed not only in the individual decisions of the refuseniks but in the state's own code of conduct—forbidding Israeli soldiers from complying with grossly illegal orders. By establishing that standard and linking the definition of "flagrantly illegal" to the moral standards of the community, the Jewish State has taken steps to make real its commitment to "*Taharat Ha-Neshek*" (purity of arms), as difficult as that may be. It is thus precisely because Israel has tried to live up to a higher moral standard that its sons and daughters possess a particularly potent weapon for peace—the weapon of refusal. ❑

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Time for a Wall

Ofer Zur

I was born into a family that takes pride in having four generations of marchers for peace. For many years, my sister was among the Women in Black who stood silently in support of peace at all major crossroads in Israel every Friday afternoon. My mother not only fought for Israel's independence, but also advocated for Arab women's rights back in the 1940s. My father's complementary message was Zionism and the love of all nations.

At eighteen years young, I was inducted into the Israeli Army, as are all young men and women in Israel. I got my paratrooper wings and served as an officer. Before the first intifada, during the late 1960s and early 1970s, I had already paid the moral and spiritual price of being part of an occupying force. I shot at a crowd of youths who were frighteningly and quickly closing in on me; I participated in the demolition of houses belonging to families of "terrorist suspects," I enforced erratic curfews on 80,000 people in a refugee camp; and I followed orders to round up "young adults" for random interrogation. All these took their toll on me, as they have also on the spirit of thousands of other Israeli soldiers who have served in the occupied territories over the last three decades. Above all, the Occupation has taken a toll on the collective soul of Israel and the hearts of Jews everywhere, whether they admit it or are even aware of it.

There was a sad saying in Israel at the time: "The best either die first or leave first."

After my military service, I found some temporary peace on a merchant marine ship and again later, during my time as a student of chemical oceanography at the Hebrew University in Jerusalem. I especially remember the tranquility of my daily deep-sea dives in the beautiful Red Sea.

This serene period ended abruptly in 1973 when I was recalled to the army to fight in the Yom Kippur War. I was attached to a paratrooper unit that was thrown into battle during the last part of the war. I left part of my leg buried in the Sinai Desert across the Suez Canal. And, yes, part of my heart was left there, too. After the war, I returned to my oceanography and diving, in an effort to recapture the peace I had known. I didn't succeed too well.

Recovery from the war injury was hard. I did what was necessary to be able to get back to hiking, diving, running, and playing basketball. However, it was much more difficult to deal with the complex and conflicted feelings surrounding my actual participation in the war.

In spite of my efforts, I could not come to terms with the role I had played as a combatant in an avoidable war or as a soldier of an occupying force. I could not bear the idea of protecting mostly Arab-hating, right-wing Israelis or New York Jews, many of them proudly proclaiming that, "The only good Arab is a dead Arab." I found it hard to live with what I did and did not do in the Gaza Strip, Lebanon, and the West Bank during my service in 1968–1971, and in Egypt during the 1973 war. I could not come to terms with the fact that Israel did not negotiate the fate of Sinai with Egypt from 1967 to 1973, negotiations which would have prevented a war that in the end led to Israel's return of the Sinai anyway, under U.S. pressure. Above all, I could not tolerate being even a passive participant in my country's policies of occupation.

I felt I was faced with impossible options: I could numb myself with drugs (a la Vietnam); I could go insane; or I could leave. I chose to leave the country that was a safe haven to so many Jews, like my parents, who escaped the Holocaust and the Nazi occupation of Europe. I chose to leave because I knew that being politically active was not enough for me. By remaining, I would have felt that I was in collusion with the Occupation and the self-destruction of the Jewish State and its people. Several of my friends also left; many more stayed and continued, like my parents, my sister, and her children, to participate in peace marches, to vote, and later to light candles at Rabin Square. Although it pained them, my parents and sister understood my reasons for leaving. There was a sad saying in Israel at the time: "The best either die first or leave first."

There were brief periods of hope after the Sadat visit to Jerusalem in 1977 and the Oslo Agreement of 1993, but that hope died with Rabin in 1995. A briefer period of hope in 1999–2000 was kindled by Ehud Barak, who seemed to offer the most far-reaching peace proposals ever. Arafat's refusal to accept Barak's proposals and the beginning of the current Palestinian uprising, the second intifada, changed the political picture, in my opinion, permanently. It has certainly been true that the peace movement in Israel has

Ofer Zur, Ph.D., an ex-officer in the Israeli Army, is currently a clinical psychologist living in California.

lapsed into silence. The rejection of Barak's offer and the endless killings and suicide bombings have left the movement feeling bitter towards Arafat and simultaneously drawn toward an uncomfortable consensus with the Right, a consensus that the Palestinian people are not to be trusted or considered a serious partner for peace.

Seven thousand miles away from Israel, looking at the situation from the idyllic comfort and beauty of the wine country in Northern California, it is clear to me why the Palestinians did not accept Barak's proposals, why they demanded nothing less than full autonomy over the entire West Bank and the Gaza Strip with East Jerusalem as their capital. From my eminence in Northern California, it did not make sense that 200,000 settlers, residing in dozens of settlements all over the West Bank in the midst of more than two million Palestinians were allowed to keep escalating the conflict, bloodshed, and immense suffering on all sides in their relentless pursuit of the Greater Israel dream (Of course the mirror image of this is Hamas' image of a "Greater Palestine" where the Jews are finally driven into the sea).

The occupation has taken a toll on the collective soul of Israel and the hearts of Jews everywhere, whether they admit it or are even aware of it.

What has also become apparent, although missing from most of the CNN or *New York Times* news reports on Middle East, is the simple but essential fact that most of the daily violence and casualties in the region occur in specific areas and stem from one source. The bloodshed comes from the fact that the Israeli army is heavily present all over the West Bank and Gaza Strip in order to of defend dozens and dozens of primarily small settlements strategically located in the midst of the Palestinian population. It is quite normal for a few thousand soldiers to be engaged in the defense of a couple dozen families. The army protects the settlers' bulletproof school buses, their main crossroads, the strategic positions in the area, the settlers' "right" to freely drive the West Bank roads and, of course, the settlements themselves. While most of the news reports focus on suicide bombers in Jerusalem or Tel Aviv, the presence of the settlers and the army all over the occupied territories and especially at the road-blocked main junctions, where humiliating and demeaning searches take place, fuel the daily violence and death toll in the region. For the Palestinians, the army/settlers combination is the most powerful symbol of the harsh reality of the Occupation.

I remember guarding a tiny settlement occupied mostly by a handful of New Yorkers in the midst of a dense Palestinian population in the West Bank. I vividly recall the dramatic contrast between the lush green lawns and refreshing swimming pool of the settlement and the yellow, dying crops and rationed water of the neighboring Palestinian villages. The contrast was overwhelming.

The reality of the region these days is destruction, injury, and death, and it is not about to change very soon. The recent withdrawal of the Israeli army from Southern Lebanon brought a revelation to the Palestinians. They realized that Israel could not stomach the human cost of occupation indefinitely. Palestinians are also aware that Israel is gradually losing its moral ground and sympathy not only in the eyes of the world, but also in the eyes of the many Jews who have supported Israel unconditionally for so long. Accordingly, the Palestinians are willing to continue sacrificing their lives and the lives of their children for the cause of liberating Palestine. At the same time, the settlers are just as willing to sacrifice themselves and their children for *their* cause. Lebanon taught the Palestinians that if they fight long enough and hard enough, they will not need to compromise significantly to achieve control over the West Bank and East Jerusalem.

The present situation, in which any suicide bomber or gunman can simply walk across from the West Bank into Israel, is becoming increasingly intolerable for Israelis. The eye-for-an-eye and bomb-for-a-bomb exchanges of the last few months have resulted in hundreds of dead and wounded on both sides. Given the amount of bloodshed in recent days and months and years, peace is not even a remote option at this point in time. Unlike the memory of many Americans, which at best is as long as the next quarterly corporate report, Middle Eastern memory goes back thousands of years. Accordingly, any talk of peace in the region is ludicrous when one realizes the extent of death, injury, and, above all, betrayal, which both sides have sustained in the last decade.

Peace now is impossible. This leaves Israel with only one viable option: the unilateral, forced separation of the territories, to be achieved by building a wall and/or creating a buffer zone to physically separate Israel from Palestine.

Such a unilateral division would not require negotiation, agreement, pre-, or post- conditions. Unlike the recent Saudi Arabian proposal, it would not require endorsement by any Arab country. It is based neither on trust nor on love and it will not bring immediate peace or tolerance or love. What this pragmatic, concrete separation will do is serve to reduce the violence between the Palestinians and Israelis significantly. At the very least, it will make it harder for any Palestinian youth with explosives strapped to his (and most recently *her)* body, to cross into Israeli territory. A wall may never have wide international recognition, but it will allow the Israelis and the Palestinians to spend another forty (or better—one hundred) years in the desert, letting the sharp pain of loss dull a bit, and allowing a new generation to grow up without experiencing the injuries, hatred, and fear

of their neighbor. Only then will peace be a possibility. The wall will provide an obstacle to violence and will buy time so that wounds can gradually heal. "Gradually," in the Middle East, may mean a few or many generations.

A wall is not a new idea, nor will it easily be accepted by the Right or the Left in Israel. The Right is appropriately concerned that such a wall would mean the end of their dream of a Greater Israel, and the diminution of their hopes to expel the Palestinians. Above all, this proposal will highlight the Right's concern about the future of the settlements which will come under Palestinian rule. For the remaining members of the Left, this proposal will revive bitter memories of the wall that divided Jerusalem before the Six Day War and, of course, grim memories of the Berlin Wall and the DMZ between North and South Korea.

A wall must be built. To be successful, this wall must be built on the Green line, along the pre-1967 borders of Israel, with only the slightest modifications.

Yet a wall must be built. To be successful, this wall must be built on the Green line, along the pre-1967 borders of Israel, with only the slightest modifications—for example, the inclusion of sections of Jerusalem where the Jews constituted a majority of the population as of the year 2000 (2000, not today, so as to exclude the possibility that right-wingers will begin to expand their settlements in East Jerusalem tomorrow). The wall will not be successful if it is built as part of an occupational plan to incorporate and annex big parts of the West Bank into Israel (along the lines of the "buffer zones" contemplated by Ariel Sharon), because battle and bloodshed will continue, despite a wall, until Israel agrees to a Palestinian State that is close enough in size and shape to the original West Bank territories which were conquered in 1967.

Consider the following points in favor of such a forced separation:

1. It can be completed unilaterally by Israel.

2. It does not require lengthy negotiation and the sort of endless preconditions that have rendered almost all negotiations hopeless.

3. Building such a wall need not be based on trust or love of the Palestinians.

4. The wall will consist of a real wall and/or fences, and neutral zones where security will be augmented by electronic technology, explosives, satellites and other sophisticated devices. This will enhance the overall security of Israel's borders.

5. Separation will make it very hard for any suicide bomber to simply cross the border into Tel Aviv or Jerusalem and blow themselves up.

6. Israel will retain control over entries along the Jordan River from Jordan to Palestine for the sole purpose of preventing heavy arms from being smuggled into the Palestinian State.

7. The wall will have a few major crossing points where Palestinian laborers and Palestinian goods, under intense Israeli scrutiny, can cross into Israel. These laborers are much needed by both Israel's and Palestine's economies.

8. The Gaza Strip, which will also be surrounded by a wall (in fact, some fenced buffer zones already exist), will be connected to the West Bank via a direct, high security, fenced, non-stop suspended highway. The technology for a fast rail for both passengers and goods is also readily available. This, for the first time, will make possible a cohesive Palestinian State.

9. The separation will enable the Palestinians to focus on their state's affairs. These internal affairs are likely to be complex, numerous, and, regretfully, highly volatile.

10. Israeli armed forces will be categorically excluded from the Palestinian side of the wall. If hostility is initiated from the Palestinian side, Israel will respond the same way it would respond if Egypt, Jordan, Syria, or Iraq had initiated it. As we all know, Israel, having one of the most powerful and sophisticated armies in the world, is thoroughly capable of protecting itself by military and other means.

11. The settlers presently located in the occupied territories will have to choose to move into Israel or risk staying under Palestinian control.

12. In the short run, such a separation will put an end to the role of Israelis as an occupying force and will enable Israel's citizens, its soldiers, and Jews around the world to begin to heal from the wounds of the Occupation.

13. Such a unilateral separation will hopefully lead to a less volatile atmosphere in the region. Hopefully, this will translate into a stable, albeit cautious, coexistence and, ultimately, into real peace.

Day after one more tragic day, I have watched the carnage—angry, sad, and impotent, paralyzed by the growing violence. The Right seems to feed the flames; the Left seems hopelessly naïve and silenced; the great and small powers of the world are repetitive and simplistic, failing to grasp the depth of the differences and complexities of this conflict. Even the most reasonable say "There is no solution." Israel and Palestine are trapped on a deadly carousel, repeating horror after horror, around and around, faster and faster. Israel must act. Knowing that I am abandoning the dream of my parents, the dream of peace in our lifetimes, I cannot avoid the obvious conclusion. First, the carousel must be stopped; Israel must build a wall and force a physical separation. Then, time may do its slow work. Indeed, mine is not a true solution, only a necessary circumvention. But we must try. There is no longer any other acceptable or sane alternative. ❑

ISRAEL

Healing Israel



Cherie R. Brown

I have been working primarily with U.S. Jews since 1967 on behalf of a just solution to the Arab-Israeli conflict. Before we can organize Jews on behalf of peace, we need to recognize four obstacles to Jewish participation in the peace process. Once we face these four obstacles, we can build on eight simple principles I offer here as the basis for renewing hope in a new Middle East peace initiative.

OBSTACLE #1: There is still a great deal of misinformation about the real causes of the most recent breakdown in peace efforts. This misinformation has left Jews feeling hopeless and susceptible to increased mistrust of Palestinians.

Most Jews (and a large majority of the U.S. press) were led to believe that Ehud Barak had made a generous offer to the Palestinian people and that the blame therefore was primarily with Arafat and the Palestinian leadership for not accepting such a good offer. Many Jews were never given the real facts "on the ground"—that this "generous" offer meant that Palestinians were permanently saddled with Israeli military roadblocks and checkpoints throughout Palestinian occupied land. In addition, there were no arrangements in the settlement for any compensation or even any discussion of Palestinian refugee issues. When this peace offer was rejected, many Jews decided that there was no hope for real cooperation with Palestinians. This loss of hope has been a major roadblock to reaching out to Jews and to engaging them in renewed efforts for peace.

OBSTACLE #2: Given the history of the Holocaust and the attempted genocide of Jews, it has been extremely difficult for many Jews to be able to see ourselves in the oppressor role with regards to another people.

I recently watched an excellent new film by an Israeli film maker—*The Promise*—which showed a group of young Palestinian children and young Israeli children being brought together over a two-year trust building period. In the film, a number of hard-hitting scenes were shown about daily life for Palestinians under the Occupation, including being stopped at military checkpoints throughout the occupied territories. As I watched these scenes, I found myself hardly breathing. I wanted to scream out, "It can't be this bad. Are you sure this is balanced enough? Please don't show this picture of Israel to the world. They will just end up hating the Israeli people!" While my mind knew this was a true picture of Palestinian life under occupation—and needed to be known—my heart rebelled. I have been working for justice for Palestinians for thirty years, and I could hardly watch these scenes. And these are not the most hard hitting scenes of Palestinian life under occupation. We are going to need to find a way to make it safe enough for Jews to remember how good we are so we are able to take an honest look at the oppressor role that Israel has been set up to play with the Palestinian people. Jews will not be able to face the oppressive things that the Israeli government does unless we know that the world still believes we are a deeply good people.

OBSTACLE #3: Jews continue to feel isolated and unable to reach out for allies out of a sense of terror and powerlessness.

I attended the NGO meeting of the United Nations Conference on Racism this past August in Durban, South Africa. It was, at times, a painful place to be as a Jew. Israel was unfairly singled out for condemnation in several of the proposed documents and sessions at the conference. At one point during the week, the Jewish Caucus made up T-shirts with a Jewish star and a peace symbol on the front and a quote from Martin Luther King, Jr. on the back. As I walked from tent to tent at the conference, I saw groups of Jewish young people, wearing their T-shirts, huddled together with each other for support. The attacks on Israel had left these young Jews feeling vulnerable and isolated. They weren't able to reach out and build friendships with other anti-racist activists from around the world. And without these friendships, it was impossible to have allies who could stand up both for Israel and for the Palestinian people. I understood in Durban, in a whole new way, how difficult it was, even for some of my closest friends, to stand up fully for Palestinians and not feel like they were somehow betraying Jews—or to stand up fully against the singling out of Israel for condemnation and not to feel like they were somehow betraying the

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Palestinian people. And this is what is needed—allies who will stand up clearly for both peoples no matter how much pressure there is to take sides.

OBSTACLE #4: There is a generation gap between progressive Jews who were born before 1967 and those who were born after the annexation of the West Bank and Gaza that is hindering the building of an effective Jewish peace coalition.

Progressive Jews who were born prior to 1967 (some who lived through World War II, others who know that there was no place for Jewish refugees to go after the war) often say in their organizing efforts that they are speaking out against the policies of the Israeli government out of a deep love of Israel and an understanding of the need for Israel as a necessary homeland for the Jewish people. Those who were born after 1967—when the Occupation was firmly in place—have little collective memory of World War II or of Jews as victims. Therefore, they often focus their efforts on ending the Occupation and the oppressive policies of the Israeli government but do not always add that their organizing efforts are based in a love of Israel or a need for a homeland for the Jewish people. Each group is going to need to be listened to fully and this "generational rift" healed if an effective new Jewish progressive peace coalition is to be built in this next period. A love of Israel (the older generation's key concern)—which is then linked to the end of the Occupation (the younger generation's key concern)—needs to be foremost in any new Middle East peace project that we set up.

How are we going to break through these obstacles and develop a new Middle East peace project? I would like to propose eight simple working principles about human beings that could form the basis of a new Middle East peace effort. These working principles are based on an understanding that what is needed now to break the current impasse is not one more analysis of the conflict (God knows—we have enough people fighting to have us agree with their analysis and perspective), but instead a simple set of guidelines about what is true about Jews and Palestinians that will give us enough hope to keep moving forward.

PRINCIPLE #1: It is no longer possible to destroy the State of Israel or the Palestinian people—and their right to justice and statehood. Both peoples have too many allies worldwide. Both peoples exist and both peoples will continue to exist. The attempted destruction of any people weakens the struggle for liberation of everyone.

PRINCIPLE #2: There IS a just solution for all involved in the Palestinian-Israeli conflict and we are capable of finding it—including on the issue of Jerusalem. It must be recognized that Israel cannot have lasting peace without an economically viable nation for the Palestinian people.

PRINCIPLE #3: Both sides do hurtful things and both sides have been hurt. Given the injustices that both peoples have faced, each group is going to need to be listened to far more than they have been to date. The small number of listening projects that have been organized have been important, but more resources will need to be put into expanding these listening projects in this next period.

PRINCIPLE #4: There are no human enemies. Both sides have and will behave irrationally in response to having been hurt. We will never be able to undue or redress all the past mistreatment. However, when both sides have been listened to fully (Principle #3), each will be more able to think clearly about solutions. Solutions to the conflict will need to be based primarily on what will work in the present.

PRINCIPLE #5: There is reason for continued hope in the present situation. What appears to be a difficult moment is, in reality, a time when the unresolved difficulties can come to the surface for further understanding. For example, the latest round of violence demonstrated that the recent peace talks did not have the clear backing of large segments of the Palestinian population or significant segments of the Israeli population. The backing of large enough portions of both populations will be necessary for any final peace settlement. The recent difficulties are providing new opportunities that, if taken, could lead to more effective solutions. And this is very hopeful.

PRINCIPLE #6: None of the violence that has happened in the recent period negates any of the important and useful efforts towards cooperation that have taken place in the past. Every cooperative effort from the past has been important, no matter how much these efforts have been covered over by discouragement.

PRINCIPLE #7: It does not make sense to call for an end to Palestinian violence without also calling for an end to Israeli military domination of Palestinians. The domination of one people by another—no matter how much that domination is based in a real perceived fear—will not result in an end to violence.

PRINCIPLE #8: Real solutions will come when we apply our thinking to the actual issues and struggles in the present as distinct from the painful emotion that surrounds these issues and struggles. Painful emotion needs to be listened to but it should not be the basis for formulating policy.

The obstacles to organizing Jews on behalf of a just peace in the Middle East can seem overwhelming at times. But they are *not* insurmountable. Every impasse in the past has eventually given way to the next steps in the negotiation process. This period is no different. This impasse will end. And all of our continued efforts, including these eight proposed principles, will enable us to move past the current paralysis and restore hope in a permanent and just peace. ❑

Prayer for Israel



תפילה

Aryeh Cohen

אריה כהן

My heart, my heart goes out to you Zion
Tears, jubilation, celebration, grieving
Did we not dream a dream that came to be?
And here it is—both song and lament.

We are mere matter, and our prayer is to the Creator,
Toward the Good and the Just, direct the people seeking refuge in Zion.
For all the world is Yours, and we have but one land,
Which we inherited together with the sons and daughters of Hagar.

Favor us with knowledge with which to understand
The wisdom of Avraham, "If you will go left, I will go right."
Overflow with mercy on a great and troubled land
For "Zion will be redeemed in judgment and its inhabitants in righteousness."

לִבִּי לִבִּי יוֹצֵאת לָךְ צִיּוֹן.
דְּמָעוֹת וְצָהֳלָה, שִׂמְחָה וְיָגוֹן
הֲלֹא חָלוֹם חָלַמְנוּ וַיְהִי
וְהִנֵּה-גַם רִינָה גַם נֶהִי.

נַחְנוּ רַק חוֹמֶר וּתְפִילָה לָנוּ לַיּוֹצֵר,
לַטּוֹב וְלַצֶּדֶק הַכְוֵון אֶת הָעָם בְּצִיּוֹן מִסְתַּתֵּר.
כִּי לְךָ כָּל הָאָרֶץ וְלָנוּ אֶרֶץ יְחִידָה,
אֲשֶׁר יָרַשְׁנוּ יַחְדָּיו עִם בְּנֵי הָגָר.

חוֹנֵנוּ דַּעַת אֲשֶׁר בּוֹן נָבִין
חָכְמַת אַבְרָהָם: "אִם תַּשְׂמְאִילָה וָאַיְמִין;
רַחֲמִים תַּשְׁפִּיעַ עַל אֶרֶץ רָבָּה הַגְּזֵירָה
כִּי "צִיּוֹן בְּמִשְׁפָּט תִּפָּדֶה וְשָׁבֶיהָ בִּצְדָקָה;"

In the midst of increasing violence and deepening mistrust among Israelis and Palestinians, many Jews are turning to tradition for solace and guidance. A large and growing number would like to include Israel in their prayers, but are unable to intone the traditional "Prayer for the State of Israel:" the triumphalism of the early fifties religious Zionism woven through the Prayer and the religious problematics of sanctifying a political and military institution grate on those who pray with open eyes and an open heart. We offer here an alternative, written by Aryeh Cohen, which recognizes the complexity of the realized dream of the State of Israel. What follows is an exploration and critique of the lineage of the traditional "Prayer for the State of Israel" by Shaul Magid and a discussion by Aryeh Cohen of his composition.

—Shaul Magid and Aryeh Cohen

A New Prayer for the State of Israel?

Introducing a Liturgical Alternative

Shaul Magid

Liturgical poetry has often been the way Jews exercise their creativity and react to contemporary events in a devotional world otherwise focused on the distant past or unrealized future. The Prayer for the State of Israel is an example of this creativity. The history of its composition, however, is not without significant controversy.

Most scholars, including Moshe Ishon, Bernard Casper, and Marcel Marcus, now maintain that it was composed by the two chief rabbis of Palestine (and then Israel), Ashkenazi Rabbi Isaac ha-Levy Herzog and Rishon l'Zion Rabbi Hai Uziel, with the aid of the Chief Rabbinate Council. Others, including David Tamar and Dan Leor, claim the initial draft was authored by the great Hebrew writer and essayist Shai Agnon. Zvi Noriah maintains that Agnon made certain suggestions to the initial draft by the council, one of which was the famous and problematic phrase "the first flowering of our redemption," a play on a similar locution made decades earlier by Rabbi Abraham Isaac Kook "*reshit zemihat yeshuatenu*" (the first flowering of our salvation) in his letter to Lord Rothschild upon receiving the Balfour Declaration.

While the debate on the true authorship is not relevant here, the certification of the Chief Rabbinate adds an almost halachic stamp to this *piyyut*. But even so, like so many others, this *piyyut* can ultimately have no halachic authority and Jews are free, as they have always been, to recite, ignore, or rewrite liturgical additions to the siddur outside the formal prayer service. And, in fact, this initial prayer was

Shaul Magid is the Elaine Ravich Assistant Professor of Jewish Studies and chair of the department of Jewish philosophy at the Jewish Theological Seminary of America. He is also the rabbi of the Fire Island Synagogue in Seaview, New York.

Renewing Liturgy

Aryeh Cohen

The form of the Prayer is *piyyut* (a religious poem). This seemed to be a natural choice. It is an overwhelmingly diasporic form which flourished in the great Diaspora communities of the Middle Ages. In my mind, I framed the prayer between two powerful religious and literary moments. On the one hand, Yehudah Halevi's famous line: "My heart is in the East, and I am at the far reaches of the West" (לבי במזרח ואני בסוף מערב); on the other hand, Isaiah's statement, "Zion will be redeemed with justice, and those who return to her with righteousness."

The *piyyut* is a movement between those two poles. Halevi's longing for Zion never had to deal with a reality of a political state. The longing remains in its romantic moment. The beloved is always pure and beautiful, the lover always desirous and obsessed or overwhelmed by that desire. At the same time, Halevi's lover of Zion stays in the far reaches of the west, where the desire itself is a certain type of righteousness.

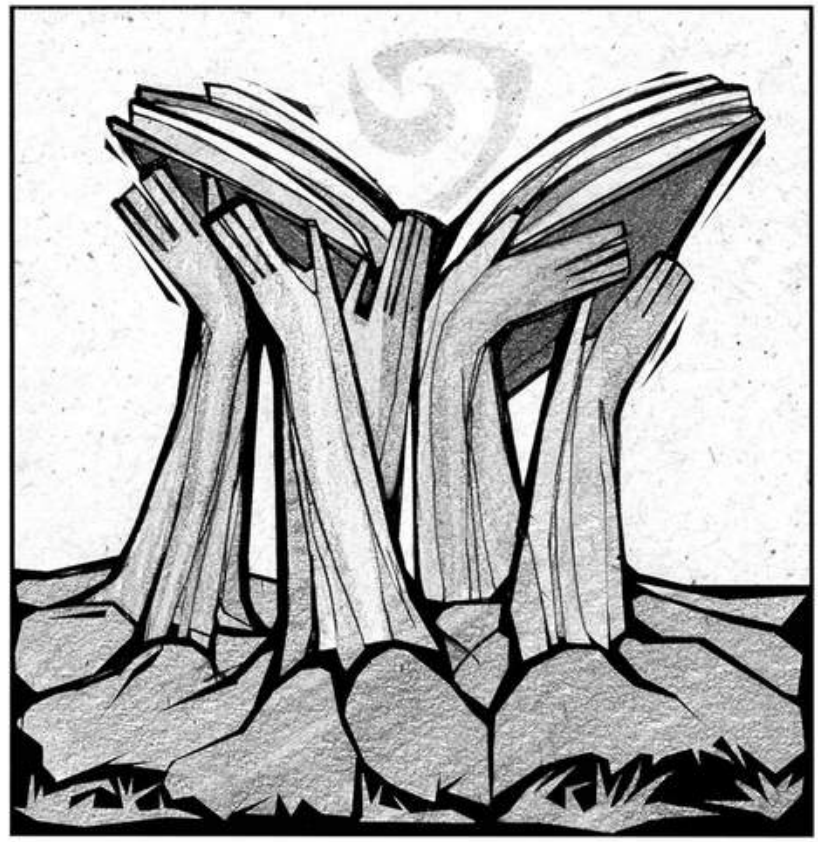
What happens when desire is fulfilled? This is, of course, more complicated. In the world of fulfillment there are contending claims and real pain. The lover can no longer claim the righteousness of desire unfulfilled. The metaphor has shattered; it is necessary to search for another.

Facing the seemingly insoluble problem of "this one says it belonged to my ancestors and this one says it belonged to my ancestors," the only place to turn is to the Source of Creation to pray for the courage and insight to be able to live in and on a shared inheritance. Abraham's moral integrity, choosing peace over land, and Isaiah's moral demand, that the Land only be redeemed in justice, provide the channel for our prayer. ❑

Aryeh Cohen is chair of rabbinic studies at the Ziegler School of Rabbinic Studies of the University of Judaism. He is the editor, with Shaul Magid, of Beginning/Again: Toward a Hermeneutics of Jewish Texts, *(Seven Bridges Press, 2002).*

revised, rewritten and adapted in many Diaspora siddurim over the past fifty years, as Moshe Ishon points out in his article "The Prayer for the State of Israel and Its Distortions," [Hebrew] in *Ohr Ha-Mizrakh* 27 (1975).

