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JULY/AUGUST 2009

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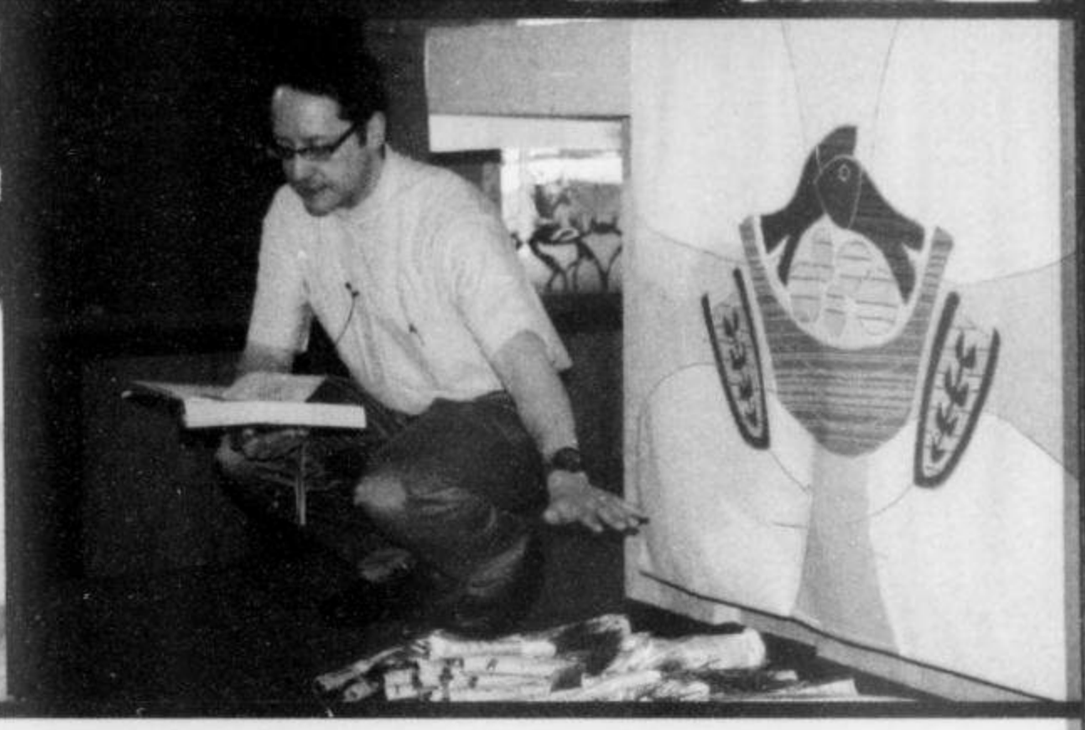
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To create a sustainable civilization, we have to start treating the natural world and all living beings as sacred, or, in secular terms, to live as if every living being is worthy in its own right, not worthy because of how we can use it. How do we raise our consciousness and emotional commitment to stewardship of the species we live among?

All of us, religious and secular, can learn from the creativity of the people from ten faith traditions in northern Michigan who came together in 2004 to sign an EarthKeeper Covenant. This year they created the equivalent of a forest for Earth Day: about 100 churches and temples planted 12,000 trees across the region. The blessing of the trees by clergy and congregants was as integral and critical a part of the effort as the full involvement of the children who helped plant them.

At top left, a Zen Buddhist reverend bows with folded hands as he blesses a white spruce at the opening ceremony, alongside eight of the EarthKeepers' ten faith leaders. Above, a Catholic group blesses seedlings it is about to plant, while Lutherans do so in services at two churches. And after a Jewish blessing, members of Temple Beth Sholom in Ishpeming get down to work. The children below are Jack and Eileen Fillmore, Isabelle Gostomski in her white communion dress, baby Llewellyn Fillmore, and Dakota "Cody" Farwell, shoveling hard. In addition to the other faith traditions mentioned, Baha'i, Unitarian Universalist, Episcopal, United Methodist, Presbyterian, and Quaker congregations participated. For more information and photos go to www.upearthkeepers.org.

Photos by Greg Peterson, Judd Johnston, Kyra Fillmore, Tom O'Brien.









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Michael Lerner

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Sabiha Basrai

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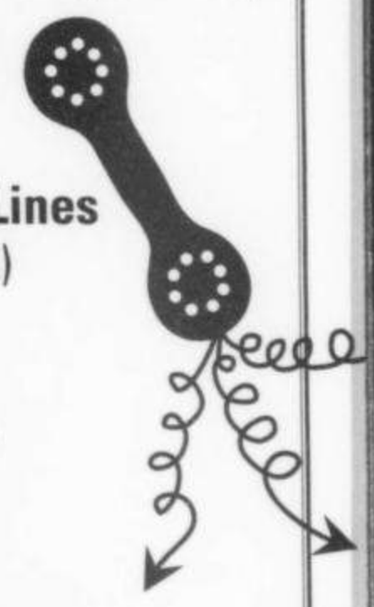
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July 6: **The Health Care Battle Lines**
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July 13: **Obama in Cairo**
Mark LeVine (see this issue p. 18)

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Readers Respond

A NOTE ON LETTERS TO THE EDITOR:

As Tikkun *increases its Web presence by posting online exclusives at www.tikkun.org and spiritualprogressives.org, and by sending e-mails to anyone who asks to be placed on our list (send requests to Generosity@Tikkun.org), we are increasingly publishing responses to online as well as print articles in this section of the magazine. We welcome your responses to our articles. Send your letters to the editor to Letters@Tikkun.org. Please remember, however, not to attribute to* Tikkun *views other than those expressed in our editorials. We e-mail, post, and print many articles with which we have strong disagreements, because that is what makes* Tikkun *a location for a true diversity of ideas.* Tikkun *reserves the right to edit your letters to fit available space in the magazine.*

A FLAWED G-D

THE IMPLICATIONS OF RABBI Bradley Artson's thinking in "G-d is Becoming: Consolation in the Face of Tragedy" (*Tikkun*, May/June 2009) are the following:

1. G-d exists.
2. G-d is not omniscient.
3. G-d is not omnipotent.
4. G-d is all-loving but not omnipotent.

Rabbi Artson shares Rabbi Harold Kushner's belief in a loving G-d who is powerless to help us. In addition, he states that G-d experiences our sorrows and joys. Unfortunately, his statements are not compelling arguments for the existence of a loving G-d who is not omnipotent or omniscient. They are beliefs, perhaps wishes, that a loving G-d exists and cares for us. At best, they are unproved hypotheses that such a G-d exists.

Furthermore, he does not present a compelling argument for the very existence of G-d. A universe that runs according to the laws of physics, with no interference from G-d, may simply be a G-dless universe. Indeed, if G-d exists and if He "did irrevocable *tzimtzum* (withdrawal)," He is merely a fugitive G-d who created the universe and vanished. Do we wish to pray to such a G-d? On the other hand, if G-d is hidden but present in the universe, watching us struggle with earthly evil but powerless to interfere with natural laws, do we wish to pray to such a G-d for comfort and emotional strength?

I used to be comforted by the theory of a compassionate G-d unable to help us. Now, the notion of a flawed G-d saddens and enrages me. Can I believe that a G-d who created the universe by *tzimtzum* (contraction or concealment) is powerless to help us in our time of need? The very act of creation is a miracle. Indeed, creation from *nothingness* appears to be the greatest magic trick ever performed. If G-d created the universe, He also created the laws of physics. But if G-d is Mother Nature and nothing more, governed by the laws of physics, perhaps we should pray to the wind, rain, snow, and fire and the earth, stars, and sun. In any case, Rabbi Artson's article is merely a beautiful theoretical conceptualization. I wish it were true. But who knows?

Nevertheless, I confess that I am a passionate seeker of G-d. Every day, I search for proof of His existence, knowing that human logic is inadequate and unequal to the task of knowing *Hashem*. I am an atheist, agnostic, and theist—a contradictory man of passionate faith at times. My faith is not blind or uncritical. It is intermittent and launched by critical thinking and fed by spiritual experience.

At times, I have glimpses of Hashem, my G-d. I *see* evidence for the existence of my unknowable Creator. Existence and consciousness are miracles, I believe, that cannot be fully explained by evolution. Similarly, although some scientists may argue to the contrary, I suggest that the magnificent, exquisite design of the universe cannot be entirely explained by chance and evolution. Just as great works of art and great discoveries in science require the great minds of creative human beings, so does a universe of infinite beauty require a beautiful Creator.

When I sit with my patients and listen to the heartrending permutations of suffering and evil in their lives, I cry silently for them and feel an unbearable pain that assaults my soul. Sometimes I make clinical recommendations that may soothe them if they change their thoughts and behaviors. But sometimes I feel hopeless and helpless and pray privately for their healing.

I am a human being with many limitations. But I expect more from the Creator of the universe, my G-d, *Hashem*, whom I choose to search for and believe in even in the face of suffering and evil.

DR. MEL WALDMAN
Brooklyn, NY

Bradley Artson replies:

I THANK DR. WALDMAN FOR THE honesty of his response and for the depth of his love of God. That said, he mischaracterizes my understanding of how God works on several points.

I do not believe that God exercises coercive power, nor that God suspends or overrides the regularities of creation, which is what most people mean by omnipotence. But the alternative to

that Greek idea of power as imposing force or magic is not "powerlessness." God is active in every moment, at every level of creation, inviting us and empowering us toward novelty, greater relatedness, the ability to be self-surpassing agents (made in God's image). This is not the God of special effects, which is how Dr. Waldman understands God's power. But it is certainly a God of vast persuasive power and enduring love.

If omniscient means that God knows what cannot be known, then it is correct that I don't believe that. But such a belief is a verbal and logical self-contradiction. Far more reflective of the world we experience is the recognition that God knows everything possible to know—all potentials, all actualities, everything that has already happened. What God knows, God knows objectively and eternally. That knowledge is pretty impressive to me. Note that there is no biblical or rabbinic term for omniscience, but there are terms that speak of the vastness of God's knowing.

Finally, it should be noted that I did not abandon the Greek philosophical straightjacket theology because of religious perversity or a desire to harm Judaism. To the contrary, my love of life and God's creation, my love for my autistic son and a world filled with pain and injustice, and my yearning for God's presence and healing all lured me forward to what seems to me to be a more soul-enriching and resonant way to think of/relate to/imitate the Divine. If it doesn't work for Dr. Waldman, then I invite him to stick with the metaphors that work for him. But I would remind him that his metaphors are also metaphors.

THE LONG-SUFFERING WHORE OF BABYLON

FOR CENTURIES, THEOLOGIANS have used the Whore of Babylon as their chosen figure to stand in for whatever ills they wished to attack: empire, apostasy, promiscuity, capitalism ... you name it. The demonization of this figure relies on what I see as a fundamentally wrongheaded premise: the idea that women in the sex trade are a source of social ills because they corrupt upstanding men through seduction.

It should go without saying that the institution of prostitution does not spring from a prostitute's desire to seduce. Rather, it arises when clients seek to pay money for sex. Throughout history, prostitutes have most often been poor and marginalized women offering a service for which there is demand, in order to scrape by. But the demonization of prostitutes persists, both in religious uses of the "Whore of Babylon" metaphor and in the approach frequently taken by the police, who relentlessly harass and imprison (usually female) prostitutes while taking a lenient and forgiving attitude toward the men who pay them for sex.

In *Tikkun*'s May/June 2009 issue, Rev. Campolo invokes the whore metaphor to strengthen his claim that we can and should level a moral critique against capitalism. His goal is upstanding, but his language is troubling. How could a prostitute ever be the appropriate figure to represent the exploitative aspects of an economic

Tikkun

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Articles in *Tikkun* do not necessarily reflect *Tikkun*'s position on any issue. *Tikkun*'s positions are presented in our editorials.
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Tikkun (Vol. 24, No. 4, ISSN 0887-9982) is published bimonthly by the Institute for Labor and Mental Health, a nonprofit, tax-exempt organization.

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POSTMASTER: Send address changes to *Tikkun*, P.O. Box 460926, Escondido, CA 92046. Periodical-rate postage paid at Oakland, CA and additional mailing offices by the Institute for Labor and Mental Health, 2342 Shattuck Ave., #1200, Berkeley, CA 94704. Publications mail agreement number: #1549111. Canada mail distributor information: Express Messenger International; P.O. Box 25058; London BRC, ON N6C 6A8. Subscription price for 6 issues: U.S. residents $29.00; U.S. institutions $40.00; Canadian residents $39.00; all others $43.00. Payment in U.S. dollars required. Printed in USA. ♻ Printed on recycled paper.

system that privileges elite men?

In the Bible, the Whore of Babylon meets a gruesome end: an angel prophesies that a group of kings (represented as the seven heads and ten horns of the beast she rides) "will hate the whore; they will make her desolate and naked; they will devour her flesh and burn her up with fire" (Revelation 17:16). For this reason, when one chooses the Whore of Babylon as the figure to stand in for capitalism's worst excesses, by implication one invites those interested in progressive economic change to imagine their project as the dismemberment and immolation of a socially marginalized woman. I know that in reality Campolo bears no ill will toward women in the sex trade, but this is an unfortunate aspect of his metaphor.

Readers who are interested in feminist readings of the Apocalypse of John may want to check out *Apocalyptic Bodies* by Tina Pippin and *A Feminist Companion to the Apocalypse of John*, a new anthology edited by Amy-Jill Levine.

ALANA Y. PRICE
Assistant Editor at Tikkun

Tony Campolo responds:

IN RESPONSE TO ALANA PRICE'S critique of my article on what the Book of Revelation has to say about the contemporary economic crisis in America, I can only say that in so many ways she is right on target. The fact that the English language is sexist can be witnessed in the fact that there is no male equivalent to the word "whore." Thus, I generally say, when referring to this passage of scripture, that whores are men and women who seduce. I in no way was referring to prostitution for the simple reason that the writer of the Book of Revelation was not referring to prostitution when he described the fall of Babylon in the eighteenth chapter of his book.

Finally, it must be said that whatever my failures in understanding, or my failure to speak with clarity, I can only say that my primary task was to help our readers (primarily the Jewish reader) understand what was written in the Christian scriptures almost 2,000 years ago. It is how John the Apostle was using the word that was part of my discussion. Perhaps your argument should more be with John than with me.

It should be noted that I do not want to see an end to the capitalistic system, but I do want to see an end to the consumeristic values that Americans have embraced as they have yielded to the seductiveness of the commercial advertising of our time.

DISTORTIONS ABOUT CUBA?

GEORGE VRADENBURG, YOUR publisher and writer of the Contrarian, writing about "Cuba: Socialism's Fading Legacy" (*Tikkun*, May/June 2009), brought together a near-perfect combination of distortions about Cuba and U.S. empire propaganda.

Tikkun publisher Vradenburg found Cuba a "choking, oppressive environment." This has not been my own experience. Indeed, the energy, enthusiasm, and vitality of the Cuban people is the usual first experience. He missed the prosperity, the absence of which is a result of the U.S. embargo. He also missed political expression, of which I found there is a great amount. Indeed, anyone can run for office, no political parties can participate in the electoral process, and no campaign funds are allowed! Further, office holders are not paid for serving, but instead receive the salary or wages they get from their regular jobs. Personally, I find the United States' way to be truly choking and oppressive: millions of corporate dollars flooding campaigns, rich-only members of Congress, and two parties that are usually difficult to distinguish crowding out all other political expression. I know, since I served as staff for Alabama's first black and only progressive congressman for almost nine years. Incidentally, when I was in Cuba on a U.S. congressional staff visit in 2000, the island had two Christian ministers in the national assembly (one Baptist and one Episcopal). And they were respected!

Vradenburg's sadness at the condition of the buildings in Old Havana is, of course, sadness at the embargo, which includes bans on paint and on auto-repair parts. He reminisces about the "glamorous" nightlife of pre-revolutionary Cuba. He clearly avoids mentioning the forced prostitution, the slavery, the brutal racism, and the vast poverty of the people outside the American playgrounds.

Vradenburg blames the "full-throated embrace of the Soviet Union and Marxist-Leninist socialism" after the criminal Bay of Pigs invasion on Cuba, and says it caused the United States to adopt the economic embargo. So our invasion did not drive Cuba into Soviet arms—it was all their fault!

Those who left Cuba are said by Vradenburg to have suffered at Fidel's hand. I guess to the CFR membership, being asked to share the conditions of the common people as they develop is suffering.

Cubans, as he said, are mostly poor. But they are not impoverished—a very real difference. No one in Cuba lacks food, medical treatment, education, or housing. This may be "poor" in the view of the CFR, but many, many Americans would love to live under those conditions! He admits there is not the extreme income inequality in Cuba found in other Latin American nations but does not mention that the United States has the most extreme gap between rich and poor in the world, and that other Latin nations are moving more and more toward an economy resembling Cuba's, knowing that their vast impoverishment (except for the rich) is due to the United States.

Speaking of the "choking, oppressive environment" in Cuba, he failed to note the vast amount of art available in the market, or the fact that it is impossible to walk down the street without people welcoming visitors into their homes to see their paintings, sculptures, etc. Initiation and entrepreneurship are in fact thriving. In a way this might escape Vradenburg, since the CFR delegation probably did not walk down the streets at all!

Finally, Vradenburg fails to mention that the entire responsibility for the

oppression before the revolution falls upon the shoulders of the United States, and the present relationship is wholly on our shoulders. Cuba has welcomed normal relations at all times. We are the culprits. We are the empire.

REV. JACK ZYLMAN
Birmingham, AL

George Vradenburg replies:

I AGREE WITH THE WRITER THAT the embargo by the United States has aggravated the miserable performance and condition of the Cuban economy. Ending the embargo would, in my view, be good for America and good for Cuba. Having said that, Cuba has been unable to generate prosperity for its people even though it has trade relations with 75 percent of the global economy, and Cuba will not prosper unless and until its people are free to pursue a livelihood free of government ownership of the means of production. Finally, my opinions about the stultifying political atmosphere were based on conversations with ordinary Cubans, contrary to the writer's assumptions.

SHOULD CAPITALISM BE SAVED?

I WAS EXCITED TO READ JOHN Sanbonmatsu's searing condemnation of capitalism "Why Capitalism Shouldn't Be Saved" (*Tikkun*, May/June, 2009) and his appeal for a revived Left to offer a desperately needed alternative to the wanton brutality of the capitalist system. The piece had minor flaws. For example, Sanbonmatsu describes pre-Bush America as a "centrist, liberal, social democratic capitalist order," whereas, to my mind, there was precious little evidence of social democratic policies in those years. Taken as a whole, though, the article was an inspiring call for the Left to distinguish itself from President Obama, rise to the occasion, and help Americans to see that capitalism today is a profoundly anti-democratic and destructive system that they can replace. In other words, radical, democratic socialism is possible.

Sanbonmatsu ends his article with an urgent warning: "Should we squander this historical moment through inaction or despair, it may soon be too late for us to do anything, except to watch from the sidelines as world events spiral out of control." He is right, of course, but let's hope the historical moment lasts for more than five minutes, while we organize to stave off the apocalypse.

JOANNE LANDY
(Co-director of the Campaign for Peace and Democracy and a member of the editorial board of New Politics)

THANK YOU FOR THE OPPORTUNITY to join the call with John Sanbonmatsu [*a free weekly conference call with* Tikkun *authors—see www.tikkun.org for details about how to participate*].

I am buoyed by the fact that there are still respected voices that are calling into question our global "super-capitalism," and doing so with high intelligence and expanded background.

In terms of what a new kind of capitalism or economic system might look like, we can refer to Rabbi Lerner's proposed New Bottom Line, or the triple bottom or "for benefit" bottom line of many thinkers and entrepreneurs.

Whatever change might come about, it should be done within the American and universal ideals of freedom of choice, human rights, and rule of law. These values should underlie our economic engagement as a society but they are often undermined by corporate power, which came to its modern apex under the Bush-Cheney administration.

If we are to imagine a new economic system or even a reform of what we have and cherish, and preserve freedom and individual rights, the change must come from the aggregate choices in a free society that begins with the individual human heart and spirit. And that can only come about through a more enlightened society and a fundamental change of values from individualistic, consumer-oriented ones, to ones that cherish human relationships, spiritual and personal growth, and our relationship to the living planet. And because I am a card-carrying mystic and a spiritual activist, I believe that this change is both a humanistic one and spiritual one at the same synergistic time.

DAVID WEINSTEIN
via email

I HAVE READ JOHN SANBONMATSU'S article with interest but find the author wishing for old-fashioned solutions—the rekindling of the masses in protest. I wonder if he has read Paul Hawken's *Blessed Unrest*. The change this time will be in the psychology of the nation through its uncountable number of "green" movements, which equate environmental survival with personal well-being. Just as capitalism is outdated, so is "Leftism." I really like his last paragraph about the "crack" of hope.

KATHLEEN O'SULLIVAN
via email

HEALING ISRAEL/PALESTINE

I BEGAN READING DR. REUVENY'S article on bringing peace to Israel and the Palestinians with the hope that he would present a new and effective approach. After all, I have long felt that the settlements on the West Bank were a serious mistake. I was however deeply disappointed by the article.

First, it is far from certain that the Palestinian Authority is capable of governing a Palestinian State on the West Bank even if that is its true goal. In fact, after Arafat rejected the plan put forth at the end of the Clinton administration, there was good reason to believe that the real goal was to destroy Israel. At the present time, there appear to be mixed signals as to whether the Palestinian goal is to live in peace with Israel or attempt to destroy her.

Second, the colonial powers to which Reuveny refers did not have to fear that released territory would be use to attack their country. For example, Algeria's independence didn't threaten France's existence. It is not farfetched to see a West Bank Palestinian State governed by the Palestinian Authority but soon taken over by Hamas which, supported by Iran, could acquire *(continued on page 67)*

Economic Democracy: Response to Schweickart's "What To Do When The Bailout Fails" (May/June *Tikkun*).

by Richard Schmitt

Editors' Note: *We are printing this article-length piece as a letter because we want to encourage all our readers to respond as intelligently and fully as Richard Schmitt has done here.*

David Schweickart is not certain that President Obama's rescue efforts of the economy will work. He is not alone in that, but his reasons are distinctive and very interesting. He believes that most of the experts failed to understand the historical roots of the current crisis. They blame "greed" or "casino capitalism" or lack of government oversight of financial institutions. Schweickart points out that since 1970, productivity in the United States has risen while wages have remained flat. The economy produced more and more goods and services, but buying power did not increase proportionally because wages barely rose in the last forty years. Shrewd bankers discovered an ingenious solution: let's just lend people the money to buy the ever-increasing goods and services produced by the economy. That's what they did, and now many American families have large debts and no prospects of repaying them. But sooner or later debts need to be repaid, and when the money is not there, the economy collapses.