The Prayer for the State of Israel is modeled after, and is also an overcoming of, the myriad Jewish prayers for foreign governments recited since the fourteenth century, responding to a prophetic verse that constitutes part of Jeremiah's epistle to the Jewish captives in Babylon: *Seek the welfare of the city where I have caused you to be exiled, and pray to the Lord for its behalf, for in its prosperity you shall prosper* (Jeremiah 29:7). This verse, and the prayers composed from it, is part of the exilic promise, a promise not of redemption but of captivity, dependence, and subjugation. Yet this promise also holds onto a covenantal thread, one that acknowledges both the reality and temporality of exile evidenced in an accompanying verse (Jeremiah 29:10). Most prayers for foreign governments fashioned on these verses conclude with a glimmer of hope, albeit couched in the laconic recognition of the tribulations of exile, as if to say that a prayer for a foreign government without recognizing ultimate Jewish (messianic) sovereignty was too heavy a burden for Jews to bear.



With the establishment of the State of Israel, the liturgical imagination of Jews was liberated from this exilic/redemptive dichotomy. As Bernard Casper notes in his essay, "*Reshut Zemichat Geulatenu*" (printed in *Tradition and Transition,* edited by Jonathan Sacks), "The establishment of the State of Israel meant in effect a reversal of the conditions of homelessness and helplessness which had marked the Jewish people for almost two thousand years." The Prayer for the State of Israel was a triumphalist celebration of the sovereignty implied at the end of those exilic prayers. At the center of this new Zionist prayer stood its crowned jewel "the first flowering of our redemption" (*reshit zemikhat geulatenu*). However, the acceptance of this proclamation was not unequivocal. Many communities in the Diaspora were uncomfortable with its underlying message. For example, the prayer for the State of Israel written by Rabbi Sir Israel Brodie, the Chief Rabbi of the British Commonwealth, did not include these three words or any reference connecting the State with the messianic era. Certain Orthodox communities also felt uneasy about linking the secular state with the messianic era; some chose not to recite it at all, and some changed the locution of the problematic phrase to "it [the State] should bring about the beginning of redemption (*sh'yavi reshit…*)."

Interestingly and surprisingly, the siddur with Rabbi Kook's commentary, *Siddur 'Olat Reiah* (1963), does not have the Prayer for the State of Israel. The standard Artscroll siddur does not have the prayer, though the Rabbinic Council of America published a revised version with the prayer, and this is the version used by many modern Orthodox communities. The Reform siddur *Sha'are Tefillah* (Gates of Prayer) does not include any reference to the messianic era. Other versions (in some Conservative siddurim, for example) do include these words but do so in a way that softens their impact by including mention of the Diaspora, or even a focus on the Diaspora, and the general welfare of Jews "in all their dwellings." The new *Sim Shalom* siddur has a version almost identical to the standard version used in the *Rinat Yisrael* siddur. Both are considerably shortened versions of the original reproduced in Dan Leor's *Shai Agnon* (p. 58). However, the *Sim Shalom* siddur softens the redemptive tenor of the prayer in its translation of "*reshit zemichat geulatenu*" which reads "with its promise of redemption"—hardly an accurate rendering of the Hebrew.

The problem with these words and the prayer in general is three-fold. First, in its original version it at best ignores, at worst denies, the continued existence and welfare of Diaspora Jews, even those who celebrate the State of Israel with their Israeli compatriots. While the prayer cannot overtly be accused of embodying a "negation of the Diaspora" mentality, it does exhibit an exclusive focus on the state and its inhabitants. The inclusion of world Jewry so prevalent in prayers for foreign governments is absent. The land, the State, and its inhabitants become the sole

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focus of Jewish hope. In some versions, such as the *Rinat Yisrael* siddur, mention of the Diaspora is indeed present but only to pray for its culmination, invoking the "messianic" promise in chapter twenty of Deuteronomy. In some liberal versions, a prayer for the foreign government is included. This practice, however, has been harshly criticized by certain Zionist writers such as Moshe Ishon and even Emil Fackenheim as diminishing the *sui generis* nature and messianic import of the state and as exhibiting a diasporic mentality that refuses to acknowledge that the term "our land (*arzenu*)," can no longer mean any land other than the Land of Israel. (See Ishon in "Prayer for the State" and Fackenheim in "Diaspora and Nation," *Forum*, Winter 1983/84.)

Second, by linking the state of Israel with the messianic era, the prayer creates a situation where the geographical configuration of the state, especially after 1967, takes on an almost doctrinal valence (or at least a halachic one) that has turned out to be a central part of the present crisis. In the words of Bernard Casper, "If…what has taken place in Eretz Yisrael—and especially the establishment of the State of Israel—is seen to bear no relationship to a Messianic redemptive process, it must follow that there is no *religious* necessity in holding on to the territories whose very retention may set Israel on a collision course with its Arab neighbors" ("*Reshit Zemichat Geulatznu*"). Referring to Chief Rabbi Brodie's version, Casper argues that his omission in no way indicates a lack of commitment to the messianic implications of the state, arguing that Rabbi Brodie maintained throughout that the state has messianic import. I agree with his negative assertion, though I disagree with its assumption. The linking of messianism to the state is arguably a foundation of religious Zionism. That, I argue, is part of the problem. When this link serves as the core of the Prayer for the State it creates a cultural and religious environment that, given our present situation, can only be counterproductive.

This leads to the third and most pressing problem with the present prayer. In its understandable exuberance and optimism, the prayer does not recognize that this new sovereignty is possible only at the expense and displacement of another people. It is true that these "others," who ironically become "a people" through Zionism, (the United Nations, after all, "created" the Israeli people) have not been good neighbors and it is true that many of them joined their Arab brethren in an attempt to destroy the fledgling Jewish state. These factors made it all too easy for Jews to ignore the Palestinians who became homeless so Jews could have a home or at least not to allow their displacement to rain on the Jewish party of the millennium. The surprising victory in 1948 and the "miracle" in 1967 enabled many Jews to believe that the problem would somehow go away or be swept up in the miracles unfolding before their eyes.

Many years have passed and the waft of the incense of Israeli triumph has been snuffed out by the stench of Jewish and Palestinian blood in the "messianic" theater of the Holy Land. The dream of Zionism has become the quasi-nightmare of the Middle East crisis—the Jewish pioneers (*haluzim*), once celebrated as the "New Jews," have become the "settlers" who are the target of Palestinian anger and a focal point of the contemporary debate on Israeli identity (a recent Israeli slogan reads "out of the occupation and back to ourselves"). Israel now must face the reality that the triumphalist dream expressed so poetically in the Prayer for the State of Israel has been undone and must be reconstructed because the very context that created it has disappeared in the moral and political failure of the Occupation.

The triumphalist dream expressed so poetically in the Prayer for the State of Israel has been undone and must be reconstructed.

For the dream of a Jewish state to survive, the Palestinians and the future State of Palestine must be included because they are inevitably a part of Israel's identity (and vice versa). If the initial prayer was a liturgical response to history, then the new historical reality must give way to a new liturgical expression, one that acknowledges the failure of the Occupation, retains the optimism and right of Jewish sovereignty in at least part of the historic land of Israel, and both celebrates and accepts the reality (and right) of Palestinian sovereignty.

The initial Prayer for the State of Israel was an honest and impassioned expression of its time, when it seemed the world was on the verge of seismic change. It captured Rabbi Abraham Kook's messianic vision (this was likely the intent in adopting his words) and the collective exhale of a people who survived one of the worst atrocities in the history of human civilization. We are more than half a century past that dizzying historical moment. Another people, born of displacement and defeat so we could have our deserved sovereignty, have become its victims. By realizing our dream we have created ourselves in another. That is, the State of Israel after 1967 created a stateless people, the Palestinians, who, living a life Jews should recognize quite well, are now demanding the same right of self-determination Jews demanded in the early part of this century. While differences between the two situations surely exist, I submit to you that these differences are largely in degree and not in kind—they are contextual and not essential. We must face that fact politically, spiritually, and liturgically. The Palestinian people are inexorably part of our lives, our history, and our consciousness—it is with them that we are fated to share "our" land which is also "their" land. As a result, they must also become part of our liturgy and part of our hope for the prophetic vision of the future. ❑

The Question of the Millennium

Joel Kovel

The agitation building up to the year 2000 seems a distant memory. Remember the $100 billion non-question of whether our computer networks would melt down? But there was more in the air than that. We also went through a spate of "millennial" thinking, that quirky habit of the mind which finds special significance in numbers of years, and gets exaggerated as the numbers become portentous. Thus it was that the awesome turning point of a thousand years, arbitrary and meaningless in itself, unleashed a flurry of speculation, mostly crackpot, about the end of the world and the search for an alternative one.

The fleeting and irrational form taken by Y2K millennial thinking took an ironic turn in the widespread *fin de siècle* view among the educated classes that history had essentially ground to a halt: there would not be for the foreseeable future any kind of world other than the species which had evolved to date. The notion was launched by Margaret Thatcher, with the blithely confidant pronouncement that "there is no alternative" to neoliberal capitalism. The notion took acronymous root as "TINA," goddess of acquiescence to the ruling order, and all kinds of people, from politicians to intellectuals to great masses of workers, went along with it.

This, too, was odd, since for most of the last century, capitalism's survivability was definitely not taken for granted. Buffeted by violent economic crises and challenged by powerful socialist movements that seemed everywhere on the move, the system often seemed to totter. Indeed, the possibility of another kind of society, and more important, its desirability, was the great question of the epoch. But then, in the last quarter of the century, in the midst of economic recession and oil embargoes, on the heels of the great American defeat in Vietnam and with revolutions breaking out throughout the South, the tide began to move in the other direction. A restructured, globalized neoliberalism went on the march; and as it did, socialism began to crumble.

Joel Kovel teaches at Bard College and is the author, most recently, of The Enemy of Nature, *just released by Palgrave (Zed Books, London). For more information: www.joelkovel.org.*

In hindsight, the socialist alternatives were much less robust—indeed, much more capitalist and less socialist—than we had figured. In any case, their downfall was precipitous. Within a decade, the great struggle that had polarized modern times was, shockingly, over. The Soviet system, proud flagship of the cause of socialism, dramatically collapsed, and an epoch of capitalist triumphalism began. Buoyed by globalization and mid-Nineties' boom, the United States, capital's *gendarme,* was established as the single superpower. TINA ruled.

The dominant system is so awash in Enronic corruption as to yield an annual "Gross Criminal Product" estimated at a trillion dollars.

"The end of history" looks like this: Under the benign tutelage of the superpower, the differential in wealth between the richest and poorest countries—which had been about 3 to 1 at the beginning of the industrial revolution and roughly 30 to 1 at mid-twentieth century—has grown to the stunning proportions of 100 to 1. As a result, large swathes of the world—Central Africa, Northwestern South America, Western Asia—are decaying like so many gangrenous limbs, and in the process, spawning pestilence, unspeakable violence, and fundamentalist terror. The dominant system is so awash in Enronic corruption as to yield an annual "Gross Criminal Product" estimated at a trillion dollars. The United States executive, meanwhile, has become a wholly-owned subsidiary of the oil industry, just in time to begin waging the endless wars of the twenty-first century over the control of energy resources, though in the name of battling terror.

We need to discard all illusions about this regime, beginning with the illusion of sustainability. For its bellicosity has little to do with stopping terror and everything to do with the hopeless contradiction it has imposed on the world: that of feeding from a finite earth in order to support an insatiable need for expansion. Part addiction, part cancer, the great power that claimed to bring history to an end will succeed in doing just that, and in the process, pull humanity down with it. Unless it is stopped.

The first requirement for doing so is to imaginatively realize that there can be an alternative society. There are stirrings in this direction. Significantly, they surfaced only a few weeks before Y2K with rebellion against globalization in the streets of Seattle. The movement born then grows with every

(continued on page 32)

at least a thousand and perhaps up to four thousand Afghan men, women, and children, could not possibly have a decisive effect on world terrorism. Bush essentially agreed with that point of view when he added that America's "enemies view the entire world as a battlefield, and we must pursue them wherever they are."

The prospect is for a war without end. If particular wars, finite in scope, are useful to advance the interests of the United States as an imperial power, then a permanent war fits its ambition to be the sole unchallenged superpower. Such a war can justify what is already taking place, the expansion of American military power in every corner of the world.

An Associated Press dispatch of January 15 by Sally Buzbee reported: "Even before September 11, the military had a presence in 140 countries worldwide. Now it is busy expanding—or considering expansion—not just in Afghanistan ... and neighboring Uzbekistan and Kyrgyzstan, but in a slew of countries beyond: Armenia and Azerbaijan in Central Asia to Somalia in East Africa to the Philippines and Indonesia in Southeast Asia." From the Louisiana Purchase, with its wars of Indian removal, onward, the United States has had a two-centuries long history of economic and military expansion. The current movements of the military suggest that the "war on terrorism" is a shield for the continuation of America's expansionist aims.

This "war on terrorism" looks like an immense screen for funneling power and wealth to the top.

War, as always, is also an opportunity for tighter control of a country's own population, for restrictions on freedom of speech, freedom of association, freedom of movement. The Bush administration acted rapidly—with the aid of both political parties—to give the national government special powers to limit the constitutional rights of both citizens and non-citizens.

War is also an opportunity for insisting that citizens make economic sacrifices—and such sacrifices almost always disproportionately weigh on the poor and the middle class. Bush's tax policy and his budget proposals benefit military contractors, the super-rich, and already-wealthy corporations. This "war on terrorism" looks like an immense screen for funneling power and wealth to the top.

All that is happening now, the whole atmosphere of war and hysteria, can delude us into thinking that we are helpless victims of those who hold power. But if we think that, we have lost historical perspective. And then we are behaving as if, in truth, we were born yesterday and know only the depressing stories in this morning's newspapers, this evening's television reports.

There is a tendency to think that what we see in the present moment we will continue to see. We forget how often in this century we have been astonished by the sudden crumbling of institutions, by extraordinary changes in people's thoughts, by unexpected eruptions of rebellion against tyrannies, by the quick collapse of systems of power that seemed invincible.

The bad things that happen are repetitions of bad things that have always happened—war, racism, maltreatment of women, religious and nationalist fanaticism, starvation. The good things that happen are unexpected, and yet explainable by certain truths which spring at us from time to time, but which we tend to forget:

- Political power, however formidable, is more fragile than we think. Note how nervous are those who hold it.
- Ordinary people can be intimidated for a time, can be fooled for a time, but they have a down-deep common sense, and sooner or later they find a way to challenge the power that oppresses them.
- People are not naturally violent or cruel or greedy, although they can be made so. Human beings everywhere want the same things: they are moved by the sight of abandoned children, homeless families, the casualties of war; they long for peace, for friendship and affection across lines of race and nationality.

To be hopeful in bad times is not just foolishly romantic. It is based on the fact that human history is a history not only of cruelty, but also of compassion, sacrifice, courage, kindness.

What we choose to emphasize in this complex history will determine our lives. If we see only the worst, it destroys our capacity to do something. If we remember those times and places—and there are so many—where people have behaved magnificently, this gives us the energy to act, and at least the possibility of sending this spinning top of a world in a different direction.

We don't have to engage in grand, heroic actions to participate in the process of change. Small acts, when multiplied by millions of people, can transform the world. ❑

THE QUESTION OF THE MILLENNIUM *(from page 29)*

disclosure of the system's murderousness and uncontrollability—which is to say, its inner nature. And as it matures, the movement against global capital becomes conscious again of the millennial hopes suppressed by neoliberalism's false triumph. It emerged earlier this year in the streets of New York and Porto Alegre: "another world is possible."

Fancy that. People, mostly young, beginning to dream again. As yet, they are a tiny number facing an awesome apparatus of repression, and a monumental task of rethinking society and the possibilities of revolution. But they comprise a truly global force, from India to Brazil to France to the streets of our cities; and they are reopening the radical imagination, our most powerful endowment. In the imagining of a future, history resumes. ❑

Born Yesterday

Howard Zinn

When I became a historian it did not take me long to see that the notion of "objectivity" was a myth, that it was neither possible nor, even if possible, desirable. Not desirable because it suggested neutrality, placed the historian outside of history observing it, not participating in it. Such neutrality to me meant the historian would be accepting the world as it is, and that was not a desirable aim.

In any case, I saw that objectivity was not possible. Despite the pretensions of some historians to reproduce the past "as it was," it was clear to me that history presents an infinite number of facts, out of which the historian must choose which to present. Because the historian always must make this choice, history can never be objective. Neither is the historian's choice arbitrary—it is based on the historian's point of view, what he or she thinks is important to select from that massive amount of data and present to the reader or listener.

Without history it's as if we were born yesterday.

As I read more, I came to see that most history is written from the point of view favorable to those who already dominate society. When I began to write and teach history, I came from a different point of view, which I did not conceal. My point of view came out of my own life experience, growing up in a working class family, going to work in a shipyard at the age of eighteen and three years later enlisting in the Air Force and flying combat missions in Europe as a bombardier in World War II. It came out of my seven years in the South, teaching at Spelman College in Atlanta, becoming involved in the Southern movement against racial segregation.

I began studying history and then writing history because I thought it was important. This did not mean starting with preconceived answers. But it did mean asking questions that arose from my values. It meant addressing issues like economic justice, equality, and militarism, issues that seemed to me to be matters of life and death. Without history it's as if we were born yesterday, in which case any person in authority can speak to us with impunity—can deceive us in a hundred ways. Having no history, we cannot subject their deceptions to the scrutiny of experience, cannot judge their words by the truth of similar words uttered to us in the past.

Thus, the president can stand up before a battery of microphones and point to a massive act of violence, of terrorism, its perpetrators unknown, and declare immediately that the nation is in a state of war. That is what happened on September 11, 2001. When President Bush proclaimed a "war on terrorism," Congress swiftly rushed to endorse it with no time or inclination to seriously consider any option but retaliatory violence. The mainstream media immediately began to create an atmosphere in which it became difficult to question the cries for war. There was no turning to history for wisdom, and American citizens, unprepared by the educational system or by the dominant culture, were on their own.

History does come in handy at a time like this. Past experience cannot give a definitive judgment on a present event, but it can certainly point to persistent patterns, suggest probabilities, arouse skepticism.

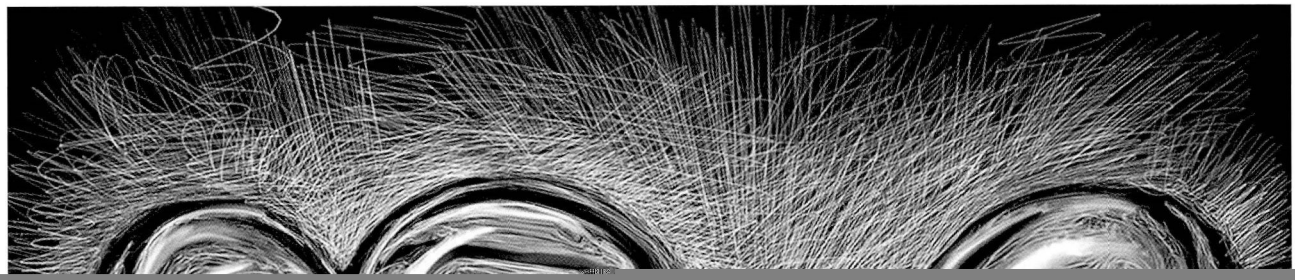
In the wake of September 11 and the government's turn to war, a citizen armed with some history might note how often in the past the nation had rushed into war on the basis of presidential decisions and accompanying rhetoric which later turned out to be based on lies.

One can go back as far as the Mexican War of 1846–48, in which President Polk declared that "American blood has been shed on American soil" in order to justify an invasion of Mexico. It turned out later that the blood shed was not clearly on American soil. In fact, the decision to provoke a war with Mexico in order to secure its northwest regions—California, Arizona, New Mexico, Nevada, Colorado—had already been made before the incident Polk referred to had occurred, as Polk himself indicated in his diary.

The Spanish-American War began after what was declared to be an act of terrorism committed by Spain—the blowing up of the battleship *Maine* in Havana Harbor, leaving hundreds of sailors dead. Long after, it turned out that the explosion was caused by an engine defect, but the event was used as an excuse to invade Cuba, dislodge Spain, and insert the United States as protector, investor, and military occupier of Cuba.

Shortly after that, a U.S. army in the Philippines provoked a bloody war which lasted years, involving atrocities committed by American soldiers against the Filipinos which

Howard Zinn is best known for his book A People's History of the United States. *His latest work is* Terrorism and War, *published by Seven Stories Press.*



THE TIKKUN COMMUNITY

THE STATE *of the* SPIRIT



creation. We are dazzled by the incomprehensible fact of being itself. Through history, we have responded to this sense of awe and wonder with song, with prayers, with dance, with theology, with philosophy, with great art and architecture, with a sense of humility and a recognition that there is something that is both part of us and beyond us, something which we cannot name or control. It is from this sense of awe that the most profound wisdom springs. Abraham Joshua Heschel used to teach a very profound notion about wisdom: wisdom may not come from accumulating facts or information about how things work or how things can be made to work. This kind of information has its place—in Habermas' terms it is knowledge that satisfies a particular kind of human interest: the interest in control and domination. But there is an aspect of the world that cannot be controlled or dominated—and that is where wisdom begins. "Humanity," Heschel used to say, "will not perish from want of information, but from a want of appreciation."

We are the inheritors of the goodness of the universe and the spiritual wisdom of human experience.

If we allow ourselves to appreciate, we will see that the world has evolved in ways that allow for higher and higher levels of complexity on the basis of an old Hegelian formula: transcend and include. Each part of the whole, each holon, in Ken Wilber's terms, is itself based on the inclusion and transcendence of earlier stages in the process of development, so that in everything is everything—each part of the whole or holon reflects and mirrors the entirety of all that was and is, and each holon includes the possibility of future transcendence. We in the spiritual tradition see that transcendence not as morally neutral, but as having a teleology—it is transcendence toward the good, which from the vantage point of human reality we can talk about in terms of love, kindness, generosity, economic justice, ecological responsibility, peace, and a growing awareness of the Unity of All Being.

So, we see ourselves as the inheritors of the incredible goodness of the universe. Some of us feel more comfortable saying the incredible goodness of God, while others are reluctant to use the word "God" when talking about spiritual reality. I want to acknowledge that the word "God" has be[illegible]

not enough to go around. We do not know how class societies developed. Some see it as a matter of necessity—the inevitable consequence of there not being enough to go around. On that theory, it was inevitable that some people would oppress others in order to take over the surplus resources, and it was just lucky for humanity that the elites developed the surplus in ways that eventually allowed all humanity to benefit somewhat from the droppings from their table of largesse. There is another theory that says that the real scarcity was not of material well-being, but of recognition—that people got scared and stopped recognizing the Spirit of God in each other. One thing is certain: material scarcity is no longer necessary—there is enough if we are willing to share—but the ideology of scarcity and the corresponding fear that there is not enough has been used to justify oppression over the past three thousand years.

If we were to tell the story in its fullness and complexity, of course, we'd have to tell the entire history of the human race. I don't intend to do that. Rather, to crudely summarize: when class societies emerged they appropriated the spiritual knowledge that already existed and tried to reshape it in the forms of religious systems that would justify oppression. Spirituality, which had been about the celebration of all that is, and that had contained within it an implicit understanding that the Spirit was shared among all being, was reorganized to claim that some people were better or closer to God than others, that some were more deserving than others, that some had the right to more well-being than others, and that all this was the will of the gods or whatever these groups called the spiritual reality of the universe. What arose then was a spirituality that accepted oppression as inevitable and justified it as sacred. It was this spirituality that taught us that our task was not to resist or argue, but to go along, to flow with reality as it is. We sometimes encounter some remnants of this in the kind of New Age spirituality which tells us to never say "but," or which tells us that thinking is bad and that feeling is everything, or which tells us that "we should just be." What we see is a confusion between celebrating

order), they turned to forms of religion that could provide them with the assurance of salvation in some future world outside of human history and apart from what we could accomplish together.

Judaism was the first of a long list of religions or spiritualities that came to challenge this accommodationist spirituality. Ruling elites throughout history have used three key ways to stay in power: 1. Force and violence 2. Convincing people that the way things are is the only way things can be

the entire world belongs not to human beings (who are momentarily alive) but to the Spiritual reality that shapes all Being, and that the Unity of All Being is the central reality.

Instead of hearing the voice of Renewal, Jews turned their revolutionary consciousness into another religion, one dominated by ritual observance and by forgetting the message of a world of love and justice. So the Prophets came along and sought to renew the tradition—and were treated rather poorly, their message ignored and ridiculed. Some

Church. It freed human beings from a feudal system and allowed for the development of a new sense of individual rights and entitlements, and from that of democratic concepts that were often absent in earlier religious systems.

But empiricism also freed the new emerging nation states from any external moral authority, and thus facilitated on the ideological plane what was already happening on the material plane—the emergence of a rapacious capitalism freed from all moral constraints. The capitalists overthrew established traditions, including those based on sharing land (what were called the commons, areas where people traditionally brought their flocks for watering or eating). Instead, private property claims now overcame traditional claims of the community—so the commons were fenced in, making it increasingly impossible for people to depend on each other and on rural agriculture. Farmers were driven into the cities, where they had to sell their labor power to the highest bidder—or starve. This was then described as the freedom of the capitalist market. On an international level, elites began to divide up the world, murdering and enslaving tens of millions of people, and creating a new world market whose wealth went to Europe and the newly emerging America—and whose pain was experienced in the enslavement of African Americans and the genocide of the American Indians.

Even this new world had a powerful positive side—the emergence of an ideology of freedom and democracy. All too often, those ideals were narrowly applied, but in the United States, through a long history of people's struggles, democratic impulses were increasingly able to extend the original promise of democracy, eventually freeing the slaves and giving African men the vote, extending the vote to women, and increasingly including previously demeaned Others into the system. Yet at the same time, democratic ideals were mobilized to enable the penetration of markets by Western capitalist firms, and the creation of local elites of power throughout the world who were loyal to the ethos of capitalism rather than to their own brothers and sisters, and who saw the highest value as serving themselves and maximizing as much money and power for themselves as possible.

In the past century we witnessed two world wars as various countries attempted to extend their own domination into areas where other countries ruled—and the incredible devastation that resulted. We saw the rise and fall of a worker's movement, socialist and communist, which sought to challenge the power of capital but eventually came to embody the same ruthless disregard for human life and the sanctity and value of other human beings that they rightly critiqued in the capitalist order. Those social change movements operated on the same terrain as the capitalists they challenged. They argued that capitalism could never deliver the material goods, and that as a result people would always be poor. Yet because these movements validated a world of material goods, they found themselves powerless to win support once the capitalist system had managed to raise the material well-being of those who socialists and communists had claimed would always be impoverished—the working class of the advanced industrial societies. This is what happened in many Western societies.

These social movements, having bought the worldview and religion of empiricism, had no language to challenge the established order except on material terms. After all, according to the dominant religion, all value statements were merely expressions of one's own sentiments, and they had no objective claim on anyone else. The Marxists and other revolutionaries thought they were being clever when they emphasized that values are merely relative, or, in the Foucaultian version, merely an expression of someone's hegemonic perspective. But then, ruling elites could reply to the powerless: "Oh, you think that the world should be based on more equality? Well, we want to tolerate you and give you the freedom to say that, but that is only your particular desire for power, whereas our particular desire leads us to another kind of discourse, one that justifies us pursuing our interests in world domination. Since everyone is only pursuing their own interests, what makes your interests have any claim on me?"

In the world that has emerged under this new empiricist religion, there are no objective moral standards, no universal claims, no foundation for ethics. In fact, ethical and spiritual reality are dismissed as merely subjective. To be a professional is to profess the dominant religion: that in our public sphere the only value to be validated is the maximization of money and power. That's our very definition of rationality, efficiency, and productivity—and everything else is merely ideology or superstition. So, we have the modern world. People go into their workplace and immediately learn that what counts is to maximize the bottom line—and that bottom line is one of wealth and power. If you can't show people with more power that your talents will in some way contribute to increasing their bottom line, eventually you will lose your work and have no money. So, the rationality of our daily experience teaches us that the highest goal is to "look out for number one" and to see other people around us primarily in terms of what they can do for us, how they can be of use. The whole world, and other people, are seen primarily through this framework—and we unlearn how to see human beings as created in the image of God, or in secular language, as ends in themselves or, in Buberian language, in I-Thou terms. Instead, we are encouraged to see everything and everybody in terms of how they will provide a payoff for us.

The result is a society filled with pain. Not the pain of material deprivation—though that still exists in many places—but the pain of a world drained of love, of community, and of any sense of higher purpose. Thus the spiritual crisis of daily life. Ask Americans their biggest problem,



and they will tell you that they feel they are all alone, that they cannot count on anyone else. Even in the midst of material plenty, Americans feel vulnerable, as if at any moment everything could fall apart.

Our society has experienced a decline in social solidarity as the ethos of the marketplace pervades every aspect of life. In politics this manifests as a new ethos of materialism and selfishness. We are desperate for tax cuts, because we don't believe there is any "we" that will act in a non-selfish way; we think we have to protect ourselves and to do so we need as much money as possible. We feel we can't afford to take care of each other, that we need to horde our own resources. When our society was much poorer, during the Great Depression, people had a higher level of social solidarity. People even felt that they could afford to take care of each other and provide social programs. But today, when we are far richer, we feel far poorer, far less able to afford to care for others, and hence far more reluctant to use our resources to end homelessness and hunger, or to provide health care or other social benefits. This is not a material issue, not an economic issue—it is a spiritual issue and a spiritual crisis. This crisis manifests itself in our personal lives, because inevitably we bring the way we've learned to see "reality" in the world of work into our home lives.

But today, when we are far richer, we feel far poorer, far less able to afford to care for others.

People engage in market calculations to determine how much energy to give each other. So in our personal lives, friendships become less stable and less something you can count on. Increasingly, even loving relationships are based on a market exchange. More and more people make commitments to each other based on a rational calculation of who will satisfy more of their needs, and then, if they find someone else later in their lives who can satisfy yet more of their needs, they feel little compunction to not break the previous commitment. After all, if we are all rational maximizers of self-interest, why not go for the next potential relationship if it can deliver more need-fulfillment?

For those of us who have grown up in this society, internalizing its vision of what is rational, it's almost impossible not to act and think this way. But not totally impossible, because there is another way to see the world—and it is what we call a spiritual consciousness. Spirit Matters—and it can provide us with a fundamentally different ethos, a whole new way to see the world and each other. We can come to see other human beings as fundamentally valuable not for what they can do for us, but rather as intrinsicially valuable because they embody the Image of God. In secular terms, we can come to see others in I–Thou terms, rather than as objects whose primary value is in terms of how they make our life more comfortable or fulfilling. Similarly, a spiritual orientation to the world means that we can transcend the ethos of materialism and selfishness that leads us to approach nature and ask "Is there anything I can sell here? Can I turn this into a commodity which will make us money or provide us with resources?" Instead, we can respond to the world in a whole different way—with awe, wonder, and radical amazement at the grandeur of creation.

The absence of this way of thinking has caused a crisis, but not one that can be dealt with by the political Left. The primary focus of the political Left is on inclusion. The Left works to ensure that those who have been left out of the grand celebration of American wealth, power, and rights be included. I totally support this agenda—and we in the TIKKUN Community enthusiastically support the full agenda of economic entitlements and political rights espoused by liberal and progressive forces. The Prophets made clear that there could be no separation between a spiritual life and a struggle for social justice. That was Jesus' message as well, and the message of many other spiritual teachers—you can't claim to love someone's soul, while letting their bodies starve to death. But for most people in the society in which we live, the crisis in their lives is not about starving, it is about trust, love, mutual recognition, and a deprivation of meaning. It is a hunger for some spiritual purpose that can transcend the ethos of the marketplace. And in those terms, the Democrats are no better than the Republicans.

The groups that do speak to our spiritual crisis—albeit in a distorted way—are the fundamentalist religions and extremist nationalisms of the twentieth century, which for this reason have seen sudden growth. We must recognize that the power of fundamentalism and nationalism is that they appear to reject the ethos of the marketplace—they tell you that you will be valued not for what you have accomplished, but simply because you are a human being who is part of this nation or this religious community. Once you belong, you don't have to compete, you don't have to maximize money or power. All you have to do is be part of us. We must understand that these groups are so successful because they affirm a certain kind of spiritual alternative to the marketplace consciousness. You will never be able to provide an alternative to fundamentalism by promoting Western values, because the fundamentalists are speaking to a real human need that is antithetical to the capitalist ethos of materialism and selfishness that we offer to the Third World as part of the globalization of capital.

Despite the praise for corporate globalization that is a matter of faith among the Bill Clinton–Al Gore–Joe Lieberman Democrats and the Tom Friedman–Paul Krugman–*New York Times* cheerleaders for corporate capital, the reality is that we are not only marketing an economic system which has enriched some and made many others much poorer, but we also have been marketing a crusading worldview: Global capital embodies the materialist ethos of empiricism, a militant religion of its own engaged in a worldwide jihad which seeks to remake every institution in its own image. Just like the religion of world communism, the religion of world capitalism has its own "politically correct" ways of thinking and acting. The notion that individuals should always look out for themselves before anyone else, that it is OK to hurt others to advance your own interests, that sexuality should be another legitimate article for consumption in the public marketplace, that people who cannot find jobs and hence face malnutrition are "acceptable costs" for the glories of modernization, that every enterprise should be judged productive by how much profit it makes—these are elements of modernity that we impose on others if they want to "play ball" in the global economy.

Just like the religion of world communism, the religion of world capitalism has its own "politically correct" ways of thinking and acting.

In light of this, we have to recognize that much of the criticism of the one-dimensionality of secular society is often quite legitimate. And yet, what the fundamentalists and ultra-nationalists do is create a Reactionary Spirituality—they uplift the faithful by demeaning some Other. For fundamentalists, it is the non-believing Other around them; for nationalists, the members of other national groups; we in the Jewish world have our form of this in goyim-bashing. And that is not all that is wrong with reactionary forms of spirituality. Believers in Reactionary Spirituality reject the very positive contributions to humanity that come from science, and the great liberating impact of rational, left-brain kinds of thinking. Science and rationality are not enough for human life, but they are an important and valuable component. Believers in Reactionary Spirituality also do not accept the importance of the individual and the great advances made in the West for human rights and for democratic freedoms. It's hard to blame many people who get attracted to Reactionary Spirituality on this account, because the kind of Western culture being delivered to the rest of the world uses democracy and human freedoms as a slogan, but actually backs authoritarian non-democratic regimes, as we did in Iran with the Shah, as we do today with Saudi Arabia or Egypt. What these people realize is that our democratic talk is largely a cover for the penetration of their societies by the ethos of the marketplace and the power of globalized capitalist multinational corporations.

So this is how the struggle appears today: corporate globalization versus reactionary spirituality. As Bush puts it, if you are not on the side of globalized capital, you are on the side of the terrorists. Well, we say "*no*" to this false choice. Instead, in my book *Spirit Matters* and in TIKKUN magazine, and now also in the creation of The TIKKUN Community, we advance a third path, a new alternative, what we call an Emancipatory Spirituality. It is a spirituality which affirms rational thinking and science, affirms the need for individual rights and for a private realm protected from invasion by the state or by society. It affirms the need for democracy, equality, and individual liberty. But it also calls for a New Bottom Line in American society to transcend the ethos of materialism and selfishness and create a world based on caring and compassion, generosity, and open-heartedness.

That New Bottom Line can best be understood by a central demand of The TIKKUN Community: the demand for a new definition of productivity, efficiency, and rationality, so that institutions, social practices, legislation, and ways of life are judged rational, productive, and efficient not only to the extent that they maximize money and power, but also to the extent that they maximize love and caring; increase our ecological, spiritual, and ethical sensibilities; help us see others as valuable because they are embodiments of the sacred; and encourage us to respond to the universe with awe, wonder, and radical amazement. Use that criterion, and you will see that most of the institutions of our society are irrational, unproductive, and inefficient—from our schools to our corporations to our media.

The good news is this: we are not the only group going in this direction. Here is the news of the State of the Spirit: Spirit is moving in this direction. The spiritual crisis that I described is a worldwide crisis, and increasingly more and more people are finding that when the system "delivers the material goods," it doesn't satisfy. The old system of materialism and selfishness has not yet crumbled, and it may have another fifty or even a hundred years of power left. But developing within the existing system is a new ethos, a new spirituality, a mystical society, a set of human beings who wish to return to the mystery of Being, human beings who are increasingly aware of the impermanence of material accomplishments, human beings who no longer believe that they can escape the transitoriness of life and the certainty of death by building skyscrapers or putting plaques on hospitals and university classroom buildings, or by getting momentary fame by writing a well-known book or movie. Human beings are developing who see through the falseness and the hypocrisy of the materialist culture of contemporary capitalism, who no longer believe

that a huge income and a house in the suburbs will provide their lives with meaning. So they are turning to Spirit. They are turning in all kinds of ways. Some of those ways are flakey, some are reactionary, and some are destructive. But there are other and deeper forms of spiritual life emerging, and with this movement, the prefiguring of a new kind of society.

In this process of spiritual awakening we have many allies. We have allies like The Call for Renewal Community in the evangelical world, the socially engaged Buddhists inspired by the Dalai Lama and Thich Nhat Hahn, and the Catholic social justice communities like those mobilized by Dorothy Day and Catholics for Free Choice. We have allies among the Quakers, the Mennonites, and the members of the United Church of Christ. We have allies in the Unitarian, the Methodist, and the Episcopal churches, as well as in the Reform, Reconstructionist, and Renewal movements of Judaism.

We can affirm that there are many ways to God or to Spirit and truths to be learned from every spiritual tradition.

The TIKKUN Community seeks to be a midwife in this process of spiritual awakening. We are seeking to create a national network of spiritually-oriented progressive people who support the New Bottom Line and who want to build a world of love and open-heartedness.

A central goal of The TIKKUN Community is to foster a new sense of planetary consciousness. In religious terms, that means we are part of the Unity of All Being. In ecological terms, that means affirming there can be no survival for the human race without saving the whole planet. Those who think they can turn their backs on the fate of the Third World or dump the waste materials of advanced industrial societies some place else have no understanding of the fundamental truth of ecological science: we are all in one unified world system. And that goes for social justice and economic justice as well. One lesson we should learn from September 11: there is no possibility of security at any level for us in the advanced industrial world while the rest of the world wallows in pain. We may think it is not our concern when people work in sweatshops, when young children have to sell their bodies into prostitution, when plants close down and people have no work, when people live as refugees, or when people starve to death. But there are literally millions of young children (I mean millions not thousands) who die of diseases related to starvation each year, and in this kind of a world, terrorism will increase. There is no safety or security for us unless there is worldwide social justice and ecological sanity.

This lesson has to be learned by the Jewish people, my people. There is no longer a way to think of a private solution that will provide Jewish security in a world that is rupturing in pain. The pain of others will inevitably impact our lives. No new security system will protect us—we cannot secure our homes from burglaries, our airports from terrorists, or even the Jewish homeland from assault. The only security is a world based on a whole new principle of love, generosity, social and economic justice, peace, and mutual respect.

This means that Judaism, like every other religious and spiritual tradition, needs to reject those aspects of the tradition that have made us think that we could protect ourselves from the demeaning of others by demeaning them back. We have to reject goyim bashing—the tendency to look down on non-Jews or to think we are smarter, more moral, more anything. If we have historical strengths that we've developed, they need to be channeled toward the same goal that everyone else needs to put their energies—toward universal liberation. This does not mean we should reject the specificity of our traditions, our religious texts, holidays, observances or prayers. The challenge of the twenty-first century is to have a planetary consciousness that is truly multicultural—that doesn't demand homogeneity or the abandonment of cultural or religious particularity, but only requires that those parts of the tradition that demean others, or that assume the possibility of a private redemption, or that display indifference to the suffering of others now be transcended.

We are trying to achieve this multicultural consciousness in the way that we are building The TIKKUN Community. We emerge from the Jewish world. In the past, many Jewish progressives have been Jewish only when they were using their Jewishness to critique Israel or to put down something in the Jewish world. But we are strongly positive about Judaism—especially those aspects of Judaism that are part of the spiritual mystical tradition, the tradition of the Prophets. We are building the TIKKUN Community as a national organization of liberal and progressive Jews. But, and here is the twist, in this historical period we are also building it as a community for people from every religious and spiritual tradition, *and* for people who are not part of any religious tradition or do not accept any God language, but recognize that the spiritual needs I've described here are central to the healing and transformation of our planet. Can we be both—the first multi-issue liberal and progressive Jewish organization and, at the same time, an interfaith organization? Yes, we can affirm that there are many ways to God or to Spirit, and we can affirm that this is the new consciousness of the spiritually progressive Jew today.

Once we recognize a planetary consciousness, we will recognize that every human being is equally precious. That, in turn, requires a whole new way of thinking about the

situation in the Middle East. I am personally a strong supporter of Israel and want Israel to be secure. But I know that Israel's policies are self-destructive, irrational, and make Israel less secure. I know that the story has two sides—that when Jews were refugees crawling from the crematoria of Europe, it was Palestinians who refused to share the land with us. But the whole message of Jewish Renewal and of the Judaism of the Prophets is that we need to transcend the pain of the past—we must not act out in this generation what was done to us in past generations. To believe in YHVH, the Force of Healing and Transformation, is to be witness to the possibility of possibility. For the Jewish people, that means we must change the politics of the State of Israel. As a first step we must immediately end the Occupation of the West Bank and Gaza, bring the 200,000 settlers back to the pre-1967 borders of Israel, and lead a worldwide campaign to provide reparations for Palestinian refugees. We must provide reparation not only because a Palestinian state based on extremes of poverty and helplessness would be just as dangerous as the current Occupation, but also because we, as the Jewish people, have to acknowledge our role in driving out people from their homes in 1948 just as we are doing—to the shock and amazement of the world—every day in Gaza, in the West Bank, and in Jerusalem of 2002. We must acknowledge our responsibility—partial, not total, but real—in creating the mess we are now facing.

At the same time, we call upon the Palestinian people to reject the tactics of terror. Terrorism is never right. Terrorism breeds fear and a sense that one must respond with violence, which then breeds more violence. The Palestinian people have made a tragic mistake in not stopping that violence. Palestinians will argue that the violence of the Israeli Occupation is far greater, and that the daily combination of torture, house demolitions, humiliating searches, targeted assassinations, and the siege of towns and villages is far worse than anything experienced by the Israeli population. They may be right. But this whole situation will only be solved if both sides can feel that the other side recognizes them as human with the same human needs as they—and that can never happen if the violence continues. One reason I chose to hold our founding conference on the weekend of Martin Luther King Jr.'s annual celebration was to underscore our appeal to the Palestinian people to follow the nonviolent path of Martin Luther King Jr.

Some may ask, "why should the oppressed work to initiate nonviolence?" This was the question asked of Martin Luther King Jr.—why should we be nonviolent in the most violently racist society in human history? We are the ones who are facing segregation, lynchings, police dogs, beatings. Why should we be the ones when the other side is not nonviolent toward us? But Martin Luther King Jr. realized something fundamental, a spiritual truth: in order to break through, we need to appeal to the humanity of the oppressor; to signal to them that even though they are wrong we can still see their humanity. The genius of Martin Luther King Jr. was that he made it possible for white America to remember its own highest spiritual aspirations, and to act on them, and from that place they could no longer justify segregation.

Ultimately, making peace in the Middle East requires a whole new approach on the spiritual level—a new ethos of generosity and open-heartedness. Each side needs to learn how to tell the other side's story with compassion and generosity of spirit. We need to be able to hear each other, and to recognize the humanity in each other. As a Jew, I want that process to start with us. It's time for the Jewish people to give up its story as an eternally threatened people—to recognize that we are in fact powerful at this moment, and that the greatest threat to us comes from acting in ways that seem immoral and contemptuous of the needs of others. We need to begin to trust the possibility that the world has other things on its mind besides destroying us—and we can elicit that change of attention if we took the leap of faith, and started to act in a trusting, generous way toward the Palestinian people. I don't mean that we should unilaterally disarm the Israeli Army, but I do mean that we should act in ways that are unmistakably generous, not looking for an immediate return.

We should understand that we have generations of repentance ahead of us to rectify the wrongs we have done to the Palestinian people—and that we cannot hide behind the perfectly correct but morally irrelevant position that they too have lots of repenting to do. We should take the first steps, perhaps even the first few hundred steps, not only because we are the greater power and we are the occupying force, but also because the only way Israel can become a Jewish state is to be an embodiment of the highest ideals of Judaism. These ideals start with the categorical imperative in Torah: Thou shalt love the stranger, Thou shalt love the Other. If the Jewish people could renew its commitment to this part of Torah, it would truly begin the process of becoming a Light unto the Nations. Unrealistic? Well, that's the central point of Torah: realism is idolatry. It is using the criterion of what *is* as the basis of what you think *can be*. But to believe in God or Spirit is to believe that there is a Force that makes it possible to transcend *that which is* toward *that which ought to be*—toward a world of love and justice and peace. It's that part of Judaism we identify with in calling this organization the TIKKUN Community—because TIKKUN is the Hebrew word for healing and transformation.

That is our task and our strategy—to notice that everywhere people have a part of them that wants to work toward their highest spiritual ideals, but another part that thinks it is too dangerous. Most of us are afraid of being put down and made fun of by the dominant culture. And that is what will happen at first. Not because of others,

however, but because of our own inner ambivalence, and our own experience of humiliation at earlier points in our lives when we went for a world of love, and then found ourselves betrayed, manipulated, abandoned, or hurt. Within ourselves, we've given up on that possibility and become realists. It is not the ruling class that keeps things the way they are—it is each of us who enforce reality on each other, who tell each other that nothing fundamental can be changed.



That's why we need a TIKKUN Community—we need to build communities of support for people who want to go for a New Bottom Line, and we know that if you do it on your own you will be isolated and may find yourself giving up. But building a community is a complicated process, and we are not sure we know exactly how to do it. We start with a certain humility—we know what needs to be done, but we don't know for sure how to do it. We need your help, your good will, your tolerance, and your compassion. We have some wonderful vehicles. Let me mention two:

Our only hope of saving this planet from ecological destruction is to put our intelligence, energy, time and money behind our highest ideals

First, we are trying to build groups of spiritually-oriented people in unions, professions, and workplaces. We are trying to get groups of people around the country who share a similar kind of work to begin to meet with each other—maybe in person but mostly on the phone or on email—to envision what a New Bottom Line would look like in your workplace or profession. Imagine you go to the next meeting of the AMA or Bar Association or American Historical Association or NEA or Nurses Association or National Association of Social Workers or the SEIU or AFT and you call for a meeting of people who want a New Bottom Line, explaining what that is. If the first meeting is four people, the second year it will be ten, the third thirty, and the fourth one hundred and twenty. It will grow, and more and more people will start to talk about these ideas.

Second, we are calling for the Social Responsibility Amendment to the U.S. Constitution that would require any corporation doing business in the United States and making more than $20 million a year to get a new corporate charter once every twenty years, which would only be granted if they could prove a history of social responsibility as measured by an Ethical Impact Report. To avoid a new government regulatory body, which would quickly be dominated by the forces it sought to regulate, the SRA calls for the evaluations of the Ethical Impact Report to be done by an independent grand jury composed of ordinary citizens chosen at random throughout the population with a new grand jury for each corporation. To win this will take several decades of struggle, and we will have to win serious campaign finance reform along the way, but we should begin now to talk about the SRA and its underlying demand for corporate social responsibility.

To make these kinds of changes, we need to build a community. And for that we need three things:

First, in building community we need lots of compassion for each other. We are all deeply flawed, are likely to disappoint each other, and will not always live up to our own highest ideals. The TIKKUN Community will also at times not be as wonderful as it should be, because every human institution is limited and will at times disappoint. So we need to have compassion for each other even as we gently and lovingly assist each other to reach new heights of generosity, open-heartedness, and joy. We know that even these high ideals can be used as clubs to beat up on each other—therefore, our organizational "bottom line" must be kindness and real caring for each other's well being.

Second, we need to develop an inner life—recognizing that all forms of social change will be undermined if we rely on externals. The process of TIKKUN (the healing and transformation of the planet) will take a long time, and in the process we need to take care of each other, and encourage each other to develop a personal inner life, spiritual practice, and a connection to Spirit (however that is conceived or encountered).

Third, we need to reject the idolatry of "being realistic" and instead put our life energies behind our highest vision of the good. "Don't speak falsely now, the hour is growing late." Our only hope of saving this planet from ecological destruction is to put our intelligence, energy, time, and money behind our highest ideals, rather than to continue to scale that down to what others tell us is "realistic." Being realistic is idolatry—to be part of The TIKKUN Community is to affirm a spiritual vision, to connect to the Force of Healing and Transformation of the Universe, to affirm that there is an aspect of reality that makes possible the transcendence of "*that which is*" (reality) toward *that which ought to be.* We want to make it safe for others to go for their own most loving ideals. We already saw that possibility in the miracle of transformation that occurred with the women's movement. Thirty-five years ago people ridiculed the idea that women could overcome ten thousand years of patriarchy—today, it is those "realists" who look foolish. We are here to affirm that a world can be built based on love and caring. Let's make that happen—together. ❑

The Sword and the Plowshare as Tools of *Tikkun Olam*

Arthur Waskow

Mention "the Jews" and "nonviolence" in the same breath and, in our generation, many will look you askance. Mental images of the Israeli Army, the Maccabees, an "angry God," will flood the eye. Perhaps they will be followed by images of quiet and passivity and wisdom—"sheep to the slaughter" during the Holocaust, Torah-scholars, scientists and pianists. But rarely will there surface the memory, rarely will there arise the hope, of an assertive, vigorous nonviolent Jewish resistance to the arrogant in power.

The past and the future, however, are much more complex than this parade of images suggests. And since Jewish thought has always proceeded in a spiral where the future and the past are intertwined, it is hardly possible to think about a future of assertive nonviolent Jewish action without unfolding the meaning of our limited memories.

Jewish wisdom is neither the endless circle of tradition nor the abrupt progression of a straight line forward.

For Jewish wisdom is neither the endless circle of tradition nor the abrupt progression of a straight line forward. Always it does *midrash*—takes an ancient tradition, gives it a twirl, and comes out somewhere new. Spiralling.

And today this midrash is not simply a twirling of the text, but an unfolding of the historical transformations that gave birth to the many layers of the text. Midrash today is not an antiquarian dust-off of ancient oddities but a way to join the spiritual searches of ages past, renew them, and create new forms of action in the ancient search for peace and justice.

I. Biblical Israel: Civil Disobedience and Ultra-violence

If we look back at the history of biblical Israel, there are two very important strands from which we need to learn and with which we need to wrestle. One is the strand of constant willingness to challenge and disobey arrogant power, whether it's located in Pharaoh or in a Jewish king. The other is the strand of willingness to use violence—sometimes hyper-violence—to advance the Jewish vision of a decent society.

Let us first take up the strand of resistance to unaccountable power. The story of Shifrah and Puah—the midwives who refused to obey Pharaoh's order to murder Hebrew boy-babies—is perhaps the first tale of nonviolent civil disobedience in world literature.

The process of liberation in the Exodus itself is woven with violence in the form of disastrous ecological upheavals and ultimately the death of Egypt's firstborn. But the imposition of these plagues is ascribed to God and thus placed one giant step away from Israelite behavior. Indeed, the Israelites are specifically forbidden to leave their homes on the night when the firstborn die. The most active deed of the Israelites themselves is described as a nonviolent one: visiting the Egyptian homes to demand reparations—gold and jewels that will repay them for many years of slavery.

The Hebrew Bible also describes nonviolent resistance to Babylonian and Persian power. For example, Jeremiah warns against using violence and military alliances to oppose the Babylonian Conquest, and argues instead that God will protect the people if Judah acts in accord with the ethical demands of Torah—freeing slaves, letting the land rest. Daniel and his friends are famously cast into the lions' den for nonviolently refusing to obey the king's command to worship foreign gods. And, although the Book of Esther ends in violence, Esther herself demonstrates nonviolent civil disobedience when, in fear and trembling, she approaches the Persian king without having been invited so that she can carry out her mission to save the Jewish people from a murderous tyrant.

Well, we might say, it is not surprising that Israelite culture would celebrate resistance to foreign potentates. What about Israel's own kings?

Here too there are tales of nonviolent resistance. There is a powerful story of an Israelite king, Saul, who had to deal with an underground guerilla whom he thought of as a

Rabbi Arthur Waskow is the director of The Shalom Center, www.shalomctr.com, and author of Godwrestling—Round 2. *To receive a weekly thought-letter from Rabbi Waskow, send a blank email to shalomctr1-subscribe@topica.com.*

terrorist, named David. And David, with a very small band of underground guerillas, went off, hungry and desperate, and found food and protection at a sacred shrine, where they asked the priests to let them eat the show-bread, the *lehem panim*, the sacred bread placed before God, because they were desperately hungry. And the priests fed them from the sacred bread.

When Saul heard about this, he said (more or less), "Anybody who harbors a terrorist is a terrorist!" (Do you hear an echo?) and so King Saul ordered his own bodyguard to kill the priests of Nov. But the bodyguard refused.

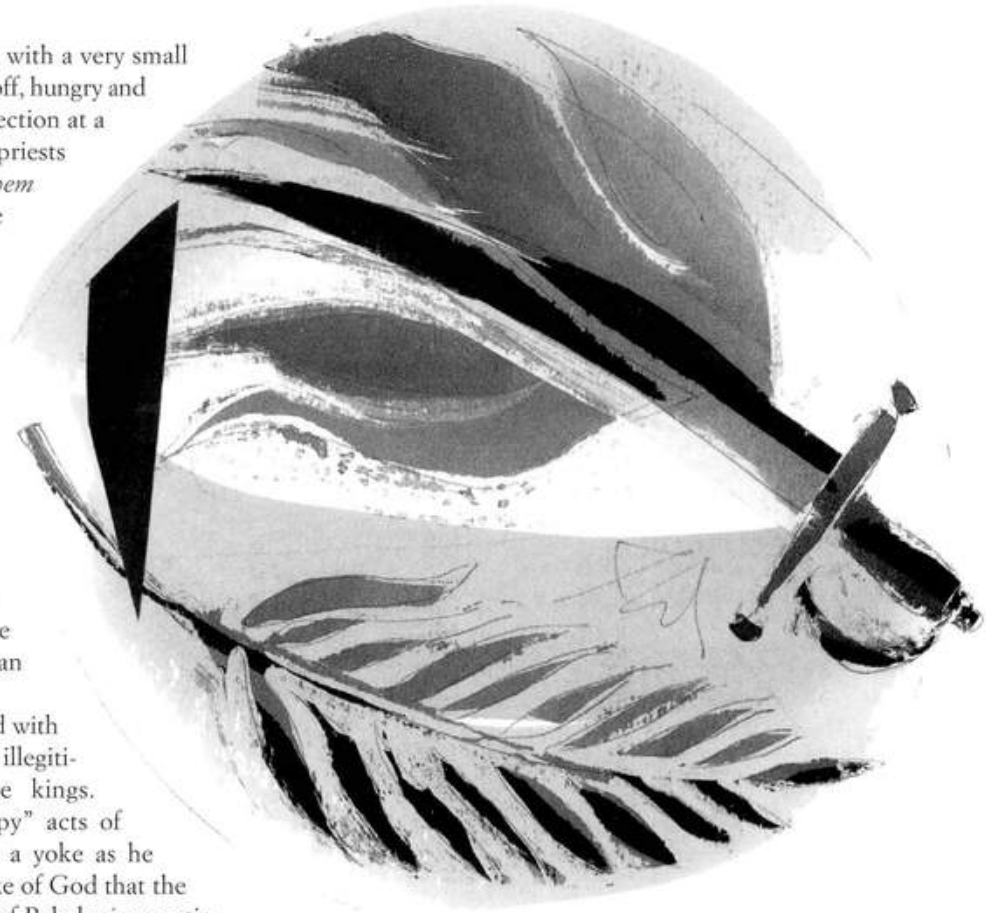
His own bodyguard, yet they refused to murder these priests. An act of nonviolent civil disobedience against an Israelite king, not an Egyptian Pharaoh.

The tales of the Prophets are filled with moments of nonviolent resistance to illegitimate uses of power by Israelite kings. Jeremiah, for example, used "Yippy" acts of street theater to protest. He wore a yoke as he walked in public, to embody the yoke of God that the King had shrugged off and the yoke of Babylonian captivity that the King was bringing on the people.

Torah also bears descriptions of how it would look to have power made accountable to the public and to the guardians of Torah. A passage in Deuteronomy describes a constitutional monarch who must write, day by day, those passages of Torah that restrict his own power. He must not multiply horses—the cavalry, tanks and Apache helicopters of that day. He must not pile up money for his treasury. He must not send the people back into Mitzrayim, which didn't mean sending them back to geographical Egypt, but meant sending them back to slavery. And he had to read the Torah, in public. Imagine Richard Nixon reading the Bill of Rights on national television and having to listen to direct responses.

That's one strand of ancient Torah. More familiar to us is the other strand, the one that, in its vision of creating a decent society in a little sliver of land on the eastern edge of the Mediterranean, over and over again counsels violence, even genocide. The sense that creating a decent society could only be done by military means is a very strong strand of Torah.

Even within this approach, however, the biblical model of Jewish life preserved some limits on war. Even in wartime, the Israelite army was forbidden to cut down fruit trees, unless they were actually being used as bulwarks in defending against a siege. And the Torah provided for individual exemptions from the army for young people in the earliest journey of making a family, building a house, creating a vineyard, feeling fear of death in battle, or fearing to become a killer. The Maccabees actually applied these rules, even in the midst of a war to resist an occupying power that had desecrated the Temple and was forcing people to worship idols.



ILLUSTRATIONS BY JULIE DELTON

For at least a thousand years, the same culture and tradition that often counseled nonviolent resistance against unaccountable power also counseled the use of military conquest against cultures it deemed indecent, so as to be able to implant Israelite society and culture in what it claimed as the Land of Israel.