This historical look at the current crisis is just the beginning of Schweickart's analysis of the current problems. He asked himself how it was possible for American workers to accept flat wages for forty years. And the answer, of course, was that they had no choice. As outsourcing became technologically possible, American workers were under the gun. If they wanted more money, the employer would simply pack up the whole factory or office and ship it off to Haiti, or Mexico, or Asia. American workers did not choose to work in 2009 for pretty much the same pay their parents earned in 1970; this deal was forced on them. It's a clear case of extortion.

That is an important insight. The lack of buying power to purchase the output of the American economy was forced on American workers. The current crisis is rooted in the profound imbalance between the power of employers and workers, even if they belong to a union, in the marketplace. As I write this, the *New York Times*, the owner of the *Boston Globe*, is forcing the workers at the *Globe* to accept sharp reductions in pay and benefits by threatening to close down the *Globe* altogether. To be sure, all newspapers are losing money due to technological change. But the methods applied by the *New York Times* are typical of the ways employers treat their employees under capitalism. Milton Friedman used to say that the bargain between employer and employee was truly voluntary. The experience of the workers at the *Boston Globe* shows how wrong Friedman was about that. Employers are able to and do force workers to accept very unfavorable wages and working conditions.

Schweickart uncovers the deep roots of the current economic crisis in the sharp discrepancy of economic power between employer and worker. I have no doubt that he is right about that. He is also at least in the right ballpark with his prescriptions for curing this malady of the economy. As long as employers and employees have such disparate power, employers can force workers to work for low wages and thus lay the groundwork for more crises of overproduction. The way to resolve that problem is to equalize power between workers and employers in a set of institutions that Schweickart calls "economic democracy."

Economic democracy has several parts. The first is that all workers are also owners of their workplace. Not only are they *legal* owners, but they also control the place where they work. Under economic democracy they are owners, as well as managers and workers. The chasm between the owner/manager and the worker has been closed by making the workers also managers. That is what the word "democracy" in economic democracy refers to.

This is not unknown or particularly esoteric. There have been cooperatives in the United States and elsewhere for more than 150 years, and in them the owners were also managers and workers: everyone ran the business together. Some of these cooperatives have become very large and successful such as Mondragon in the Basque region of Spain and others in northern Italy. They have been thriving even though they operate in capitalist economies and are competing with capitalist enterprises.

Under economic democracy, in addition to workers owning their workplaces, investment capital belongs to all. If worker/owners need investment capital for expansion or to start a whole new enterprise, they do not need to go to a private financier who wants to maximize profit. They instead go to the local bank and apply for a loan. The bank, which is a government agency, gives that loan if it fits within the guidelines adopted democratically in Congress after public discussion within the electorate.

These are the two important principles of economic democracy: workers manage their businesses, and capital is owned by all and distributed according to guidelines adopted by the electorate. These are the essentials of an alternative to current ways of running the economy. They follow once the current crisis is seen to result from the imbalance of power between the employers (for instance the owners of the *New York Times*) and *(continued on page 65)*

Born to a Jewish mother in Germany, Richard Schmitt was fortunate to survive the Nazi persecutions. Teaching philosophy for fifty years, he has written and edited books on existentialism, Marxism, and socialism.

Stop the Alzheimer's Tsunami!

BY GEORGE AND TRISH VRADENBURG

SOMEONE IS DIAGNOSED WITH ALZHEIMER'S EVERY seventy-one seconds. One in two Americans in their eighties has this disease, and one in ten over sixty-five. After cancer, it is the disease most feared by adult Americans. Five million Americans suffer with Alzheimer's today, and with the aging of America, ten million Baby Boomers will die of this disease. Even as death rates for cancer and heart disease are declining, Alzheimer's death rates are up 47 percent since 2000. Alzheimer's is now the nation's sixth leading cause of death.

There is no drug that will slow or stop Alzheimer's; there is no Alzheimer's vaccine; there is no cure. While lifestyle choices may help defer Alzheimer's, as with every disease, we cannot avoid the 50-50 chance of having this disease in our eighties. Alzheimer's drugs on the market are of limited help in masking Alzheimer's symptoms. Nothing yet on the market or in advanced trials will slow or stop this progressive neurological predator. There is no defense.

Alzheimer's is an unforgiving, vicious disease. It is not a sentimental long goodbye or slow path into the night but a terrifying descent into loss of identity and soul. Alzheimer's begins its work on our brain ten to twenty years before symptoms appear. Early-stage symptoms include an erosion of memory and free-floating anxiety. The middle stages of the disease produce paranoia and a growing inability to perform the activities of daily living. And the later stages result in complete dependence and immobility. Finally, the body "forgets" how to swallow and to breathe. Pneumonia is typically the identified "cause" of death, but it is Alzheimer's that is the true killer. The average time from the first symptoms to death is ten years.

Alzheimer's, like smoking, has second-hand victims—the family and other caregivers whose resources, time, and emotions are drained as they try to support the immediate victim. The son who must leave a career to care 24/7 for an Alzheimer's-stricken mother. The wife whose golden age becomes a living hell because of the need to dress, toilet, shower, lift, and bed a husband. Caregivers of Alzheimer's victims report increased stress, illness, and physical ailments as a result of their efforts. Even as they abandon their jobs and thus lose resources, they are faced with increased medical expenses for the victim and themselves.

Medicare reports that a beneficiary with Alzheimer's costs three times as much as other beneficiaries. Why? Because an Alzheimer's victim forgets to take medicine for his or her other conditions, such as diabetes; because the victim suffers injuries associated with the loss of physical control; because this disease, on average, lasts a decade.

What's being done?

First, a great deal of basic research is exploring the mechanisms of the disease and potential intervention strategies. Potential drug treatments are in the testing pipeline. Several recent promising drug candidates demonstrated disappointing results in major clinical trials, but the Lipitor-sized markets for a successful Alzheimer's intervention are a powerful incentive for continued investment.

Second, a high-powered panel called the Alzheimer's Study Group (including prominent figures such as Sandra Day O'Connor, former National Institutes of Health director Harold Varmus, former Medicare director Mark McClellan, former surgeon general Richard Satcher, former House speaker Newt Gingrich, and former senator Bob Kerrey) recommended a National Strategic Plan for Alzheimer's that included significantly increased and strategically directed research investments and care support to address this disease. Congressional leaders are now reviewing those recommendations.

It is estimated that Alzheimer's will cost Medicare and Medicaid $20 trillion over the next four decades. What should we as a nation invest in order to avoid a $20 trillion liability? Certainly more than the $400 million a year now being invested by the National Institutes of Health, a level of investment relative to other diseases that was set in the 1990s when little was known about Alzheimer's or its fiscal and social impact.

The authors of this article, together with the Alzheimer's Association, are asking Congress to raise the level of public investment in Alzheimer's research by $2 billion in the next fiscal year, rising over a period of eight years to $5 billion a year. An investment of $30 billion over eight years would, in the estimation of the research community, permit us to stop Alzheimer's by 2020. That looks like a smart investment to avoid a $20 trillion liability. Research investments work. Early investments in HIV/AIDS research turned that terrible disease from fatal to manageable.

Look at the person next to you. One of you will get Alzheimer's and the other one will be the caregiver. Not good odds. It is time for this nation to focus like a laser on stopping the Alzheimer's tsunami. ■

George and Trish Vradenburg are the publishers of Tikkun. *This editorial, generally written by George, is called The Contrarian because he often disagrees with our editorial opinions. In this case, by contrast, we asked the Vradenburgs to describe their work to massively increase funding for Alzheimer's research because we all agree on its vital importance.*

Why the Left Lost Single-Payer Health Care Reform

THE SUBSTANCE OF THE "SINGLE-PAYER" PROPOSAL IS incontrovertibly the very best plan. Aaron Roland convincingly makes this argument in his op-ed on page 15 of this issue of *Tikkun*. His article also gives us a good idea of what we should fight for within the context of the actual health care battles that will be fought this summer in Congress. After reading his article, please contact your congressional representatives (particularly your senators) to let them know that you understand the differences between the options, and that you want the ones that are closest to the single-payer proposal: plans that have a serious "public" health care component. Unfortunately, a truly single-payer system has effectively been ruled out by the major players in Washington.

Here are some of the reasons that happened:

1. President Obama Never Supported a Single-Payer System

OBAMA SAID ON VARIOUS OCCASIONS THAT IF HE WERE DESIGNING a health care system from the start he would choose a single-payer model, but he said that since we already have a private-insurance-based system he has decided to reform that one by adding a public component. The logic of his position was always this: let's do what seems "realistic" given the current alignment of forces. He gave no indication of being open to the notion that a new president has the right to fight for a vision that makes sense and should attempt to use his immense popularity for that purpose.

Contrast that with right-wing presidents such as Ronald Reagan and the two Bush presidents. It will come as no surprise to you that we spiritual progressives did not support the dramatic changes they proposed. But we have a lot of respect for the fact that they were willing to fight for changes that went against popular sentiment, and in the process they managed to move the national dialogue a long way toward their own set of assumptions.

Ronald Reagan managed to popularize the notion that the capitalist competitive marketplace could provide the economic security that people had previously gotten through New Deal-era public programs. He was so successful that Bill Clinton, representing the centrists organized in the Democratic Leadership Council, pushed through an "end to welfare as we have known it," provoking major liberal figures in his administration to resign in disgust.

George H. W. Bush stood up to AIPAC and threatened Israel with an end to loan guarantees for new housing units unless it stopped using that money to support expanded settlements on the West Bank, a move that contributed to the defeat of the Likud and the electoral victory of Yitzhak Rabin, who went on to sign the Oslo Accords.

George W. Bush pursued an unpopular war in Iraq and managed to hold on to his disgusting, immoral, and destructive-to-America direction, despite immense popular pressure for an end to the war, and managed to create conditions that have led the Obama presidency to continue that war, embrace Bush's Secretary of Defense as its own, and extend the war to Afghanistan and Pakistan. Bush even fought for privatizing Social Security, a plan that never stood a chance of passage.

These people stood by their convictions, however reprehensible those convictions were. President Obama gives great speeches but is unwilling to challenge prevailing ideas in a sustained fight for his own principles. He is temperamentally opposed to ideological struggle: just look at how dramatically he compromised on his economic bailout before the struggle began, imagining that such a compromise would gain him points with Republicans in Congress. But when they unanimously opposed his proposals anyway, he seemed not to have learned a lesson. Instead he continues to present ideas that are ideologically incoherent or contradictory to other parts of his program. He doesn't seem to realize that no matter how much he accommodates their interests (e.g., by protecting them from malpractice law suits), the physicians, insurance companies, and other health care profiteers will oppose any "public option" he supports, label it socialist, and use their media dollars to defeat it.

Obama promised when running to consult his supporters once he was in office about what they really wanted. He promised to change the

Key reform issues	Single Payer proposals	Market-based proposals
What is health care?	A public good that everyone is entitled to share.	A commodity that most people have to buy.
Who gets care?	Everyone (some proposals exclude undocumented immigrants).	Different groups get different coverage, and some may not be covered at all.
What care do people get?	A minimum standard of equal high quality care that is medically necessary and appropriate.	What insurance companies are willing to cover, depending on regulation.
What doctors can people see?	Any doctor they choose.	Doctors that participate in an insurance network or accept public programs.
How is it financed?	Publicly, through our taxes, with no additional premiums or cost-sharing.	Privately, with public subsidies. Patients pay premiums and other fees.
Is it cost effective?	Funds are distributed according to health needs, not profit interests, and derive from a single source, thus reducing administration costs.	Costs depend on what the market incentivizes; costly interventions tend to be profitable.
Who is accountable?	Public agencies and governance boards are accountable to Congress, President and the people.	Insurance companies are accountable to shareholders.

culture of Washington so that we, the people, would not be outgunned by insider lobbyists. Now Obama is trying to mobilize his supporters nationwide to back his plan by pressuring their representatives (see www.barackobama.com), which is more than the Clintons attempted to do for their plan. Yet his electoral organization, now set up in the Democratic National Committee, has never given his supporters an opportunity to help choose among the various health care plans, despite (or perhaps because of) the fact that most of them would likely rally around Rep. John Conyers's single-payer plan. The White House should have held a public debate on these options—coupled with an actual authorized poll conducted in part by email and in part by contacting a random sampling of Obama voters—before deciding which plan to back. A public debate could have helped mobilize popular support for a new plan and would have modeled the new politics we were promised. Ironically, Obama will now have to fight the same ideological fight that he tried to avoid by refusing to back single-payer care, only now in favor of a plan that has less going for it. And this weaker plan will *still* be called "socialized medicine."

2. Democrats in Congress

THE CONGRESS HAS BEEN WORSE ON THIS ISSUE THAN OBAMA. Most of its members (in both major political parties) are afraid to challenge the insurance companies and health care profiteers. It should be no surprise to learn that these special interests have donated huge amounts of money to the key decision makers in both houses of Congress, and the lawmakers in turn have been unwilling to give the single–payer proposal a serious hearing.

Again, it is the failure of nerve on the part of progressives in Congress that is most disturbing, because they are unwilling to use their potential power. A solid progressive caucus could have made clear to the president that he would not have their backing for anything less than a single-payer system. That kind of message would have given the president the kind of jolt that might have forced him to actually include single-payer in the public discussion, and perhaps even ask the country or at least those who voted for him to weigh in on which of the various plans they supported. Instead, it is the more conservative "Blue Dog" Democrats who have exercised their influence by threatening to bolt unless Obama's administration capitulates to the assumptions of the status quo. As we go to press, we find that House Speaker Nancy Pelosi told the *Huffington Post* that a health care overhaul that did not include a "public option" wouldn't make it through the House because it "wouldn't have the votes." If this is finally evidence of House progressives standing for something, even if not for what they truly believe in (single-payer), it is good news indeed; members of the Network of Spiritual Progressives are contacting their elected representatives to encourange them to stand firm on a strong public option.

3. Obama Supporters

RATHER THAN VOCIFEROUSLY DEMAND A SINGLE-PAYER PROGRAM, or an end to the war, or anything else they believe in, most Obama supporters have largely opted out of politics. They refuse to challenge the president in any way, for fear that doing so would weaken him politically. Moreover, too many of them have embraced a secular mysticism when it comes to Obama, as though he were the messiah, believing that his ways are not our ways, but that he must have a Grand Plan and know what he is doing. Thrilled, as are we, by the valuable public discourse that he has introduced; delighted, as are we, by the intelligence and decency and sense of inner calm that he embodies; rejoicing, as do we, that we now have a president of whom we can be proud, his supporters have then closed their eyes to the actual details of the policies he has backed.

Many Obama supporters intuitively and correctly suspected that if they focused on his policies they would be deeply disappointed about issues such as his prioritization of the needs of Wall Street and the multinational bankers over the needs of the millions of people thrown out of their homes or their jobs in the current economic meltdown. His administration recently decided to let the big banks return the money they received (interest-free) without making significant reforms or capping the outrageously high compensations their upper managers receive.

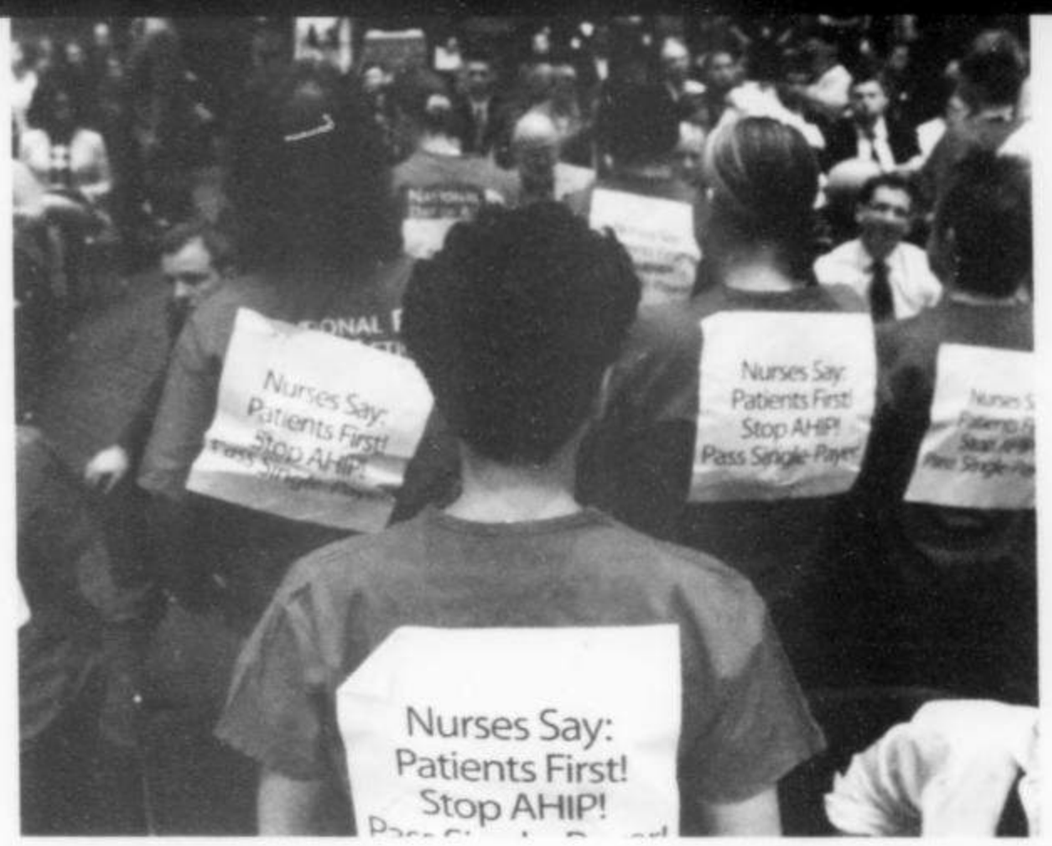
Other Obama supporters have watched those policies with private disappointment, unwilling to turn that into public challenge.

As a result, without serious pressure from his political left, Obama feels he must turn his attention only to his political right, and as a compromiser and "builder of unity," he naturally will be pulled in that direction. Without a clear and loud message from his supporters, Obama has decided that there is no reason to shift from his original health care plan toward a new openness to single-payer care. Will he even stick to his campaign pledge to include a strong and meaningful public option? He hasn't felt such an obligation with regard to issues around torture and human rights and many other issues, but he is clearly trying to stand up for his preferred health plan, at least at this stage: he is making more bully pulpit speeches for it than the Clintons did for theirs. It's up to his supporters not to abandon him to the pressures of Washington. It is now, more than ever, that he needs to hear our ideas.

4. The Insurance and Pharmaceutical Industries and Other Health Care Profiteers

CORPORATE AMERICA DOES NOT RELY ON THE RIGHT-WING extremists when it comes to central issues in their agenda, but rather on convincing the political centrists that they must not allow any measures to substantively interfere with corporate profits. Their strategy is to label any plan that would weaken the hold of the profiteers, the insurance companies, and the pharmaceuticals as "socialist"—and then to use their immense financial resources, their powerful role in shaping the media, and their financial support of many in Congress to convince the public that people in the United States would have worse health care if government got involved. And rather than focus on single-payer plans, business leaders and their front groups have attacked the mild plans of Democratic Party centrists as "socialist," thereby making single-payer proposals seem so extreme that anyone who wishes to be "realistic" in the language of the corporate media and the inside-the-Beltway pragmatists won't even bother to address it.

The only plausible response to that is for a significant section of congressional progressives to say, "OK, well, given the evidence



Nurses stage a silent protest as they turn their backs to members of the Senate Finance Committee on Capitol Hill in Washington on May 12, 2009, during the committee's hearing on health care reform.

AP PHOTO/PABLO MARTINEZ MONSIVAIS

that socialized medicine in Europe and Canada does a better job than insurance company-based medicine in the United States, if you want to call what we are for "socialized medicine" then we are for that. And maybe we should socialize the pharmaceutical companies, as well." Instead of letting the word "socialism" scare them, they could embrace it and insist that the socialized medicine experiments have actually worked!

Ironically for Fox News, when a Rasmussen poll released in April found that 37 percent of Americans under age thirty prefer capitalism, 33 percent prefer socialism, and 30 percent are undecided, several commentators suggested that a partial explanation for the unprecedented numbers preferring socialism was the fact that the conservative media had tagged Obama's ideas socialist, and since the young people liked Obama, they reasoned socialism must be a good thing!

5. Government Itself ... and How We Feel About It

BUT THERE'S ANOTHER PROBLEM. THE FACT IS THAT UNRESPONSIVE government in the United States has made many people legitimately worried about more government in their lives. Angry as they are at insurance companies, they don't necessarily believe that government bureaucracies are much better. It's time for progressives (and certainly those who embrace single-payer) to take this concern seriously. It is not a concern driven solely by anti-government right-wing ideology, but by the actual experience that many people have had of being disrespected by government bureaucrats and frustrated by irrational regulations.

Even very liberal or progressive people in government may be insensitive to the impact they are having on the public. The reason? They believe that they are showing their caring by delivering services (e.g., by providing unemployment benefits, or delivering the mail on time, or getting someone's car registered quickly, or developing efficient traffic patterns for vehicle transportation, or delivering low-cost public transportation, or increasing the ease of recycling). If they do that, they imagine, they've shown that the government is caring. We at *Tikkun* call this "objective caring." But too often the public experiences government employees as delivering "objective caring" in an uncaring way.

So we believe that government will remain an unpopular institution until its employees are given a clear message that they must deliver services in a way we call "subjective caring," that is, in a manner in which people who interact with the government actually experience the government employees as caring about the well-being of the people whom they serve.

In the past, we've called upon liberals and progressives to advocate for government employees to be evaluated for hiring and promotion in part by the degree to which the public feels cared for by them. That, of course, does not mean that government workers can simply respond to every demand put upon them, But they can act in a respectful and caring way, and most people will be able to recognize that, and say so when asked to fill out a form evaluating the quality of care that was shown to them each time they met with a government employee.

Years ago in *Tikkun* I wrote about my own outrage at how I was treated by the department of planning in Oakland when I had to apply for building permits. I constantly encounter people who have similar horror stories about almost every branch of government with which they've had to interact. Many of them come away saying to themselves, "I wish I could defund these people—I can't stand how they treat me." No wonder that they often will vote against any new bond or any new taxes.

Of course, when I worked as a psychologist for government employees, they often told me that they would love to show more caring, but their managers and higher-ups did not allocate adequate time for this, and showed no appreciation when they took time for this kind of caring. And that, of course, is precisely what many people worry will be the case when there is a governmental health care program—that caring will not be built into the structure of health care delivery. Never mind that doctors already face the same kind of pressure to see more patients and give each less time. The point is that people are not going to fight for a change if they believe that the change will not dramatically improve their experience in the hospital or in the doctor's office.