II. Rabbinic Judaism: Internal Tikkun and Passive Nonviolence

But the Jewish people faced both an outside practical challenge to that set of assumptions about military power, and an internal ethical challenge to it.

The external challenge came from the Hellenists and the Romans who swept over the Mediterranean basin, conquering the Jewish state. Jews revolted, most famously under the Maccabees and under Bar Kochba, until the Romans finally proved military revolt against their empire impossible by decimating Israel's Jewish population. After this Diaspora, the rabbis refused to make heroes of Bar Kochba or even

of the Maccabees. Rabbinic Judaism essentially said, "No longer can military power create a decent society in this sliver of land. Can't be done. Shouldn't be tried."

Internally, the rabbis also decreed that military power should no longer be used. They did this by evading, nullifying, and otherwise interpreting away the Torah's genocidal commands against the Canaanites and other idolatrous people. Instead of extrapolating from these commands that it would be all right—even obligatory—to wipe out any people that rejected the Jewish God, the rabbis went in the opposite direction, ruling that the Canaanite example was a limited one—by the time of the rabbis, a nullity.

Since the Canaanite peoples no longer existed—the rabbis explained that the Assyrians had scattered and shattered them as well as the "Ten Lost Tribes" of the Israelites themselves—the rabbis decreed that the commands to use military action against the Canaanites were a dead letter. If military action against the Canaanites was no longer necessary, then military action itself was no longer commanded.

The rabbis who were so creative in applying ancient Torah in a new situation could certainly, had they wished, have understood the Jebusites, Hivites, Amalekites, and so on as symbols for ongoing threats and dangers to be dealt with militarily. They chose instead to nullify the genocidal meaning of the text. And they even dismissed the Torah's commands to execute a rebellious Israelite child or wipe out a rebellious Israelite city, saying, "This never happened and it never will." Perhaps "this never happened" was a historical claim, but "it never will" expressed an ethical decision never to carry out the seeming command of Torah. While some may say the rabbis were merely being pragmatic, given the amassed power of the Roman and Byzantine empires, these rulings on matters internal to the Jewish people certainly point to a real ethical revulsion against the use of violence.

Indeed, the rabbis, who continued to shape a court system within Jewish society, mostly rejected the violent punishments prescribed in Torah. "A court that sentences even one person to death in seventy years," they said, "is a court of murderers."

But the most basic transformation of all was that the rabbis constructed a nonviolent way for the Jewish people to live in the world. Living in the nooks and crannies of Roman, of Christian, of Muslim civilization, Jewish communities in the Rabbinic period created decent societies of their own and gave up on the vision of toppling the Great Powers and transforming the world as a whole.

Only within ourselves, said the rabbis, can we make a decent world. Someday, if we do a good job, then somehow a transcendent God will come and bring Mashiach, bring the Messiah, and so transform the world. But as for us? For our own action being able to mend the clearly broken broader world beyond our boundaries? Forget it.

People sometimes call Gandhian nonviolence "passive resistance" even though Gandhi's form of nonviolence is in fact highly assertive. But in the case of Rabbinic Judaism, the phrase "passive resistance," or "nonassertive nonviolence," is indeed quite accurate. For almost two thousand years, rabbinic Jews accepted that they would suffer expulsions, they would suffer pogroms, but they believed that the Jewish people could live beyond expulsions and pogroms.

III. Reviving a Military Model

Rabbinic Judaism's model of nonassertive nonviolence worked well until the last century or so of modernity, when sadism became industrialized—when we experienced not only pogroms and expulsions, but the Shoah, the Holocaust, the death of one-third of the Jewish people. It then became clear to almost all of us that we could no longer live with the Rabbinic model anymore.

One powerful lesson of the Holocaust has been that there is nowhere to hide anymore. Not just for the Jews. If you're the tiny, powerless, native communities of the Amazon basin, can you hide? Not anymore. With satellite technology, global corporations can spot your resources. With modern transportation systems, they can airlift entire factories into your remote area. With telecommunications, they can supervise the plundering of your community from afar. This is how, in the Amazon, global corporations have managed to log the rainforest and in its place create pasture for cattle destined to become fast food hamburger. Your resources gone, your community dies.

The Rabbinic answer is no longer sufficient. What to do?

The first response to industrial sadism and industrial arrogance was to revert to the military model of the biblical period (though without its acceptance of genocide). Jews thought: " We need to protect ourselves from the modernized hatreds of other peoples with military force. And we can do this once more on the eastern edge of the Mediterranean."

This was the response of what became the major forces in the Zionist movement, the Zionism of Herzl (who chose as the music to be played at the first Zionist Congress the music of Wagner), of Ben Gurion, as well as of Jabotinsky, the Zionism of the left-wing Palmach and the right-wing Irgun. (There was another Zionism: that of Ahad Haam and Martin Buber and Henrietta Szold; but their vision and version of Zionism were almost drowned out, especially by the flood of bloodshed in the Holocaust.)

When military force was first applied by the Zionist Yishuv, some elements of the Jewish military forces tried to apply the concept of "self-restraint" and "purity of arms." Perhaps this was a throwback to the ethics of the Rabbinic period. The idea behind the "purity of arms" was that civilians should not be attacked—that Jewish settlements established by purchase should be defended whenever necessary, but that Palestinian Arab towns should never be attacked.

Never was this purity quite pure, and some branches of

the Zionist movement did not honor such strictures. Yet the effort to secure and defend Palestinian territory on which to build a Jewish society was originally prepared for compromise, partition, self-restraint.

But it is clear that increasingly, this decision to use military force sparingly has changed into an addiction to use military force and violence, aggressively as well as defensively, for conquest as well as for self-defense. Successive governments of Israel have chosen the path of competing with the Great Powers of the world. Tanks, planes, even H-bombs were acquired; as I write, the State is in the midst of a massive repression of a rebellious people, and the rebellion as well as the repression are taking crueler and crueler forms.

It is already becoming clear that a small people cannot maintain "purity of arms," cannot wage an ethical military effort, cannot compete with the Great Powers—and carry on a decent society at the same time. Not even the Soviet Union, a continental super-state, could shoulder this burden. It is not altogether clear that even the richest society in the history of the world, the United States, can for generations wage continuous war—even "a pure war"—and remain or create a decent society at home.

The chances that Israel can do so are very small. Pursued to its logical fulfillment, this reversion to the biblical path leads to a dead end. And I do mean a dead end.

IV. A New Tikkun Olam

What is a decent alternative to military action?

The advantage of the Biblical vision was that it was assertive, rather than passive. The advantage of the Rabbinic vision was that it avoided violence. Is there a way to synthesize these virtues in the new era of Jewish peoplehood into which we have entered? Is there a way to create a Jewish path of assertive nonviolence?

Let's look at what may have been the most successful single use of nonviolent civil disobedience by the Jewish people since the midwives Shifra and Puah, even though we have almost never put the tag "nonviolent movement" on it.

That was the Soviet Jewry movement. With only one or two exceptions, it avoided the use of violence, and used assertive nonviolence to win freedom for Jews in the Soviet Union.

Dancing in the streets of Moscow on the night of Simchat Torah. Marches, demonstrations, boycotts. Sit-ins in the Supreme Soviet. I can remember when people thought, "Hey, a sit-in in the Supreme Soviet? All those folks will be dead in a week!"

But they weren't. Indeed, they won allies. Jews around the world, members of other communities as well. Allies. We did not need to stand alone. Through years of struggle, this movement made some cracks in what to many had seemed a monolithic Soviet totalitarian state. Even before those cracks and many others brought the whole system down, millions of Soviet Jews either became free to leave or free to begin recreating a Jewish community and culture.

Why did we not think of this movement as Gandhian or Kingian? I think it was because we were deeply puzzled as to how to cope with such a way of understanding ourselves alongside the State of Israel during that same period. But the movement to free Soviet Jews was an assertive nonviolent movement. We should with joyful pride name this nonviolent victory as what it was, lift it up to our own awareness, celebrate it.

The movement toward a Jewish nonviolent civil disobedience has helped invigorate and renew Judaism.

This effort was the strongest, but not the only, use of assertive nonviolence by Jewishly-conscious Jews during the past generation.

There were the Freedom Seders of the early 1970s, aimed against racism and the Vietnam War, all of them rooted in affirming the liberation struggle of the Jewish people alongside the liberation struggles of Black Americans, Vietnamese, Nicaraguans, women. One of those Freedom Seders actually poured blood, frogs, cockroaches—the symbolic plagues—on the fence around the White House. Another brought together 4,000 people in the Cornell University field house, where Daniel Berrigan actually came out from the underground where he had fled to escape the government's prosecution of his anti-war activities. Assertive nonviolence, with allies. Both a new approach in Jewish life.

And there was the Jewish Campaign for Trees for Vietnam, with Rabbi Abraham Joshua Heschel as its Honorary Chairman, which challenged the actions of the U.S. government in deliberately destroying the forests of Vietnam to deny tree cover to Vietnamese guerrillas. The Trees for Vietnam campaign drew on both the Torah's prohibition of destroying trees in time of war, and the Jewish practice of planting trees in Israel. Raising money for these purposes was an act of civil disobedience. More recently, this environmental activism has continued with a Tu B'Shvat seder in the redwood forest, concluding with a "plant-in" on the very property owned by a corporation that was logging the ancient redwoods.

The movement toward a Jewish nonviolent civil disobedience has helped invigorate and renew Judaism. For example, Hoshanah Rabbah, the seventh day of Sukkot, was originally a ceremony that happened at the banks of rivers. Since ancient times, Jews beat willows on the riverbank, dancing seven circles with the Torah and calling out to God to save the earth from drought and locusts, famine and plague. But in modern times, Hoshanah Rabbah has mostly been limited to beating willow branches on the rugs in the

small chapel at the back of a few traditional synagogues, having no way of connecting with the festival prayers for healing the earth.

In 1998, a small group of Jews changed all that by beating willows on the earth on the banks of the Hudson River—aimed against General Electric's refusal to clean up the river after poisoning it with PCB's. That fused the ancient meaning of this festival with an act of assertive nonviolence against one of the Great Powers of the planet.

Today, as the state of Israel pursues the older, biblical path, using military action to push its policies, Jewish nonviolence sadly must be used against Jewish military action. So we see Israeli Jews and Jews from the Diaspora, along with international supporters from many countries, sitting down against the Israeli bulldozers destroying Palestinian homes. With their own bare hands, pushing aside the concrete blocks that cut off Palestinian villages in blockades, in sieges. Coming on Tu B'Shvat to replant olive trees destroyed (despite the prohibitions of Torah) by Israeli soldiers and settlers in Palestine as well as replanting palm trees and pine trees destroyed by Palestinian arsonists in Israel. Being arrested, even beaten, for their nonviolent resistance.

And we have seen Israelis, soldiers and reservists, who have refused to serve in the Army of Occupation, citing God, ethics, Torah, and the true security of Israel as their reasons. And going to jail for refusing. In these brave nonviolent protesters we see the hope and the promise of an assertive, yet nonviolent means to secure Jewish life and culture.

Most of these campaigns and struggles have drawn explicitly on Jewish ceremony and Jewish practices. For that reason, they did not have to choose between being "Jewish" and being "universal"; they did not even have to "balance" being "Jewish" and being "universal."

In the very depth of their being, they were simultaneously and organically both Jewish and universal. Putting energy into them did not draw Jews away from their Jewish heritage in order to heal the wounded world; it actually deepened their Jewish knowledge and experience.

Nor did these actions pull people into Jewish tribalism at the expense of lost concern for the others endangered on this planet; like a hologram, like the presence of DNA in every cell of the body, they taught that the whole is fully present in each part. The highest good of each community and the highest good of the planet as a whole are enwrapped within each other. That is why we call this new Jewish form of assertive nonviolent civil disobedience "tikkun olam," the healing of the world.

V. Creating the Future in the Present

Surely the development of Jewish assertive nonviolence has owed much to the experience of the movements we connect with Gandhi and with King. Yet there are differences. Not only does Jewish nonviolence draw on Torah to embody as action-forms some ancient practices and rituals; it also draws on the Jewish tradition for counsel on when violence itself may be necessary, even for the committed nonviolent activist.

Just after World War I, in his essay "Recollection of a Death" (published in *Pointing the Way*), Martin Buber thought deeply about whether the means might justify the ends. He wrote about the Leninist "Red Terror" of the period:

"I cannot conceive of anything real corresponding to the saying that 'the end "sanctifies" the means'; but I mean something which is real in the highest sense of the term when I say that the means profane, actually make meaningless, the end, that is, its realization!"

He continued, "The more out of accord with the goal is the method by which it is realized, the farther will be the goal that is actually realized from the one that was set."

At first glance, this may seem not different from Gandhi's teaching that "You must be the end that you seek," or A.J. Muste's teaching that "There is no way to peace; peace is the way."

It is surely closely connected with those teachings; but a close reading of the way Buber puts his point suggests a different possibility: that Buber is not so absolutist about the avoidance of all violence. All his thought and writing leans away from enshrining rules of behavior and toward experiencing the unique need in the unique moment. In one such specific situation, for example, during a dialogue/debate with Gandhi over how the Jews of Europe should respond to Nazism, Buber actually did distinguish his own views from an absolutist pacifism. In the passage above, Buber is not necessarily saying you must choose a means that matches your end. He sternly warns that you should realize that if you want, for example, peace in the end, it will be far harder to achieve if the means you use is war.

Buber is, in a sense, describing a "sliding scale" of social change. The more violence in the means, the more violence will remain in the goal achieved. In the Soviet Union of Lenin and Stalin, the "means" of the Red Terror became the (perhaps unintended) "end" of a totalitarian dictatorship. Buber makes clear in the essay that he was strongly opposed to that means and prophetically understood what end would be achieved. In 1949, when he published *Paths in Utopia*, he unfolded in great clarity his critique of what had happened in Soviet reality.

But implicit in Buber's dread of the unfolding of violence into more and more violence, there is also the possibility that an activist may use certain limited forms of violence in extreme necessity, while being fully aware that this is likely to corrupt the society that s/he is trying to bring to birth. This awareness might make it possible to take steps to reduce the corruption that results.

This willingness to consider violence makes Jewish civil disobedience different from the Gandhian or Buddhist

model. After the passiveness of the Rabbinic model, with its acceptance of pogroms and massacres, Jewish nonviolence must be robust and willing to consider violence in the last resort.

The main thrust of Buber's point, however, is that the best way to bring about the future you desire is to actually build a miniature or microcosm of that future in the present. No longer a passive nonviolent protest against the world we disdain, Jewish nonviolence today stresses that we must actively and positively create the world we want.

There is an ancient Jewish teaching that encodes this wisdom: According to the ancient Rabbis, if the entire Jewish people were to observe Shabbat twice in a row, the Messiah would come. Since Shabbat was understood as a foretaste of the Messianic Age, this teaching meant: "Bring it by doing it."

Indeed, I suggest that this "law" of social action (in the sense of the law of gravity—a description of empirical reality) is so basic that it applies whether the activist's vision and practice are nonviolent, or not.

Seeing the issues of violence and nonviolence in social action through this lens of "enacting the future in the present" may offer a new way to understand and to choose a course of action for tikkun olam.

One of the clearest cases of the power of this form of social action is the sit-in movement in the United States. The sit-inners did not begin by trying to change the laws that mandated or permitted segregation. They did not attack the restaurant owners. They envisioned a future of integrated public places, and in the present they integrated them. They put on the society at large the burden of deciding what to do about them.

By disobeying the law, they changed the law. And since they tapped into a latent value system among the majority of Americans that supported racial equality and opposed segregation, they initiated a great wave of social change that echoed and intensified what they were doing, carrying their basic values into areas they had not addressed.

Let us look, for a moment, at a movement that ideologically, in values and worldview, was quite different but that structurally had much the same effect. That is the ideologically motivated settler movement that began in the 1970s to set up Israeli enclaves in the West Bank, when doing so in the places they chose was not legal. (I call them "ideologically motivated" to distinguish them from Israelis who later bought homes in West Bank settlements because government subsidies made them much cheaper than houses inside the 1967 Israeli borders.)

These settlers were not committed to the universalist values that imbued the sit-in movement. They were nationalists who had no compunction about using violence against Palestinians, or threatening to use it even against Jews in a civil war if a Jewish government were to try to force them to leave their settlements. So from a values standpoint, they were quite different from the sit-in movement.

But they were very much like the sit-inners in that they enacted in the present the future they envisioned. They imagined a West Bank populated by Jews, and they acted to make it so right away. They confronted the Israeli government and public and the Palestinians with their *faits accomplis*—and challenged them to respond.

Like the sit-in movement, through the boldness and clarity of their action they created waves of political energy that moved in their direction. For an entire generation, they have had a profound effect on Israeli politics and culture. For like the sit-in movement, they tapped into latent support for their values among the society around them: in their case, among Israelis who were drawn to the notion of a Jewish/Israeli West Bank, whether for religious, nationalist, territorial-security, or financial reasons.

Several of the recent actions by Israelis of a very different political persuasion have also begun to enact the future in the present: peace demonstrations jointly planned and held by Palestinian and Israeli women; joint Israeli-Palestinian actions to open roadblocks on Palestinian roads, efforts to replant trees in Palestinian villages and rebuild demolished Palestinian homes; Israeli reservists refusing to serve in the Occupation army. It remains to be seen whether these actions also tap into a latent value-system among a sizeable number of Israelis.

Seeing the issues of violence and nonviolence in social action through this lens of "enacting the future in the present" may offer a new way to understand and to choose a course of action for *tikkun olam.*

VI. Finding Allies

To act in this way, the Jewish community must no longer see ourselves as utterly engulfed by enemies. For the hard truth is that the assertive nonviolence of a small and lonely people challenging Great Powers will simply bring catastrophe (and sooner, rather than later) if there are no allies for the challenge.

The mindset that "we stand alone" imbued both Biblical and Rabbinic Judaism. It grew up in the effort to conquer Canaan against what we thought was an ocean of idolaters and the effort to survive the Roman Empire. That mindset was reinforced by Inquisitions and pogroms and even by the gentler Muslim habit of treating the Jews with condescending toleration, as if we were pets.

Whether we were making a decent society with military means in the ancient land of Israel, or making a decent society in the nooks and crannies of other civilizations all over the world, both Biblical and Rabbinic Judaism said, "We are on our own. Nobody else cares. Nobody shares our vision. They're all enemies and only we carry the vision."

For centuries, this may well have reflected considerable truth.

But one thing that modernity has brought with it has been the discovery that there *are* other communities in the world with which we can, in fact, share a vision of a decent society. It is possible to find allies.

Now we have to behave in a certain way to be able to find allies. And the question is whether, in response to the smashing of Rabbinic Judaism by modernity, we can connect with Christians who are responding to modernity's shattering of the Christianity that has until now existed, and with Buddhists who are struggling with a Buddhism similarly shattered by modernity, and with Muslims struggling with a shattered traditional Islam.

Within each of these traditions—within the Jewish people, within Christian communities, within Islam, within Buddhism, within Hinduism, there are some who say,

"Then let's go back two centuries, three centuries, and vomit out this disgusting, destructive modernity.

"Let's put women back in their place, the earth back in its place, and especially the other communities back in their places."

All of those places were, of course, underneath, below, subordinate. From that standpoint, these efforts to restore pre-modern religious cultures cannot make allies with each other because each denies the others' legitimacy. (They may become de facto brothers in blood, each fuelling the other's violence.)

Indeed, these restorationist versions of Judaism, Christianity, Islam, Buddhism, and Hinduism must be far more coercive, more violent, than the traditional communities they are hoping to restore. For it always takes more force, more coercion, to force a genie back in the bottle than it did to keep it there in the first place. Two centuries ago, no one had to beat up women to keep them from vocally, audibly davvening at the Western Wall. They just didn't try. Now—traditionalists throw chairs at them to "restore" the past. Use State power. All new, in the name of restoration.

From this restorationist energy have stemmed the terror attacks of 9/11, the Christian anti-abortion bombings, Baruch/Aror Goldstein's murder of twenty-nine Muslims at prayer in the Tomb of Abraham, the Hindu burning of the Golden Temple, the Buddhist-Hindu violence of Sri Lanka.

But these restorationist forces are not the only response possible to modernity's shattering of traditional religious life. There are also energies that say, "Let's make distinctions between what is holy and what is destructive. Surely the modernity that made possible the Holocaust, the H-bomb, and the burning of the Amazon Basin is not wholly good. But some of modernity is sacred, and that part we can absorb into our traditional religious teachings and go forward. Let's renew our communities rather than restoring them as they were three or four centuries ago.

"Let's renew the sacred teaching of the sacred earth, for which indeed we have ancient warrant. And the sacred teaching of the sacredness of the full equality of women, for which neither we nor any of the old traditions has warrant. And the sacred tradition of the sacredness of other strivings for truth from which we can learn and with which we can make allies.

"We can no longer hide alone in nooks and crannies, we can no longer conquer or even defend alone our own decency, we must try to mend the whole world after all.

"So let's reach out for allies—and let's bring assertive nonviolence, not passive but assertive, to bear on transforming or even toppling the Great Powers of the earth, so as to heal what now needs to be a planetary community."

VII. Seeing Ourselves Mirrored in the Other

To heal the world, we cannot see ourselves as utterly pure and the world as utterly polluted. Just as we must be able to see the good in others if we are to find allies, so we must be able to see the violence we hide within ourselves.

Rabbi Abraham Joshua Heschel reminded us of this wisdom in an essay on "The Meaning of This War [World War II]," in *Moral Grandeur and Spiritual Audacity,* edited by Susannah Heschel.

The date of this remarkable essay is crucial to understanding its depth. It was written in 1943 and first published in February 1944.

Heschel asks the question:

"Who is responsible [that the war has soaked the earth in blood]?" And he—the Polish Hasid just transplanted to America—answers as a Hasid might, by quoting the Baal Shem Tov: "If a man has beheld evil, he may know that it was shown to him in order that he learn his own guilt and repent; for what was shown to him is also within him."

When the Baal Shem Tov said this, he almost certainly was focusing on the spiritual situation of an individual who, in order to grow, must take the world not as an external object but as a moral mirror—who must treat the discovery of evil as a spur to look inward, to examine what evil lurks in his/her own heart.

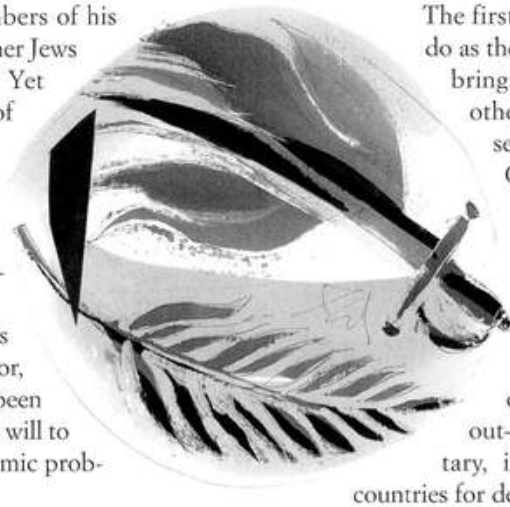
But Heschel takes this insight in a new direction. He applies it to a whole society, a whole people, when it sees political evil at a national level. Heschel writes:

"We have failed to offer sacrifices on the altar of peace; now we must offer sacrifices on the altar of war.... Let Fascism not serve as an alibi for our conscience.... Where were we when men learned to hate in the days of starvation?

When raving madmen were sowing wrath in the hearts of the unemployed?

"Good and evil, which were once as real as day and night, have become a blurred mist. In our everyday life we worshipped force, despised compassion, and obeyed no law but our unappeasable appetite. The vision of the sacred has all but died in the soul of man."

By 1943, Heschel knew that members of his own family and more than a million other Jews had already been savagely murdered. Yet he could draw on the depths of Hasidism to call Jews themselves, along with all of Western civilization and culture, to face their own share of responsibility for letting the disaster happen. And he could fuse questions that were conventionally seen as distinct—issues of economics and issues of religious and spiritual experience. For, he said, "the vision of the sacred" had been killed by "greed, envy, and the reckless will to power," by not addressing such economic problems as unemployment.



Heschel, we should be clear, did not back away from a radical condemnation of Nazism. He did not oppose the war on which the Allies were then engaged. Yet he could, in the very midst of that war write, "Tanks and planes cannot redeem humanity.... The killing of snakes will save us for the moment but not forever."

He could look deep into that war, beyond it and within it and beneath it, to ask not merely what were its causes, but what was its meaning? And he found spiritual meaning in taking responsibility upon himself, ourselves, for having helped create the world in which "the mark of Cain in the face of man has come to overshadow the likeness of God."

What is the significance of this teaching, as we search toward a theory and practice of *tikkun olam* that can help support an assertive nonviolent transformation of the Great Powers of the earth?

Perhaps it would be instructive to imagine this teaching placed in the context of American life after the terror attacks of September 11. If Heschel could write in this way in 1943, what would it have meant for an American to write this way in 2002?

It would have challenged both the single Greatest Power in the world, the United States, to have reflected on its own responsibility for creating the world in which terrorists chose to wear the mark of Cain.

And it would have challenged us all at the level of our everyday lives—emotional, economic, political. As Heschel says later in the essay, "God will return to us when we are willing to let Him in—into our banks and factories, into our Congresses and clubs, into our homes and theaters."

It would have called on us to make the sacrifices of peace lest we need forever to make the sacrifices of war, the war against terrorism that has already been proclaimed endless and that indeed is likely to be endless because every act of war is likely to create new terrorists.

What are these sacrifices of peace? In Jewish language these are *korbanot*, "near-bringings," bringing near to the Unity of All what is nearest to our own selves."

The first such "near-bringing" would be to do as the Baal Shem Tov and Heschel teach, bringing near the evil behavior we see in others as a mirror to look within our selves. Looking at Al Qaeda, to see the CIA that trained them. Hearing Bin Laden's call for *jihad*, hearing our own President's call for "crusade."

The second would be taking time to reflect, to bring our own life-experience and our own consciousness—often so divorced from each other—near to each other. Time out—time not used to multiply the military, imprison immigrants, name more countries for devastation or embargo, but time simply to reflect. To pray, to learn, to listen, to explore new possibilities.

Such a time out—setting aside, for example, the first eleven days of September 2002 as a time to reflect on our experience of the previous year, on the meaning of the terror attacks, and on America's place in the world—would carry into public space the Jewish wisdom of the Ten Days of Awe and Transformation between Rosh Hashanah and Yom Kippur.

Indeed, it would tune in to Heschel's teaching encoded in the well-known book, *The Sabbath,* which he wrote just a few years after the essay I quoted, soon after World War II, when the blood of the Holocaust and Hiroshima was barely dry—his teaching that the Sabbath, taking time to restfully reflect, is the deepest challenge to a civilization of techno-idolatry.

And the third "near-bringing" would be creating in the present the institutions and practices that we dream of for the future. Making near in reality what seems far from possibility.

Finally, let us bring near our wholeness as a community: that we do this not only in addressing specific wounds in the body politic with specific acts of *tikkun,* but also at the level of the meaning of Jewish peoplehood:

That we see the Jewish people in our era as a transgenerational "movement" to heal the wounded world. Not through violence, and not through passive nonviolence. Not walking alone to conquer, not walking alone to cower.

Rather, as a carrier of assertive nonviolence to open up and transform the Great Powers of the world, working with allies who share many aspects of our vision. ❑

Aging in American Culture

Heschel's Vision

Thomas R. Cole

I am delighted to be writing this, the first of a new column for Tikkun. "To Grow In Wisdom" will focus broadly on the topic of aging as seen through the lenses of cultural criticism, history, theological inquiry, and practical concern with the lives of older people.

My interest in aging began abruptly one morning in September 1953. I was four years old. My father left home that morning and drove his car into a bridge. He never came home. His death transformed me into an aged, lonely little boy, a *senex/puer*. Ever since, I have wanted to know what it means to live a long and happy life.

For the last twenty-five years, I have written, taught, made films, and consulted about the human experience of growing old and caring for the frail and sick elderly. I came to see aging as a path that leads to the light; yet my father's ghost cast a very dark shadow. Until my late forties, I carried a burden of guilt, anxiety, and depression, punctuated by primal flashes of an almost wild joy. During the last few years, I have passed through the narrow neck of my life's hourglass. I have laid my father's ghost to rest and restored him as a living ancestor. Now, in my early fifties, I have a growing confidence in my capacity to become an elder and a *puer/senex*—an old man filled with the joy and openness of a young boy.

I've taken the title for this column—"To Grow in Wisdom"—from Rabbi Abraham Joshua Heschel's address to the first White House Conference on Aging in January 1961. Heschel understood that older people needed spiritual security as well as Social Security. He saw all too clearly that mid-twentieth-century American culture emphasized precisely those values that drained aging of dignity and meaning.

Two things in particular troubled Heschel: the traumatic fear of aging (or being considered old) that he saw all around him; and the trivialization of life he sensed among people (he had men in mind) who were no longer working. Heschel traced fear of aging and the trivialization of leisure to the same source: a capitalist culture which turned the individual into a "machine for the making and spending of money.... The moment the machine is out of order and beyond repair, one begins to feel like a ghost without a sense of reality."

Aging, in other words, was equivalent to breaking down and being cast aside as good for nothing ("What do you think I am—a no-goodnik?" my grandmother asked when I suggested that she consider going into a Jewish Home for the Aged.) And retirement, Heschel thought, encouraged people to live "a pickled existence, preserved in brine with spices." Their days revolved around recreation and entertainment—a developmental dead-end, lacking in social or spiritual significance.

Drawing on themes developed in his classic work, *The Sabbath* (1951), Heschel argued that authentic existence requires work and celebration, ritual and prayer, and an appreciation of the nature of time. Preoccupied with producing and consuming things, Americans lacked the cultural resources to understand and sanctify time. Time, Heschel wrote, is the dimension wherein we become aware "that every instant is an act of creation, a Beginning, opening up roads for ultimate realization. Time is the presence of God in the world of space, and it is within time that we are able to sense the unity of all beings."

Forty years after Heschel's address to the first White House Conference on Aging, there are many encouraging signs. My own sense is that our culture is developing new ways to articulate and encourage what we might call the moral and spiritual work of aging. This search takes place under such rubrics as "conscious aging," "spiritual eldering," "spirituality and aging," and "aging and the human spirit." The explosion of life-story writing groups among elders all over the country is a sign that individuals and communities are wrestling with questions of meaning and identity. My own experience in leading such groups is that they are a powerful stimulus to spiritual growth, to community building, and to the preservation and transmission of historical memories and values.

Over the last decade, however, there has also been intensified movement in the opposite direction. "Anti-aging" has emerged (again) as a powerful theme in American culture. It is a *zeitgeist* which takes many forms (in medicine,

(continued on page 52)

Thomas R. Cole is the author of The Journey of Life: A Cultural History of Aging in America *and a producer of two recently released documentaries* Life Stories *and* Still Life: the Humanity of Anatomy.

Teaching Kindness

Joshua Levine Grater

As I was working on this article about how to bring kindness into our schools, I had a scary experience. After spending a whole day envisioning a new way of interacting with kids and bringing awe and wonder to the classroom, I went down at 4 PM to teach my Hebrew school class. The kids were especially rambunctious, testing my patience from the moment they came through the door. Two kids started teasing another kid and, before I knew it, I lost my cool and unloaded on them. Rather than talking out the situation, or helping them to frame their anger in a more constructive way, I just started yelling, telling them all to sit down. I ignored the pain that the kid who was teased must have been feeling and made the other two apologize. "Say you are sorry!" I demanded. Without looking at each other, without any understanding of the meaning of their actions, the other two kids muttered, "Sorry." "Say it again, like you mean it," I said without compassion. "Sorry," they said, and we moved on.

Understandably, I went home feeling terrible, realizing that I had missed an incredible opportunity to bring kindness and compassion to my own classroom. I had been unable to use the kids' teasing to teach them about kindness toward others. My old habits, engrained in me from my own childhood, kicked in, and I punished rather than educated. It was in this moment that I realized just how hard it is to change the culture of a classroom; just how challenging it is to make the right decisions in the heat of the moment; and just how vital it is to overcome these difficulties and radically change how we interact with kids in order to create safer, more compassionate, and kinder classroom environments. As a spiritual leader, I know that the heart of creating a holier society starts with how we teach and treat our children.

Rabbi Abraham Joshua Heschel, the great twentieth century scholar and prophet, wrote in *God in Search of Man* that "the beginning of awe is wonder, and the beginning of wisdom is awe." For Heschel, "Awe enables us to perceive in the world intimations of the divine, to sense in small things the beginning of infinite significance, to sense the ultimate in the common and the simple; to feel in the rush of the passing the stillness of the eternal." Schools can help shape this reality by working to create opportunities for kids to notice wonderful things in the ordinary: Why can't we sit and look at the sky and talk about it? Or watch a flower grow over time and discuss the awesomeness of nature all around us? Or help kids point out the talents and unique traits in each other? If started in kindergarten, these activities would help shape a child's sense of reality in a way that could profoundly alter how they will see others as they get older. This is crucial if we hope to stop the painful violence and ugly behavior that dominates in our schools from fifth grade on into high school.

Remarkably, there is a sense in our culture that certain things are meant to be and cannot be changed. When asked about the issue of bullying, many parents will answer, "Oh, boys will be boys! We all went through it—it's only a phase." This is the saddest and most dangerous attitude to have toward our children. While we are all born with a certain genetic make-up, ultimately we are a society of learners, meaning that we are born *tabula rasa* and develop habits through imitation. It has been proven that if kids' behavior is corrected at an early age, habits like teasing and bullying can be overcome. Parents and teachers must realize that our children's behavior, if left unchecked, only gets harder to correct as they get older. Thankfully, in many schools across the nation, the idea of character education and kindness curriculums have taken hold, and are being implemented with great success. However, some startling statistics illustrate just how important it is to make this a national movement. Studies show that 80 percent of kids enter school feeling good about themselves. By the fifth grade, that percentage has dropped to 20 percent and by twelfth grade it is only 5 percent. These are shocking statistics! More than gang violence, the day-to-day peer violence of put-downs, bullying, and constant humiliation is what drives our kids to bring guns to school, to commit suicide, and to raise children of their own in the same culture of humiliation that they experienced.

The Torah teaches "*v'shinantam l'vanecha*, and you shall teach your children." The hope and dream of a new world based on love, compassion, and kindness depends on what we teach our children. The time has come to make serious changes in our education system. We must realize that test scores, grades, and book knowledge are not the sole criteria for evaluating our schools' progress. Instead, we must encourage our schools to help kids be kind to one

Joshua Levine Grater is currently the spiritual leader of Congregation Ahavath Israel in Kingston, NY.

another by actively interfering in moments when kids are being teased; by modeling good behavior—which means, in part, speaking to kids with respect and compassion; and by insisting that our educators and school boards work to exemplify the values which they hope to pass on to our kids.

If there is one thing kids see through it is hypocrisy—we can no longer teach one thing and do another. In a recent article printed in this magazine, Svi Shapiro spelled out a vision for "Peace Education," offering concrete steps for reshaping our schools. I endorse that teaching and think every school should receive a copy of his proposal. I know that I don't want to repeat the mistakes I made with my own Hebrew school class. If we are going to rebuild our world based on love and justice, compassion and righteousness, then we have to begin with the core foundation, teaching our children that wonder exists in every moment, that in every person there is goodness, and that violence only begets violence. We must create incentives to be kind. We must reward kindness and encourage it. We must quell negative behavior before it develops. We have the power to make the world a better place, one child at a time. May we have the courage to start. ❑

AGING IN AMERICAN CULTURE *(from page 50)*

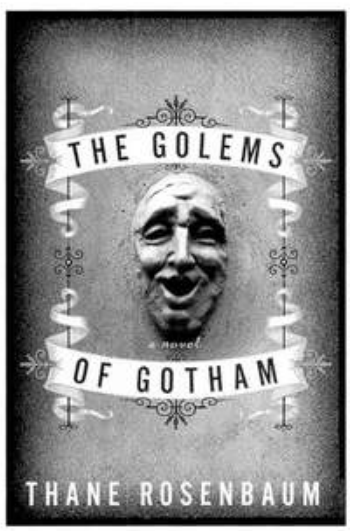
consumer culture, and especially in marketing to baby boomers). "Anti-aging" has bedeviled the gerontological establishment and advocacy groups, who lag far behind advertisers and marketers in reading the cultural tea leaves.

To put it bluntly, "aging" is no longer culturally correct. If you want to appreciate this, try selling products or raising money for programs which use the word "aging." In popular culture, linguistic and visual references to bodily decline are being quietly deleted. "Aging," which cannot be divested of the taint of decay, is an offense to the reign of biotechnology and to postmodern dreams of a timeless, placeless, instantaneous *now*. Reb Zalman-Shalomi Schacter understands this "anti-aging" impulse and has used it brilliantly in the title of his book with Ron Miller, *From Age-ing to Sage-ing*—a classic of the conscious aging movement.

As a middle-aged baby boomer, I am certainly not exempt from the wishes and dreams of the anti-aging movement. I doubt that any of us are. But our task is to live with the flow of time, not against it. As we get older, as Heschel pointed out, we are increasingly called on to celebrate life, to know our place in the cycle of generations, to cherish each moment as a sacred gift from God—to grow in wisdom. ❑

The Golems of Gotham

BY THANE ROSENBAUM



"Thane Rosenbaum's literary voice is singular, alluring, and important."
—Daniel Goldhagen,
author of *Hitler's Willing Executioners*

"A profound, humorous, irreverent book of life—made all the more affecting by recent events in Gotham"
—Chaim Potok

"Rosenbaum has broken new ground in *The Golems of Gotham*. It is, like Jewish experience itself, both heart-rending and ecstatic."
—Rebecca Goldstein, author of *Properties of Light*

"From the darkest and most complex source, Thane Rosenbaum has fashioned a surprisingly entertaining novel."
—John Turturro

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Prayer as a Rebellion

Part III: Developing a Mindful Way of Eating

Leonard Felder

Many years ago when I lived in New York, I used to eat occasionally at Brownie's Health Food Restaurant on Fifth Avenue. One day I observed a very famous health writer at the next table gobbling down his food and arguing with his wife. Several years later I read in the newspaper that this health guru had died of a heart attack. I wondered if his anxious eating style was in any way related to his heart trouble. Certainly there are many causes of heart ailments and health problems, but watching such a brilliant man eat with so little awareness of the stressful way he was gobbling down his meal made me a lot more cautious about the way I take food into my body.



As a psychologist, I've observed that we live in a time when men and women are obsessed with counting calories and cholesterol, yet they eat with so much anxiety that their bodies can't possibly digest and process what is being shoveled down. Medical research tells us that even the most well-educated, health-conscious individual is likely to get indigestion, health problems, and poor absorption of nutrients when most meals are gulped down while your mind is beset by worries, oppressively long "to do" lists, and a constant feeling of running behind schedule. In the words of Rabbi Zalman Schachter-Shalomi, "We live in a world that wants us to be on commodity time—always rushing and producing. To be a Jew is to rebel against commodity time and find a connection to holy moments and timelessness."

One of the most effective ways to liberate yourself and your loved ones from the hectic pace of modern life is to explore the wisdom of saying a prayer or taking a moment to center before each meal. If you want to improve your health, reduce stress, and increase your daily energy and sense of awe at the wonders of the universe, here are a few insights from Jewish spiritual teachings that can make a huge difference. I have found as a therapist and in my own life, that these much-overlooked ideas about meal-time words of connection have been extremely helpful for many of my counseling clients, my family members, and myself. The next time you sit down to a breakfast, lunch, or dinner, consider the following:

I. Stepping Out of Commodity Time

Instead of racing into the meal mindlessly, Jewish insights into meal-time prayers give you a chance to step out of the stressful emotions and find a peaceful connection at least three times a day. Could there be an improvement in your emotional well-being, your digestion, and your sense of mental clarity if you stopped briefly before each meal to rise

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Leonard Felder is a psychologist and author of Seven Prayers that Can Change Your Life: How to Use Jewish Spiritual Wisdom for Enhancing Your Health, Relationships and Daily Effectiveness *(Andrews-McMeel, $12.95).*

ILLUSTRATION BY JON KRAUSE

above the tensions of the day? What if you took a moment to let go of the rushing and instead reconnected with a sense of holiness or inner peace? According to the nineteenth-century scholar Solomon Ganzfried, the hand-washing prayer before meals ("*Netilat yadayim*—lifting up the hands or actions") is said not because our hands are dirty, but because we need to remember several times a day to raise up our energies for a higher purpose.

If you have never tried it before, or if you have never truly said this prayer with heartfelt intention, take a moment before your next meal to use this prayer to lift your soul out of commodity time and into a sense of freedom and renewal. Say out loud or silently, "*Baruch Atah Adonai Eloheinu melekh ha-olam, asheyr kid'shanu b'mitzvotav vitzivanu al netilat yadayim*," which can be liberally translated, "Blessed are You, Eternal One, pulsing Source of all that exists in the world, Who guides us on ways to become holy, and Who inspires us to lift up our hands and raise up our actions to be of service." See for yourself if this blessing helps you to eat more slowly and with an appreciation that this food is nourishing you for doing good in your corner of the world.

II. Locating the Source

Most Jews today either say nothing before a meal or they say "*Hamotzi lechem min ha-aretz* (Who brings forth bread from the earth)." What gets left out for many people is the key step in the prayer before meals—to stop and become mindful of the sensual, earthy process of where the food comes from and how we are part of an amazing circle of life.

Many of us were never taught in our families or Hebrew schools of the key step of figuring out which prayer to say over the food in front of you, depending on what's in the food. Is it fruit from a tree? Does it grow directly from the earth? Is it a grain like barley, oats, rye, spelt, or rice? Is it bread? Is it fruit from the vine? Is it a mixture from a complex source? Taking a moment to consider what you are eating, where it comes from, who helped plant it, harvest it, transport it, prepare it, serve it—these are all steps recommended by our tradition so that we are mindful of the connected web of life that surrounds and nourishes us. Instead of being stressed-out and alone in your thoughts, you can then reconnect with the amazing process of ongoing creation that allows us to be nourished and supported by sunlight, soil, farming, distribution, and humans who provide service.

In addition, most Jews haven't been taught that the fascinating, all-encompassing prayer you can say at any meal is not "*hamotzi lechem* (the prayer for bread)" but rather, "*Baruch Atah Adonai Eloheinu Melech ha-olam, sheh-hakol nih-hiyeh bid-varo*," which can be translated, "Blessed is the Eternal Source, ruling force of the universe, through Whose expression everything comes to be." What a remarkable idea—that there is an energy Source in the universe which is forever expressing Itself in nature, in our bodies, and in our activities. If you take these ancient words to heart, you might see yourself at each meal as a remarkable element in a continually flowing process of creative expression. This change of perspective can snap you out of your hurried mind and into your sense of curiosity and awe at the wonders of the universe.

III. Giving Thanks

Instead of approaching the meal from a perspective of deprivation, desperation, and ravenous appetite, our tradition reminds us to recognize that we are extremely fortunate, nourished, and connected to sources of support. In this way, when you take your first bite you can take it with a relaxed sense of adding to your fullness, and not with a sense of needing to rush or overeat. Can you imagine how many health problems, diet problems, and mood problems could be improved if we took in nourishment from a more peaceful and optimistic outlook? Instead of our bodies having to work double-time to sift out the nutrients from food that is wolfed down anxiously, what if we gave our bodies an easier time of it?

Yet many of us grew up at family dinner tables where there was either tension or disconnection, or the parents and children were so busy they rarely, if ever, had time to sit together and have a peaceful meal. A creative way to overcome some of these tensions or unhealthy meal-time habits we learned growing up is to take a moment at each meal to offer thanks for the fullness of creation, the beauty of nature, the holiness of life, or the joy of being around people you care about. Bringing our Jewish spiritual teachings into our family meals encourages us to start our meals by asking each family member to take a moment to comment on any small or large things for which we feel grateful.

For example, I recently counseled a busy two-career couple who said they wanted their three young children to grow up with a stronger sense of spirituality and centeredness. I asked them if they would try taking a moment before every family meal for a few weeks to let each child and adult thank God or the universe for something that meant a lot to that person, something that brings joy or connection to the meal.

The couple told me four weeks later, "Our kids resisted the first night, but when they saw we really cared and we wanted to know what they were thankful for, they began to enjoy this meal-time ritual. All of our three children seem to relish having a turn to speak up and announce something for which they are grateful. These blessings before each family meal have changed the tone of our dinners from what used to be complaints and power struggles to some wonderful conversations of what's going right in each of our different, busy lives. Our family time does feel a lot more spiritual and centered as a result."

Is it any wonder? ❑

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR *(from page 7)*

ridiculous to me that Israel, which purports to be the only democracy in the Middle East, still does not have any constitutionally protected laws upholding freedom of religion in that country.

There is no doubt that anti-Semitism has reared its ugly head in the minds of many Arabs in the Middle East, and I feel that's very unfortunate, but in order for there to be a change in that mindset, there needs to be a change in the way Israel treats the Palestinian people. I am a first generation Iranian-American, and having emigrated here to escape the backward theocracy which currently rules Iran, I know first-hand what it's like to be a victim of racism and hatred. The popular media in the United States has depicted Iranians in the dimmest of lights, and Iranian-Americans here have suffered for it.

I wish that my fellow Americans of Jewish descent would stand up and denounce such depictions of my people, but unfortunately that hasn't occured. Regardless, I am delighted to have discovered your organization and I support its cause. I hope that the people of Israel finally find the peace that they deserve and that the Palestinians also find their peace in God's world.

CIA TAHMASEBI
San Diego, CA

To the Editor

There are more American Jews than you know who sympathize with your view but who lack the courage to stick their necks out as you have done. Good for you. I am particularly upset by the universal failure of the American media to address the massive financial support that the United States gives to Israel and its policies. Most American taxpayers are completely ignorant of the extent to which we have underwritten exactly those policies which have led to today's morass. The White House behaves as though we were neutral bystanders. No one disabuses them of this absurd posture. OY! Thanks again,

ELLEN LEOPOLD
From the Internet

The TIKKUN Community

To the Editor:

I thank you very much for inviting me to attend the conference in NYC. It would have been a great opportunity to meet people who are dedicated to peace, tolerance, and coexistence. But I am sorry to inform you that the Israeli occupation authorities rejected to coordinate my departure from the sieged city of Ramallah to fly to New York. I appreciate your invitation and dedication. Hoping that violence will be stopped soon, I will welcome participating in such productive activities. Please feel free to keep in touch.

BASSIM ABU SHARIF
Ramallah, West Bank



ILLUSTRATION BY CAREN BELLE LOEBEL-FRIED

To the Editor

I just joined the TIKKUN Community today after seeing the ad in *The New York Times*. Thank you and God Bless. I am an African American Christian who supports the State of Israel—but not the Occupation. I am old enough to remember when I too had a choice between Malcom and Martin's ideology, and my family chose non-violence, like millions of others—preventing a violent uprising that would have damaged America greatly. Chose is the key word. Americans sometimes forget that it was a *choice* we made, and it wasn't an easy one. It was the only one that made sense. Choosing peace, even when you are personally jeopardized and have watched generations of your family suffer, takes courage. Your ad showed that if we band together and support our Israeli brothers and sisters to have the courage to make this choice, they and the world will be better for it.

Jewish Americans and their strong moral character were a fundamental support to African Americans in the Sixties, in some cases, giving their lives. It is an honor to help support our Israeli and Jewish American brothers and sisters at this critical juncture, to be strong and grow beyond their fears. The Old Testament is the moral backbone of the civilized world. We humans all lose our way sometimes. In that respect, we come full circle and now have a chance to help hold our Israeli and Jewish American friends up—the way they held us up forty years ago. We are here. Be strong.

God bless and keep you,

RENATA WATSON-MCGRIFF
New York, New York

A Recent Poll Suggests...

To the Editor:

In an email dated March 14, you wrote: "...while there are some Palestinians who will settle for nothing less than the full destruction of Israel, the number of these decreased dramatically in the years when it appeared that Israel was serious about getting out of the West Bank (1993–1995), and has increased steadily ever since."

Today's *The New York Times* reports that a survey conducted by An Najah University in Nablus indicates that 87 percent of Palestinians surveyed were in favor of continuing terrorist attacks and 87.5 percent were in favor of "liberating all of Palestine."

Unless you have more accurate survey data than the Palestinians themselves, your entire operating premise is fundamentally flawed. Israel cannot make peace with the small minority you apparently have encountered, who have no influence on Palestinian leadership, and in the absence of democratic values cannot even voice their dissent.

I respectfully encourage you to rethink your current campaign.

MARK I. ROSEN
Worcester, MA

Editor Responds:

Recent poll data indicates that close to a majority of Israelis now favor ethnic cleansing (politely referred to as "transfer") of the two million Palestinian people in Gaza and the West Bank. What would I say to someone who used that data to show me that of course the Palestinian people had no alternative but to use armed struggle to resist this fascist consciousness? I would respond by saying that this consciousness was not intrinsic to the Jewish national liberation struggle, that it had developed under difficult circumstances, that although I opposed it and would struggle against it, I did not see it as a permanent feature of the consciousness of the Jewish people but a momentary distortion. Can you make the translations of this line of reasoning to also understand the poll data you've cited? ❑

Reversing the Cancer Epidemic

Samuel S. Epstein

We are losing the winnable war against cancer. Over recent decades, the incidence of cancer in industrialized nations has escalated to epidemic proportions, with lifetime cancer risks in the United States now approaching one in two for men and one in three for women. For 2001, the estimated number of new cancer cases was 1.3 million; the estimated number of deaths from cancer, 550,000 (Greenlee et al., 2001). The overall increase in the incidence of all cancers among whites in the United States from 1950–1997 was 58 percent, of which lung cancer, primarily attributed to smoking, accounted for about 25 percent [Surveillance, Epidemiology and End Results (SEER), 1973–1997]. Similarly, a survey of 17 other major industrialized nations has shown that non-smoking related cancers are responsible for about 75 percent of the overall increased incidence of cancer since 1950 (Davis and Hoel, 1990). Over the same period, non-smoking cancers in the United States increased approximately as follows: prostate cancer, non-Hodgkin's lymphoma and multiple myeloma, 200 percent; thyroid cancer, 155 percent; testis cancer, 120 percent; adult brain and nervous system cancer, 70 per cent; female breast cancer, 60 percent; and childhood cancer, 35 percent. Similar trends are reflected in federal incidence rates from 1973 onwards.

While cancer rates have escalated, our ability to treat and cure most cancers (with the notable exception of the relatively rare childhood and testicular cancers), has remained largely unchanged for decades. Despite general impressions, the five-year survival rates for all cancers in the U.S. population from 1974 to 1990 only increased from 49 percent to 54 percent for all races, and from 39 percent to a mere 40 percent for blacks.

The modern cancer epidemic cannot be explained away on the basis that longevity has increased. Cancer registers like SEER are adjusted to reflect this trend (technically speaking, incidence and mortality rates are age-standardized). In short, the numbers already take into account the fact that we are all getting older; they show that cancer rates have increased more than would be expected if the population simply lived longer and cancer rates stayed the same.

Nor can the epidemic be largely attributed to faulty personal lifestyle factors such as smoking. Although smoking is clearly the single most important cause of cancer, the incidence of lung cancer in men (though not women) is declining because there has been a notable reduction in smoking (at least among men). While lung cancer in men has diminished, however, the incidence of a wide range of non-smoking cancers is increasing at proportionately greater rates. Something besides smoking is causing this increase.

Our total environment—air, water, consumer and medicinal products, and the workplace—has become pervasively contaminated with a wide range of industrial carcinogens

Nor can the role of high fat diets be incriminated as a major cause of cancer, in sharp contrast to heart disease. In the case of breast cancer, for example, epidemiological studies over the past two decades have consistently failed to establish any causal relationship between breast cancer and the consumption of fat per se, excluding consideration of meat and dairy fats heavily contaminated with carcinogenic pesticides and industrial pollutants (Epstein et al., 1998; Willet, 1987; Hunter 1996).

Finally, increasing cancer rates cannot be attributed to genetic factors. Genetics are directly implicated in well under 10 percent of all cancers. Though some types of cancers may be attributed to genetics, it is impossible that a sudden *rise* in cancer could be attributed to genetics, as the genetics of human populations cannot possibly have materially changed within just the last few decades.

What then is the predominant cause of the modern cancer epidemic? A strong body of scientific evidence points to the role of run-away industrial technologies, particularly the petrochemical and radionuclear, whose explosive growth since the 1940s has, to varying degrees in different nations, outstripped the development of social control infrastructures and mechanisms. The result is that our total environment—air, water, consumer and medicinal products, and the

Samuel S. Epstein, M.D., is a professor of occupational and environmental medicine at the University of Illinois Medical Center and the author of ten books including The Politics of Cancer, Revisited *(1998).*

workplace—has become pervasively contaminated with a wide range of industrial car-



1. The Precautionary Principle

Under the terms of the 1948 UN Universal Declaration of Human Rights, the right to life and its corollary right to health are the first and most important of all fundamental rights recognized by many international conventions. This Declaration mandates that legislation is needed to ensure that considerations of health take absolute precedence over economics and trade.

The first line of defense against avoidable carcinogenic exposure is to prohibit the authorization of any new potentially carcinogenic products and processes. This zero-risk policy—the Precautionary Principle—was initially invoked by the EU in 1980 with regard to chlorofluorohydrocarbons, and again more recently by the German government, in 1994 at the Second North Sea Conference, in relation to marine dumping of toxic wastes (Thorpe, 1999).

The Precautionary Principle would mandate the categorical responsibility of industry to provide unequivocal evidence on the safety of any new candidate product and process, thereby ensuring that they do not pose potential or recognized human or environmental risks. This principle further absolves citizens and regulatory agencies from the heavy burden for proving risks in response to industry challenges, and allows the banning of suspect products in circumstances of scientific uncertainty. As such, this Principle is particularly relevant to genetically engineered food for which industry claims of safety are based on "trust us" assurances, rather than published scientific data.

The Precautionary Principle is clearly preferable to our current policy of deliberately accepting risks and then attempting to "manage" them by reducing exposures to levels claimed "acceptable" by self-interested industry or complicit regulatory agencies. The need to prevent rather than "manage" risk is especially apparent when we review the well-documented and decades-old track record of obfuscation and denial of toxic effects in a wide range of petrochemical and other industries. A recent illustrative example is afforded by the review of 161 studies in the National Library of Medicine files on four heavily regulated industrial chemicals: formaldehyde, perchloroethylene, atrazine, and alachlor. While only 14 percent of industry studies reported toxic or carcinogenic effects, such effects were disclosed in 71 percent of independent studies (Fagin and Lavelle, 1996). That's why, under the Precautionary Principle, the raw data on the basis of which industry claims of safety are based, apart from their interpretation, must be fully disclosed and evaluated at industry's expense by an independent agency with qualified representation of non-governmental organizations (NGO's) and their scientific consultants.

In 1997, the Swedish Chemicals Policy Committee, established by the Swedish government in May 1996, published a revolutionary document entitled "Towards A Sustainable Chemicals Policy." In their official report to the government, the committee embraced the fullest implementation of the Precautionary Principle ever proposed for policies regarding industrial chemicals. Prime Minister Göran Persson is expected to present a version of these new policies in the spring of 2002 to Parliament which is expected to approve them. These policies will shift the burden of proof of safety away from the public to industry. Industry will have to produce detailed evidence that all new chemicals proposed for use pose no carcinogenic, mutagenic or endocrine disruptive adverse public health effects and environmental impacts, including persistence and bioaccumulation. The new law will also ban persistent organic pollutants (POPS) and other persistent chemicals such as lead and require the phasing out of chlorinated paraffins, such as plasticisers and flame retardants. Swedish companies will have five years to test the estimated 2,500 chemicals that they use in quantities over 1,000 tons per year for such effects. By 2010, chemicals used in less amounts will also have to be tested.

2. Reduction of Toxics in Use

The second line of defense against avoidable carcinogenic exposures is the reduction or phase-out of toxics in use. Phasing out the manufacture, use, and disposal of carcinogenic and otherwise toxic chemicals, coupled with their replacement by safe alternative technologies, is not only a practical but a cost-effective strategy. The effectiveness of such a strategy clearly depends on the establishment of an explicitly defined schedule for the shortest feasible phase-out time, and on the establishment of a plan to monitor industry compliance.

Toxics use reduction is based on the principle of risk prevention, which is in sharp contrast to the "risk management" strategies strongly favored by industry, by a growing battery of right-wing think tanks (including the Harvard Center for Risk Analysis, The Hudson, Cato and Competitive Enterprise Institutes, The American Policy Center, and the International Life Sciences Institute), and by complicit regulatory agencies (Rampton and Stauber, 2000). Risk management accepts the inevitability of risk from industrial processes and products while claiming that such risks can be managed to levels variously described as "acceptable," "insignificant," or "minimal." These claims are derived from highly dubious, if not manipulated, risk assessment mathematical formulae shaped by predetermined financial or regulatory interests which predict minimal deaths anticipated from any particular carcinogenic exposure.

Following a well-organized political campaign by environmental groups, the Commonwealth of Massachusetts unanimously passed the Toxics Use Reduction Act in 1989 which created the Massachusetts Toxics Use Reduction Program (TURA, 1989). The Act is a specific form of pollution prevention that focuses on reducing the use of toxic chemicals and generation of hazardous waste by improving



and redesigning industrial products and processes. The Toxics Use Reduction Institute of the University of Massachusetts, Lowell, played an important role in developing the Act by providing education, training, research on new materials and processes, a technical library and information source, and specialized laboratories for evaluating alternative safe technologies. The achievements of this Act include reducing the generation of toxic wastes from 1989 to 1997 by 50 per cent by reducing toxics use by 20 per cent; establishing toxics use reduction as the preferred means for achieving compliance with federal and state environmental statutes; promoting reduction in the production and use of toxic chemicals; enhancing and strengthening the enforcement of existing environmental laws; promoting co-ordination between state agencies administering toxics-related programs; and sustaining and promoting the competitiveness of Massachusetts industry (Massachusetts Department of Environmental Protection, 1997).