So one of the elements that must be both built into the single-payer care program and highlighted in the public arguments in its favor is that the advocates recognize the legitimacy of people's suspicion, distrust, and sometimes even anger at government, and support a fundamental change so that all government employees' continued employment will depend in part on their ability to show this caring (for which they will be given ongoing training in how to show that caring as part of their jobs). At the minimum, the public should be assured that this kind of evaluation of employees, including all medical employees, will be built into the system of care that is being funded, as well as into all training of medical employees from doctors and nurses to every other person working in health care.

One reason why this "service to the public" has often not been present, even in doctors in the private sector, is that many of these professionals developed a deep anger and resentment at having had to put themselves in debt to be trained, and that debt has restricted their lives for many years after medical school, internships, and residencies. So another element in the single-payer proposal should be a plan to give free tuition plus adequate financial support to the families of medical students, as well as to students in nursing, pharmacy, psychology, dentistry, chiropractic, and

other related health care professions. In exchange, the remuneration of medical professionals should be closer to that of other caring professions, such as teaching, child care, and elder care. The point here is that health care professionals should not be recruited on the basis of their hope of making a huge amount of money in this field, but on the basis of their desire to serve the well-being of their fellow citizens. If we expand the number of medical schools and provide funding, we may find that we could increase the number of competent doctors even at the expense of losing some whose primary motivation is to make more money than most other people. How well I remember my senior year as an undergraduate at Columbia when we all discovered that some medical students, business students, and law students had ripped pages out of required readings that had been put on reserve in the library to ensure that they would get higher grades than the others and hence be in a better position to get into the highest-rated medical schools and thereby get the highest-paying jobs.

With these elements firmly in place in the legislation and in the public outreach, we would be in a much stronger position to make the case that socialized medicine is nothing to fear. While some readers may be saying, "but that won't work in 2009," the truth is that backing away from this struggle is not going to work either, nor will allowing the powerful to proceed with reforms that don't provide a strong alternative to the private insurance- and profit-driven health care system.

6. The Left (Liberals, Progressives, the Labor Movement, and Most of the Social Change Movements and NGOs)

First, we need to express our gratitude toward the many individuals and organizations that have been working for decades to develop the single-payer concept and to build political support for it. I know personally of the powerful work of the California Nurses Association in this regard, and the courageous role played by Quentin Young and hundreds of other physicians who have created and sustained the Physicians for a National Health Program and whose ideas we adopted in shaping our health care plank in the Spiritual Covenant with America and in my own writings, particularly in *The Left Hand of God*. Rep. John Conyers of Michigan has played a major role in Congress with HR 676, which is by far the best and most inclusive version of single-payer care, and there are many other members of Congress (though not nearly enough) who have signed on as cosponsors.

Many organizations, like *Tikkun* and the Network of Spiritual Progressives, have endorsed single-payer health care.

These groups deserve our enduring gratitude. We intend to work with them in every way we can in the coming years to move the health care debate from whatever comes out of the current debates (if anything) toward the far more rational single-payer plan.

And yet, it is our contention that by failing to incorporate a spiritual progressive perspective into the way that they've advocated for these ideas, they've made themselves much less powerful than they might otherwise have been (a phenomenon I describe in my book *Surplus Powerlessness*).

The Left has a deep fear of talking in terms that seem soft, mushy, or lovey-dovey. So its advocates thought that they could best sell their approach to health care by emphasizing its economic advantages (e.g., that it will lower the cost of health care). Hence they chose the name "single-payer" to emphasize their concern about who would be paying for the care.

This has proved a huge flop. By emphasizing who pays and how it is paid, the Left has focused on something that most people feel unable to understand: how the economy works, what are the best economic arrangements, who is best at cost reduction, etc. For a very large section of Americans, these issues immediately pull for the following response: "I don't really know much about economics, didn't do well in high school math, have problems balancing my checkbook, and really don't think I have the competence to make these judgments." In short, the term "single-payer" immediately leads people into the wrong conversation. Ask yourself this: how many of your friends can, even today, explain to you what "single-payer" actually means and how they understand it? You'll find that most really don't have a clue, even if they know they are for it.

The right conversation would have been generated by terms like "Caring-for-All Health Care" or "The Caring Society Health Care Plan" or "Universal Caring" or "Caring Medicine." Or "Medicare for Everyone," "Everyone Matters Health Care," or "Universal Medicare" or "Generosity-Driven Health Care." And the slogan then becomes: "Caring Not Profits in Health Care" or "Put the Care Back into Health Care." We invite you to send in your suggestions for what we should be labeling this campaign in future years and what slogans will be helpful in increasing support for this approach (email RabbiLerner@Tikkun.org).

The problem was further compounded by President Obama's remarks in June, when he indicated that the administration—having been influenced by an article in *The New Yorker*, which tried to analyze why the same health care costs more in some parts of the country than in others but without better health care outcomes—would now consider cutting benefits or federal financial supports to those parts of the country that were spending most. This framing of health care makes it seem as though cost-cutting is more important to the sponsors of health care reform than maximizing our caring. It's exactly the wrong message. The true message of that very interesting article (by Atul Gawande, June 1, 2009) was that where doctors collaborate to put the patients' welfare first, costs are lower, even when private insurance is involved, than it is where doctors prioritize their own profits, even when it is Medicare that is paying most of their bills. Collaborative caring is as critical as who pays.

So the right message is that we are seeking to change the system precisely because it has given too much attention to the needs of the profiteers and not enough attention to the needs of ordinary people (including most middle-income people) for caring. This campaign should not get itself involved in the issue of the over-technologization of medicine or the extreme costs that come at the end of life when huge amounts of money are spent in keeping people alive for a few extra months. That issue should be addressed, but not in this first campaign for health care reform—it lends itself too easily to being misrepresented by the health care profiteers as "proof" that people won't get as good care once we

have a new system as they do presently. Obama made a mistake in allowing the issues to get mixed up in that way.

For the Left to start to talk about health care not simply as "a right" but also as a manifestation of our actual love and caring for others would be a major paradigm shift. Its inability to make that shift is a major contribution to the failure of the kind of health care finance reform the Left correctly desires. Unfortunately, and unless Obama suddenly changes direction (as we hope he will), the reform that we need will still be needed after the health care debates and legislative battles of 2009, no matter which (if any) of the "realistic" plans is enacted. It remains to be seen if the Left will learn anything from this defeat of the single-payer proposal and whether that defeat might open it to considering the kind of spiritual politics that we in the network of Spiritual Progressives have been advocating, and which we hope you, dear reader, will support by joining our Network at www.spiritualprogressives.org. ■

Obama and Israel

CONGRATULATIONS TO OUR PRESIDENT FOR A powerful and important speech in Cairo at the beginning of June. Barack Obama "gives good talk," as they say.

I don't think that should be minimized. Putting forward ideas is one of the most important things a president can do. If President Obama did nothing more than popularize a new way of thinking in the United States, that would be a great accomplishment. Just imagine how powerful it would be if that new way of thinking embodied our proposed New Bottom Line! To the extent that we have criticisms of Obama, they are about his reluctance to put forward a coherent worldview and then explain how his proposed programs are manifestations of that worldview.

So the Cairo speech was an important step in the right direction. Obama spoke convincingly of a desire to end the enmity that the Bush administration and al-Qaida have jointly managed to create between the Muslim world and the West. He emphasized shared values and made a credible case that the United States would genuinely like a cooperative relationship with the Muslim world.

Of course, as Mark LeVine convincingly argues in this issue of *Tikkun*, there are some important elements missing. (Please read his guest editorial on page 18.) But I do want to state that we at *Tikkun* were very much heartened by his speech, feel proud to have him as our president, and pray for the success of his presidency.

There are those who believe that the Obama speech also represented an important transformation in the United States' relationship to the Israel/Palestine struggle. There we are a bit less sanguine.

Compared with George W. Bush, Obama may have seemed bold. But compared with the first Bush, who threatened to withhold housing loan guarantees until Israel stopped expanding its settlements, Obama seemed very timid.

It is not that we think he should have revealed a bigger club. When I found myself debating Alan Dershowitz on CNN in June on the topic of whether or not the United States should get "tough" with Israel, I felt like I was on the wrong planet, since I really thought tough or soft is not the issue. You can view the debate (calling it that is an exaggeration when the whole thing lasted six minutes and all that was possible were tiny sound bytes) at www.tikkun.org/LernerDershowitz.

What the United States needs to do is to abandon its past stance as a neutral broker that has no position on the final outcome. Instead it should build support for a specific vision of what a lasting peace agreement would be. I won't try to rehearse our views on what that would entail here, though you can find them at www.spiritualprogressives.org. You are also invited to read (and circulate) an imaginative new idea proposed by Russell Nieli that attempts to combine the best elements of the one-state and two-state solutions of the past—please read it in this issue of *Tikkun* (page 33). President Obama has the popularity, charisma, and smarts to talk over the heads of the right-wing leaders of Israel, the rejectionists in the Palestinian world, and the pro-right-wing Israel Lobby in the United States in order to reach the people of Israel, Palestine, and the United States with a vision that could actually change their way of perceiving what is possible. It is this, not a new strategy of coercion of Israel, that is most likely to make a difference.

Prime Minister of Israel Benjamin Netanyahu's speech of June 14 also merits some praise in re-embracing the notion of a two-state solution and calling for negotiations without preconditions. The tone of the speech was constructive and—if you ignore the actual realities of the Occupation, as well as the history of past negotiations with Likud—his first comments seemed on their face to be quite reasonable.

Unfortunately, that reasonableness disappeared when, a few paragraphs later, he announced that he will not negotiate with representatives of Hamas because of their abhorrent behavior. What is that if not a precondition? And it's an unreasonable one at that, because of course one makes peace with one's enemies, and one cannot determine the composition of the negotiating team from one's enemies' side. Had the United States held this perspective, we would still be fighting the war in Vietnam, because negotiations had to be conducted with enemies who, even as the negotiations proceeded, were engaged in terror and in killing U.S. troops.

Moreover, once you recall that Netanyahu is an expert at endless negotiations (his mentor, former Prime Minister Shamir



Nothing in Obama's or Netanyahu's current approaches will save people from checkpoints such as this one at Hawara on the main road between the Palestinian cities of Nablus and Ramallah.

of the Likud party, commenting on why he agreed to negotiations with the Palestinians in Madrid in 1991, pointed out that he would be willing to sit in these negotiations for the next twenty years, and never agree to anything that would end the settlements) the apparent reasonableness of his talk decreases. Netanyahu himself made commitments and agreements at the negotiations pressed on him at Wye River in 1998 by President Clinton—and then failed to implement them. There was nothing in Netanyahu's talk that would lead anyone familiar with this history to believe that he has something different in mind this time.

Meanwhile, the Occupation continues, and with it Palestinians' anger rises and pushes them to despair, leading them to embrace Hamas' fundamentalism and its fantasy of destroying Israel. The likely outcome: there will be more terror attacks, which will be used as an excuse for abandoning or postponing the negotiations even after they've started, and nothing much will change in the daily life situation of Palestinians. Rejecting the U.S. insistence that "natural growth" of West Bank settlements be stopped, and ignoring the fact that the world community, including the United States, has never recognized the legitimacy of any West Bank settlements or Israel's annexation of the Arab sections of Jerusalem, Netanyahu made it clear that his notion of security requires the continued presence of the 400,000 Israeli settlers in the West Bank. His call for a demilitarized Palestinian state may be code for the continued presence of the Israeli army in the West Bank, as well as the continued presence of roads accessible to settlers but not to Arabs. His insistence that a Palestinian state not be allowed to make treaty agreements with Iran is of this same nature. What exactly does it mean to have a Palestinian state if Israel is determining its policies? Not very much.

The Obama administration, faced with Netanyahu's refusal to stop natural growth, should articulate more fully the steps that Israel must take immediately to create a positive climate for negotiations. The steps should include the following:

1. Remove all roadblocks and checkpoints inside the West Bank. Israel has a perfect right to these roadblocks at its 1967 borders, and perhaps even just before the entrance to Israeli settlements, but not on West Bank roads linking Palestinian cities and villages.
2. Remove all parts of the Israeli wall that extend beyond the Green Line (the 1967 boundaries of the State of Israel).
3. End Israel's blockade of Gaza and allow free entrance into Gaza of food, water, medical supplies, fuel, and consumer goods.
4. Enable free, unrestricted travel between the West Bank and Gaza, as was promised by Israel in the Oslo Accords
5. End the blockade by Israeli gunboats of Gaza's access to the sea and re-establish the right of Gazan fishing boats to fish.
6. Free Palestinian prisoners who have not been granted a public trial and hence have never been convicted of any crime.

Far more than stopping "natural growth" of the settlements, implementation of these steps would actually make quite a significant difference in the daily lives of Palestinians.

In turn, and without preconditions, the Palestinian Authority ought to respond to Netanyahu's demand for positive reassurances by publicly and unequivocally stating that the Palestinian people have had enough of this conflict. Its leaders should say: "We recognize the right of the Jewish people to a state of its own in this land. We will live side by side in true peace. The State of Israel is the national homeland of the Jewish people and will remain so."

Many Palestinians claim that they've already agreed to this and it never seems to be heard. Well, if so, it will cost Palestinians nothing to say it over and over again. Netanyahu reminded his listeners that "The tragedies that arose from the Jewish people's helplessness show very sharply that we need a protective state." Palestinians must recognize that, even though Israel has immensely greater power, the Jewish people are still suffering from post-traumatic stress disorder, and that we need to hear reassurances over and over again that we will not be forced to re-experience a sense of helplessness again. Conversely, the Palestinian people are also suffering from PTSD, and it is Israel's responsibility to recognize that and reassure Palestinians that their need for a homeland and for reparations is taken seriously by Israel.

If these needs are not taken seriously by Israel, then they must at least be addressed by President Obama and the United States. The United States should talk over the heads of the Israeli and Palestinian leadership and over the heads of the pro-right-wing Israel Lobby in the United States to present a full vision of what a peaceful resolution of this conflict should be. And President Obama should insist that both sides of this struggle hear the legitimacy of the other side's version of history. Both sides should approach each other in a spirit of repentance and open-hearted forgiveness. In the final analysis, only that can heal the PTSD on both sides and make it possible for each side to embrace the peace that majorities on both sides deeply desire and deeply believe is impossible. ■

CREATIVE COMMONS/HARRY POCKETS

OP-ED BY AARON M. ROLAND

The Health Care Battle Lines

ONE MORNING LAST SPRING I REACHED A WATERSHED in my determined fight for health care finance reform. I was in the middle of a typical clinic, when I met with an old patient of mine whom I had not seen for about two years. Sione Tukuafu (name changed to protect privacy) is a Tongan man whom I had come to know as we attempted to deal with his diabetes and its complications. In the years I had known him, his illness had never been under control. He had been hospitalized repeatedly for diabetic complications, including once for a particularly terrifying fungal infection of the eye that leaves most victims blind. Even the pain and fear provoked by this hospitalization failed to result in better control of his diabetes. So you can imagine my surprise when testing done in advance of his visit showed his diabetes finally under control!

"What happened?" I asked, incredulous. As it turned out, the reason why I had not seen Mr. Tukuafu for some time was that he had been in his native country for an extended visit. Thus his matter-of-fact response: "Health care in Tonga is free."

In the United States, despite my exhortations and Mr. Tukuafu's own experience of the complications of diabetes, the economic barriers created by co-pays and deductibles had led him habitually to fail to properly care for his illness. The irony that the tiny island nation of Tonga, with few natural resources and little industry, could provide Mr. Tukuafu with free medical care that allowed him to control his diabetes for the first time in years, while in this rich country he was unable to control his disease, has become an icon for me in my battle to enact fundamental health care reform.

In recent weeks, especially, with public hearings beginning in the United States Senate and with President Barack Obama's "Organizing for America" encouraging citizens to gather support for health care reform, the terms of the debate are beginning to become clear. Yet there is great confusion, even among supporters of fundamental health care reform, about the alternatives and issues involved.

Single-Payer Reform

THE STARTING POINT FOR MOST PROGRESSIVES, THE GOLD standard for health care reform, is what has been called single-payer reform. Essentially, this describes a transformation in the financing of health care so that funds are collected from taxes instead of from a mixture of individually paid and employer-underwritten insurance premiums, co-payments, and deductibles, and payment is provided by a single entity. In many respects, proposals for a single-payer system resemble Medicare, but most envision the elimination of the 20 percent co-payment that Medicare requires. Most would be fully funded by taxes rather than through a mixture of taxes and individual contributions. These measures are embodied in the following bills: HR 676 (the leading piece of legislation, introduced by Rep. John Conyers), HR 1200 (sponsored by Rep. Jim McDermott), and S 703 (introduced by Sen. Bernie Sanders).

A single-payer program has special appeal because it would add little or nothing to our nation's overall health care expenses while providing truly universal care. Although taxes and direct government spending would go up, this would be more than offset by a drop in business and personal expenditures because of the elimination of the administrative waste inherent in our existing balkanized health care delivery system. Savings would appear immediately from the elimination of advertising, marketing, exorbitant executive compensation ($124 million for United Health Care's CEO in 2004), "product" development, and duplicative corporate bureaucracies.

Beyond the savings from elimination of this corporate waste, a single payer plan would save billions by streamlining the interactions of providers with the insurance system. As highlighted in the academic journal "Health Affairs," a recent Robert Wood Johnson Foundation study revealed that doctors waste between $23 billion and $31 billion annually while interacting with various health plans, a cost that would be sharply reduced if providers could interact with only a single payer.

The savings go further still: with a comprehensive national health program in place, there would be no need for Medicare, Medicaid, SCHIP, FEHBP, CHAMPUS, or other categorical health care programs. With the medical component no longer needed, costs of other types of insurance (auto, homeowners, workers' compensation, malpractice, etc.) would decrease; the scope of corporate human resources operations would diminish; and a central component of labor relations conflict would be resolved.

The Reality of Health Care Politics

WHETHER BECAUSE OF INERTIA, THE PULL OF CORPORATE lobbyists and their corrupting money, or a philosophical belief that the private insurance industry should be part of our national landscape, all the leading plans to reform our health care system include a prominent role for an ongoing private insurance industry. Although there are several pieces of legislation in the Congress that would bring about a single-payer health finance system, political support is thin. The leading bill in the House, HR 676, has never had more than ninety-three co-sponsors, while the Senate incarnation, S 703, has not a single one.

So far, most of the focus on health care legislation has been in

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Moving from Yale Law School and legislative politics to a career as a family physician, Dr. Roland's twenty years on the front lines of medicine have led him back to political advocacy. Follow him on Twitter @doctoraaron.

the Senate. As the co-sponsorship totals noted above indicate, the Senate is crafting more conservative pieces of legislation, which are being debated in the Senate's finance and health committees, chaired by Sen. Max Baucus and Sen. Ted Kennedy, respectively.

Differences Without Distinction

ALTHOUGH SPOKEN OF AS IF THERE WERE SUBSTANTIAL differences, the health care reform proposals being discussed by Obama, by Baucus' committee, and even by Senator Kennedy are, so far, very similar and not all that far-reaching. All maintain the existence of the insurance industry and indeed call for enlargement of its role through various measures, ranging from incentives to provide employment-based coverage, to an individual mandate to buy insurance. All simplify the offerings that insurers may sell. All eliminate "pre-existing conditions" limitations on purchasing insurance, although they do allow for rate variations by age, the ultimate pre-existing condition. Nearly all (disturbingly, the bill offered by Senator Kennedy's health committee on June 9 lacks this element) envision some sort of government-run health insurance plan, a "public option," to serve as competition for the private insurance industry.

A "Public Option" is NOT "Single-Payer"

GREAT CONFUSION IN THE HEALTH CARE DEBATE HAS RESULTED from the conflation of the terms "public option" and "single-payer." The distinction is crucial, however. A single-payer plan is a program of publicly funded, truly universal, privately delivered health care that would be used by all residents of the country. It is essentially an improved Medicare for all. A "public option," however, has been envisioned as any of a number of publicly run health insurance alternatives that would exist side by side with private health insurance options. Some have proposed that the government set up an insurance company that would operate just like any other, a straw man of a "public option" that would have nothing to recommend it over the private alternatives. On the other hand, Rep. Pete Stark (with a mere three co-sponsors) has proposed HR 193, *The Americare Health Act*, which would create a universally available, beefed-up Medicare program that would enroll all Americans automatically, yet would allow those who prefer a private insurance plan to choose that instead. Although these reforms would open up access to health care for some who lack it now, most would fail to begin to control the explosion of health care costs, and those (like my patient Mr. Tukuafu) who are buried in the "incidental" costs of co-pays and deductibles most likely will not benefit.

A Progressive Public Option

CHIMING IN ON THE OPTION$ WITHIN THE PUBLIC OPTION, THE Congressional Progressive Caucus—which had seventy-five members at last count, twenty more than the more well-known conservative Blue Dog Coalition—recently released its criteria for evaluating a public option. The language of its pronouncement is coded with allusions to the variations in other proposals and must be parsed carefully to understand the issues involved. A guide to understanding this is outlined below:

Minimal criteria for a meaningful public option (I have boldfaced those I consider especially important) must include:

- **Enactment concurrent with other significant expansions of coverage; the enactment must not be conditioned on private industry actions.**
  There has been discussion of creating a public option that only would come into play (i.e., be "triggered") after a set time period, perhaps seven years, and then only if the private health insurance system has failed to prove that it can provide improved coverage at a reduced cost. This would pointlessly postpone repair of what we already know is a failed private health care system.

- Creation of one entity, operated by the federal government, that sets policies and bears the risk for paying medical claims to keep administrative costs low and provide a higher standard of care.
  Some have proposed that the public option be farmed out to states to run on an individual basis. This would result in greater administrative costs and subject the development of individual state programs to the lobbying prowess of the insurance industry operating against the institutionally weak structures of state legislatures and bureaucracy.

- Availability to all individuals and employers across the nation without limitation.
  Efforts to weaken the public option also include a proposed rule that it be available only if a private option is not available.

- Ability to structure the provider rates to promote quality care, primary care, prevention, chronic care management, and good public health.
  Recognizing the failure of private insurance reimbursement practices to promote the provision of more cost-effective primary care, this is an allusion to the need for such measures in a public option.

- Use of the existing infrastructure of successful public programs such as Medicare in order to maintain transparency and consumer protections for administering processes including payment systems, claims, and appeals.
  Operating within the efficient existing structure of Medicare would help ensure both that administrative practices of the public option remain equally lean (Medicare's administrative overhead runs at 3 percent vs. private insurers' 16–45 percent) and would provide a framework for scaling up a public option into a single-payer program, should the continued failure of the private insurance system seem evident.