The Massachusetts Act could also serve as a useful model for international, national, and state legislation. The active interest of mainstream industry in such initiatives could well be encouraged by granting tax incentives for the urgent development of safe alternatives to conventional toxic-based technologies, and tax penalties for failure to adopt available safe alternative technologies.

The relatively new trend to voluntary and economy-driven corporate environmentalism may prove at least as potent as ideologically and legislatively-driven toxics use reduction. Many businesses are now seeking to provide services and functions rather than products. For instance, the Atlanta-based Interface, Inc. leases floor covering services and recycles old carpets rather than selling new carpets that would eventually need to be incinerated or dumped in landfills (Interface, Inc., 1999). Similarly, Xerox now leases copiers and recycles old models. An article in the June 7, 1999 edition of the *International Herald Tribune* identified a parallel development known as Eco-efficiency and Pollution Prevention (E2 P2), typified by the growing investment of Royal Dutch Shell, Amoco, and British Petroleum in renewable sustainable energy sources, including wind, solar power, and fuel cells, and in extending product ranges to improved gasoline mixes. While citizen groups may well be cynical, considering the past environmental track record of these companies, these initiatives should nevertheless be welcomed. Legislation can and should be designed to reinforce businesses willing to embrace this sort of corporate environmentalism.

A further example of the role of marketplace pressures which merits legislative recognition and support relates to consumer products, especially food, cosmetics, toiletries, and household products. The growth of organic and non-toxic non-mainstream products in U.S. markets has reached double digit annual figures over the last decade. A 1995 published rating of some 4,000 conventional mainstream and safe non-mainstream products for undisclosed carcinogenic ingredients and contaminants has resulted in a significant market shift away from hazardous to safe products which are becoming more price competitive (Epstein, 1998).

Even non-price competitive safe products have been successful recently. For an example we need only look at the booming sales of a leading sportswear manufacturer, Patagonia, which has completely converted to organic cotton by the use of well-established integrated pest management strategies; this is particularly important, as cotton is the most pesticide-intensive U.S. crop, accounting for 10 percent of all national pesticide use. The idea of using marketplace pressure to reduce carcinogenic exposure has recently been amplified and extended by Paul Hawken, Amory Lovins, and Hunter Lovins into a new paradigm they call "natural capitalism," which has set a landmark agenda for a rational and ecologically sound concept of industrial development (Hawken et al., 1999).

3. Right-To-Know

Clearly, such health-driven marketplace pressure to develop non-toxic products and processes depends on a fully informed public. The right-to-know is, or should be, an inalienable and fundamental democratic principle (acknowledging probable exceptions for national security concerns). Industry claims of confidentiality and trade secrecy are often a serious deterrent to the recognition of potential risks from carcinogenic and otherwise toxic products. We must develop international rules to restrict these industry claims of confidentiality. Industries would still be allowed protect independently validated proprietary information. However, all information on the carcinogenic and otherwise toxic risks of a product, drug, or process must be automatically and fully released and made available to the public.

Implementing the right-to-know in the home countries of these industries is not sufficient. We must extend right-to-know requirements and legislation to the overseas operations of major corporations, especially when these operations take place in lesser developed countries. Such requirements should encompass occupational, environmental, and human rights practices. A good model for such legislation is the Right-to-Know program designed by Friends of the Earth organizer Lisa Archer.

TABLE 1: The dirty dozen consumer products.

Mainstream industry consumer products—foods and beverages, cosmetics and toiletries, and household products including home, lawn and garden pesticides—contain a wide range of undisclosed carcinogens which pose major, but generally unrecognized, avoidable risks of cancer.

FOOD

Beef Frankfurters—(e.g. Oscar Mayer Foods Corporation)

- *Unlabeled toxic ingredients:* Benzene Hexachloride, carcinogenic; Dacthal, carcinogenic (can be contaminated with dioxin); Dieldrin, carcinogenic; DDT, carcinogenic; Heptachlor, carcinogenic; Hexachlorobenzene, carcinogenic; Lindane, carcinogenic; hormones, carcinogenic and feminizing; antibiotics (some are carcinogenic, e.g. Sulfamethazine).
- *Labeled toxic ingredient:* – Nitrite (interacts with meat amines to form carcinogenic nitrosamines).
- *Note:* Substantive evidence of causal relation to childhood cancer.

Whole Milk—(e.g. Borden or Lucerne)

- *Unlabeled toxic ingredients:* DDT, carcinogenic; Dieldrin, carcinogenic; Heptachlor, carcinogenic; Hexachloro-benzene, carcinogenic; antibiotics (some are carcinogenic); Recombinant Bovine Growth Hormone and IGF-1 (evidence of breast and colon cancer promotion).

COSMETICS and TOILETRIES

Talcum Powder – (e.g. Johnson & Johnson, Inc.)

- *Labelled toxic ingredient:* Talc, carcinogenic.
- *Note:* Substantive evidence of causal relation to ovarian cancer.

Cover Girl Replenishing Natural Finish Make-up (Foundation)—Procter & Gamble, Inc.

- *Labelled toxic ingredients:* BHA, carcinogenic; Talc, carcinogenic; Titanium Dioxide, carcinogenic; Triethanolamine (TEA) (interacts with nitrites to form carcinogenic nitrosamines); Lanolin (often contaminated with DDT and other carcinogenic pesticides).

Crest Tartar Control Toothpaste—Procter & Gamble. Inc

- *Labelled toxic ingredients:* FD & C Blue #1, carcinogenic; Saccharin, carcinogenic; Fluoride, possible carcinogen.

Alberto VO5 Conditioner (Essence of Neutral Henna)—Alberto-Culver USA, Inc.

- *Labelled toxic ingredients:* Formaldehyde, carcinogenic; Polysorbate 80 (can be contaminated with the carcinogen 1,4-dioxane); FD &C Red #4, carcinogenic.

Clairol Nice 'n East (Permanent Haircolor)—Clairol, Inc.

- *Labelled toxic ingredients:* Quaternium-15, Formaldehyde releaser, carcinogenic; Diethanolamine (DEA) (interacts with nitrites to form a carcinogenic nitrosamine); Phenylene-Diamines (includes carcinogens and other ingredients inadequately tested for carcinogenicity).
- *Note:* Substantive evidence of causal relation to lymphoma, multiple myeloma, and other cancers.

HOUSEHOLD PRODUCTS

Ajax Cleanser—Colgate-Palmolive, Inc.

- *Unlabeled toxic ingredient:* Crystalline Silica, carcinogenic.

Zud Heavy Duty Cleanser—Reckitt & Colman, Inc.

- *Unlabeled toxic ingredient:* Crystalline Silica, carcinogenic.

Lysol Disinfectant Spray—Reckitt & Colman, Inc.

- *Labelled or unlabeled toxic ingredient:* Orthophenylphenol (OPP), carcinogenic.

Zodiac Cat & Dog Flea Collar—Sandoz Agro, Inc.

- *Labelled toxic ingredient:* Propoxur, carcinogenic.

Ortho Weed-B-Gon Lawn Weed Killer—Monsanto Co.

- *Labelled toxic ingredient:* Sodium 2,4- Dichlorophenoxyacetic acid (2,4-D), carcinogenic.
- *Note:* Substantive evidence of causal relation to lymphoma, soft tissue sarcoma, and other cancers.

This table is reprinted from Table 17.4 of my book, *The Politics of Cancer Revisited,* © 1998 East Ridge Press.



Recently, right-to-know requirements have focused on product labeling. Labeling per se, however, is inadequate unless accompanied by an explicit "red flag" warning of recognized cancer and other health, environmental, and occupational risks. Furthermore, labeling should not be used as a justification for the authorization of new candidate carcinogens or for the continued use of carcinogenic products already in commerce. Labeling is no substitute for a moratorium or ban. Indeed, labeling is not only discriminatory to uneducated and lower socio-economic population groups, but may encourage industry to target such groups and penetrate national markets by price regulation strategies.

There are four areas in which right-to-know legislation is especially needed—consumer products, prescription drugs, occupational exposure, and environmental exposure. (See Table 1 at left.)

Consumer product legislation, in particular, is well overdue. All foods grown with the application of carcinogenic pesticides should be clearly labeled with a cancer warning, the name of each carcinogenic pesticide, and the concentrations of its residues. Of particular concern are the high residues of multiple carcinogenic pesticides in grains, vegetables and fruit. Recent estimates indicate that by the age of one, cancer risks from residues of just eight common pesticides in twenty infant foods exceed the lifetime "acceptable" cancer risks estimated by the U.S. Environmental Protection Agency. U.S. meat should also be clearly labeled as contaminated with residues of carcinogenic sex hormones (Epstein, 1998), as should U.S. milk be labeled as a genetically engineered product, for which the public health hazards have been fully documented (Epstein, 2001). Similarly, irradiated meat, poultry, eggs, and produce should be prominently labeled as "irradiated," especially in view of their carcinogenic, mutagenic, nutritional, and other risks. This requirement is in sharp contrast to efforts by industry, with complicity of the United States Food and Drug Administration and Department of Agriculture, to use labels with misleading euphemistic absurdities such as "cold pasteurization" or "electronic pasteurization" (Epstein and Hauter, 2001).

While ingredients of cosmetics and personal care products are generally identified on their labels by a long list of chemicals, this is meaningless to the overwhelming majority of consumers in the absence of any "red flag" warning of the wide range of multiple carcinogenic ingredients, contaminants, and precursors in most products. Similarly, the complete composition of all household cleaning and other products, including home, lawn, and garden pesticides, should also be clearly labeled, together with cancer warnings for each listed carcinogenic ingredient. Consumer product legislation should require data and affidavits in support of claims of safety for organic or other products. Consideration should also be given to the granting of tax incentives to the manufacturers of safe alternative products.

Clear labeling is also needed for prescription drugs. A recent survey of 241 high-volume U.S. prescription drugs reported that nearly half posed cancer risks based on carcinogenicity tests designed by their manufacturers to prove safety (Moore, 1998). Many carcinogenic drugs have been identified at low test dosages, near or at therapeutic levels. These risks are compounded by the fact that carcinogenic drugs are often administered individually or in various combinations to tens of millions of patients, sometimes for decades and starting in childhood. The author of this study, Thomas Moore, has claimed that prescription drugs may pose the single most important class of unrecognized and avoidable carcinogenic risks for the entire U.S. population.

To argue that such risks are more than justified by their very real benefits is to posit a false dilemma, especially in view of the fact that patients are rarely affirmatively and explicitly informed of these risks, and of the availability of safer and effective alternatives. Legislation is urgently required to ensure that the pharmaceutical industry provides clear and explicit information on carcinogenic prescription and non-prescription drugs, which should also be labeled with clear warnings of such risks. Physicians should also be required to endorse these warnings, provide patients with information on safe and effective alternatives, and be held accountable for failure to do so.

Many of the most toxic substances are those we do not purchase. Instead, they are present in the environment around us or as occupational hazards in our workplaces. Workers and their representatives have inalienable rights to be given full information on the identity of all carcinogens, including raw materials, intermediates, impurities and final products, to which they are exposed by providing explicit labeling and posting. Additionally, they are entitled to quantitative information on levels of inhalation and skin exposure for each carcinogen. All such information should be made available to workers on a daily basis and also reported to the responsible regulatory authorities.

Citizens, too, are entitled to full access to information from local and national government on their avoidable carcinogenic exposures from air and water. Such information is likely to encourage industry to reduce environmental emissions and discharges of carcinogenic and toxic pollutants and also to encourage more stringent governmental regulation.

Every regional municipal authority should be required to provide consumers with a complete list of carcinogenic contaminants and their concentrations in drinking water together with each water bill. Similarly, every chemical, mining, and nuclear industry should be required to disclose to local communities and regional and national governments a complete listing of all carcinogens, including intermediates

and products, they use, process, manufacture, and dispose. They should also be required to disclose the amounts of each carcinogen they discharge into surrounding air and water. No industry should be allowed to operate unless it provides ongoing quantitative information on smokestack and other atmospheric emissions of carcinogens in the air of its perimeter and in the local community.

4. Transparent Decision-Making

Key governmental decisions and policies are generally determined by the recommendations of governmental scientific institutions, designated expert committees, and regulatory bodies. Their independence, integrity, expertise and accountability are thus matters of critical concern. In addition, all institutions receiving government or tax-exempt funds (such as the cancer establishment) should be required to provide clear and audited budgetary statements defining their sources of funding and their expenditures on basic molecular research, diagnosis and treatment, and primary prevention.

For instance, budgetary information on prevention should specify allocations for the following: research primarily directed to investigating avoidable causes of cancer; research on all possible risk factors for each type of cancer whose incidence has increased substantially over recent decades; research on cancer risks from carcinogens identified in well-designed animal tests and/or listed by the International Agency for Research on Cancer; activities with regard to the development of a comprehensive registry for all carcinogens to which general populations and populations at high risk may be exposed; and outreach activities providing Congress or Parliaments, governmental agencies and the public with available information on all avoidable carcinogenic exposures and actions that may be taken to reduce or avoid such exposures.

Legislation to ensure full accountability and transparency of all cancer institutions involved in cancer research and related activities is long overdue.

In the United States, the predominant complex of institutions charged with fighting cancer, known as the "cancer establishment," is comprised of the governmental National Cancer Institute (NCI) and the private "charity," the American Cancer Society (ACS), together with their national network of funded university scientists and Comprehensive Cancer Centers. The cancer establishment has massive resources at its disposal. The 2001 budget of the NCI is $3.8 billion, up from $220 million in 1971 when President Nixon declared the War Against Cancer. The current budget of the ACS is about $700 million, with cash reserves and other assets of $900 million.

The policies and priorities of the cancer establishment are narrowly fixated on damage control—diagnosis and treatment—and on basic molecular research with a not always benign indifference to cancer prevention. For the ACS, this indifference has reached the level of overt hostility that I've described elsewhere (see, for example, TIKKUN Nov/Dec, 2000). These and other concerns relating to fiscal malpractice have led the Chronicle of Philanthropy, the authoritative U.S. charity watch dog, to charge that the ACS is "more interested in accumulating wealth than saving lives." ACS allocations for all primary prevention activities are under 0.1 percent of its budget. NCI's budgetary allocation for occupational cancer, the most avoidable of all cancers, which according to conservative estimates is responsible for about 10 percent of all U.S. cancer deaths besides being a major cause of childhood cancer, is only one percent; the budget for research and outreach to African American and other ethnic minorities, with their disproportionately high cancer rates, is also only one percent of NCI's budget. NCI's allocations for all primary prevention activities total well under five percent.

The establishment's professional mindset and priorities are compounded by disturbing conflicts of interest with the cancer drug and other industries. As NCI's previous director Dr. Samuel Broder recently admitted, the NCI has become "what amounts to a governmental pharmaceutical company" (Epstein, 1998). The establishment's myopic mindset is further illustrated by a succession of widely publicized misleading claims to have turned "the tide against cancer," and for the latest "miracle" or "magic bullet" cancer drugs, claims which have rarely been substantiated, let alone recanted, over the last four decades (Epstein, 1998).

Most seriously, the poorly accountable U.S. cancer establishment has failed to provide Congress, regulatory agencies, and the public with available scientific information on a wide range of avoidable carcinogenic exposures. As a result, corrective legislative and regulatory action has still not been taken, and the public has been and still is denied its right to such information and the opportunity to take action to reduce their own risk of cancer.

The track record of U.S. and U.K. cancer establishments makes it clear that only drastic reforms of their policies, priorities and leadership will achieve such objectives, and belatedly restore an overdue sense of mission and balance to winning the losing war against cancer.

Similar reforms are needed for national and international regulatory bodies. The 1972 U.S. Federal Advisory Committee Act requires that the composition of regulatory agency advisory committees reflect balanced and qualified representation of all concerned interests and that meetings must be publicized in advance and open to the public. However, in practice, these requirements are more often breached than observed. For example, in an ominous development, a secret World Science Court or Global Science Advisory Board has been created under the leadership of Dr. Bruce Alberts, president of the U.S. National Academy of Sciences (Epstein, 2000). Alberts has fought tooth and nail against complying with the Federal Advisory

Committee Act's requirements for transparency of operations and balanced representation. The World Science Court, now known as the InterAcademy Council and based in Amsterdam, is at this moment organizing expert panels to provide scientific advice to the United Nations, World Bank, and other international organizations on issues ranging from food safety to emerging diseases.

The sort of secrecy, sadly, is not new. In a 1997 U.S. and Canadian challenge against the EU ban on hormonal meat before the World Trade Organization (WTO), I served, together with other international scientists, as the public health consultant to the EU in defense of its ban. Apart from documenting the scientific evidence for the risks from high residues of sex hormones in meat, I analyzed the reports and composition of the relevant FAO/WHO committees, particularly the 1988 Joint Expert Committee on Food Additives (JECFA), which had claimed that hormonal meat was safe, and on whose authority the U.S. and Canadian legal action was largely based. I concluded that "the membership of these committees reflects disproportionate representation of U.S. senior regulatory officials and of veterinary and food scientists, with minimal if any involvement of independent experts in preventive medicine, public health and carcinogenesis. The European Commission Scientific Conference of November 29–December 1, 1995 also reflects such imbalanced representation. While Conference participation of 'scientists directly employed' by industry was 'generally refused,' no apparent attempt was made to identify or exclude industry consultants, contractees, or grantees. Furthermore, the Conference based its findings and conclusions largely on unpublished industry data."

In his own report to the European Commission, John Verall also concluded that the FAO/WHO advisory committees represent a sanitized front for powerful industry interests and pre-determined regulatory decisions, rather than bodies ready to determine sound science and consumer safety (Verall, 1999). Clearly, legislation is needed to require that expert scientific committees, such as JECFA, and regulatory agencies dealing with health and environmental concerns such as the Codex Alimentarius, International Office of Epizootics/FAO, and WHO/ILO, conform to basic requirements to ensure unbiased and sound scientific findings and appropriate subsequent regulatory decisions (Verall, 1999; Castleman and Lemen, 1998).

How can we achieve transparent decision-making in such regulatory bodies and citizen-funded institutions? First, absolute rights should be given by law to grant consumer, environmental, occupational, cancer prevention, and other concerned NGO's full membership on scientific and advisory committees of regulatory bodies. They should also be given full right to participate in the evaluation and selection of scientists performing risk assessment, and financial support to appoint their own experts to work with scientific and regulatory committees charged with safety evaluation of industrial products and processes, medicinal drugs, consumer products, and emerging technologies, notably genetically-engineered foods.

Similar and equally rigorous legislation is needed for the executive, advisory, and scientific committees of all cancer institutions—governmental, charitable and academic—to ensure full accountability and transparency of their deliberations and to ensure that maximal priority be directed to cancer prevention, rather than virtually exclusively to damage control, diagnosis and treatment, and basic molecular research.

Second, transparency of all scientific and regulatory proceedings should further be ensured by providing advanced public information on scheduled committee meetings, which should be open without restriction to the public.

The European Commission (EC) has recently implemented a new policy of openness by publicizing the already mandated declarations of interest made annually by members of their influential and supposedly independent scientific committees (Watson, 2000). This move followed a lengthy campaign by the British advocacy group Baby Milk Action, the U.K. partner of the International Baby Food Action Network, with support from U.K. Labour members of the European Parliament. The EC has always claimed that the members of its various scientific committees act independently, make annual declarations of interest, and declare conflicts of interest at each meeting. However, even if that were the case, this information has never before been made public.

Now, the declarations of the nineteen members of the Scientific Committee for Food, established in 1974 to advise on consumer health and food safety, are the first to be made widely available. According to Baby Milk Action, four members of the Committee—Professor Albert Flyn (Ireland), Professor Ronald Walker (United Kingdom), Wim H.M. Saris (the Netherlands), and Professor Anna Ferro Luzzi (Italy)—have declared "economic or ethical interests which might be considered prejudicial" to their independence. Seven other scientific committees, and their overall steering committees, are now likely to follow suit. The EC insists, however, that contacts between the committees' members and commercial organizations are "part of normal and professional life" and should not be treated as "undesirable" (Watson, 2000). At least now, with a transparent decision-making process in place, those of us who disagree have the facts we need to make our argument.

5. White Collar Crime

There is an overwhelming disparity between the force of criminal law directed at perpetrators of theft, property damage, or personal violence and the lenient civil proceedings against managers and executives of industries and their consultants who knowingly manipulate, distort, or suppress information on the environmental, occupational and

consumer hazards of their products and processes. As Ralph Nader has aptly commented, there are two standards of justice in modern industrialized society: "jail for crime in the streets, but bail for crime in the suites." This flagrant inequity in our dual system of justice is exacerbated by the major socioeconomic differences between the two classes of offenders. Furthermore, the obvious one-to-one direct and immediate impact of blue-collar crime on a single victim is generally in striking contrast with white-collar industry crime, the effects of which are largely sanitized by the nonpersonal and indirect relationship between the criminal and multiple victims and by the usually long latency between crime and effect.

Over two decades ago, Congressman John Conyers, the distinguished Democratic chairman of the U.S. Congress House Committee on the Judiciary, invited me to assist in drafting legislation and to testify on white collar crime, as defined by "nondisclosure of certain matters by certain business entities and personnel" in relation to environmental and health concerns. Congressman Conyers' bill, which urged criminal penalties, including imprisonment, for such corporate crimes, was presented to Congress on July 26, 1979. However, its passage was blocked by Republican committee members and has not since been reintroduced.

In testimony on this proposed legislation, I stated that my investigations had revealed a pattern of gross negligence, manipulation, distortion, suppression, and destruction of data. I found that those involved in the generation and interpretation of this tainted data included not only the businesses concerned, but also a complex of commercial testing and consulting laboratories, and academic consultants, supported by a network of industry front organizations and quasi-professional societies. It was this kind of data, I testified, which allowed industries to minimize or deny the risk to workers and the public-at-large, and to maximize product or process efficacy to the detriment of public health and the environment.

The legislation I supported then and continue to support today offers business the opportunity to explicitly reassert its highest ethical standards and, by policing itself, to preclude or limit the need for further regulatory policing. Such a bill would impose no unreasonable restraints on commerce or on technological innovation but would instead seek to encourage honest disclosure of "lethal defects" and to deter and punish those who knowingly commit criminal acts on "nondisclosure." In so doing, such a bill would discourage the introduction of products and processes with "lethal defects," and thus prevent the attendant economic dislocation following their subsequent withdrawal once these defects become recognized. Successful self-policing by business would also act as a major brake to burgeoning product liability suits. Finally, a bill like the one Conyers introduced would offer a unique opportunity to restore the eroding public confidence in big business in general, and the chemical industry in particular, and thus reverse the growing and nationally damaging trend of polarization and confrontation between business, the general public, and labor.

In the absence of a legislative disincentive like the Conyers bill, environmental and health safety white collar crime has continued unabated and has extended into global markets. Such misconduct, which I have investigated over three decades, includes:

- Suppression and manipulation by Vesicol Chemical Company of the carcinogenic and other chronic toxic effects of the pesticides chlordane and heptachlor, which have been extensively used for termite treatment of wood (Epstein, 1990).
- Monsanto's suppression and denial of clear evidence of adverse veterinary and public health effects of genetically-engineered milk hormone (rBGH/rBST) and of excess levels of a growth factor, IGF-1, in hormonal milk which poses serious cancer and other risks to consumers (Epstein, 1998; Epstein, 2001).
- The cancer risks of silicone gel breast implants, particularly those coated with polyurethane foam, long-standing evidence of which had been suppressed by Dow Corning Company, Bristol-Myers Squibb, and other manufacturers, by plastic surgeons and their professional associations (Epstein, 1998, Appendix V; Epstein, 1995).
- Suppression by Eli Lilly Company of its own evidence on the grave risks of ovarian cancer from its aggressively promoted and advertised new drug Evista (raloxifene) used for the prevention of postmenopausal osteoporosis (Epstein, 1998, Appendix V).

Among more recent examples of corporate misconduct is the reckless behavior of the tobacco industry, now the subject of federal, state, and civil litigation. The most egregious examples of such conduct have been detailed in extensive secret documents obtained from R.J. Reynolds' Company in the course of civil litigation and released to the public in January, 1998 (Superior Courts of the State of California, 1998). The Company's "Joe Camel" advertising campaign deliberately targeted underage smokers in calculated efforts to recruit lifetime adult smokers, most of whom start smoking or become addicted by the age of eighteen. With huge promotional expenditures from 1987–1998, R.J. Reynolds recruited about 560,000 underage U.S. smokers. No criminal charges have yet been brought against this industry despite the devastating scourge of future disease and death anticipated from the Camel campaign, including cancers of the lung and other sites, cardiovascular disease, stroke, chronic obstructive lung disease and adverse complications of pregnancy, apart from inflationary medical and loss of productivity costs.

Clearly, white collar environmental and health crime legislation is critically needed and well overdue world-wide.

Congressman Conyers' 1979 bill could still serve as a useful model. Consideration should also be directed to the establishment of an International Public Health Crimes Court, modeled along the lines of the International War Crimes Tribunal, for the investigation and indictment of transnational corporations whose products and processes pose recognized or potential dangers to public health and environmental integrity.



Apart from criminal prosecution of white collar crime, legislation is also needed to empower citizens who become aware of undisclosed carcinogenic hazards in consumer products to take civil action to enjoin their distribution and sale and receive as a benefit a share of past illegal sales together with some type of mandatory financial sanctions. One precedent for such an initiative is Proposition 65, passed by California in 1986.

6. Independent Citizen Health and Safety Agency

The five preceding principles point to the critical and long overdue need for the establishment of an Independent Citizen Safety Agency. This Agency should be given wide powers to police the effectiveness of current health and safety regulations, and to act as intermediary between consumers, workers, and their NGO's on the one hand and regulatory authorities and industry on the other. The Agency should be empowered with responsibilities including the establishment of a clearinghouse for receiving and evaluating complaints from individual consumers, workers, and their interest groups on all health related issues; collecting, systematizing and evaluating new scientific data and assessing their implications for current and proposed new regulations; publication and dissemination of information, in explicit and simple language, on possible health and environmental risks from regulated products and processes and the proposed authorization of new products and processes.

The Agency should be established on the models of antitrust and cartel agencies with wide powers of investigation, decision making and fining of violators. The Agency should be a public watchdog, an ombudsman with teeth, directly accountable only to Congress or Parliament. ❑

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PERSONAL ESSAY

Craft and Commerce: Moshe the Bookseller

Mark I. Pinsky

There is something intoxicating about selling a thing you have made—something about the intermingling of craft and commerce. Artists and artisans know this tactile sensation, having chosen it for their life's work. But for those of us who write for a living, this relationship is more elusive, experienced at a remove, if at all. Until recently, the last time I felt that way was over three decades ago, when I stood on the street in Durham, N.C., selling the underground newspaper I wrote for, edited, laid out, and pasted up. For those few, heady months—unlike any time before or since—I was, literally, "Mark, the Newspaper Man."

Now I have a bit of that same feeling again. I've written my first book, *The Gospel According to The Simpsons: The Spiritual Life of the World's Most Animated Family*, and in that sense I once more feel like an artisan—and, yes, to some degree, like a salesman. The book examines the intersection of religion and popular culture in the much-praised cartoon series, and is published by an arm of the Presbyterian Church, USA. While it's mostly about Protestant Christianity, it also includes chapters on the way Catholics, Hindus, and Jews are portrayed in the long-running show. It's a relatively serious look at a very humorous subject and it's doing quite well, thank you.

So, what is it like when the dream of book writing finally comes true—after decades of grinding out disposable prose

ther, for whom, in Hebrew, I am named, began his career one hundred years ago, selling dry goods from a wagon to farmers in southern New Jersey. From that rural route, my late father and my uncle built a successful furniture business in what was then a small town. Thanks to their foresight and hard work, my brother and I and my two cousins were raised in upper middle class comfort, attending college and graduate school free of part-time jobs and student loans.

Yet neither my brother, Paul, nor I wanted anything to do with the retail business. Until earlier this year, when it was sold, the other side of the family owned the store, which is now surrounded by suburban tracts and commercial strips. We fled our patrimony after watching the long hours my father and my uncle put in, and the grief they took from customers. The summers we spent in the warehouse and on the truck making deliveries only deepened our resolve to join a generation of Jews abandoning "the store." If anything, campus radicalism in the late 1960s accelerated our flight *from* capitalism and *toward* social change. Paul picked education and politics, and is now a crusading Maryland state senator. I chose journalism, ultimately migrating from the alternative press to major American newspapers.

As the publication date for my book neared last September, I took to visiting stores in my area—my territory, my route?—dropping off articles about the book, advance reviews and a slick, page sampler, in hope of lining up read-

were those little golfers made of twisted metal spikes, or grotesque creatures welded with auto engine parts. There were times I was grateful to have someone—missionaries, unstable heavy metal music fans, security guards, anyone—come up and talk, even if they didn't buy a book.

Undeterred, I soon took to the commercial hunt with enthusiasm. One weekend in Boston and Cambridge I visited eight bookstores—uninvited!—signing all the copies they had, under the mistaken impression that my autograph made it difficult if not impossible for the books to be returned to the publisher for refunds. On a trip to New York City, I made similar rounds, flying from one bookseller to the other by taxi, bus, and subway. I was beginning to feel like Arthur Miller's iconic salesman, Willie Loman, this time making equally cold calls on more than a dozen stores in two days, from hole-in-the-wall church gift shops to big chain outlets. I *schlepped* my black nylon Eddie Bauer briefcase weighed down with books—my sample case?—smiling as I introduced myself to buyers and managers.

For a while, I said I would draw the line at hauling books to sell at local synagogue men's clubs and civic organizations, where I was invited to speak. In the end, I relented, asking my wife to work the table with me after a presentation to a Jewish educators group that held its national convention near my house, at the same hotel where my son had his bar mitzvah party. Of course, here I am again plugging my book—subtly but shamelessly—in a Jewish magazine. Another victory for pragmatism.

Soon I was checking my book's sales rating on Amazon.com in the U.S. and Britain as compulsively as any nervous stockholder checking portfolio quotes on the Internet. On the heels of the book's modest, initial success, my mind raced forward to thoughts of diversification and extending the product line. Before long, we had in the works both a sequel (*The Gospel According to Disney: Cartoon Faith & Values*) and companion *Simpsons* Sunday school curriculum for church youth groups around the country. Now fully engaged in the marketing process, I eagerly found my spot on the globalization matrix. *The Simpsons* is broadcast in seventy countries, with a worldwide, weekly audience estimated at sixty million. Everywhere the show goes, my publishers and I reasoned, the book could go. Since the world market has

my colleagues—more than fifty for newspapers, radio, magazines and television—were a breeze. (I confess to claiming several places where I lived on the East and West Coast as my "home town," for purposes of providing local angles for their stories.) It was a little strange, though, spending so much time on the other side of the reporter's notebook. I never thought I would tire of talking about myself, but I did. Instead I tried to steer the conversation toward my book—my product. It is an odd transformation, the first time you turn yourself into a commodity, yet I quickly adjusted. I honed my salesman's patter to quotable bites, and remembered to speak slowly, trying not to get too far ahead of the speed of the muted typing on computer keyboards I could hear on the other end of the phone. A quick study, I learned the fine art of writing enthusiastic blurbs for other people's books that simultaneously promoted my own. I willingly posed for ridiculous, eye-rolling publicity photos—hugging large, rubber *Simpsons* characters from the television series, a stained glass window in the background. Business, after all, is business.

I must admit that the mixed feelings of narcissism and revulsion were at times disorienting. And, honestly, I don't know if my ambivalent reaction to personal commerce was simply a case of my family's peddler genes crying out. Perhaps it is more like that scene in *Godfather III*, when Al Pacino—playing the young Mafia scion Michael Corleone—complains that, regardless of his efforts to disengage from his family's business (in his case, organized crime), other forces "pull me back in." This is not a serious complaint. I know I am not working nearly as hard as my grandfather, my father, and my uncle. And, frankly, this is not an entirely new development for me. When I was in my twenties, a struggling freelance journalist, I made a stop at my parents' home. In our den I was working the phones, trying to hustle and juggle assignments from newspaper, magazine, and radio clients. My father looked over from his section of the couch where he had been napping, and said wryly, "I thought you didn't want to be in the retail business."

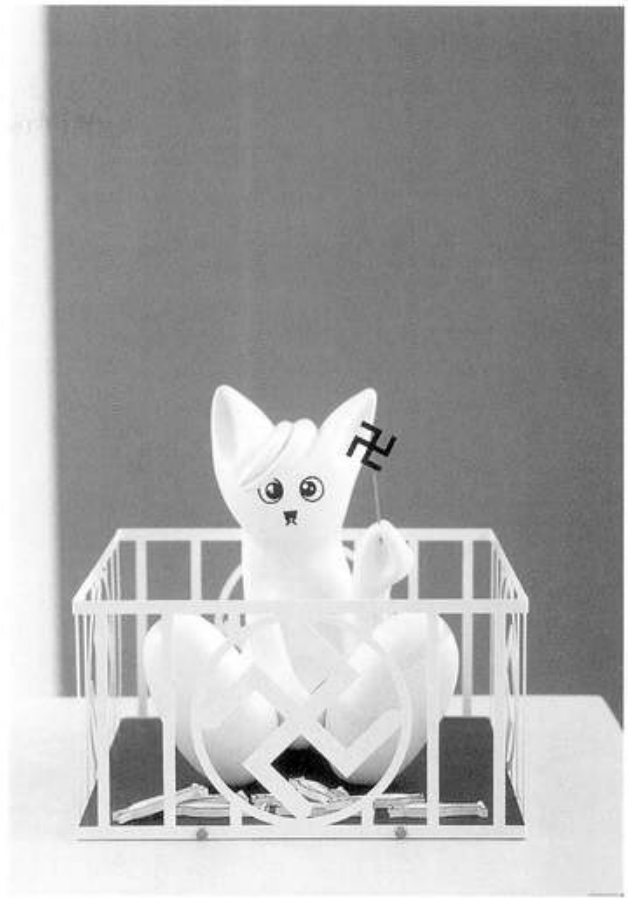
The Jewish writer Sholem Yakov Abramovich took as his pen name *Mendele Mocher Sforim*—"Mendele the Book Seller." An orphan, he lived and traveled with beggars and brigands in Ukraine as a young teenager and later trained as a rabbi. Abramovich was influenced by the *Haskalah*, the



ART REVIEW

Mirroring Evil

Thane Rosenbaum



Alain Séchas, *Enfants Gâtés (Spoiled Children)*, 1997 (detail). Plywood, plastic, mirrors. Courtesy Galerie Emmanuel Perrotin, Paris.

COURTESY OF THE JEWISH MUSEUM, NEW YORK

- "Mirroring Evil: Nazi Imagery/ Recent Art." Jewish Museum of New York. (March 17–June 30, 2002).

One debate among Americans that will never come to a satisfying end is the question of artistic freedom. The artist will tell you that the imagination is limitless, that the creative process is both mysterious and inexorable, that muses call out whenever they feel like it, and that those calls must always be answered. Artistic license entitles the driver to impose his own right of way, to ignore all stop signs and red lights, to floor-it—no matter who gets hurt.

Freedom can sometimes come across as arrogance, particularly when art traffics in atrocity.

"Mirroring Evil: Nazi Imagery/ Recent Art," an exhibition that opened in March at the Jewish Museum in New York, is one such example. It had generated controversy in advance of its opening, and one wonders whether the museum counted on just such a reaction, seeking publicity—negative or otherwise. Two things are certain: they couldn't have been surprised by the strong negative response the exhibit has been generating, and they're likely to receive more.

Among the works being displayed are: a concentration camp made out of LEGOs™, with the additional gallows humor of a crematorium and, yes, gallows; poison gas containers wrapped in Hermes, Chanel, and Tiffany designer labels and entitled "Giftset," as if the door prize for surviving Auschwitz was a Fifth Avenue shopping spree; a photograph of skeletal inmates liberated at Buchenwald, with the artist digitally inserted into the photo holding a Diet Coke™, as if he's recommending to survivors how to keep the weight off when they re-enter the world.

Perhaps these artists intended to say something more redemptive. But that's the problem with visual art. There's no narrative, no explanation; the viewer is encouraged to walk away with multiple meanings or no meaning at all. But when one is dealing with the black hole of genocide, the burden on the artist, and museums, ought to be higher. It is a responsibility born out of the awe and ashes of Auschwitz. There is no way to mirror this kind of evil—the horror and magnitude of mass death. For these reasons, humility should temper ambition. The artist sometimes has to yield and exercise moral judgment, even if it conflicts with aesthetic desires.

In its defense, the Jewish Museum claims that its show, while not entirely based on aesthetic criteria, does say something important about the commodification of the Holocaust, which presumably is why they have chosen works of art dressed-up in designer labels. But if that was the artists' point—to speak to the ways in which the Holocaust has been manipulated and integrated into popular culture (a claim which frankly has been belied by some of the artists' own recent statements, in which the Holocaust isn't even part of their artistic consciousness)—then why mock and re-invent instruments of death in order to make that point? To the extent that there is an original or necessary idea offered here, why not say it without denigrating and demeaning the way in which so many millions of lives were lost and extinguished?

This reminds me of what apologists for Roberto Benigni's equally repulsive film, *Life is Beautiful*, had said in his defense: that the movie was not trying to show how life was beautiful in a concentration camp, but rather the lengths to which a father would go to protect his child from fear. But why use a concentration camp as a set piece to illustrate that point, since no father in a death camp could have shielded his son from either death or the knowledge of its inevitability (and no child was so obtuse as to not realize that parents were no longer capable of

Thane Rosenbaum is the literary editor of TIKKUN *and the author, most recently, of* The Golems of Gotham.



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offering protection)? Leaving audiences with this grossly distorted impression of the singular nature of the death camps was a truly moral crime committed against those who died in, and survived from, those barbed-wire graveyards.

The Holocaust doesn't belong to the artist to do as he or she pleases, to make whatever statement he or she wishes, to trample on profound sensitivities as if the feelings of the survivors, and the memory of the dead, are irrelevant. No matter the skill or imagination, the artist can never experience this level of intimacy with evil, certainly not by placing him or herself in its midst with the use of trick photography, or by building a new one out of a children's toy.

Nor is this critique only a matter of Holocaust piety, which some feel has come to transcend history, reducing other sufferings to minor parts in the grand narrative of mass death. The Holocaust *was* different from other moral crimes against humanity, in scale and in magnitude. But the argument against the aestheticization of suffering would still be the same if the Jewish Museum had decided to caricature the pain of Cambodians, Rhawandans, Bosnians, gypsies, homosexuals, or any others who had been exposed to already experienced unimaginable injury. Suffering is being mocked; the magnitude of losses muted and ignored. Imagine if a performance artist walked over to Ground Zero and mocked those who had been burned alive and crushed to death. Everyone would repudiate such artistic license as being morally repulsive. How is what the Jewish Museum has done any different?

The permissive moral boundaries of Holocaust art are not new. The Jewish Museum no doubt was aware of that before giving these artists, and this show, the green light. But the fact that this exhibition is being sponsored by a major Jewish cultural institution makes it all the more alarming, and confusing.

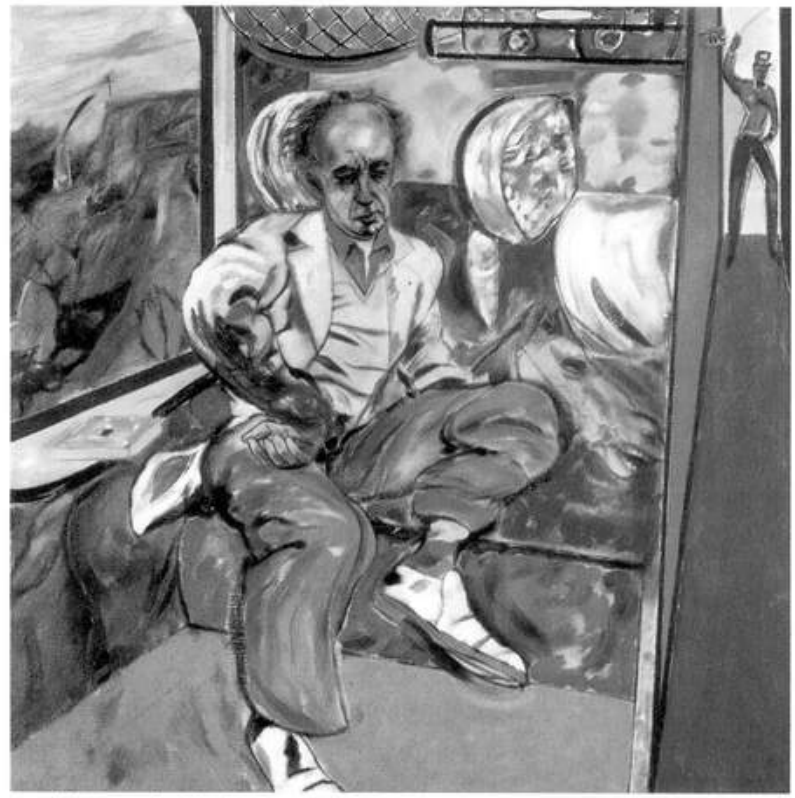
Was the Jewish Museum simply trying to capture an artistic trend, or have they cynically surrendered to this culture's obsession with the sensational, maximizing shock value in a society that is no longer capable of being shocked, and doesn't much care who it offends? Indeed, "Mirroring Evil" may wind up being compared to the infamous "Degenerate Art" show of Nazi Germany, but this time what makes the art degenerate is not its subjective quality or ma[illegible]

ART REVIEW

The Wandering Jew

Eunice Lipton

- "The Wandering Jew: Witness to History" at the Museum of Jewish Art and History in Paris. October 26, 2001–February 24, 2002.



Ronald B. Kitaj (b. Cleveland, 1932). *Jewish Passenger.* Los Angeles, 1984–1985. Oil on canvas. ©Astrup Fearnley Musect for Moderne Kunst, Oslo

The Jewish Museum in Paris used to be tucked into a corner of the Museum of Montmartre high up in the north of the city. It opened to the public a few hours a day, and only the intrepid came. No longer. For almost four years now, the Museum of Jewish Art and History has dwelled magisterially in the refurbished and splendid seventeenth century Hôtel de Saint-Aignan in the glamorous Marais district. This is a triumph. France, after all, is not Germany, where guilt and remorse drive the country to build hotly-debated monuments and dazzling museums. Nor is it cantankerous New York, where the Jewish Museum on Fifth Avenue raises the stakes on the Holocaust discussion with exhibitions like "Mirroring Evil: Nazi Imagery/ Recent Art" (March 17–June 30, 2002). This is France, where people speak proudly of the Resistance and turn pale and away at the mention of the Collaboration, and where national monuments to the Holocaust never use the word "Jew."

As triumphant an accomplishment as the Jewish Museum in Paris is, it is a modest and discreet affair. Shows do not change often. Contemporary art is kept at low key. It has no website. Nonetheless, the recent exhibition, "Le Juif Errant: Un Témoin du Temps," ("The Wandering Jew: Witness to History") was revelatory and unhinging. Most secular and many religious Jews will think, "This is my story, our story. We are wanderers and proud of it. We have adapted and flourished over centuries." But it turns out that the Wandering Jew is a thoroughly Christian story that has been told so often and so compellingly that it has become the simple truth. The Museum aims to make us reconsider this sleight of hand.

In print after print, painting after painting, book after book, the history of the Wandering Jew unfolds. The displays are handsome—polished glass cases horizontally and vertically deployed; dramatic, almost surgically precise lighting; transparent partitions with lively, informative text. The viewer learns that in the middle of the thirteenth century in England, monks cast about for new details with which to embellish the life and death of Christ. They hit upon the story of a malevolent witness to Christ's suffering. On the road to Calvary, Christ, bearing his cross and bitterly tired, stops to rest in front of a Jewish shoemaker's shop. The cobbler says to him, "Walk more quickly, pass along," and Christ replies, "I am leaving, but you will walk until I return." And so the Jew is destined to wander the earth until the Second Coming, his sentence becoming his very name.

In manuscripts of the late middle ages the Wanderer is a man of about fifty with long white beard, wearing an apron over tattered clothing, barefoot or in sandals, carrying a walking stick. By the early seventeenth century prints were sold all over Europe by peddlers who hawked them along with other household goods. The nineteenth century brought a phenomenal rise in the number of prints sold in cities and even more in the countryside.

Sometimes the sea with a ship in the distance lies behind the Wanderer, symbolizing his long journey from the Holy Land, the place of his betrayal. More frequently, the representation is cluttered with narrative boxes showing a man in a shop, often explicitly a cobbler's shop, then Christ bearing a cross,

Eunice Lipton, author of Alias Olympia *and* Looking into Degas, *contributes to* The Guardian, The Nation, *and* The Women's Review of Books. *She lives in Paris and New York.*

COURTESY OF THE MUSÉE D'ART ET D'HISTOIRE DU JUDAÏSME

then Golgotha, and finally the Jew talking to two well-dressed men on a road. He will walk until kingdom come.

The power of the exhibition lies in its pile up of imagery. The proliferation is inescapable. And it is depressing. No Jew could walk these rooms, chest puffed out, declaiming his capacity to roam.

For a brief historical moment in France, it looked like the image might change. Between June 1844 and July 1845, Eugène Sue published "The Wandering Jew" in the French magazine, *Le Constitutionel*, in 169 installments. The Wanderer in his story is long-suffering and wise. He is a hero. In a country where socialism had taken strong root due to the work of Saint-Simon, the Fourierists, and P.J. Proudhon, the Wanderer began to resonate with images of the poor and the doomed. Subscriptions to the magazine shot up from 3,600 to 20,000. The Wandering Jew became a socialist icon.

This positive turn in the Wanderer's status did not last long. In J.M. Charcot's famous hospital for mental diseases in Paris, La Salpêtrière (where Freud studied in 1885), Charcot's student Henri Meige writes a book called *Le Juif errant à La Salpêtrière. Etude sur certains nevropathes voyageurs* (*The Wandering Jew: A Study of some Neurotic Roamers*; Paris 1893). As the exhibition flyer has it, "Jews were considered antisocial, people of pathological instability, incapable of rooting themselves in the societies which welcomed them." The anti-Dreyfusards produced image after image of the Wanderer seen again as malevolent traveler, a man with no affiliation and no loyalty, a danger to society. The Nazis did the same.

The most interesting twist in this story, of course, is that Jews have made the image their own. Indeed it has become one of our favorites. When Chagall paints the old Jew, sack over his shoulder, walking stick in hand, floating above the shtetls of Russia, we smile. We like the magic, the whimsy, we say. We like having our own Jewish Picasso too. Nonetheless, Chagall is re-membering the crime and the sentence in his painting. As do less well-known Jewish artists. William Meyerowitz, born in Russia, engraves "The Wanderer," a bearded man in late middle age wearing a peaked cap, a bundle slung over his shoulder. His look is sad, and terribly wise. It is 1945. Mordecai Moreh in Baghdad makes a dry-point print called "The Wandering Jew" in 1968. The Jew is splayed in the form of the crucifix in the left-hand corner of the print. Below flows a sea of debris. After the expulsion of Jews from Poland, after the 1967 War, A Flood, again. Michael Sgan-Cohen, an Israeli, paints the subject in 1983, a large canvas measuring 7'x4'. In it, a simply drawn figure iconically located in the center in profile walks to the left behind a wooden chair—perhaps, like Van Gogh's famous chair, an image of home from whence the Jew is cast out. The head is a pictogram attached to a human body, a symbolic figure with a beak for a nose, long dirty hair and beard, a triangular yellow hat. A single eye stares over its shoulder towards a black pointing finger ordering it to move on.

These are a depressing lot of pictures. Without pictorial irony or exaggeration they simply re-present a cliché we now know to be poisoned. The Wanderer has no attachments. He watches and moves on. He obeys a medieval Christian injunction as if it were his own will. Even when Chagall paints a high-stepping, heel-clicking peasant as he does in his thickly encrusted "Wandering Jew" of 1924, the traveler is following orders, the trope is not reconfigured. Or not reconfigured enough to make a difference. These are representations of Jews without autonomy. They are Jews who won't make waves. We patronizingly smile upon them but, *au fond*, we pity them. Seen against the backdrop of the Holocaust, this figure is inevitably the Jew in Diaspora, the Jew doomed to wander. The prevailing representation of the Wandering Jew in Jewish hands comes to this: the implication that only when we live in our own country will we no longer be marginal and diminished.

Only one painting in the exhibition troubles the cliché, and that is R. B. Kitaj's "The Jewish Passenger" a large work (5'x5') painted around 1985. A dapper man of middle age, vividly dressed in red trousers and shirt, yellow pull-over, white jacket and shoes, sprawls confidently, hand on hip, in a train compartment. Beneath him, miraculously confounded with the seat, flies a speeding horse on which the man perches side-saddle. Pegasus, the steed of the muses, perhaps. Out the window is a smoke-stack. A cross rises behind it. The Holocaust is here, out the window, and the man is melancholy, but the painting is not. It is exuberant and sensual. Color, texture, brushstroke erupt with desire and mischief. It reminds me of nothing so much as Philip Roth's *Operation Shylock* where the madcap behavior of the faux Philip Roth gives a new spin to Diaspora. Roth yanks the idea of the poor wanderer so hard that he takes leave of his senses, splashes around in his wildest fantasies and cries, "Yes! Why not go back to Poland! Look at all the great things Jews did there, how very rich their lives were for a thousand years. A thousand years!"

What both Roth and Kitaj—who incidentally are friends—do is use an old trope but lace it with so many new ingredients that it spills into other discourses. And the Jew as pitiful victim vanishes. Let's call the passage out adventurism—into the conflicts and contradictions of the unconscious (read Freud), into unimagined zones of social economy (read Marx), into lands of near kabbalistic frenzy in the name of self-examination (read Roth). Let's call it the Jewish Diaspora.

The representation of the Wandering Jew fulfilled historical needs, mostly Christian, but also Jewish. The show in Paris makes that abundantly clear. Perhaps we thought we could remake the Wanderer, take him back much as blacks have attempted to retrieve "Nigger," or homosexuals, "faggot." But we have not succeeded, nor perhaps have they. It's time for the Wandering Jew to wander off stage. ❑

BOOK REVIEW

There's No Such Thing as Bad PR

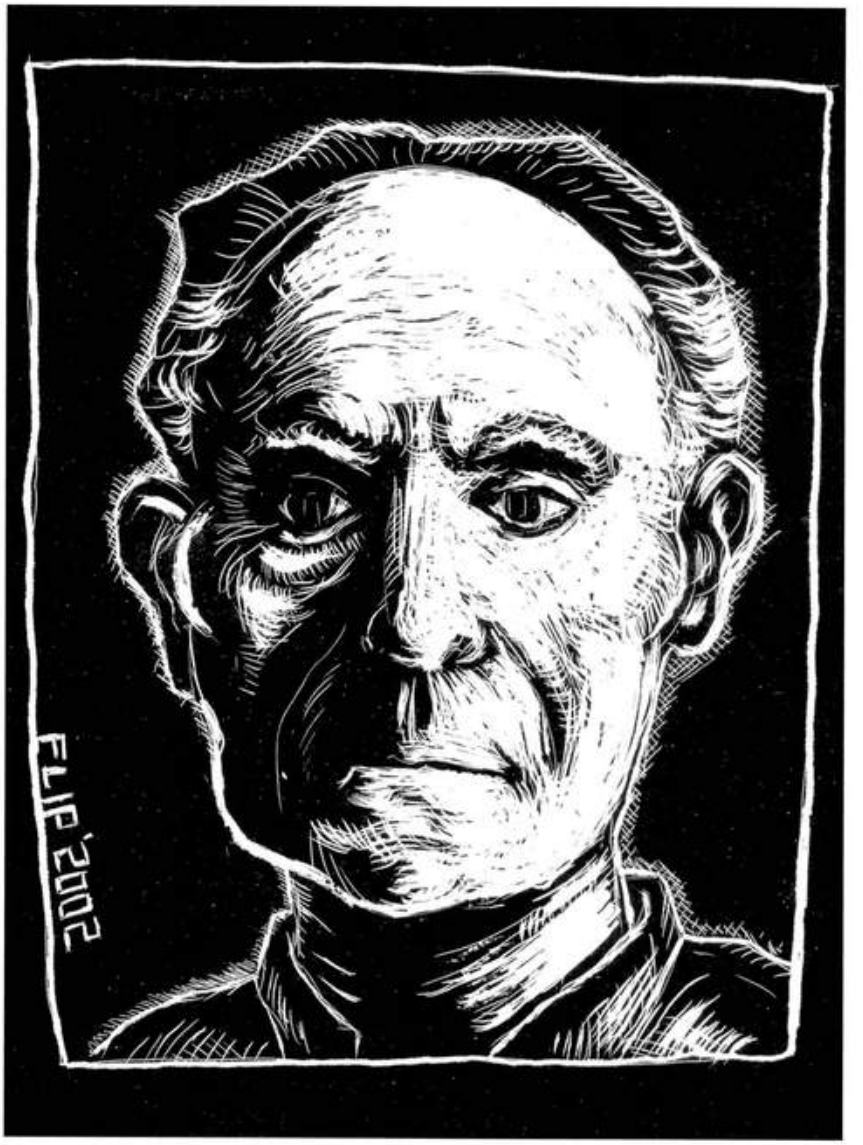


ILLUSTRATION BY PHILLIP VANDERYKEN

Ken Gordon

- Philip Roth. *Shop Talk: A Writer and His Colleagues and Their Work.* Houghton Mifflin Company, 2001.

Philip Roth's job is to take everyday reality and transform it into something else. Something better. Readers of this magazine, while not necessarily fiction writers, know the process well. We call it *tikkun olam* or "transformation of the world," though perhaps we should be careful here—*tikkun* means both "transformation" and "healing," and one imagines Roth smiling at the thought of his books' curative power. After all, the man's a novelist, not a doctor.

That said, his most recent work is anything but business as usual.

In *Shop Talk* (2000), a scrapbook of Roth's adventures while on vacation from fiction, our author gets chatty with his peers: Aharon Appelfeld, Milan Kundera, Mary McCarthy, and others. Many of the pieces are dialogues, two are memoirs, one is a critical essay, and one an exchange of letters. (Roth watchers will remember the Kundera interview from *The Book of Laughter and Forgetting* and the McCarthy correspondence and the Bellow essay from the *New Yorker.*)

This isn't your ordinary literary colloquy, and sometimes it's an odd read. In his role as interviewer, Roth often sounds like an impossibly bright young man trying to impress world-renowned authors with his home-grown insights into their work. For instance, he says to Primo Levi: "In *The Monkey's Wrench*, which might accurately have been titled *This Is a Man* [notice that he's retitling Levi's work!], you tell Faussone, your blue-collar Scheherazade, that 'being a chemist in the world's eyes, and feeling … a writer's blood in my veins' you consequently have 'two souls in my body, and that's too many.' I'd say there's one soul, enviably capacious and seamless; I'd say that not only are the survivor and the scientist inseparable, but so are the writer and the scientist." To which Levi responds (with wonderful civility), "Rather than a question, this is a diagnosis, which I accept with thanks."

So what's with Roth? The smart, brash, and occasionally antagonistic comments seem the latest manifestation of his well-documented transgressive nature. He's testing the limits of what a public literary conversation should be. *Shop Talk* is an object lesson in how to ask, and answer, meaningful questions about literature. It teaches us what Murray Ringold taught young Nathan Zuckerman in *I Married a Communist:* "you don't have to be Al Capone to transgress—you just have to *think.* 'In human society,' Mr. Ringold taught us, 'thinking's the greatest transgression of all.' 'Cri-ti-cal

Ken Gordon is a Boston-based freelance writer. He's written about Vladimir Nabokov, James Salter, and Leonardo da Vinci.

think-ing,' Mr. Ringold said, using his knuckles to rap out each of the syllables on the desktop, '—there is the ultimate subversion.'" *Shop Talk* shows that, thirty-three years after *Portnoy's Complaint* first sent the squeamish running for the Alka-Seltzer™, Roth is still capable of finding new forms of provocation.

The dialogues are extremely well crafted—too much so, sometimes. (Though it should be noted that the earlier *Shop Talk* pieces, like the 1976 Singer interview, tend to be more conventional and conversational than the later ones.) Roth asks Aharon Appelfeld about living in Israel, "How does being a citizen of this self-revealing, self-asserting, self-challenging, self-legendizing society affect your writing?" and all you can think is, "Enough with the *self!*" Roth knows that this stuff is carefully choreographed, and so he inserts several disclaimers explaining that the dialogues began as conversation and ended at the writing desk. Often Roth and his cohorts exchange short essays instead of speaking to one another. At one point, he "says" to Appelfeld:

> For Bellow no less than for Appelfeld, the truly 'earthy soul' is not the Jew, nor is the search to retrieve primitive energies portrayed as a quest for a Jew. For Bellow no less than for Appelfeld, and, astonishingly, for Mailer no less than for Appelfeld—we all know that in Mailer when a man is a sadistic sexual aggressor his name is Sergius O'Shaugnessy, when he is a wife killer his name is Stephen Rojack, and when he is a menacing murderer he isn't Lepke Buchalter or Gurrah Shapiro, he's Gary Gilmore.

which effectively kills any illusion of conversation.

You can understand Roth's impatience with the form: the literary dialogue is a tricky genre. The reader wants to see some spontaneity, the kind of off-the-cuff remarks that two friendly authors might make to one another, in addition to the specialized intellectual analysis in which Roth, Isaac Bashevis Singer, and Edna O'Brien traffic. Plus it's difficult for a writer to be completely honest in conversation about another writer's work. As Roth writes in his memoir of Malamud: "Though Bern [Malamud qualifies as the only artist in the book to receive a nickname] and I ended up most evenings talking together about books and writing, we hardly ever alluded to each other's fiction and never seriously discussed it, observing an unwritten rule of propriety that exists among novelists, as among rival teammates in sports, who understand just how little candor can be sustained, however deep the respect may run."

But Roth isn't always so careful. In the Klíma interview he quotes a letter the Czech author wrote, in what Roth calls "somewhat uneven English," back in 1978. And while the passage, written when Klíma was living under Soviet rule in Czechoslovakia, gives a good sense of the novelist's circumscribed existence, I can't imagine it not embarrassing him. What novelist wants his fumblings in a foreign language displayed in public? It's acceptable to fold this sort of thing into one's fiction, as Roth seems to have done with the Klímatic Zdenek Sisovki in *Zuckerman Unbound* (1985), but it seems unnecessary to throw it into *Shop Talk*.