- Establishment or negotiation of rates with pharmaceutical companies, durable medical equipment providers, and other providers to achieve the lowest prices for consumers.
  A fundamental strength of a single-payer or of a major public option is that it could develop monopsony power—the power to control the prices it pays for the services it requires.

- **Assurance of a level of subsidy and support that is no less than that received by private plans.**

Describing their amendments as ***"a level playing field,"*** *or as* ***"self-sustaining,"*** *many opponents of real reform have tried to kneecap public option proposals by arguing that the program should be required to operate without public subsidies. What this really means is that such an option would be "pre-crippled" to avoid real competition with the private, for-profit insurance industry.*

By allowing private insurance companies to take tax deductions for advertising and marketing, for example, and by allowing employers to deduct the expense of providing health insurance, the government provides a huge subsidy for the private insurance industry. It is ludicrous to argue that a public plan should be required to compete without a similar level of subsidy. (More on this below, where I discuss the employer tax deduction for health insurance expenses.)

- Guarantee that premiums must be priced at the lowest levels possible, not tied to the rates of private insurance plans. *Competition should be competition.*

The Employer Tax Deduction

IN HIS CAMPAIGN FOR THE PRESIDENCY, CANDIDATE OBAMA clashed with Sen. John McCain over the question of the employer deduction for health insurance expenses. This deduction, the largest single deduction in terms of revenue loss to the government ($246 billion annually!), was fought for by organized labor as a way of easing negotiations for employer-provided health benefits. Unfortunately, this benefit is counterproductive. It is terribly regressive, with the benefits accruing more to taxpayers in higher brackets than to those in lower brackets. Those who buy insurance as individuals, who are without insurance, or who depend upon a government program for their health benefits get nothing from this deduction, yet their taxes help support it. Were even a small portion of this deduction eliminated, perhaps phasing it out progressively beginning with employees who earn more than $100,000 annually, it would go a long way toward supporting a meaningful public option.

The political lesson here is clear. Progressives might find votes for a real public option if they were to abandon slavish devotion to the employer tax deduction and instead focus on providing a real public option in the health care reform legislation.

The Bottom Line for Progressives

THE CASE FOR A SINGLE-PAYER HEALTH PROGRAM IS ABUNDANTLY clear to anyone who is paying attention to the issue. President Obama himself has on several occasions said, "If I were designing a system from scratch, I would probably go ahead with a single-payer system." In private conversations that I have had with congressional representatives who are not on record as supporting single-payer reform, with leaders of the health care industry, and even with executives in the health insurance business, I have heard Obama's sentiment echoed time and again.

Nevertheless, as the lack of co-sponsors for Senator Sanders's S 703 so clearly illustrates, we aren't going to get a single-payer plan passed any time soon. So what do we do?

First, we need to make sure that all reform options, including a single-payer option (see how the confusion between "single-payer" and "public option" has arisen?) get a fair hearing. Single-payer advocates and academics in health care finance and research must be included in all hearings from now on. And there must be a complete, honest, side-by-side comparison of all major proposals, including HR 676, the most prominent single-payer bill, by the Congressional Budget Office. The side-by-side comparison must include projected costs now and into the future, not only to the federal government, but also to state governments, employers, and individuals and households of different income levels.

As the conservative economist Milton Friedman wrote:

> It is worth discussing radical changes, not in the expectation that they will be adopted promptly but for two other reasons. One is to construct an ideal goal, so that incremental changes can be judged by whether they move the institutional structure toward or away from that ideal. The other reason is very different. It is so that if a crisis requiring or facilitating radical change does arise, alternatives will be available that have been carefully developed and fully explored.

Next, failing to get single-payer reform enacted, we need to ensure that any legislation includes a strong, robust public option, one which is designed in such a way that it can fairly compete, not as just another insurance company, but *as a public option*, with the private insurance industry.

Finally, we need to make it clear that we do not view even the watered-down "minimums" of the House Progressive Caucus as representative of what we believe is truly needed in health care finance reform. We need to make sure that when a health reform bill is passed, Americans know what they are getting and what they are not getting. We need to ensure that the likely failure of the Obama/Baucus/Kennedy plan five or ten years from now, a failure occasioned by continued dependence on a deeply inadequate private heath insurance system, can't be misrepresented as a failure of the progressive transformation of the health care system.

Throughout this process we need to remember that we are in a battle to ensure that all Americans—like my patient, Mr. Tukuafu—are able to get the health care they need in a manner that they can afford. Universal coverage, affordability, incorporation of "best practice" models of heath care delivery, evidence-based medicine, enhanced primary care, and transparency in its operation must be at the center of any reform. ■

ASK THE AUTHOR!

Monday, July 6: Aaron Roland

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EDITORIAL BY MARK LEVINE

Obama in Cairo

NEAR THE START OF HIS MUCH-ANTICIPATED JUNE 4 speech to the Muslim world, President Barack Obama described himself as "a student of history"; by the end it was clear that the student needs to get back to the classroom.

For all its well-intentioned rhetoric, President Obama's speech was, sadly, conceptually flawed, empirically challenged, and politically blind to the daily realities that drive hundreds of millions of Muslims to increasing despair.

Conceptually, the president's goal was clearly to help correct the mistaken notion shared by so many Muslims and Americans of an essential conflict between them. He even spoke of Islam, rightly, as being "always part of America."

But such rhetoric was overshadowed by the use of language and themes that hew closely to the long-held notion of "Islam" and the "West" as being two essentially different civilizations traveling on separate historical trajectories.

To bridge the rift between them, Obama had first to establish a deep, centuries-long tension driven by "historical forces that go beyond any current policy debate." Islam "carried the light of learning" and "paved the way" for modernity and globalization, but it did not participate directly in their birth or development. Instead, modernity and the "sweeping change" it brought "led many Muslims to view the West as hostile to the traditions of Islam."

This idea of modern processes forcing their way into hostile Muslim territory is belied by the historical record, which reveals a deep participation of the Muslim world, and other non-Western regions, in the emergence and spread of modernity.

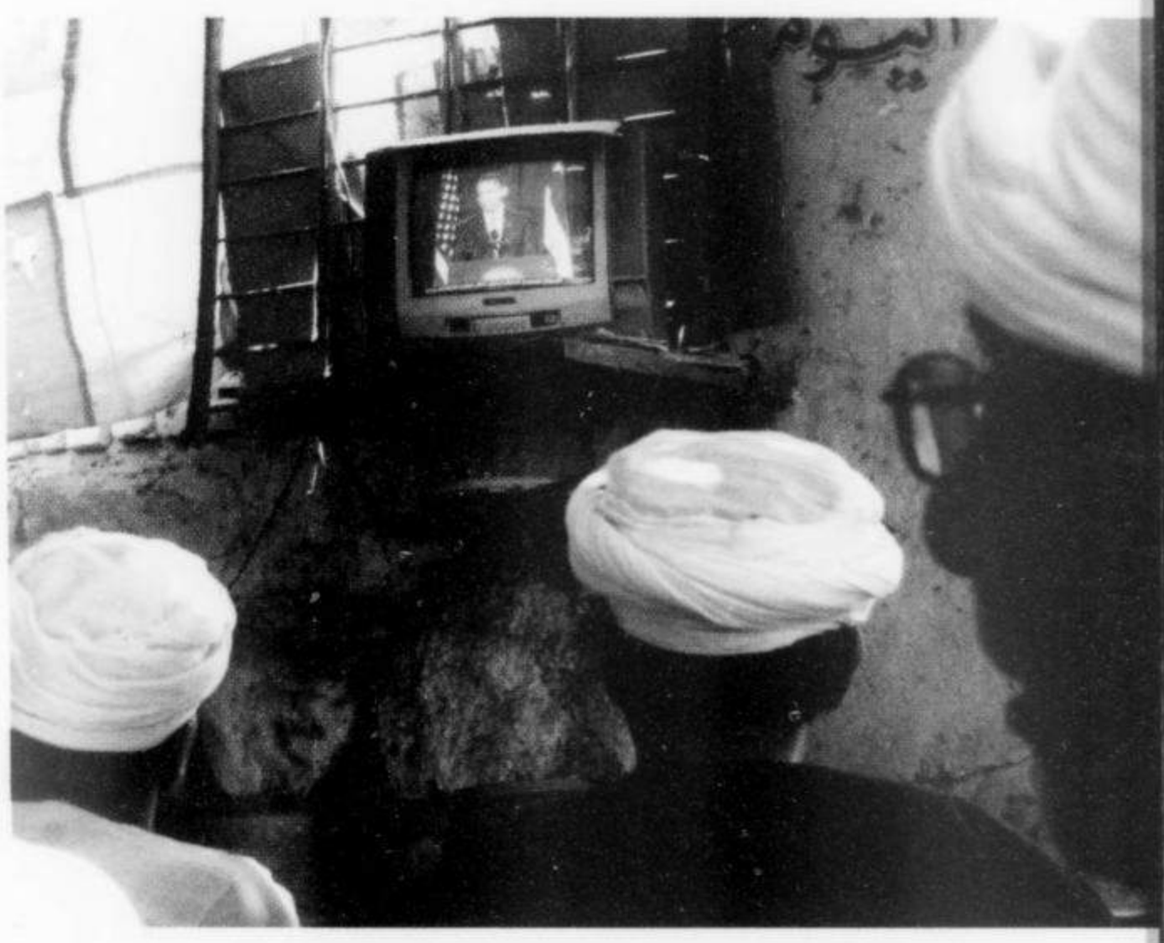
However inaccurate, this dualism serves an important rhetorical function in the president's larger argument. With a gap so wide, he can rightly argue that "change cannot happen overnight." Indeed, before the speech, Senior Adviser David Axelrod explained that the breach would likely take more than one administration to heal.

In fact, change could happen overnight. Moreover, the policies necessary to achieve it are simple and easily implemented—precisely because the citizens of the Muslim-majority world and the United States share so many of the same values when it comes to respect for democracy, human rights, and the rule of law. But change will only happen if President Obama takes seriously what most Muslims have long said, not merely "behind closed doors," but in the open to anyone who will listen.

Here I'm reminded of President Reagan's historic speech at the Berlin Wall, almost twenty-two years ago to the day, on June 12, 1987, when he exclaimed: "There is one sign the Soviets can make that would be unmistakable, that would advance dramatically the cause of freedom and peace ... Mr. Gorbachev, open this gate. Mr. Gorbachev, tear down this wall!"

This is the kind of language Obama needed to use in his speech. He needed to demand that the autocrats and occupiers of the region end their oppression; open the doors of their prisons and tear down their walls; and allow the peoples of the region to live in peace, freedom, and democracy. And he needed to put the muscle and money of U.S. foreign policy behind those words, the same way Reagan did in confronting the Soviet Union.

(continued on page 66)



AP PHOTO

Egyptian villagers watch a live broadcast of a speech by U.S. President Barack Obama at a coffee shop in Qena, south Cairo, on June 4, 2009.

ASK THE AUTHOR! Monday, July 13: Mark LeVine

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Mark LeVine is a professor of Middle Eastern history at UC Irvine and author, most recently of Impossible Peace: Israel/Palestine Since 1989 *(Zed Books, 2009), and* Heavy Metal Islam: Rock, Resistance, and the Struggle for the Soul of Islam *(Random House/Three Rivers Press).*

Whose Life Cycle Is It?

by Bradley Shavit Artson



SHANNAH – SHINNAH
by Naomi Teplow.

THIS YEAR, I AM TURNING FIFTY. MY FATHER JUST CELEBRATED his eightieth birthday, and my twins are making plans for which college to attend after high school graduation and a year in Israel. Life cycle is very much on my mind.

In any human life, it is easy to move out of the moment and into a stream of constant, small adjustments and modifications that indicate our aging, our development, and our passage through time. Rather than experiencing ourselves and others as objects—stable, constant, unitary, and substantial—we are more like streams of flowing droplets: always on the move, never quite the same, shifting to match the world around us and the relationships we engage. We aren't solid and static. Rather, each individual is in process, always synthesizing and integrating new data into evolving patterns of personality, temperament, memory, and aspiration.

We aren't human *beings*, so much as human *becomings*.

In that surging tide of life, Judaism offers us wisdom, companionship, and help along the way. At every key moment of our lives, Judaism offers *mitzvot* (connections with the divine, imperatives of relationship) to lighten our burden and illumine our vision. In moments of transition and in places neither inside nor out, Judaism blossoms into ritual, nudges us forward through word, song, and deed.

Scholars call these occasions "liminal," a term from the Latin for "threshold." To be liminal is to be aware of standing on the threshold of two different existential planes, on the transition point between two different stages or spheres. Take, for instance, the key celebrations and observances of the Jewish home. On the doorpost and between every room, we are commanded to place a mezuzah, a ritual object of Torah that makes emotionally safe the transition between inside and outside, between one room and the next. In the doorway, one is neither in nor out. That is liminality, and Judaism offers the added measure of comfort, belonging, and meaning at precisely such indeterminate and ambiguous spots.

Liminality pertains not only to space, but to time, as well. As we move through the day, Judaism offers moments of mindfulness: *Shaharit* in the morning, *Minhah* as morning shifts to afternoon, and *Ma'ariv* as day becomes night. Each morning as we move from the relative unconsciousness of sleep to the awareness of waking, we mark the liminality of our minds with *tefillin* ("phylacteries" or boxes containing scriptural passages), *tallit* (prayer shawl), hand washing, and other mitzvot. Judaism stands with us to walk us through these periods of greater flux and blurred boundaries, which are opportunities for new perspectives and fresh insight.

Rabbi Bradley Shavit Artson (www.bradartson.com) is the dean of the Ziegler School of Rabbinic Studies at the American Jewish University. His latest book is Everyday Torah: Weekly Reflections and Inspirations *(McGraw Hill).*

NAOMI TEPLOW



"To everything there is a season, and a time to every purpose under the heaven ... there is no good in them but to rejoice and to do good in their lives" (Ecclesiastes 3:1, 3:12).



"Better is a dinner of herbs where love is, than a fatted ox and hatred therewith" (Proverbs 15:17).

NAOMI TEPLOW

Sacred, Alluring, and Dangerous

GROWING FROM ONE STAGE OF LIFE TO ANOTHER MOVES US TO A LIMINAL PHASE IN which our identities are not self-evident, expectations of behavior open up to new levels, and previous elements of self now give way before unheralded possibility. These moments of transition are enticing, holding out as they do the opportunity for novelty, achievement, and delight. They are also terrifying, with an undercurrent of danger, uncontainability, and unpredictability. Small wonder, then, that they attract religious attention and ritual—both to maximize their promise and to contain their threat.

- **Birth:** the first and biggest life transition is from non-life to life. The gradual growth of a being from non-being, as the mother experiences the reality of new life within, grows in relationship with this promise of a future, and births this baby into a waiting world. *Aggadah* (Jewish storytelling) attaches the hope that each new child might actually be the long-awaited Messiah. And *halakhah* (the Jewish way of living) offers the structure of *brit milah* (circumcision) for boys and *simhat bat* (rejoicing in the daughter) for girls as a way of expressing, containing, and celebrating this momentous eruption into life.
- **Adolescence:** the next major transition after birth is the period when one is no longer fully a child but not yet completely an adult. This period of adolescence is one of exploration, boundary pushing, anger, frustration, joy, and discovery, both for the adolescent and for the teen's family. Not yet capable of bearing the full burden of adult responsibility, yet chafing under the restrictions of adult supervision, this is a time of constantly renegotiated privilege and limit. No small wonder that Judaism launches this phase with a great celebration—bar mitzvah for boys, bat mitzvah for girls—helping all involved, and the community as a whole, to muster the love and caring necessary to sustain each other during this time of change.
- **Adulthood:** at this stage, the primary life tasks are meaningful work (compensated or volunteer, but a way of contributing value and meaning in the broader community), meaningful family (marriage and children), and meaningful community. Traditional Judaism doesn't really have a ritual for the launching of a career, but it does provide a lyrical and raucous celebration of marital love. Standing under a wedding canopy, the loving couple re-enacts the idyllic past of the Garden of Eden, anticipates the messianic redemption, and recalls the return of the Jewish people to Jerusalem and to an age of world harmony and peace.
- From marriage until death, there are no traditional Jewish rituals to mark stages of life, although one's adult life is filled with the celebrations of the life stages of the next generation and of other members of one's community. In this way, the broad range of life experiences is rooted in belonging, in a life entwined in relation to others.
- **Death:** this final transition is the mirror image of birth, as the individual merges back into the larger cycles of cosmic belonging, entering eternity (what the rabbis call *Olam Ha-Ba*, "the coming world"). All human living is a journey toward this inevitable juncture, toward separating loved ones and transitioning from active participant to loving memory. Jewish ritual clusters around three primary values: asserting the reality of this loss (and its finality); honoring the dignity of the deceased; and offering comfort, community, and connection to the surviving mourners.

Re-Centering

THIS UNDERSTANDING OF THE LIFE CYCLE AS MARKING THE BEGINNINGS AND ENDINGS of different stages of life for each individual Jew contrasts with the general cultural perception that life belongs to each solitary individual, that we make autonomous choices as discrete individuals, and that our living links us only externally with other objects—human or otherwise—in the world. As such, it really is all about the transitions that a single individual is experiencing at each of life's stages. Such a view of life is constricted, brutal, and isolating.

But Judaism offers a deeper, far more profound spiritual *(continued on page 69)*

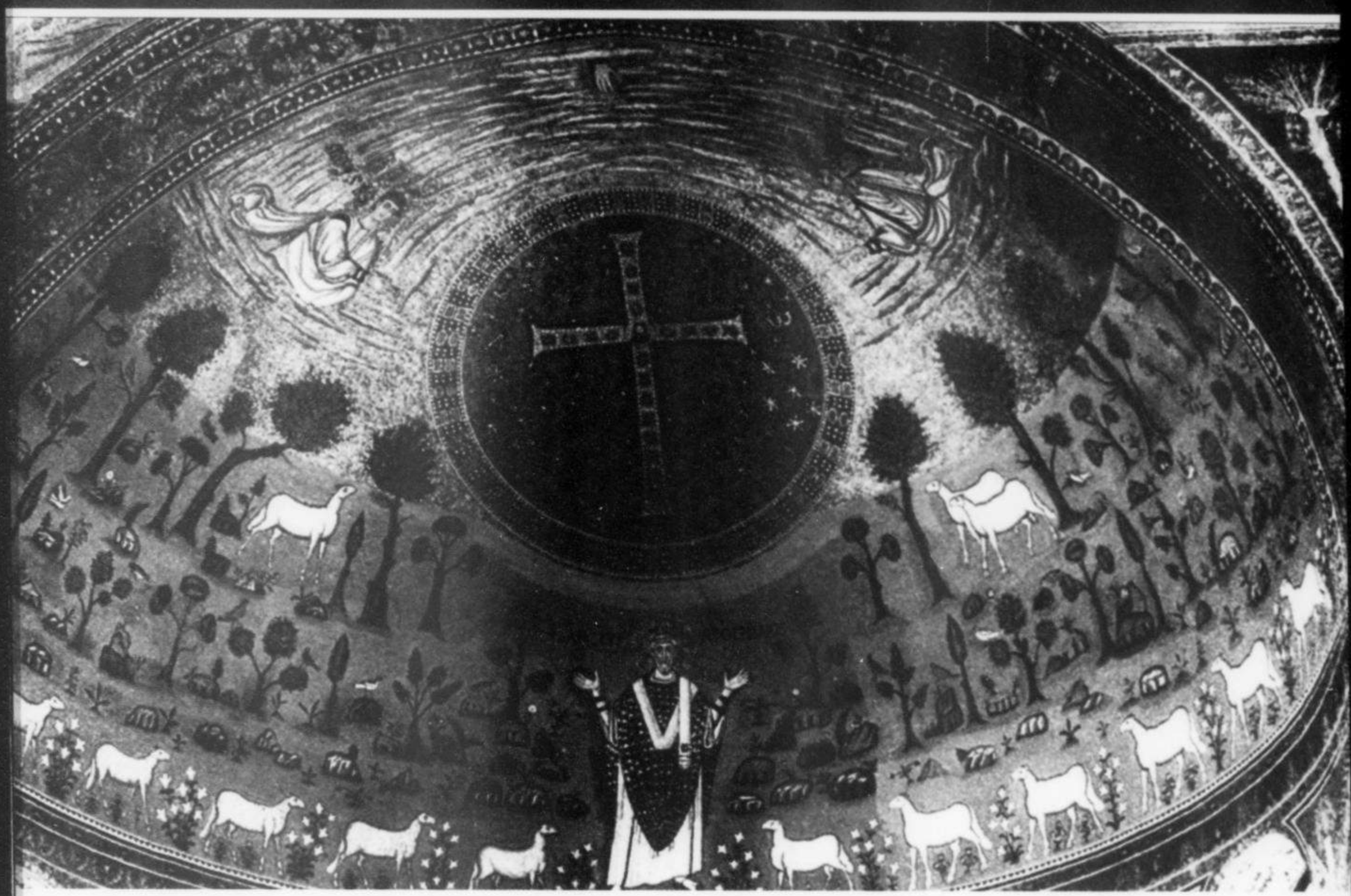


PHOTO BY RITA NAKASHIMA BROCK AND REBECCA ANN PARKER

Saving Paradise

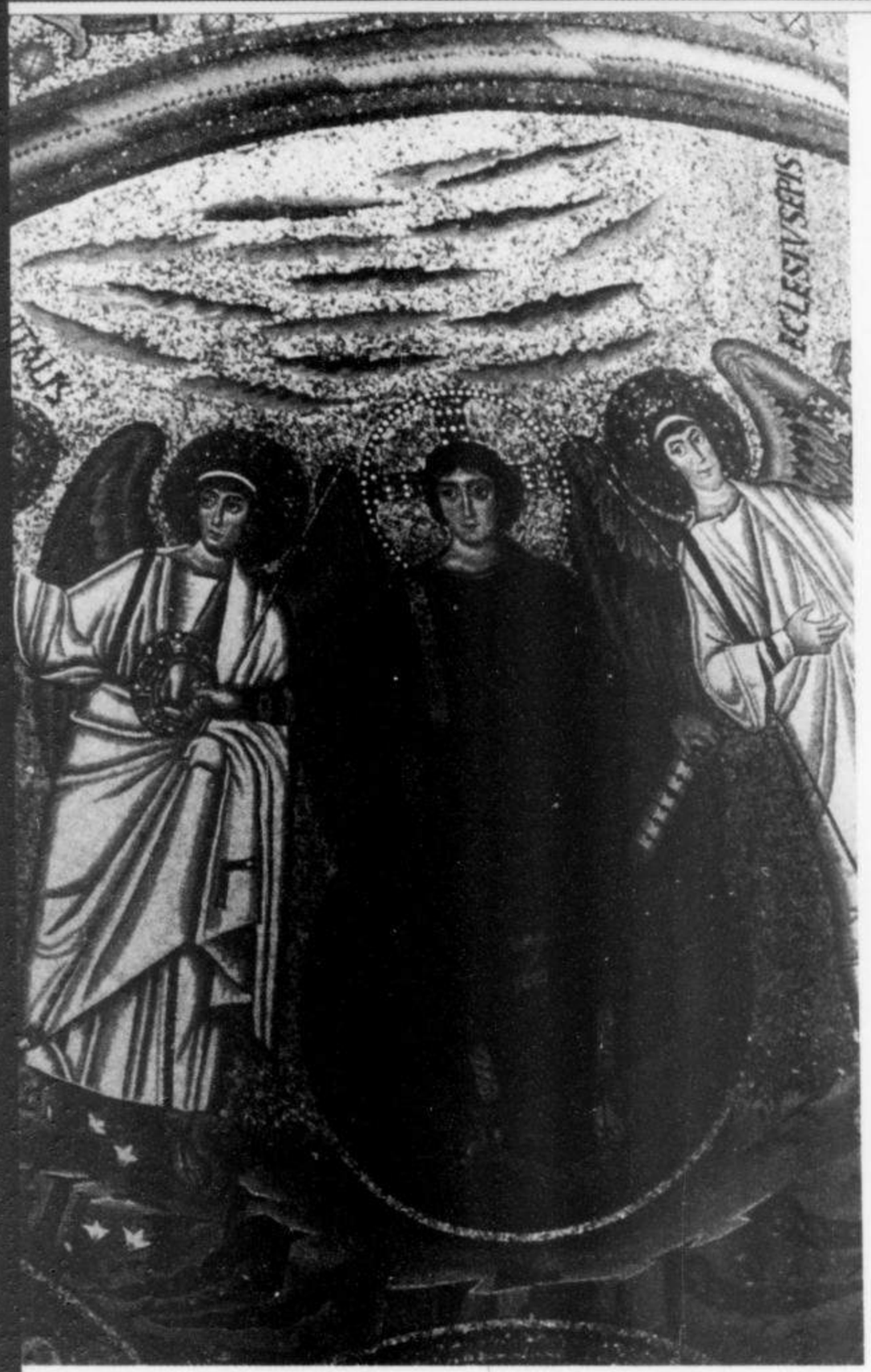
by Rita Nakashima Brock and Rebecca Ann Parker

IT TOOK JESUS A THOUSAND YEARS TO DIE. IMAGES OF HIS CORPSE DID NOT APPEAR IN CHURCHES UNTIL THE TENTH CENTURY. Why not? This question set us off on a five-year pilgrimage to ancient sites throughout the Mediterranean world. What we discovered is that during their first millennium, Christians filled their sanctuaries with images of Christ as living presence in a world ablaze with beauty. The spaces placed Christians in a lush visual environment: a cosmos of stars in midnight skies, golden sunlight, sparkling waters teeming with fish, exuberant fauna, and verdant meadows filled with flowers and fruit trees. Punctuating such scenes were images of the great cloud of witnesses.

Paradise, we realized, was the dominant image of early Christian sanctuaries. This both disconcerted and intrigued us. On the one hand, we were dismayed to think that early Christians appeared to be obsessed with the afterlife. On the other hand, we wondered why they covered every inch of church walls with such images. As we investigated further, studying sacred texts and rituals as well as images, we came to understand that paradise was not an other-worldly or post-mortem realm. Paradise was this world—permeated and

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Rev. Dr. Rita Nakashima Brock is director of Faith Voices for the Common Good. Rev. Dr. Rebecca Ann Parker is president and professor of theology at Starr King School for the Ministry (Unitarian Universalist). Both have distinguished records as scholars, leaders, activists, speakers, and authors. They also coauthored Proverbs of Ashes *(2001).*



During the first thousand years of Christianity, Jesus was always portrayed as a living presence in a world ablaze with beauty, never as dead upon the cross. Previous page: The Transfiguration, *a sixth-century mosaic in St. Apollinare in Classe, Ravenna, Italy. Above: An early sixth-century mosaic of* Jesus Christ as the Pantocrator *(creator of everything) in St. Vitale Church, Ravenna, Italy.*

PHOTO BY RITA NAKASHIMA BROCK AND REBECCA ANN PARKER

blessed by the presence of God—and it was the counter-realm to empire. As feminists, long concerned with the problems created by crucifixion-centered forms of Christianity, we decided to explore this ancient vision of paradise to illuminate the struggles and possibilities in our own time.

Many scriptures picture a lush garden, a safe and beautiful dwelling place for humanity, watered by a river that assures abundance for all. The prophets of the Bible invoked the story of creation and of the garden in Genesis to judge and condemn unjust, unwise kings, their oppressive policies, and their wars. The prophet Amos used images of paradise to call for justice. "Let justice roll down," he said, "like rivers." Like the rivers of paradise. The prophet Isaiah promised paradise here and now to those who share earth's wealth justly: "Share your bread with the hungry, open your house to the poor ... You shall be like a watered garden, whose springs never run dry."

The Christian gospels echo prophetic uses of paradise and justice. In Luke, for example, Jesus announces his mission in the world by reading from the book of Isaiah.

> The Spirit of the Lord is upon me, because he has anointed me to bring good news to the poor. He has sent me to proclaim release to the captives and recovery of sight to the blind, to let the oppressed go free, to proclaim the year of the Lord's favor (Luke 4:18–19 and Isaiah 61:1–2).

Jesus quotes from a chapter in Isaiah that begins with creation's goodness and concludes with the earth flourishing as a renewed garden. With the arrival of the year of the Lord's favor—a jubilee year of justice—Isaiah says God will cause "what is sown in [the garden] to spring up ... [and] righteousness and praise to spring up before all the nations." Isaiah wrote his words to exiles suffering under the Babylonian empire. In Luke, Jesus reads these words to the poor of Galilee who were struggling with a new empire. "Today," Jesus announces to them, "this scripture has been fulfilled in your hearing." (Luke 4:21) In echoing the vision of Isaiah, Jesus says the Spirit of God in the world is already at work to encourage a fuller flowering of righteousness—today, not tomorrow, not later, but now. And later in the same gospel, Jesus says, "*Today*, you will be with me in paradise." Not later in the afterlife, but today, here on earth.

Paradise in the Bible is blessed, but it also poses dangers. As Genesis makes clear, the serpent was in the garden *before the fall*. So the garden of God is not an ideal utopia without challenges. Its inhabitants must exercise wisdom and astute judgment if they are to avoid the traps that evil sets before them. And difference and struggle—tension and disputation—are hallmarks of life in the garden.

The Paradise in This World

PARADISE ON EARTH DOMINATED EARLY CHRISTIAN UNDERSTANDINGS OF SALVATION. Many early leaders called the church "the paradise in this world." Christianity in this form shared much with Judaism, which began in the Second Temple period to identify Mt. Zion with the paradise mountain, the Jordan as the great river of paradise, and the Temple as its focus, a cosmology found in the book of Ezekiel.

The maintenance of paradise required people of faith to work to alleviate suffering, to appreciate the spirit of God in all creation, to love beauty as a blessing of creation, to avoid the use of violence, and to care for each other as friends of God. Sinning was inevitable; even the wise were not innocent of all sins, but had learned through trial and error how to be more effective at resisting the principalities and powers of the world. Not all sins were equal, however. The worst, which required special handling, were adultery, apostasy, and the shedding of human blood—even pagan blood. Each of these indicated a deep sickness in the soul that destroyed the health

of human community centered in compassion, care, trust, and the respectful honoring of the spirit of God in all humanity—and in all creation.

To accept membership into the church as paradise meant taking responsibility for sustaining paradise in this world. It meant appreciating, celebrating, and maintaining a salvation already given to the whole community, which, in gratitude, offered food, healing, and shelter to any who needed them. The historian Peter Brown, in summarizing early Christianity, calls it a life-affirming, this-worldly, optimistic faith.

The Imperial Turn to Christ's Tortured Corpse

What happened to this life-affirming Christianity? The first images of Jesus dead appeared in the late tenth century, in Northern Europe. Crucifixion images emerged only after the Christian West saw dramatic changes that began with the Emperor Charlemagne around the year 800. The emergence of such images marked a turn in Christianity toward violence and away from the humane values of compassion, justice, and love for life. Charlemagne, modeling himself on his image of Constantine, ruthlessly forced conversion of his enemies at the point of a sword, breaking the ban on bloodshed. He used his version of Christianity as the propaganda arm of his empire. His clerics insisted that the sins of the empire's pagan enemies had crucified Christ. Instead of Christ being a spirit-inspired model for humanity in paradise, Charlemagne's court theologians made Christ a fierce, wrathful judge who condemned all sinners to hell—especially those who rebelled against imperial rule.

Instead of the church as paradise where the risen Christ and humanity communed in joy, love, and glory, the church became the place of judgment, riddled with fear. Christ crucified, the terrible judge, lorded it over lowly sinners who feared for their lives. As the distance between Christ and humanity grew, the church as paradise in this world became increasingly difficult to imagine, and paradise receded into the distant afterlife. It became so unimaginable that purgatory had to be invented to take care of residual sin, even in the afterlife. The proper piety was abject terror of hell and fervent hope of heaven. Christians longed to be restored to a sinless, pure, and innocent state, as the only refuge from the judgment of God. To suffer punishment and to be completely absolved of sin became the only possible way to enter paradise in the next life, after suffering in purgatory. The more one suffered in this life to atone for one's sins, the closer one came to being absolved and saved.

In the late eleventh century, a theology emerged that said the only reason God took on human flesh in Jesus Christ was to die to save sinners from eternal damnation. Apocalyptic predictions of the world's end escalated during the same period. If God could sanction torture and murder, and seek to destroy the world, holy war for the sake of God became thinkable. Christians began to believe they could be saved through killing those they marked as enemies of God—Jews, Muslims, and heretics. As crusading fever took hold, Christians turned erotic desire not on beauty and creation but on pain, suffering, and death.

Paradise became an idealized, unreal, utopian ideal that could only arrive after the apocalypse, and Christian piety focused on extreme suffering as noble and good. Love of the tortured, murdered corpse became the heart of faith, and self-sacrifice became the highest form of love. Instead of working to alleviate human suffering, Christians began to think of suffering as a sacred calling. Present time became a place of sorrow and sin—Christians were to live in hyper-vigilant suspicion of its dangers and toils, relying only on divine mercy to be delivered from this world of woe.

The vision of life as paradise in this life would not die, however. In the medieval period, dissenting Christian movements such as the Waldensians rejected violence and promoted



PHOTO BY RITA NAKASHIMA BROCK AND REBECCA ANN PARKER

The authors were delighted to discover that the ubiquitous visions of paradise in early Christian art were about this world, not the next.
Above: A fifth-century mosaic, Jesus Christ as the Good Shepherd, *in the Mausoleum of Galla Placidia, Ravenna, Italy.*
Page 25 below: The four rivers of paradise flow from the base of the Baptism Cross, a mosaic from the Cathedral of St. Giovanni in Laterano, Rome, Italy. The piece dates from the fourth to thirteenth centuries.

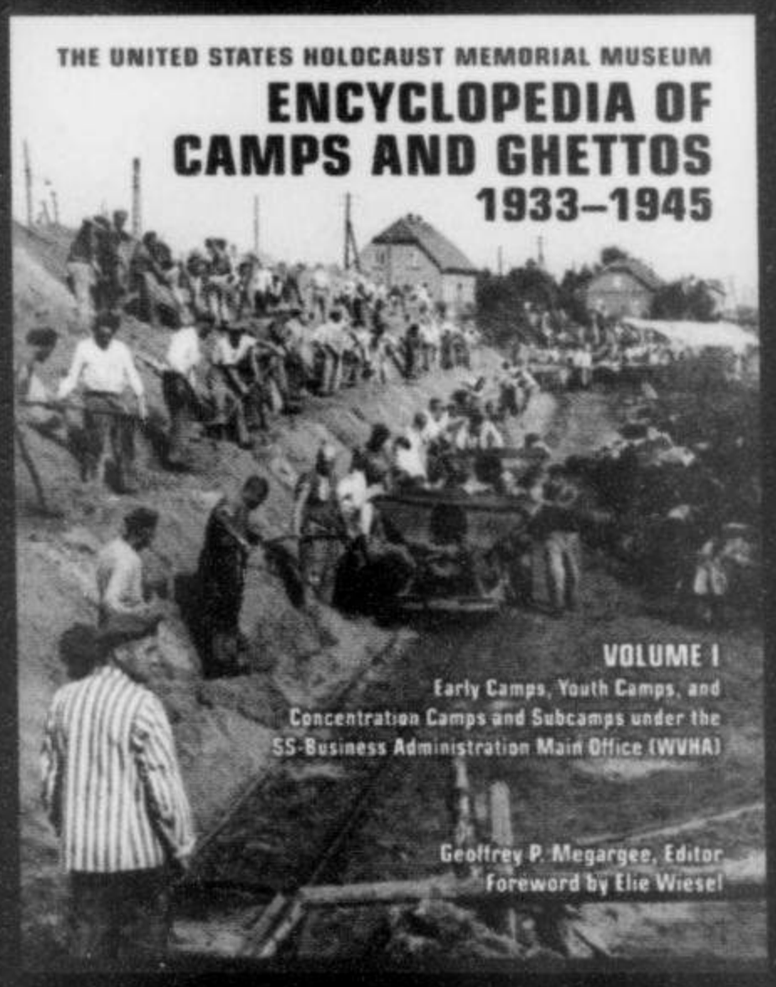
This article is based on *Saving Paradise: How Christianity Traded Love of This World for Crucifixion and Empire* by Rita Nakashima Brock and Rebecca Ann Parker, Boston: Beacon Press, 2008, a best book of the year at *Publishers Weekly*. For more information, including many more artworks, see www.savingparadise.net.

The United States Holocaust Memorial Museum

Encyclopedia of Camps and Ghettos, 1933–1945

Volume I. Early Camps, Youth Camps, and Concentration Camps and Subcamps under the SS-Business Administration Main Office (WVHA)

Geoffrey P. Megargee, Editor
Foreword by Elie Wiesel



This monumental 7-volume encyclopedia, the result of years of work by the Center for Advanced Holocaust Studies at the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, will describe the universe of camps and ghettos—some 20,000 in all—that the Nazis and their allies operated, from Norway to North Africa and from France to Russia. This first volume covers three groups of camps: the early camps that the Nazis established in the first year of Hitler's rule, the major SS concentration camps with their constellations of subcamps, and the special camps for Polish and German children and adolescents.

"The most efficacious way of fighting the scourge of Holocaust denial is with the facts. No argument posed by deniers can withstand the overwhelming weight of the truth. This encyclopedia will provide a host of detail about crucial aspects of the Holocaust that cannot be found elsewhere."
—Deborah E. Lipstadt, author of *History on Trial: My Day in Court with David Irving*

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justice for the poor. In the seventeenth century, Quakers preached that paradise is accessible now through spiritual awakening. In the nineteenth century, Christians whose gender, race, or class had acquainted them firsthand with state-sanctioned oppressions troubled the waters of their faith traditions. Rejecting the pieties of anti-worldly Christianity, they turned to the Jesus of the gospels and generated diverse movements that sought to realize the Kingdom of God "on earth as it is in heaven."

Reformers emerged from oppressed groups themselves to forge vigorous and varied movements that upheld the dignity and worth of all human beings and that worked for justice and equality. They generated new visions for community in North America. Their efforts helped fuel the abolitionist movement, women's suffrage, labor movements, and anti-lynching campaigns.

Bringing in the Commonwealth of God

In the early twentieth century, "Social Gospel" Christians believed the purpose of Christian life was to "bring in the Commonwealth of God"—to fulfill the prophetic vision that "earth might be fair and all people glad and wise." At the end of World War I, Walter Rauschenbusch (1861–1918), a German Baptist minister who ministered among the urban poor, published *A Theology for the Social Gospel*. The Social Gospel inspired many Christians to work for two decades to create the New Deal, the commonwealth that has taken half a century to dismantle and now lies in shambles amid the worthless paper of Wall Street and massive ponzi schemes.

Rauschenbusch had a keen capacity to identify how evil and sin operated in social and political systems, even in the guise of religion. He rejected the typical Christian teaching that sin was rooted in individual rebellion against God's will. Rauschenbusch observed that "in actual life such titanic rebellion against the Almighty is rare.... We do not rebel: we dodge and evade. We kneel in lowly submission and kick our duty under the bed while God is not looking."

Sin mattered, not because it disappointed, offended, or alienated God, but because it disrupted relationships of love and justice in human affairs. Rauschenbusch said:

> We rarely sin ... alone. Science supplies the means of killing, finance the methods of stealing, the newspapers have learned how to bear false witness artistically to a globeful of people daily, and covetousness is the moral basis of our civilization.

Rauschenbusch insisted that the death of Jesus did not redeem humanity from its sins. Rather, it revealed the character of transpersonal evil—collective sins of empire and militarism that continue to put earth and its peoples at risk of crucifixion.

Rauschenbusch objected to narrow forms of Christianity. To counteract the sins of nationalism, racial categorization, religious chauvinism, and economic exploitation, God must be conceived as "the all-pervading life ... the ground of ... spiritual oneness," and those who worship God must recognize "the consciousness of solidarity" to be of the essence of religion. Social Gospel theology has, ever since, inspired many Christians to work tirelessly for justice.

Paradise Left Behind

At the dawn of this new century, America's Christians are engaged in deep conflicts generated by the struggle to define and claim paradise. Near the end of the last century, a Christianity that embraces redemptive violence and looks to salvation in a world to come became a major public and political voice for Christians. Re-inscribing imperial Christianity, they bless conquest and colonization, privilege

those with wealth and status, sanction war, and exploit the environment. In popular books such as the "Left Behind" series, they offer a paradise that is on the other side of the end of the world, after God destroys this earth.

"*Today* you will be with me in paradise," Jesus said. But when Christians seek to destroy paradise today, they force people to live in exile, homeless, and always in search of paradise somewhere else. Preoccupied with being lost, people become anxious for home, for escape from present life, which can never measure up to an idealized, imaginary idea of salvation. They turn, instead, to individual salvation in consumerist alternatives, grounded in a deep, hidden despair and profound spiritual loneliness. They are easily manipulated by false "gurus" who scold them and then offer them canned answers, another version of hellfire, judgment, and grace.

People so lost, so self-obsessed, and so hungry for spiritual grounding do not know how to shelter others from the storms of life. Their inability to see paradise here produces an eager greed for what others have, and an insatiable desire for goods. Avarice motivates large-scale programs of economic aggrandizement, military domination, and environmental exploitation.

Paradise Here, Today

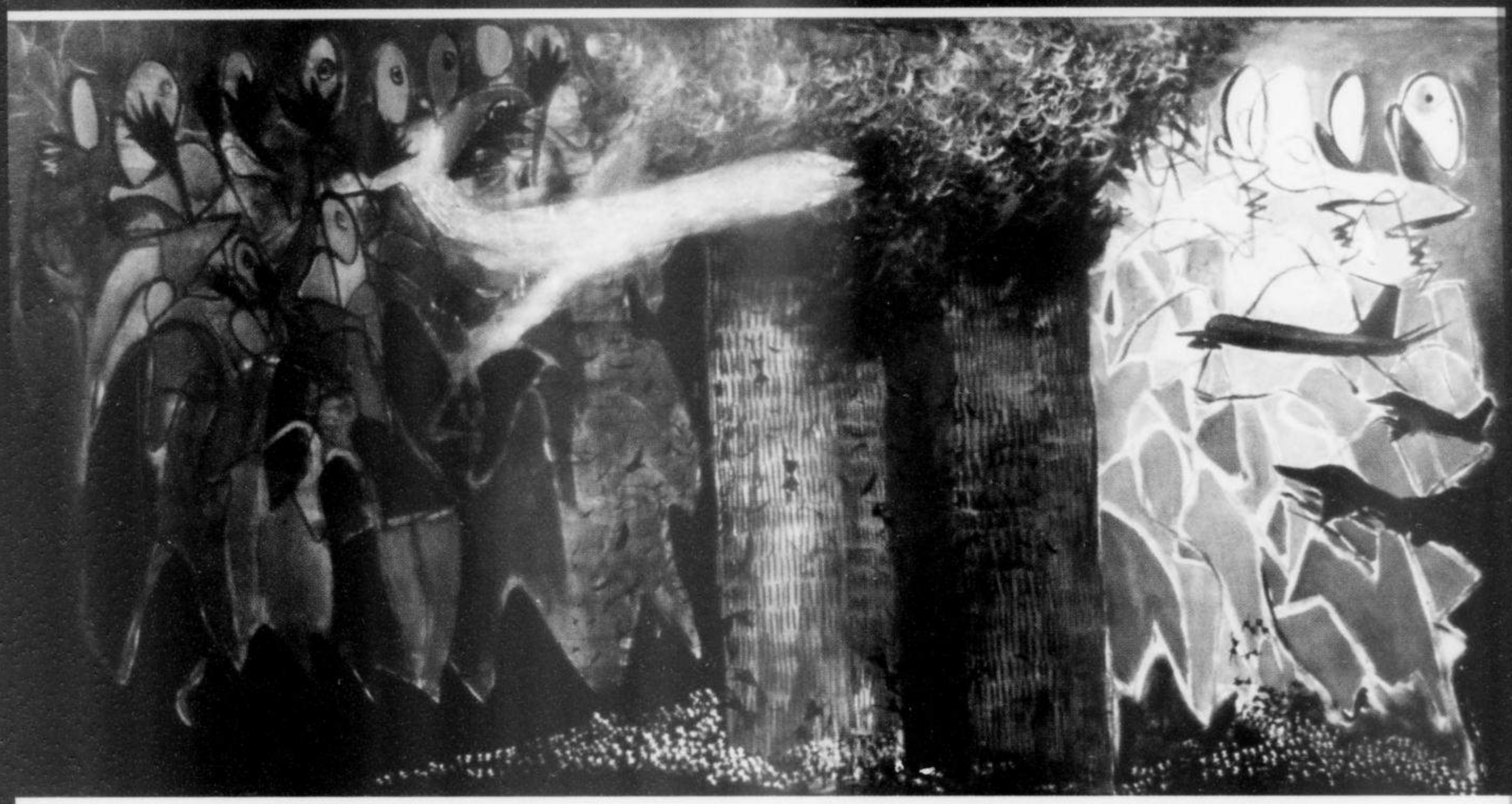
We know that another world and another society are possible. They begin when we understand that paradise is already present, and all our faiths can affirm it. What we need now is a religious perspective that does not locate salvation in a future end point in time, a transcendent realm, or a zone after death. Paradise is not withheld, closed, or removed from us. Realizing this requires us to let go of the notion that paradise is life without struggle, life free from wrestling with legacies of injustice and current forces of evil.