Not surprisingly, one of the best moments in the book occurs when Roth dispenses entirely with face-to-face interaction. The exchange of letters between Roth and McCarthy, about Roth's novel, *The Counterlife* (1986), completely relieves us of our Q&A discomfort. The words they write were composed in privacy, with enough social distance to comfortably give and receive criticism. McCarthy writes, after critiquing Nathan Zuckerman's encounters with English anti-Semitism and the ambivalence he feels about circumcision, "Forgive me if all this is disagreeable to you," to which Roth later responds, "I would have had to forgive you if you had been 'agreeable.'" Restrained but honest, and not a word retouched for publication (McCarthy spells "anti-semitism" with a lower-case "s"; Roth silently corrects her in his response).

Less successful are the book's other non-dialogues. The memoirs—one about his former neighbor, the painter Philip Guston; the other about Bernard Malamud—are affecting, but they don't have Roth's usual edge. Because they are memorials for dead friends, there is an element of sadness to them, which, while moving, doesn't make one sit up and take notes. And the Bellow essay ("very much a colleague's reading" reports the book jacket), the last piece to be written in the book, finds Roth in a monologic mood. The essay begs for another voice to join in, or for someone to help Roth orient the reader a bit: he rushes right into the Bellovian *oeuvre* but doesn't bother to make sure we're with him on the page. There are some redeeming things here—Roth's prose percolates when he turns to Bellow, and he introduces a number of new words ("biography-lessness" and "highbrowese") into our vocabulary.

It's tough to be indifferent to all the behind-the-scenes material in *Shop Talk*. Where else can you watch Roth flirt with Edna O'Brien: "Why do you write so many love stories? Is it because of the importance of the subject or because, like many others in our profession, once you grew up and left home and chose the solitary life of a writer, sexual love inevitably became the strongest sphere of experience to which you have continued access?" And let's not forget the fine *Shop Talk* moment when Isaac Bashevis Singer says, "Although I wrote in Yiddish [some critics] said, 'Why do you write about Jewish thieves and Jewish prostitutes?' And I said, 'Shall I write about Spanish thieves and Spanish prostitutes? I write about the thieves and prostitutes I know.'"

Now some might argue that a book crammed with literary conversation, even *Shop Talk*'s top-shelf book chat,

(continued on page 76)

Mad as Hell?

Roger S. Gottlieb



ILLUSTRATION BY SABRINA JONES

- *Anger: Wisdom for Cooling the Flames,* by Thich Nhat Hanh. Riverhead Books, 2001.

In recent months, even more than usual, anger is all the rage. After the initial shock of 9–11 wore off, the American people gave vent to an enormous outpouring of wrath, an emotional storm made manifest in cascades of bombs and dire threats to our "enemies" worldwide. In the Middle East the daily murders are accompanied by steely-eyed promises of revenge or howls for the blood of the "terrorists" (a term now used as much by Hamas and Hezbollah to describe Israel as the reverse). Road rage is a common phenomenon on America's highways, anger permeates "reality" TV, and our daunting divorce rate testifies to the ubiquity of anger in our most intimate connections. In each of these settings we face a question philosophers have pondered for thousands of years: Is there any virtue in anger?

Over 2,400 years ago, Aristotle posited that while anyone can get pissed off, only the virtuous person knows how to be angry "for the right reason, with the right person, and to the right amount." The Buddha, however, offered a strikingly different account of anger a few hundred years before Aristotle. For the Buddha anger is not, as it was for Aristotle, a relational response to our surroundings which can fail—or succeed—at being rational and appropriate. It is, rather, unequivocally damaging. "If you knew what your anger was doing to you," the Buddha counseled, "you would shun it like the worst of poisons."

This contrast between what we might call Aristotle's "relational" view of anger and the Buddha's unqualified rejection of it form a background to Thich Nhat Hanh's new book, *Anger: Wisdom for Cooling the Flames*. Not surprisingly *Anger* takes a rejectionist view. Nhat Hanh, one of the world's most respected and well-known Buddhist teachers, believes that anger makes us unattractive, hurts those around us and ourselves, and stems predominantly from our own ignorance, misunderstanding, or lack of self-knowledge. It is "negative energy," a "kind of smoke that makes you suffer" and needs to be eliminated or transformed. Holding the traditional Buddhist notion that bad actions are always rooted in ignorance about our true nature and the real basis of happiness, he believes that perpetrators of evil are in as much pain as their victims. This belief is meant to lead us to replace any desire to punish the objects of our anger with the traditional Buddhist hope that all beings be free of suffering.

Despite his negative view of anger, Nhat Hanh does not advocate denying or repressing it. An essential and inevitable part of ourselves, our anger should be approached with gentleness and care. Like a "howling baby, suffering and crying," soothed by a loving mother, like garbage which can be composted into growing a beautiful flower, we should treat our anger with mindfulness and genuine affection, acknowledging it in ourselves and expressing it to our loved ones with gentle, responsible, honesty.

There is much that is wise here. As someone who has manifested (at least!) his share of abusive self-righteousness, I can think of countless times when Nhat Hanh's advice would have done me—and people around me—a world of good. His model of cherishing our

Roger S. Gottlieb is the author of Joining Hands: Politics and Religion Together for Social Change *and* A Spirituality of Resistance. *He teaches philosophy at Worcester Polytechnic Institute.*

anger without indulging it surpasses New Age attempts to bypass painful emotions and psychotherapeutic tactics of venting (a practice he subjects to deft criticism). For a basically good marriage, relations between friends, and for supporting reconciliation and love between parents and children, these ideas, including the practical tips about how to prepare yourself to communicate your anger and how to express yourself when you do so, are invaluable.

Yet perhaps because I had hoped for more than a Buddhist marriage and family counseling manual, I found *Anger* to be a little disappointing. For what is missing here is the dimension of anger that Aristotle described, that in which anger is not simply a fact about the self, but an expression of how we think people should treat each other. Anger, in other words, is more than an eruption of feeling. It is also a gauge of the moral quality of relationships. It can be, as a number of feminist psychologists have written, an indication that there is something wrong in a relationship, a sign conveying vital information about what needs to be examined, evaluated, and changed. While Nhat Hanh doesn't want to repress anger, his repeated image of it as like a crying baby suggests that he finds little wisdom in it.

This perspective is revealed in his examples. The contexts of which he speaks are almost exclusively those in which basically good people misunderstand each other. Little attention is given to how anger also arises in conditions of injustice, oppression, or systematic violence; or where reconciliation and healing are simply not possible. It is good to see how Buddhist mindfulness can help a wife approach her estranged husband with patience, honest regret for her own mistakes, and compassion for his suffering. But what about the anger of a wife whose husband has abused her? What about social settings such as the "war" rapes in Bosnia? Terrorism and oppression in the Middle East? Cancer victims who find out that the local factory lied about what it put into the water? Of course such people could benefit from Buddhist mindfulness and self-awareness, but they may well also realize that their anger signals that the husband's abuse must end, Bosnian war criminals must be punished for their crimes, Middle Eastern leaders must be found who care for peace more than their own power, and corporate environmental murderers must be stopped.

While Thich Nhat Hanh, an originator of Engaged Buddhism's attempt to use Buddhist values to solve social problems, clearly recognizes the existence of injustice, he believes compassion and intelligence, not anger, are our best responses to it. He cannot conceive that anger could make us see more, not less, clearly; or that anger might be an essential part of our ability to respond.

The book fails to even attempt distinctions among (for instance) anger, rage, irritability, bitterness, and hatred; and leaves no room for differences between justified and unjustified, rational and irrational, productive and unproductive anger. I do not believe that all such distinctions are trivial. As I look at my own life, and that of political movements, I see that while at times anger has simply perpetuated cycles of emotional and physical violence, other times it has helped reveal hidden abuses, fueled the passion and courage for social reform, and served as a clear warning to individuals and groups that they must behave differently.

Perhaps an enlightened Buddhist does not need the information which anger can provide. Many of the rest of us, I suspect, are neither so wise nor so fortunate. As (in Miriam Greenspan's words) we need fear to alert us to threats, and sorrow to measure our love for what can be lost, the warning signs of anger encourage us to deeply examine the moral quality of our lives and—if we take the best of their lessons—to change that quality for the better. ❑

THERE'S NO SUCH THING AS BAD PR *(from page 74)*

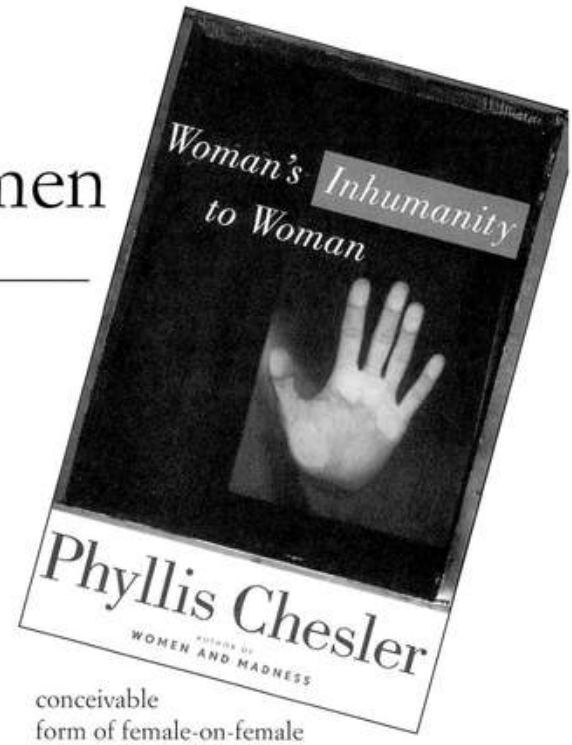
has little to offer to TIKKUN readers. One must disagree here. Writing literature and talking about it are, to this reviewer, sacred acts. Let's remember that Roth and his colleagues are creators, and that *Shop Talk* gives us real insight into their mysterious ways. [You think of Don DeLillo's *Mao II* (1991) here: "When a writer doesn't show his face, he becomes a local symptom of God's famous reluctance to appear."] This book takes us as close to the minor miracle of art as we can get, short of setting up a webcam on Roth's computer—which would tell us considerably less.

Why should the socially conscious reader want to know more about Roth? Truth is, TIKKUN and Roth are fighting the same battle in different parts of town: for both, the enemy is monolithic thinking. Roth's books are vigorous tutorials in the idea of otherness, in learning to discern multiple points of view—a skill that's essential to any truly progressive political program. And besides, what non-fiction writer has a greater understanding of American culture than Roth? Who has documented the condition of the contemporary Jew more thoroughly, more vividly than Roth has? What work of history says as much about living in the final act of the twentieth century as the latest Zuckerman trilogy? Where else can you catch a whiff of the passionate ambivalence the United States feels toward Israel than in *The Counterlife* or *Operation Shylock?*

Of course, our author is no social activist, nor was he meant to be. Roth rules exclusively in the realm of fiction: which is precisely where you want to go after reading *Shop Talk.* And while Roth might have been better off sticking to his fiction than writing the pieces here, only a fool would protest the arrival of his latest book. By letting us in on his magic act, Roth makes us an audience at a rare and privileged show. What choice do we have but to applaud? ❑

BOOK REVIEW

When Women Injure Women



Miriam Greenspan

- *Woman's Inhumanity to Woman* by Phyllis Chesler. Thunder's Mouth Press/Nation Books, 2002.

I was just starting my psychology internship in 1972 when a close friend handed me a dog-eared copy of Phyllis Chesler's *Women and Madness* and said: "You've got to read this!" What I read lit a fire under me. Chesler's book uprooted my thinking about women and the world and propelled me into a life-long commitment to radical feminism. Her searing indictment of the psychiatric establishment and its role in the oppression of women was a galvanizing force for a whole generation of feminist agitators. It had an unparalleled "foremother's" influence on many of the early books on feminist psychology and psychotherapy, including my own *A New Approach to Women and Therapy*.

My internship coincided with the heyday of the woman's liberation movement. The personal is political. Sisterhood is powerful. While these stirring words were in the air, my own worst adversaries were the two women who were my senior supervisors. One "diagnosed" any of her female trainees who had anything resembling a "dissident" point of view. The other threatened to throw me out of the internship program if I asked any more critical questions about the sexism of psychodynamic theory and practice. My male supervisors were invariably more open-minded, tolerant, and respectful than these women, who seemed more concerned with maintaining their own power than with genuinely mentoring a group of young female therapists-to-be.

Most women have had some experience of disempowerment or out-and-out mistreatment at the hands of a woman. This largely taboo subject is the focus of Phyllis Chesler's new book, *Woman's Inhumanity to Woman*. Chesler has not lost her passion for women's liberation; nor has she abandoned her analysis of patriarchy. It is still the case that most overt violence against women comes from men. But here Chesler is interested in how and why women hold each other back and put each other down. With its heady amalgam of research in psychology, anthropology, primatology, and evolutionary theory; interviews with victims of same-sex sexism and woman-on-woman aggression; mythology and fairy tales; psychoanalytic studies; feminist history; and personal narrative, *Woman's Inhumanity to Woman* examines every conceivable form of female-on-female injury, from destructive gossip to female support for sexual mutilation and "honor killings."

Most women have had some experience of disempowerment or out-and-out mistreatment at the hands of a woman.

"Girls are marked by their earliest encounters with other girls," says Chesler. Not ten pages into the introduction, I had an immediate series of unpleasant flashbacks: my seven-year-old neighbor-friends Linda and Rochelle, shutting a Bronx door in my face, saying there was only room for two to play, then denying their actions the next day; my "friend" Sarah organizing a group of four girls whose teasing and taunting made my life in junior high school a living hell; a menacing circle of girls surrounding my friend Marilyn in the high school yard, "tainting" her with the demeaning slurs that girls today still fling at each other: "Slut! Whore!"

These kinds of experiences continue beyond girlhood. Reading *Woman's Inhumanity to Woman* conjured up as well some adult experiences I have had in all-woman groups in which direct conflict was avoided only to emerge in indirect hostility, dishonest power-plays, or the dismantling of the group. Then there were the feminist women's groups in which any deviation from an accepted "line" resulted in subtle scapegoating of the "deviant." Too often in these situations, women denied their own

Miriam Greenspan is a psychotherapist, consultant, and pioneer in the field of feminist therapy based in Boston, Massachusetts. Her newest book, Healing Through the Dark Emotions: The Other Side of Grief, Fear and Despair, *will appear in December, 2002.*

anger and punished anyone who spoke openly about the "shadow" underside of female relationships.

Why do girls and women engage in these kinds of direct and indirect acts of aggression towards one another? Why do we smile while stabbing each other in the back? Why do we refuse to support each other when it would mean summoning the courage to act against the grain of a group norm? And why do we tend to deny all this? Why is it that this subject is so hard to talk about among women?

One of Chesler's main points is that sexism and misogyny are not strictly male attitudes. Women internalize sexist views of themselves and apply these views to other women. Writers as various as W.E.B. Dubois, Frantz Fanon, Albert Memmi, Michael Lerner, Richard Sennett, Jonathan Cobb, Sheila Rowbotham, and others have explored how those who are subordinated by class, race, or gender come to see themselves through the eyes of their subjugators. For example, Chesler documents the particular harshness of many women towards female victims of sexual harassment and abuse. It is not unusual for members of oppressed groups, forbidden to exhibit their anger directly at the powers that be, to take it out on each other. Women, says Chesler, see power as a "scarce resource"—and indeed it is, in patriarchy—at least the kind of power that is publicly recognized and rewarded. Our desperate need for respect in a man's world can manifest itself as a virulent, often denied form of competition with and/or punishment of women who show superior ability or competence. Or it can be expressed as girl-on-girl humiliation and shunning. Ultimately, this kind of female sexism supports the patriarchal status quo.

Another expression of the internalization of sexism takes place when oppressed groups embrace the way they are defined by their oppressors. For centuries, middle and upper class women in the West were considered not only the weaker sex but the gentler sex, innately equipped to be preservers of hearth and home, nurturers of others, and civilizers of male aggression. In many ways, women embraced this construction of the female—which supported the subjugation of women in their homes—and tried to make a virtue of being "the nice ones." Anger, aggression, and overt competition (behaviors that are not "nice"), when disavowed, emerge indirectly. Hence the smile that hides the dagger, the competition that manifests as shunning or exclusion, etc. Women's inhumane acts against other women often take an indirect route harder to see and more easily denied than other forms of intra-group aggression, such as black-on-black violence.

When women are shown to be cruel, we tend to greet this distasteful truth with either excess condemnation or denial.

The "shadow" side of the mythos of the virtue of the oppressed is that when women are shown to be cruel, we tend to greet this distasteful truth with either excess condemnation or denial. Both men and women judge women more harshly than men when it comes to parental crimes, for example. Deadbeat dads who abandon and neglect their children are barely noticed in the culture. Women who neglect or abuse children make the cover of *People* magazine. Women are profoundly shamed by thinking that we too can be inhumane—that we are capable of doing harm not only to ourselves but to one another and to children. We have a double standard of judging women who act like "bad" men.

When not hypercritical, women often deny that there's any truth to female intra-gender cruelties. One subtle example of this denial in feminist culture is the theoretical penchant—which can be found, in different forms, in feminist psychology (including some of my own work), cultural eco-feminism, and feminist moral theory—for glorifying women's skills in relationship and care while soft-pedaling or ignoring the many ways in which women contribute to the devaluation and subordination of other women. Do women's capacities for relational affiliation, intuition, nurturing, and empathy have an "innate" source in woman's bodily experience and our pre-patriarchal heritage, or are these qualities ideologically ascribed characteristics that contribute to women's subjugation ? Like so many complex gender issues, this question tends to be polarized into an "either/or" debate rather than understood as a complex, "both/and" condition. In any case, Chesler is wise enough to know that women—even feminist women—are also human beings who often share with men a lust for power over others, greed, envy, cruelty, and aggression. She is to be commended for her courage in telling it like it is—despite the active discouragement of more than a few feminists who urged her to silence herself.

On the other hand, there is a danger in a pop culture pendulum swing—from Woman as Nurturing Goddess to Woman as Nasty Bitch. A number of new books are emerging that tackle the subject of adolescent female cruelties. *The New York Times Magazine*, for example, recently did a lengthy piece called "Girls Just Want to be Mean." Americans like their feminism—and everything else—in simplified black and white categories. One of the reasons that girls can do so much relational damage to other girls is precisely because they tend to have more skills in this arena than boys do—and intimacy skills can be used as weapons. Does this mean that girls can be meaner than boys? Well, the answer might be yes, in some ways, if you're a middle school

girl. On the other hand, women's "bitchiness" does not erase the worldwide male gender crimes of incest, sexual assault, and violence against women. While we are all wounded by patriarchy, women's wounds and men's are not reducible to the same thing. We need to understand the complexities of relational wounds in an oppressive patriarchal system of gender rather than reduce everything to its most easily digestible factoid.

The last chapter of *Woman's Inhumanity to Woman*—in which Chesler chronicles the "trashing," dishonesty, and cruelty that characterized the excesses of "political correctness" and infighting in the hidden history of the woman's movement—may be this book's most important contribution. I doubt that there's a woman's movement veteran alive who won't wince with recognition. (So too will male veterans of any leftist group of the time). The most traumatizing event of my young adult life was being marched into a closed room at the Cambridge Goddard Graduate Program in Social Change in the mid-1970s, to be interrogated about my class background and politics by four angry women. My interlocutors accused me of acting like a "JAP" (Jewish American Princess) for taking five extra minutes in a panel discussion. They gathered together to determine whether or not, given this serious sin of "class privilege," I was fit to teach feminist therapy at the school. Learning that I was born in a Displaced Person's Camp just after the Holocaust and that I grew up in the South Bronx, the daughter of a factory worker, they grudgingly decided they had no "case" against me. But their PC tyranny conjoined with anti-Semitic overtones blended together to create the atmosphere of a full-blown witch-hunt. When it's your "sisters" who are the perpetrators, it takes a long time to recover.

That feminists are not exempt from excesses of political zeal, ruthless—if indirect—competition, and a varied assortment of inhumane acts; and that we are as steeped in denial as anyone else, are hard truths to swallow. The nasty quarrels among different feminist camps—manifest in the 1970's as clashes between lesbian and straight feminists, and among radical, socialist, and liberal feminists—continue today in contemptuous fights and/or silences between postmodernists and cultural feminists in academia, as well as in the internecine warfare between older, "second-wave" feminists and younger, "third-wave" feminists. The narrow-mindedness of feminists is no better or worse than that of anyone else, but it certainly doesn't further what we used to blithely call "the revolution."

Nice girls are not so nice. We all know this. We've seen it in each other and ourselves and it's about time that we confronted it. *Woman's Inhumanity to Woman* is a heartbreaking but necessary book—troubling, compelling, profoundly moral, and ultimately inspirational. It took Chesler twenty years to write it. I can see why. This is rough terrain, and once again, she is leading the way. We who cheered her rebellious spirit and brilliant iconoclasm when she attacked the male psychiatric establishment should be no less supportive of how she brings the same critical intelligence to the rifts that divide women and lead us to injure one another. Feminists need to clean our own house, learn from our mistakes, reckon honestly with our political history, and build a less illusory, more powerful sisterhood. Especially now, when the social movement for women's liberation has been replaced by different feminist "camps" in academia and elsewhere that hold each other in mutual contempt or barely communicate at all. One of the most immediate benefits of *Woman's Inhumanity to Woman* is its usefulness in furthering an open conversation among feminists—men and women alike—who want to get past the infighting to a more expansive view of human liberation. ❑

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Helping Children Deal with Scary News

Susan Dermond



When I was a little girl, I remember walking into a room where the adults were talking in hushed tones. Of course, I asked what they were talking about. "Oh, never mind," was the reply. Naturally, I begged to be let in on the secret.

I still remember vividly my grandmother's answer. They were talking about a case of child abuse and she mentioned just one detail of the cruelty. It was the first moment in my life when I knew such cruelty could exist; and I emphasize that I knew it in my *heart*, not in my mind. I felt horrified and disheartened, and have never forgotten the incident.

I appreciated my grandmother's and mother's concern for my feelings because it told me that my inner reaction was not odd or out of proportion to what I learned. But, I also remember wishing that they had *not* told me, despite my begging, simply because I hated knowing.

Children up to the age of about eleven or twelve live much more in the heart than adults do. They love inspirational stories; they naturally respond to nature, especially to animals; and they can feel their kinship with all of life. It is a time for the adults around them to nurture that development. Just as we wouldn't give a knife to a three-year-old who doesn't have the physical skills and ability yet to use it, we don't necessarily give all of reality to a child who isn't emotionally ready. Limiting children's exposure to tragic events is certainly the best tactic, but not always possible.

Violence in the News

In the days and weeks that followed the terrorist attacks of September 11, much was written about helping children deal with feelings of insecurity, fear, and confusion (from seeing media coverage or hearing adults talking about it). I was pleased that there was so much emphasis on allowing children to express their emotions, doubts, and fears, and on giving them reassurance.

Susan Dermond is director of Living Wisdom School in Portland, Oregon, and the editor of I Came from Joy, *a spiritual activity book. She writes and speaks about spiritual education and teaches yoga.*

But what about redirecting their energy into uplifting, creative avenues? Yes, we need to be able to talk openly and express sorrow and fear in order to be able to move through or beyond it. But I would like to hear a little more about the "moving beyond it" part. I fear that many of these discussions where children get the chance to "process" their emotions end with some *relief* because the horror is addressed, but not really with a *shift in consciousness* in the direction of light and positive action.

Turning Toward Love

One excellent method for helping children to cope during stressful or scary times is to help them understand they *can* influence the world positively by helping victims with donations or letters, praying for others, and practicing acts of kindness. Shifting their attention to uplifting, expansive topics is another.

I have a colleague who was teaching during the Gulf War. Because her children were watching TV coverage that they were too young to understand, they worried about being bombed. To help them focus on the positive, she created a "Count Your Blessings" bulletin board, and each day anyone who had a blessing to share (which could be as small as seeing a hawk on the way to school or a fun bike ride) could write it on a flower and add it to the beautiful display of blessings in their lives.

At our school this fall our fourth, fifth, and sixth graders designed world flags to express their hopes for the future harmony of all races, nations, and religions. They created beautiful, hopeful flags, including one in which the planet earth floated on the background of the American flag, and another of the planet radiating rainbow colors into the universe.

Helping children process the "shadow side" of life through conversation and play is a valid way to deal with the dark realities that sometimes arise in their lives. However, teachers and parents shouldn't stop there—we also need to help children express their high ideals and get back into the creative, loving reality that is naturally a part of childhood. ❑

ILLUSTRATION BY ANNIE KASSOF

The TIKKUN Community

Planetary Consciousness

Our well-being, the well-being of the United States, the well-being of the Jewish people, completely depends on global ecological sanity and on the economic, spiritual, and psychological well-being of everyone on this planet. We are all inter-dependent.

New Bottom Line

Productivity, efficiency, and rationality can no longer be defined solely in terms of how much money and power gets generated, but must also be defined based on how much love and caring, ethical and ecological sensitivity is generated, as well as our capacity to transcend narrow utilitarian ways of dealing with others and with the physical world so that we respond with awe, wonder, and radical amazement to the grandeur of creation. We are building a movement of people seeking to build a new bottom line in their professions or workplaces.

Social Responsibility Amendment (SRA)

Every corporation doing business in the United States with an income above $20 million must receive a new corporate charter once every twenty years, which will only be granted to corporations that can prove (to a jury of ordinary citizens) that they have a powerful record of social responsibility.

Israel/Palestine Reconciliation

Both sides are responsible for the current mess, and both sides could do something to end it. We call upon the Palestinians to follow the non-violent path of Martin Luther King Jr. and Mahatma Gandhi. We call upon Israel to End the Occupation, share Jerusalem, and provide leadership for a global consortium to provide reparations to the Palestinian people. We call upon both sides to approach each other with a spirit of repentance, generosity, and open-heartedness, rather than trying to prove that one side is really right and the other side is really wrong.

Membership:

$120 (Students: $40). Includes a one-year subscription to TIKKUN and a copy of our forthcoming booklet on Israel/Palestine reconciliation. Send check to TIKKUN, 2107 Van Ness Avenue, San Francisco, CA 94109 or email credit card info to community@tikkun.org or speak to Liat at 415-575-1200.

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

תיקון

No, Mr. Arafat! No, Mr. Sharon!

Both of you have it wrong!

We want an end to the violence *and* an end to the Occupation

Mr. Arafat:

Violence is immoral and counter-productive

We are the voice of progressive pro-Israel people who call for an End to the Occupation. But most Israelis have become more fearful that the Palestinian people really wish to kill all Jews—an impression fostered by the random terrorist attacks against Jewish civilians. Yet most Israelis and most Jews around the world would really like to see an end to the oppression of the Palestinian people, if only they could feel that it was a path to safety.

There is only one way to convince them: reject all forms of violence. Not just terror, but every form of armed resistance. You would be far more powerful and effective if you became a principled advocate of non-violence, following the examples of Martin Luther King Jr. and Mahatma Gandhi.

Nelson Mandela was able to transform a nation precisely because he took pains to reassure South African whites that they would be safe after their racist rule ended.

We ask you to renounce all forms of violence, to openly educate your people to the truth that the Palestinian struggle can only be won if Israelis no longer fear that all Palestinians hate them, and to systematically uproot all teachings of hate against Jews and Israelis from your media and schools.

Mr. Sharon:

End the Occupation

There is only one way to provide safety for Israel—return to the pre-1967 borders of the State of Israel with minor modifications to incorporate the sections of Jerusalem which held a Jewish majority in 2000. Share Jerusalem and let it be the capital of two states. And let Israel play a leading role in putting together an international consortium to provide reparations for the Palestinian people. Do this in a spirit of humility, repentance, and generosity—and you will have lasting security for Israel.

Think it's naïve to trust the Palestinian people? Well, you've demonstrated that it is even more naïve to think you can end terror by brutalizing the Palestinian people. If trust is the problem, ask the United States for troops to buffer the borders between these two states. The United States would gladly assist were Israel to call for such an international force.

But as you know, the real issue is this: does Israel want to hold on to the settlements in the territories, or does Israel want peace? You will never have both. It's only a matter of how many Palestinians and how many Israelis must die before you come to your senses—will it be now or twenty years from now?

Meanwhile, stop the violence against the Palestinian people. Stop creating new terrorists each day with your house demolitions, random destruction of Palestinian homes, assassinations, sieges of cities, and escalations of violence as punishment. Treat the Palestinian people the way you would wish to be treated—and you will find that you can achieve peace in your time in office. Both sides create and sustain the current mess.

BOTH SIDES ARE RESPONSIBLE FOR THE CURRENT MESS

It's time for a new direction. That's why we've created **The Tikkun Community**—the progressive pro-Israel alternative to AIPAC and the voices of Jewish Conservatism.

Chair: Rabbi Michael Lerner; Co-chairs: Professor Susannah Heschel and Professor Cornel West

(More info inside and at www.tikkun.org community@tikkun.org)