Our dangerous opportunity today is to live facing into this reality: histories of harm are all around us, current forces of evil operate within and among us, and yet everywhere the bushes are on fire, the rivers of paradise circle the earth, the Spirit rises in the wind, and the fountain of wisdom springs up from the earth we walk on, from this holy ground, a ground on which we create shelter for each other, even now, even in the storms of today.

We re-commit ourselves to this world as holy ground when we remember the fullness of life that is possible through our communities, our life-affirming work, and our love of each other. We give thanks for gifts of love that have been ours all along, an ever-widening circle of beauty, the Spirit in life, the Spirit in us and in this paradise on earth. ■

PHOTO BY RITA NAKASHIMA BROCK AND REBECCA ANN PARKER





Painting Past Borders

by Alana Y. Price

To view a behind-the-scenes photo essay of Salma Arastu's studio and read about how Lord Krishna began to dance his way back into her paintings, visit the new Tikkun Daily blog site: www.tikkun.org/daily.

To view more of Salma Arastu's work and purchase her book, *The Lyrical Line*, visit www.salmaarastu.com.

Above: Salma Arastu could not paint for a week following September 11. This piece, The Tragedy *(2001), documents the shock and sadness she felt about the attack and the subsequent hate directed toward Muslims in the United States.*

SALMA ARASTU

WHEN SALMA ARASTU BEGAN TO FALL IN LOVE, SHE PRAYED EVERY DAY FOR divine help in ending the affair. Born into a Hindu family with bitter memories of the partition of British India, she knew some men in her family would frown on her marriage to a Muslim.

"Every time I was praying, I said, 'Oh, my God, please help me ... take me away from him,'" she says. "But every day I was drawn toward him, so somehow my heart said my God wants me to marry him. And then I realized my God's coming with me—if I become a Muslim, my God's not leaving me: only my rituals will change, my way of prayer will change."

She didn't yet realize that her art would change, too.

More than thirty years after her marriage, Arastu now looks back and sees her religious conversion as foundational to her life work as an artist. Standing amid richly textured canvases in her Berkeley, California, art studio, she explains how she discovered

Alana Y. Price is the assistant editor of Tikkun.

the gorgeous flowing line of Arabic calligraphy in the mosques of Iran, where she and her husband moved from India in 1976. She continued to study Arabic after moving from Iran to Kuwait.

"Slowly, slowly, the Arabic line started coming into my painting," she says, adding that her paintbrush grew freer as her hand began to learn and remember the arcs and curls of her new alphabet. "And then, I was learning Islam ... and the main message was that *God is one* and another message was *we are all one*."

The ecstatic vision of unity that Arastu found in Islam is deeply apparent in her paintings. Abstract people dance across her giant canvasses, which hover and throb with rich colors and an aching sense of peace. Each figure flows into the next, just as each Arabic letter flows into the next. Layers of color and texture sometimes obstruct bits of Arastu's flowing line, but deep down a continuous thread runs through each painting. The Hindu gods of the artist's childhood are present, too, but only around the edges.

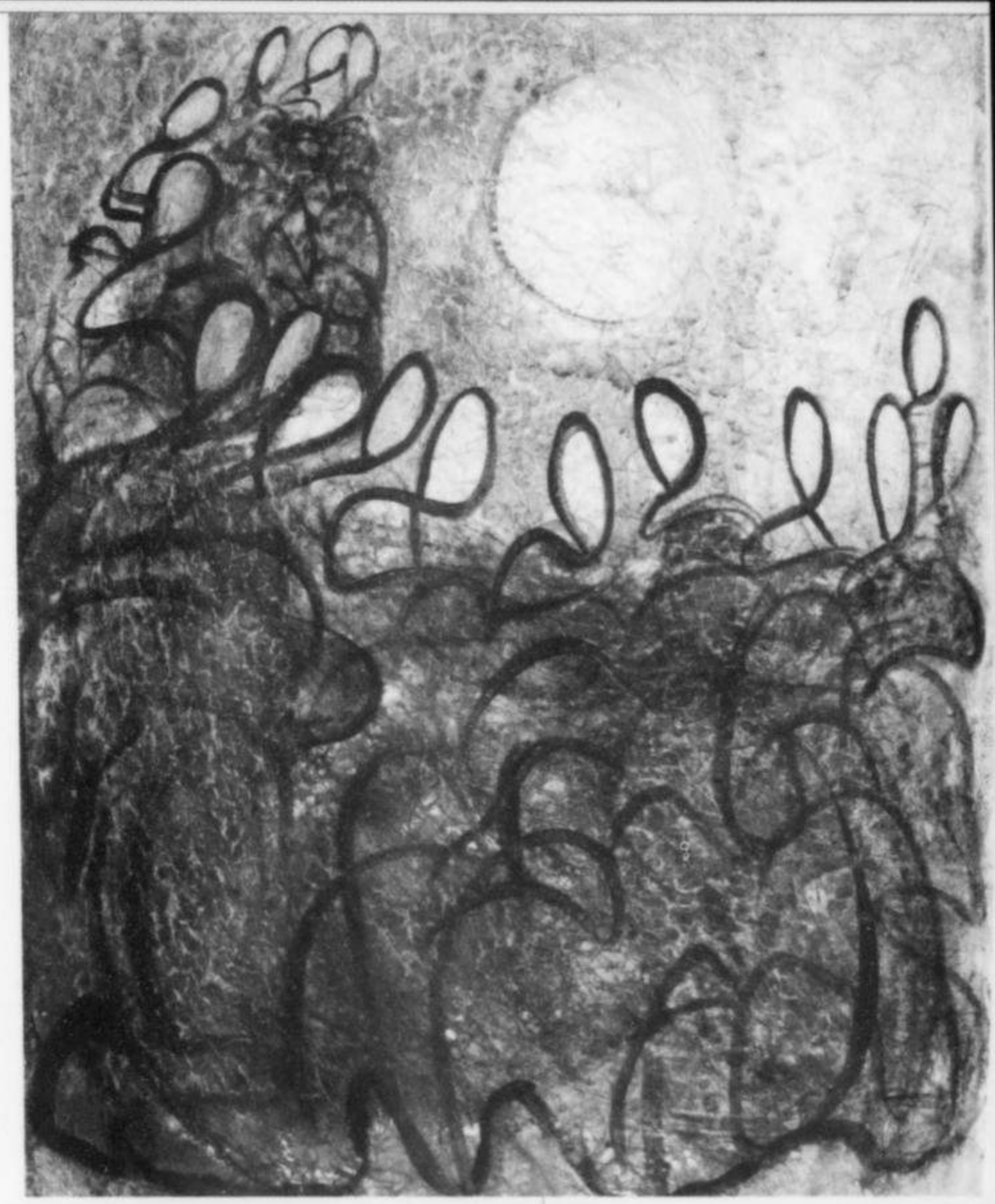
A visit to India, with its dense crowds and flowing fabrics, inspired Arastu to start painting figures. Before that her work was wholly abstract—the playful path of a line. But when she returned to the United States (her home since 1987), "this line started forming people," she says, "and I realized these are continuous people: I'm doing a continuous line. I'm trying to connect them ... through love, compassion."

In Arastu's new book, *The Lyrical Line*, the artist describes her work as a testament to human universality. By leaving her figures faceless, she seeks to show the unified "flow of humanity with its universal inspirations, faith, pain, and joy."

The facelessness of her figures also makes her art acceptable within the Islamic art community, she says, which is wary of human representation, despite scholars' affirmation that human figures have appeared in Islamic art for years, and that figuration is technically prohibited only in mosques.

The gravity with which Arastu approaches her social role as an artist is inspiring. She is no stranger to pain and fear, as is clear in her powerful painting about September 11, which some have compared to Picasso's "Guernica." Her yearning for harmony and kindness grew out of her sometimes painful experiences as a child born without fingers on her left hand, she says, and she endured a difficult time before her family came to accept her husband. But she chooses to focus not on pain but on hope-filled images, which she sees as crucial nourishment for people struggling to heal and connect with each other. California's Alameda County agrees: it just bought three of her paintings to hang in local rehab centers.

"Sermons, like in a mosque or in church—these sermons of 'do this, do that, do that'—these don't help so much," Arastu says. "The art, the music, the dance, the painting—I think these art performances touch your heart and they affect you." ■



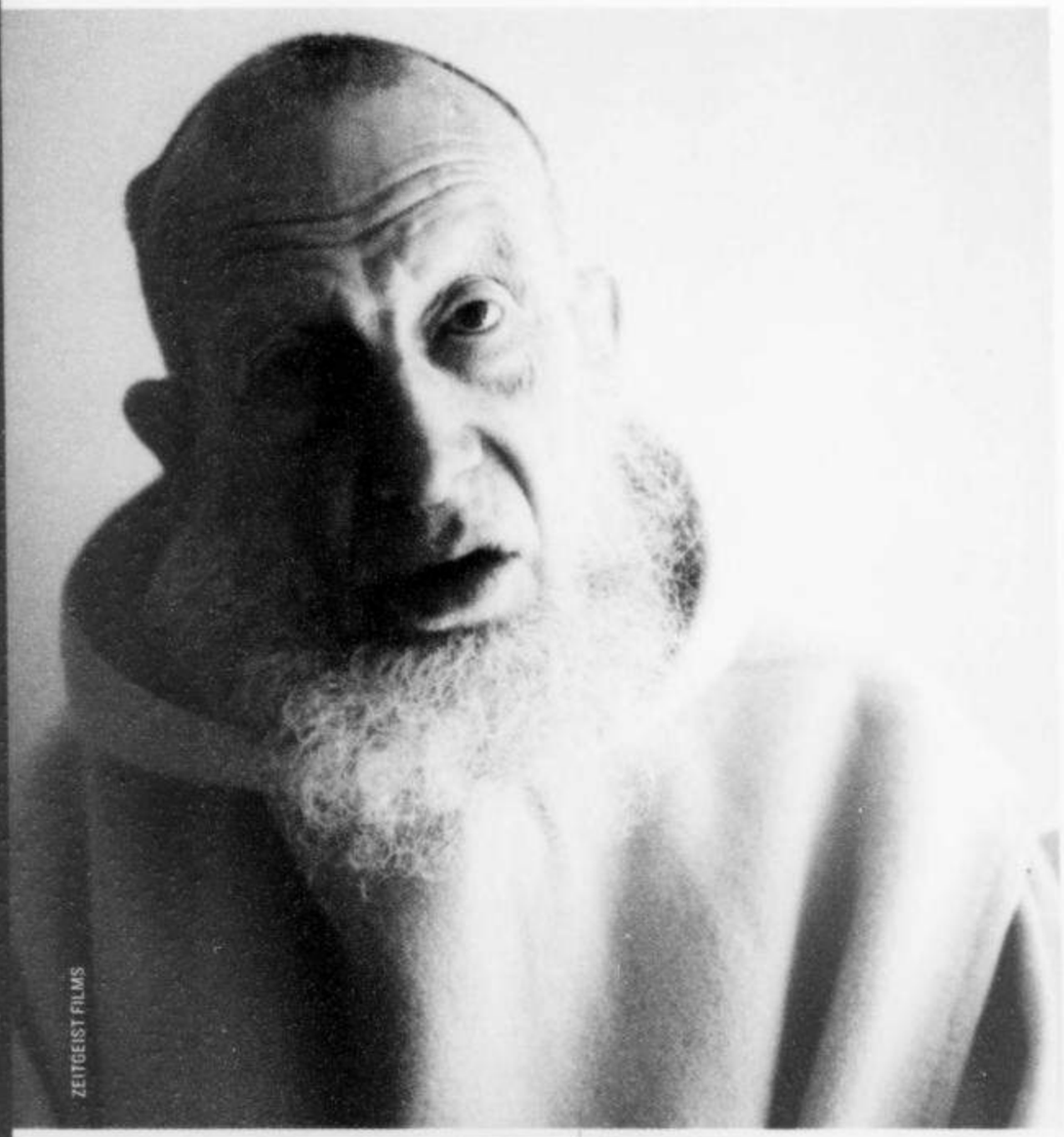


Top: Inspired by Arabic calligraphy, Arastu connects one figure to another with a lyrical line in Praying Again *(2008).*
Bottom: Salma Arastu at her studio in Berkeley, California.

TOP: SALMA ARASTU. BOTTOM PHOTO: SABIHA BASRAI

Out of the Spiritual Closet

by Michael Eigen


ZEITGEIST FILMS


ZEITGEIST FILMS

PHILIP GRONING, A GERMAN FILMMAKER, ASKED MONKS OF the Grande Chartreuse for permission to make a documentary of their day-to-day life. Sixteen years later, he received permission to do so. He lived in this reclusive world in the French Alps for half a year. The result, the film *Into Great Silence*, is a moving testament to a life of prayer.

The documentary shows the monks in their daily routines of prayer, work, ritual, discussions, haircuts, and hikes. The vow of silence is a thread that knits life together. Even when monks are interviewed, one can feel how quiet prayer informs their words.

Watching the initiation of new monks and an older man's steps toward death, I did not experience the prurience of the camera so much as the affirmation of the human spirit that it revealed: in this case, the human spirit in contact with divine reality. If not a window on the soul, the camera provided glimpses of soul-states not usually honored in ordinary life, and I felt a sense of relief that I would like to try to share.

I had an immediate sense of recognition, particularly when seeing the men's faces in prolonged, silent prayer. The movie touched something in my spiritual core and had the effect of diminishing shame. When I saw the faces in prayer and meditation, I felt shells of shame begin to fall off my soul and inner body. Their faces were the way I felt, and seeing them gave me a kind of permission to live that part of me more fully, less apologetically, less defensively.

In our society, to be a man often means to be aggressive, achieving, and out for power, sex, or money. Yet these faces, these supplicants, were unashamed of the deep intimacy with God they touched and courted. To court God in deepest intimacy seemed a freeing gift. The term "supplicant" resonates with "supple." Instead of harsh, to be supple. To unabashedly spend time with Intimate Presence—as much time as one wants or can.

Witnessing the priests' supplication helped free me to meditate and pray for longer periods, following the moment, on my knees, standing, sitting, head in hands, hands uplifted, head bowed, head lifted, heartfelt, ordinary, bored, caring. It is a wonderful thing to give oneself this time, this contact with the Deep One. Perhaps at my stage in life, moving toward the end, time is more precious and the need for the Deepest of All is pressing.

I needed the faces of these monks but didn't know it. As soon as I saw them, I felt my own face more, my inner face. What the faces of the monks gave me was permission to come out of closets I didn't know I was in: spiritual closets. To come out in the open, again, in new ways, touching silent depths—freeing depths that one fears and needs but, all too often, rushes past and fails to access. ■

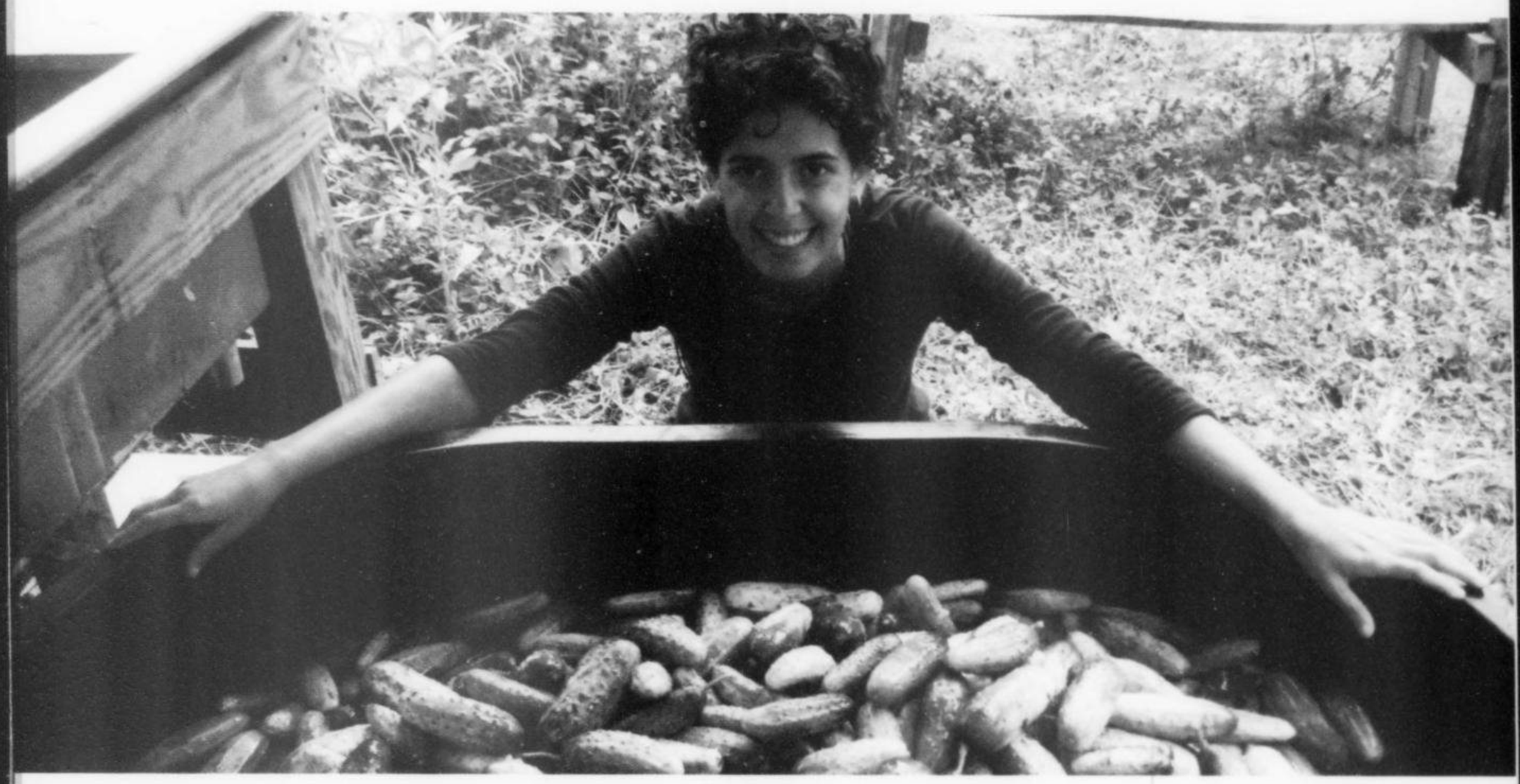
Editor's Note: *Into Great Silence* was reviewed by Katje Richstatter in the July/August 2007 *Tikkun*.

Michael Eigen is a psychologist in New York City. His books include Flames from the Unconscious: Trauma, Madness and Faith, Feeling Matters, The Sensitive Self, *and* The Psychoanalytic Mystic.

The Planet-Saving Mitzvah:

Why Jews Should Consider Vegetarianism

by Daniel Brook



Cleaning cucumbers for pickling at the Isabella Freedman Jewish Retreat Center's ADAMAH program, which integrates organic farming, sustainable living, Jewish learning, community building, and contemplative spiritual practice (www.isabellafreedman.org/adamah).

PHOTO BY RISA ALYSON STRAUS

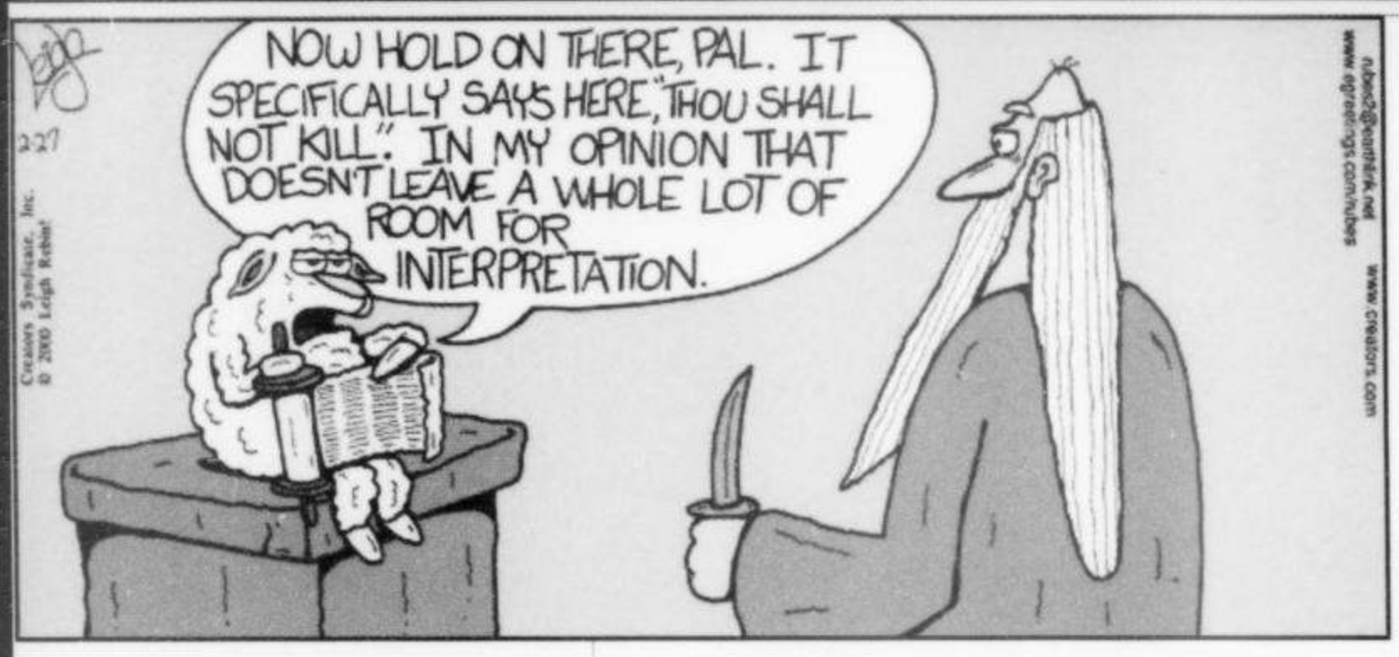
JUDAISM HAS TO BE A DAILY SPIRITUAL AND SOCIAL PRACTICE, NOT SIMPLY A ritualized one, if it is to be meaningful to Jews and relevant to others. Beyond being spiritual, we are called upon to uplift ourselves and to make the world a better place for ourselves, our families, our communities, and others.

In *Why Be Jewish?* Rabbi David J. Wolpe writes that "Judaism emphasizes good deeds because nothing else can replace them. To love justice and decency, to hate cruelty and to thirst for righteousness—that is the essence of the human task." The human task, therefore, is to be a *mensch*: a good, kind, and compassionate person.

One of the ways to follow our rich tradition while putting Judaism's highest ideals into daily practice is to choose vegetarianism. In the words of Rabbi Fred Scherlinder Dobb, "I see vegetarianism as a *mitzvah*"—a sacred duty and good deed.

Maimonides postulated thirteen principles of the Jewish faith, while Rabbi Moses Cordovero wrote about *The Thirteen Divine Attributes*. Here are thirteen categorical imperatives suggesting why Jews should seriously consider vegetarianism and then move in that direction:

Daniel Brook, a vegetarian since working on Kibbutz Sa'ar in Israel, is an author, speaker, and instructor of sociology at San Jose State University. He welcomes comments via vegnik@gmail.com.



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1. Righteousness and Charity.

EVEN THOUGH IT IS OFTEN DIFFICULT, WE DO ALL have the power to break bad habits and soul search for better ways of living. Becoming vegetarian sets a lifelong course of righteousness. Righteous people regard—and guard—the lives of animals (Proverbs 12:10). According to Albert Einstein, if people aspire toward a righteous life, their "first act of abstinence is from injury to animals." A *tzadik*, or righteous person, is held in the highest regard because of righteous actions.

The Torah and Talmud are filled with stories of people rewarded for their kindness to animals and punished for their thoughtlessness and cruelty to them. In the Torah, Jacob, Moses, and David were all shepherds who cared for animals. Moses is specifically praised for how he showed compassion toward a lamb, as well as people. Rebecca was acceptable as a wife for Isaac because she showed concern for animals, offering water to thirsty camels in addition to the thirsty person who asked for it. Noah is considered righteous as he cared for the lives of the many animals on the Ark.

In contrast, two hunters mentioned in the Torah, Nimrod and Esau, are represented as villains. Further, according to legend, Rabbi Judah the Prince, compiler and editor of the Mishnah, was punished with years of pain for his insensitivity to the fear of a calf on its way to slaughter (Talmud, Bava Mezia 85a).

In the words of Torah commentary from Rabbi Moses Cassuto, "You are permitted to use the animals and employ them for work, have dominion over them in order to utilize their services for your subsistence, but must not hold their life cheap nor slaughter them for food. Your natural diet is vegetarian." Indeed, *all* of the promises of sustenance and food for the Israelites in the Torah are vegetarian: vineyards and gardens, wheat and barley, figs and pomegranates, grapes and dates, fruits and seeds, nuts and gum, olives and bread, milk and honey. Even the manna, "like coriander seed" (Numbers 11:7), was vegan. In contrast, when the Israelites in the Sinai desert call out for and consume meat and fish, many suffer and die in a plague and are buried in the Graves of Lust.

Judaism stresses the importance of *tzedakah*, that we be kind, assist the poor and weak, and share our food with the hungry. Yet about three-fourths of major U.S. crops such as corn, wheat, soybeans, oats, and alfalfa are fed to the billions of animals destined to be slaughtered for meat, while millions of people worldwide die from hunger and its cruel effects each year. This is an avoidable *shanda* (shame) on the world.

In the Talmud, Rabbi Assi states, "Tzedakah is equivalent to all the other religious precepts combined" (Baba Batra 9a). The way of the *tzadik* is the way of *chesed* (loving-kindness), compassion, charity, and righteousness for all living beings. Vegetarianism is a major form of tzedakah, on a daily basis, which can do as much for the giver as for the receiver.

2. Tikkun Olam.

WHILE JUDAISM TEACHES THAT WE ARE TO BE *SHOMREI ADAMAH*, PARTNERS IN *tikkun olam*—re-creating, preserving, and healing the world (Talmud, Shabbat 10a)—mass production of meat contributes substantially to greenhouse gas emission and global warming (what Rabbi Arthur Waskow calls "global scorching," and what the United Nations says is "the most serious challenge facing the human race"). Meat production also contributes to air and water pollution; overuse of chemicals and fossil fuels; the deforestation and destruction of tropical rain forests, coral reefs, mangroves, and other habitats; soil erosion; desertification; species extinction; loss of biodiversity; and various other forms of global environmental degradation. Among other things, we need to re-establish and reinvigorate the earth's *mayim chayim*—its living waters.

"The human appetite for animal flesh is," according to the editors of the science-based environmental magazine *World Watch* (July/August 2004), "a driving force behind

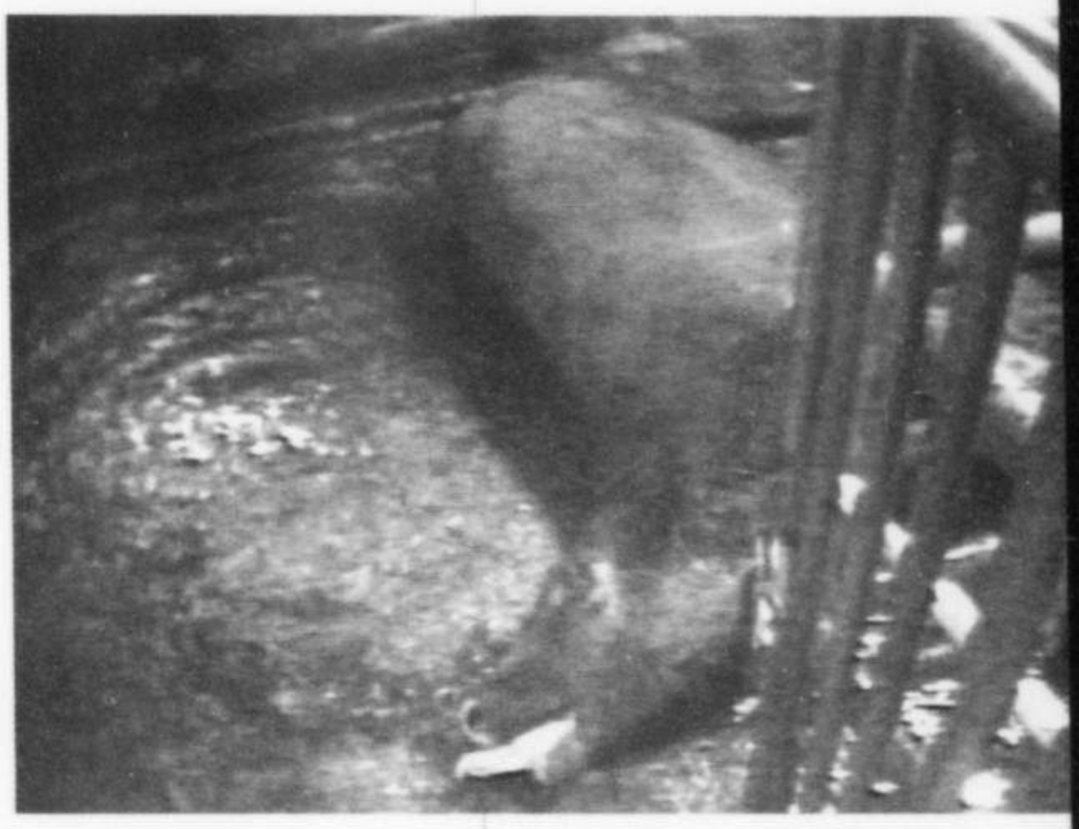
virtually every major category of environmental damage now threatening the human future—deforestation, erosion, fresh water scarcity, air and water pollution, climate change, biodiversity loss, social injustice, the destabilization of communities, and the spread of disease."

In the words of Isaac Bashevis Singer, the great Yiddish writer and winner of the Nobel Prize for Literature: "This is my protest against the conduct of the world. To be a vegetarian is to disagree—to disagree with the course of things today. Starvation, world hunger, cruelty, waste, wars—we must make a statement against these things. Vegetarianism is my statement and I think it's a strong one."

3. Conservation of Resources.

JUDAISM TEACHES *BAL TASHCHIT* (CONCERN FOR THE ENVIRONMENT, BASED ON Deuteronomy 20:19-20), that we should not waste or unnecessarily destroy anything of value (in other words, engage in conservation), and that we should not use more than what is necessary to accomplish a purpose (in other words, prioritize efficiency). Yet, in contrast to these Jewish values, meat production requires the very wasteful use of land, topsoil, water, fossil fuels and other forms of energy, labor, grain, and other vital resources, in addition to various toxic chemicals, antibiotics, and hormones. For example, it can require approximately seventy-eight calories of non-renewable fossil fuel for each calorie of protein obtained from factory-farmed beef, but only two calories of fossil fuel to produce a calorie of protein from soybeans. Thousands of gallons of fresh water are wasted merely to produce a single pound of beef.

"This is the way of pious and elevated people," wrote thirteenth-century Rabbi Aaron HaLevi of Barcelona. "They will not waste even a mustard seed, and they are distressed at every ruination and spoilage they see, and if they are able to save, they will save anything from destruction with all of their power." The meat industry is exceptionally wasteful, inefficient, costly, and destructive, even while better alternatives are plentiful, easily obtainable, and healthier for consumers, workers, animals, and our environment.



Agriprocessors, the world's largest glatt kosher slaughterhouse, contravened the Jewish commitment to compassion and federal law in the slaughter of animals and in labor relations. It is now in bankruptcy. The image above is from an undercover video made at the plant by People for the Ethical Treatment of Animals.

IMAGE COURTESY OF PETA

4. Health and Safety.

HEALTH AND THE PROTECTION OF LIFE ARE REPEATEDLY EMPHASIZED, AND EVEN prioritized, in Jewish teachings. While Judaism teaches that we should be very careful about *sh'mirat haguf* (preserving our bodies and health), and *pekuach nefesh* (protecting our lives at almost any cost), numerous scientific studies have linked animal-based diets directly to heart disease and heart attacks (the number-one cause of death in the United States), various forms of cancer (the number-two cause of death), stroke (the number-three cause of death), high blood pressure, obesity, diabetes, osteoporosis, asthma, atherosclerosis, aneurysms, rheumatoid arthritis, impotence, endometriosis, gallstones, gout, Alzheimer's, and other ailments. About two-thirds of diseases in the United States are diet-related—and vegetarians are much less afflicted. Note that even meat-eating doctors almost always recommend eating less meat, not more, while advocating the consumption of more fresh fruit, vegetables, beans, and whole grains for better health.

Further, since more than half of all antibiotics in the United States are given to livestock (plus immense amounts of chemicals, steroids, hormones, and other drugs), resistant bacteria are increasing at an alarming rate, creating untreatable superbugs, like MRSA, that kill tens of thousands of people per year in the United States alone. And don't forget mad cow disease, bird flu, foot and mouth disease, E. coli, salmonella, and food poisoning. "If there were no poultry industry," concludes Neal Barnard, M.D., "there would be no epidemics of bird flu." And if there were no cow industry, there would be no E. coli outbreaks.

Packaged meat has been discovered to be injected with carbon monoxide to keep it looking red, even when it's rancid. Fish often contain mercury, arsenic, lead, cadmium and toxic

POPs, including PCBs, DDT, and dioxin, which can't be removed from the fish and which bioaccumulate in consumers' bodies.

The meat industry is unhealthy and unsafe. A vegetarian diet (one that does not include *any* animals) or a vegan diet (a vegetarian diet that does not include any animal products at all, including meat, dairy, and eggs) can help prevent, and sometimes reverse, many of these health- and life-threatening conditions. Vegetarianism also reduces the need for medical attention, medicine, and drugs throughout one's life. As Albert Einstein said, "Nothing will benefit health and increase the chances for survival of life on Earth as the evolution to a vegetarian diet." It's time for us to evolve toward better personal and planetary health.

For more information, please read Richard Schwartz's *Judaism and Vegetarianism* (www.jewishveg.com/rev.html), watch *A Sacred Duty: Applying Jewish Values to Help Heal the World* (www.ASacredDuty.org), and visit Jewish Vegetarians of North America at www.JewishVeg.com and also www.ShalomVeg.com.

To read more of Daniel Brook's writing, visit the Vegetarian Mitzvah at www.brook.com/jveg, Eco-Eating at www.brook.com/veg, and No Smoking? at www.brook.com/smoke.

5. Compassion.

As fifteenth-century Rabbi Joseph Albo writes, "In the killing of animals, there is cruelty." Centuries earlier, Maimonides, both rabbi and physician, wrote that "There is no difference between the pain of humans and the pain of other animals." It is as simple as that. Compassion is not a new concept, yet it has to be continually renewed. The Sages of the Talmud (Beitza 32b) remark that "Jews are *rachmanin b'nei rachmanin* [compassionate children of compassionate ancestors], and one who is not compassionate cannot truly be a descendant of our father Abraham."

While Judaism forbids *tsa'ar ba'alei chayim* (inflicting unnecessary pain on animals), and encourages people to be compassionate, most farm animals—including most of those certified organic or "free range," as well as most animals raised for kosher and halal consumers—are raised on factory farms where they suffer in cramped, confined, and cruel places, and are often drugged, mutilated, burned, tortured, and denied fresh air, water, sunlight, exercise, and any enjoyment of life, whether on Shabbat or any other day, before they are slaughtered on dis-assembly lines.

"Being compassionate toward animal life is not just a matter of being responsible for animal life," writes Rabbi David Rosen, former Chief Rabbi of Ireland, "which we have very clearly laid down in the Torah, expounded by our sages, but is a matter of imbuing ourselves with the right kind of values. If we are insensitive toward animal life, then we desensitize ourselves as human beings. And therefore a truly sensitive human being, compassionate toward other human beings, should be compassionate toward animals." And as Rabbi Rami Shapiro says, "Vegetarianism is not simply a dietary ideal. It is a practice designed to enhance your capacity for compassion." Indeed, Rabbi Shlomo Riskin, the Chief Rabbi of Efrat in Israel, states that "the dietary laws are intended to teach us compassion and lead us gently [back] to vegetarianism."

Just as we were strangers in Egypt and freed from our slavery, animals need to be freed from their narrow confines of slavery, suffering, torture, and untimely death, in order to feed the whole world with the spirit of compassion, love, life, and liberation. Animals should not have to suffer and die for our selfish pleasure. Consonant with the ethics of Judaism, vegetarianism offers compassion, respects the stranger, reduces suffering, and saves lives *every day*.

Again, Albert Einstein offers his wisdom: "Our task must be to free ourselves by widening our circle of compassion to embrace all living creatures and the whole of nature." Vegetarianism is an easy and effective way of putting one's highest values into action, practicing compassion with every meal, thereby reducing pain, suffering, and death for those who can't speak for or defend themselves.



Washing newly harvested basil during a typical day on the ADAMAH program's six-acre farm.

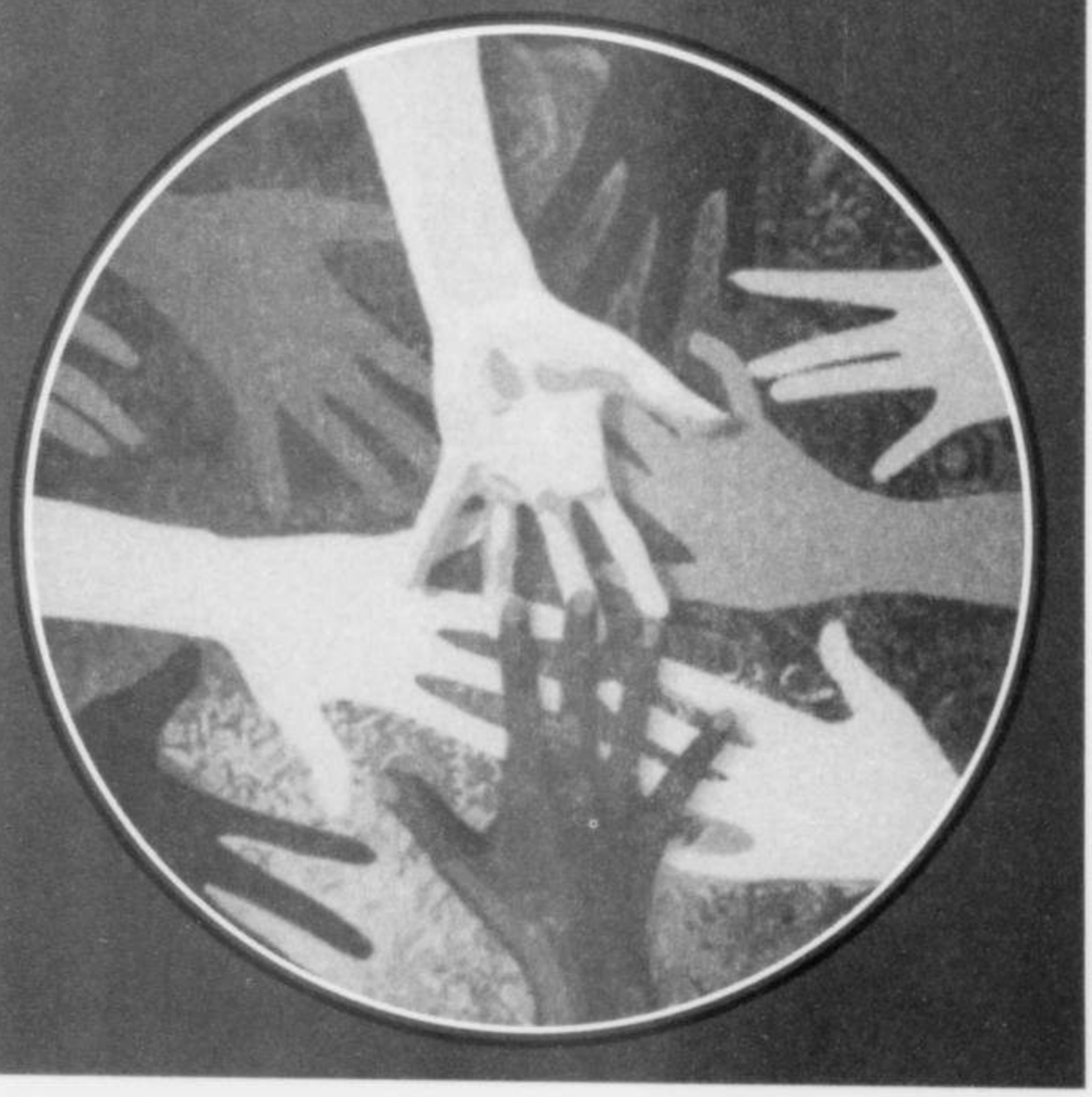
PHOTO BY ILANA MORADY

6. Atonement.

Thirteen represents the number of compassionate traits attributed to YHVH (*HaShem*) as recounted in the covenant with Moses that is recited on Yom Kippur, the Day of Atonement, which is the holiest day in the Jewish calendar. On this *(continued on page 70)*

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FINALLY, A NEW IDEA

The Marriage of a One-State and a Two-State Solution

by Russell Nieli



This article was adapted from the second half of a talk on the Palestinian-Israeli conflict that Russell Nieli gave to a Princeton University student group, the "Tigers for Israel," in the spring of 2008. At the beginning of the talk, which is published in full on the Tikkun *website, Nieli discussed the early Brit Shalom call for a unified Jewish/Arab binational state, the more recent and related "one-state" proposals, the now standard "two-state" solution, the Kahanist and parallel Arab versions of "ethnic cleansing," and the recent calls for something like a return to the 1949–1967 period when Gaza was controlled by Egypt and the West Bank by Jordan. Visit www.tikkun.org to read Nieli's argument for why those proposals are doomed to frustration and failure.*

None of the major proposed solutions to the Israeli-Palestinian problem offers a way out of the continued bitterness, suspicion, violence, and ill-will between the two parties. To achieve a just and lasting settlement, we must find an outside-the-box alternative to the major peace proposals that have been considered so far.

After years of reflection, I have become certain that "two-state condominialism"—a solution involving a rigid political separation of two peoples within a unified, binational, settlement territory—offers the clearest vision of hope for both Palestinians and Jews.

I know there are immense problems and hurdles to be overcome to enable the realization of the condominial arrangement I describe here. But they are far less intractable, in my opinion, than those involved in the realization of a separationist scheme. The peoples, economies, natural resources, and infrastructures have become intimately intertwined in Palestine/Eretz Israel, so powerful irredentist feelings would inevitably emerge on both sides of any rigid territorial divide. A condominial arrangement would also be more easily realized than the increasingly popular "one-state solution," which I consider to be a complete non-starter politically for the Israelis, both now and in the foreseeable future.

The condominial formula I propose here would enable both peoples to realize simultaneously most of their respective national dreams. It is a win-win situation that gives both peoples powerful incentives to cooperate with one another to make the arrangement work.

Russell Nieli earned his Ph.D. at Princeton, where he studied political philosophy and the works of the great German émigré scholars who came to America during the Hitler era. He is currently a lecturer in Princeton's Politics Department.

SABIHA BASRAI



Arab and Jewish children play during midday recess at a school in the central Israeli village of Neve Shalom/Wahat al-Salam, a cooperative village of Jews and Palestinian Arabs of Israeli citizenship. Wahat al-Salam means "Oasis of Peace."

While many amazing people have struggled to create oases of understanding and peace between Israelis and Palestinians, the wider landscape is desperately in need of truly new ideas, like the radical revision of statehood and citizenship envisioned in this article by Russell Nieli: two states in what he calls a condominial relationship.

AP PHOTO/LEFTERIS PITARAKIS

Two States in a Single, Binational Settlement Community

THE TWO-STATE CONDOMINIAL ARRANGEMENT STARTS OUT WITH THE CREATION OF A democratic Palestinian state (composed of the West Bank, Gaza, and East Jerusalem) much like that suggested in other two-state proposals with the boundaries of the Palestinian state roughly determined by the pre-1967 Green Line. The Palestinian state ("Palestine") would have most of the features of a democratic nation-state, but from the outset it would be an ethnically defined state, a state of the Palestinian people, whereby a close parallel was maintained to the definition of Israel as a state of the Jews. As part of the fundamental agreement, all current Israeli Arabs would be required to transfer their citizenship, national identity, and national voting rights—but not their residence—to the new Palestinian state. Israeli Arabs would retain their permanent right to live in Israel and they would also retain their current benefits under the Jewish welfare state (or be adequately compensated for the loss of them by another arrangement, such as a lump sum payment), but they would become citizens of—and permanent voting members of—the Palestinian state, not Israel.

Both Palestinians and Jews under the condominial proposal would be granted the right to settle anywhere within the territory of either state. Together the two states would thus form a single, binational settlement community. Palestinians would have the right to settle anywhere within Israel, just as Jews would have the right to settle anywhere within the territory of the Palestinian state. Regardless of which of the two states they live in, all Palestinians would be citizens of the Palestinian state, and all Jews would be citizens of Israel.

The states themselves, Israel and Palestine, would have the right—and, indeed, the moral obligation—to set up a dense network of support facilities to care for the economic, cultural, religious, and welfare needs of any citizens living in the territory of the neighboring state. Each state, in other words, would have extensive extra-territorial rights and obligations vis-à-vis its citizens in the neighboring state. The arrangement would be something like that which the U.S. government routinely maintains toward many of its government employees and other citizens living in foreign countries with an extensive American military and diplomatic presence (e.g. West Germany during the Cold War). The Palestinian state would have the obligation to care for its citizen population living in Israel, just as the Jewish state would have the obligation to do the same for Israeli citizens living in the

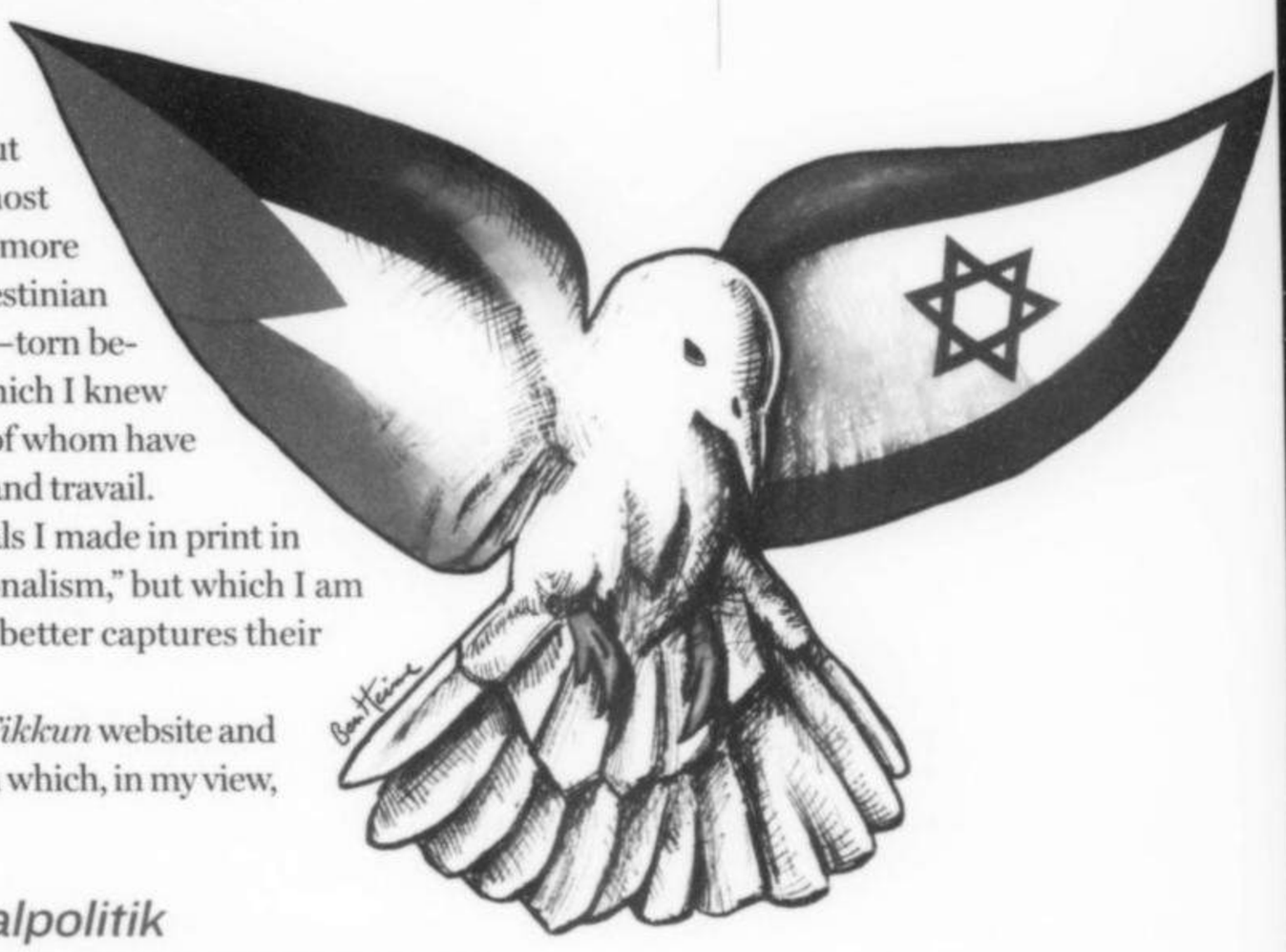
Palestinian state. In any event, Palestinians moving into Israel and Jews living within the Palestinian state would have no claim to any of the welfare and other benefits provided by the territorial state wherein they reside.

As part of the fundamental agreement, the Palestinian state would be required to acknowledge the special Jewish character of the state of Israel, and Israel would be required to acknowledge the special Palestinian-Arab identity of the state of Palestine, with both states acknowledging the right of all Palestinians and all Israelis to reside anywhere within the joint settlement community formed by the combined territories of the two states.

This is just a rough sketch of what a condominial arrangement would entail. In the pages that follow, I lay out in more detail how such a solution could work, and address practical issues such as the settlement community's taxation structure and the sharing of water resources.

The Story Behind the Condominial Proposal

As a third-generation Italian American raised in the suburbs of New York City among many Jewish classmates, neighbors, and friends, I was deeply moved from an early age by what some call the "Jewish narrative"—like the Leon Uris/Otto Preminger version of *Exodus*. As a graduate student in Princeton's Politics Department in the 1970s, I began extensive readings about the Israeli/Palestinian conflict. Those readings were almost entirely in Jewish sources, but they nevertheless made me more understanding of, and more sympathetic toward, the Palestinian Arab viewpoint. This situation left me internally divided—torn between two seemingly irreconcilable narratives, each of which I knew to be of central importance to the peoples involved, both of whom have experienced more than their share of historical suffering and travail.



The result of my inner ferment was a series of proposals I made in print in the early 1990s that I originally called "two-state binationalism," but which I am now calling "two-state condominialism," a term which better captures their overall meaning and structure.

I encourage readers who finish this article to go to the *Tikkun* website and read my full talk to get a sense of the fatal weaknesses from which, in my view, the major competing peace proposals variously suffer.

Moving Beyond the Pessimism of *Realpolitik*

At its most basic, the Palestinian-Israeli dilemma can be stated very simply with two points:

1) As a final or end-game outcome, no solution to the conflict over historical Palestine will ever be acceptable to the Arab side if that solution denies to the Palestinians (especially to those who have suffered so long in Gaza and the refugee camps of the frontline states) a right of return to the land that is now Israel—a land which, in their view, was callously and unjustly taken from them by the convergent activities of British imperialists, Jewish settler-colonialists, reactionary Arab leaders and collaborators, and an American-supported Zionist army.
2) Within present political structures and under present conditions of politics and history, no Israeli government in its right mind would ever allow any sizable number of Zionist-hating Palestinians to re-enter Israel and become citizens of a democratic Jewish state.

This is the stark reality of the current situation. Thus stated, one can see why so many observers, and not just those on the fringes of the Kahanist right, believe the situation to be unsolvable. Several years ago, I was discussing this issue with Professor Robert Gilpin, who at the time was the chief international relations theorist in Princeton's Politics Department. After surveying with skepticism some of the more common proposals for peace in the

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Israel and Palestine without internal checkpoints or walls?

The author proposes that all Israelis and Palestinians be able freely to live and own real estate in both Israel and Palestine.

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Mideast, Bob turned to me and said, "You know, Russ, there just may not be a peaceful, long-term solution to the Palestinian-Israeli conflict." Bob's comment at the time struck me as terribly deflating and unduly pessimistic, but also, I must say, as possibly realistic given the track record of Palestinian-Israeli peace talks over the years.

Professor Gilpin is usually identified with the school of international relations associated with the term *Realpolitik*—a school which stresses the dominant role in the relations between nation-states of military power, economic interests, self-promoting and self-aggrandizing behavior, and national security concerns. Those in this school see themselves as hard-headed "realists" who seek to view the world as it is, not the way they might like it to be, or the way wishful thinking might conceive it to be. Such "realists" typically view their opponents as well-meaning but fuzzy-headed "liberals" or "idealists" ignorant of how the real world works.

Upon critical examination, it's true that the major proposed solutions to the Israeli-Palestinian problem appear doomed to failure. Saying this, however, does not mean that nothing will work. My alternative proposal requires a bit of creative thinking, but I have become ever more convinced that only a creative outside-the-box solution to the Arab-Israeli conflict offers any hope of long-range success.

Key Elements of the Two-State Condominial Proposal

AT THE BEGINNING OF THIS ARTICLE, I TRACED THE BASIC OUTLINE OF A POTENTIAL TWO-state condominial arrangement. More elaborately, the proposal would involve the following developments:

1) Israeli Jews would adopt a formal constitution that defines the state of Israel in the clearest of ethnicity-restrictive terms as a *Jewish* state—a state of the *Jewish* people. The constitution would make clear that Jews and only Jews could become citizens and voting rights members of the state of Israel. Exceptions to the Jewish-only citizenship and Jewish-only voting rights rule, whether for individuals (such as Arab volunteers in the Israeli military), or groups (Christians, Druze, etc.) would be made only by special act of the Israeli Parliament at its own absolute discretion.
2) Palestinian Arabs would establish an ethno-national state of their own ("Palestine"), encompassing *all* the territory of Gaza, the West Bank, and East Jerusalem as these territories existed in the period between the 1949 armistice lines and the Six-Day War of June 1967. The constitution of the Palestinian state would make clear that Palestinian Arabs and only Palestinian Arabs could become citizens and voting members of the Palestinian state. Exceptions to this rule, whether for individuals or groups, would be made only by special act of the Palestinian Arab parliament. The Palestinian ethno-national state would thus closely parallel in structure the Jewish ethno-national state. In addition, just as the Israeli state would have the absolute right to determine who is a Jew, so the Palestinian state would have the absolute right to determine who is a Palestinian Arab and thus eligible for state citizenship.
3) All Israeli Arabs would be required to transfer their citizenship and national voting rights—but not their residence—to the Palestinian state. Thus all Palestinian Arabs

would be citizens of the Palestinian state, and all Jews would be citizens of the state of Israel, except in those (relatively few) cases where exceptions have been made by the parliaments of the respective states. As citizens of the Palestinian state, Israeli Arabs would retain all the benefits they currently receive under the Israeli welfare state (or would perhaps instead receive adequate compensation for losing them, via a "political severance" package, so that there would not be two classes of Palestinians living in the new condominial state on an ongoing basis).

4) The combined land areas of Israel and the Palestinian state would be designated a unified Condominial Territory and Binational Homeland for all citizens of the two states. All citizens of both Israel and the Palestinian state would have the right to move to and settle anywhere within the entire Condominial Territory, which would serve as a binational homeland and the joint settlement venue for all Palestinian Arabs and Jews. The ensuing structure would bear this template: "Two states and two flags for two peoples within one binational settlement community."
5) While each state would have the right to determine its own immigration and naturalization policies, both states would have an obligation to their diaspora ethnic communities to provide a place of refuge and a "right of return" consistent with their economic and material capacity to fulfill such an obligation. Diaspora Palestinians would stand in the same relation to the Palestinian ethno-national state as diaspora Jews currently stand in relation to the Jewish ethno-national state. Israel would be *Der Judenstaat* (Herzl's "The State of the Jews"), Palestine would be *Der Palaestinenserstaat* ("The State of the Palestinian Arabs"), and the Condominial Territory would be *Das binationale Gemeinschaftsland* ("The Binational-Condominial Land of Settlement").
6) Except for those specific exceptions stipulated in advance and agreed to by both parties, all land used for residential, commercial, or agricultural purposes within the Condominial Territory, along with such legal instruments as building permits, variances, commercial licenses, etc., which are used to regulate or facilitate the use of such land, would be open for acquisition to all Israeli and Palestinian citizens on the strictest (and most strictly enforced) non-discriminatory basis. The implementation of this principle would require the dismantling or radical modification in the mission of all agencies and organizations—such as the Jewish National Fund and the Israeli Lands Authority—that currently prioritize Jews or discriminate against Palestinian Arabs in the acquisition and development of land and other real property. The final arbiter in all disputes over discrimination in these areas would be entrusted to a special international court, whether under UN auspices or otherwise, whose authority is formally recognized through treaty obligation by both the Israeli and Palestinian governments.
7) The regulation of all water resources in the Condominial Territory would be entrusted to a special commission of the United Nations set up specifically for that purpose. Its membership would include equal parts of Palestinians, Israelis, and third-party nationals from countries without significant Muslim or Jewish populations.
8) Within the territory of their condominial partner state, the governments of both Israel and Palestine would have the right—as well as the moral responsibility—to set up a dense network of support facilities such as schools, hospitals, recreational facilities, housing bureaus, old age homes, cultural centers, orphanages, substance abuse clinics, employment offices, homeless shelters, etc., to care for the welfare and other needs of their citizen population living in the neighboring territory. The welfare needs of all Jews living in Palestine and of all Palestinian Arabs residing in Israel (current Arab Israelis excepted) would be the responsibility of their citizenship state not their state of residence. The basic principle would be: "Jews and Arabs take care of their own."
9) In those Israeli towns and villages where Palestinian citizens are in the great majority, and in Palestinian villages where Israeli citizens are in the great majority, the expatriate communities under such circumstances would be accorded a *de facto* form of local autonomy over such municipal concerns as zoning, traffic regulation, road construction, garbage collection, local policing, etc. Local, non-citizen advisory boards would be



Nieli proposes that water be treated differently than other issues because water resources have to be administered impartially. So he proposes: "The regulation of all water resources in the Condominial Territory would be entrusted to a special commission of the United Nations set up specifically for that purpose. Its membership would include equal parts of Palestinians, Israelis, and third-party nationals from countries without significant Muslim or Jewish populations."

Top: A Palestinian boy drinks as others wait to fill up water containers in Khan Younis in the southern Gaza Strip. Bottom: Water is precious in the Israeli-Palestinian homeland.

elected, and their decisions would be generally confirmed ("rubber-stamped") and officially authorized by the government of the respective nation-state in which the town or village lies (i.e., Israel or Palestine), thus providing *de facto* local autonomy in the civic sphere without compromising national sovereignty or granting formal political rights either to Palestinians living in Israel or to Israelis living within the state of Palestine. Helpful suggestions for this kind of arrangement might be drawn from the history of the pre-World War I *millet* system under Ottoman rule in which local ethno-religious minorities were granted substantial degrees of self-governing autonomy without compromising the political authority of the central state. Other helpful suggestions might be provided by the Jewish Agency's role in providing for the welfare and organizational needs of the Jewish communities in Palestine when it was under British Mandate rule.

10) There would be free movement of peoples and goods across state boundaries between the two condominial partner states. A common labor, common trading, and common investment market would be formed much like that which exists within the European Union today. The issue of fair taxation and use of taxes paid may seem problematic but is not—we have all sorts of different tax arrangements around the world to achieve fairness for people who live in one state and work in another.

11) The state of Palestine would have almost all the features of a conventional nation state, including political control over its territory, a state flag and a national anthem, a national legislature and national court system, the right to send and receive ambassadors, the right to seek a seat in the UN, a national army and national police force, a national currency and national passport, the right to tax its citizens, a right to fix immigration and naturalization policy, state control over its educational system, a right to determine its official national language, etc. In one crucial area, however, the Palestinian state would differ from most other nation states. Similar to the special arrangements in Finland and Austria instituted after World War II, the Palestinian state would be restricted by treaty obligation in terms of the size and capabilities of its armed forces so that it does not pose a serious military threat to the state of Israel. While it would be permitted to maintain a military of sufficient strength to put down domestic insurrection and terrorism, its armed forces would be restricted in terms of numbers and the kinds of weapons systems it could possess (e.g. advanced fighter jets, modern battle tanks, nuclear weapons) so as not to pose any serious offensive threat to the state of Israel. To further these ends, the Palestinian state would also be prohibited from entering into any military alliance with any other state without the explicit permission of the state of Israel, and must agree to grant to the Israeli government such reasonable military security measures that Israel deems necessary to its national survival. The latter might include a right to set up observation posts near the Jordan River to provide early warning of sudden invasion from hostile forces to the east, overflight privileges within Palestinian airspace for Israeli military aircraft to conduct air-reconnaissance and training operations, and a sharing of intelligence regarding domestic and foreign terrorism. This is the one imbalance in the proposal, but a) Israeli agreement is inconceivable without it, b) the Palestinian state would get the same economic benefit as Finland and Austria received (see point 20 below), c) Israel would have no incentive to re-conquer the

Palestinian lands since that would just recreate the present impasse and d) after a generation or more of peace, we could expect other arrangements to become more possible.

The Condominial Advantage: Two States within the Boundaries of a Shared Homeland

I KNOW IT TAKES A GOOD DEAL OF RETHINKING ON A WHOLE HOST of issues to imagine the arrangement I have just described, but I believe that only such a radical restructuring of the political and jurisdictional landscape of the former Mandate Territory has any possibility of bringing about a genuine transformation in the mindsets of the two warring sides.

In my judgment, the two-state condominial arrangement that I have just described, if put into place, would offer all of the following advantages:

1) It would enable both Palestinians and Jews to gain most of what they want the most: security in a state of their own, international recognition and legitimacy, and the right of both Jews and Palestinians to settle anywhere within the joint Condominial Territory from the Jordan River to the Mediterranean Sea. Diasporic Palestinians and diasporic Jews would both equally enjoy the right of return and a right to settle anywhere within the boundaries of Mandate Palestine.
2) It is the only proposed solution that could accommodate powerful ethno-national feelings and identities—rather than suppressing or thwarting them—without all the problems connected with traditional nation-states whose state activities are restricted to their own territorial boundaries and whose populations include large irredentist or stateless minorities.
3) It would undermine the extremist agendas (e.g. ethnic cleansing) of radicals on both sides of the ethnic divide and provide the underpinning of a win-win situation in which a genuine reconciliation between former enemies can take place.
4) It would cause minimal disruption to current populations and eliminate the need for any forced settlement evacuations, population exchanges, or land swaps, and will do so in conformity with the state boundaries internationally recognized since the end of the 1967 war.
5) It would provide the opportunity for both peoples to participate in a democratic political process within a polity of their own—one with whose people, history, language, culture, and national flag they can positively identify.
6) It would enable the current scale of entanglement between the two peoples—economic, geographic, and infrastructural—to remain intact and, indeed, to be expanded, while each of the two peoples would be assured of a safe and secure territorial state of their own.
7) In addition to granting the right of return to both diasporic Palestinians and diasporic Jews, it would give to the vast majority of people within the two diasporas who choose to remain in countries outside the Condominial Territory the symbolic significance of a special relationship to a nation among nations of the earth that is distinct to their people, their culture, and their history. Even though surveys show that only about one in ten Palestinians who are descendants of 1948 refugees would choose to return to Israel, the symbolic significance of that right to them can hardly be underestimated (in surveys most say they want the option), just as the right to immigrate to Israel is symbolically





Nieli thinks outside of the box on two fundamental roadblocks to peace: 1) the resistance of Israeli settlers in the West Bank to leaving the homes they have built and 2) the Palestinians' right of return to their former homeland. In a binational arrangement, Palestinian and Israeli citizens could live freely in each other's states.

Top: Israeli settlers try to rebuild a structure demolished earlier by Israeli troops in the West Bank outpost of Maoz Esther on May 21, 2009. Bottom: Children and grandparents in a Gaza refugee camp hold keys allegedly from their house in Jules, which is now located inside Israel, as a symbol of their right of return.

OPPOSITE PAGE: TOP: AP PHOTO/ EYAD BABA. BOTTOM: PHOTO BY DORON HOROWITZ/FLASH90
THIS PAGE: TOP: AP PHOTO/SEBASTIAN SCHEINER. BOTTOM: PHOTO BY ABED RAHIM KHATIB/FLASH90

important for the many diasporic Jews who choose not to exercise it.

8) It could potentially put an end to the deep-seated sense of historical grievance that almost all Palestinians hold toward the creation of the state of Israel and its underlying Zionist ideology.

9) It would unite in a creative synthesis the core tenets of the seemingly contradictory principles of democracy and ethnic nationalism for both Palestinian Arabs and Jews.

10) It is the only solution in which the absolute numbers and proportions of Jews and Arabs living in either state would not be perceived as a political threat to either ethnic group. It was the question of numbers that tore apart Mandate Palestine in the 1930s and again immediately after World War II, with Arabs insisting that Jewish immigration be ended and Jews insisting that it continue and accommodate the thousands of European Jews fleeing Nazi oppression and its consequences. Similarly, today it is the "demographic threat" of a growing Arab Israeli population that is perceived as so threatening to Israel's Jews. Under the two-state condominial arrangement, such destructive political disputes cannot arise.

11) It is the only solution under which diverging levels of economic development between the two peoples within the Condominial Territory would not be able to serve as the basis for ethno-class warfare of the kind that has wreaked such havoc in ethnically divided nation-states around the world. Each ethno-national polity would be responsible for the welfare of its own people: Jews taking care of Jews, Palestinians of Palestinians.

12) It is the only solution with the possibility of bringing about a reconciliation between the liberal-humanitarian and the ethno-nationalist (and national-religious) strains in Zionism, which are increasingly at loggerheads among both Israeli and diasporic Jews.

13) It is the only solution, other than a Kahanist-style ethnic cleansing, that would provide for a long-term solution to the problem presented by a growing Israeli Arab population that is increasingly hostile to the Jewish state and its ethnically exclusive Zionist symbols and mission. The dark forebodings of Israeli Jews about a growing "fifth column" demographic threat would be done away with without violence, coercion, or forced population transfers of any kind.

14) It is the only solution that would pay due respect to each group's love of, and desire to settle in, all of historical Palestine, while at the same time accommodating both peoples' equally strong desire to be part of an ethnically defined polity based upon common historical memories, blood ties, and a shared sense of collective peoplehood.

15) It is the only solution that could guarantee the continuation of the Jewish character of the Jewish state, as well as the right of diasporic Jews to "return" to Israel and become its citizens, in a manner that does not inflame worldwide Arab and Muslim sensibilities. Ethnic rights and privileges of an exact parallel kind would be extended to all Palestinians—both those in the diaspora and those currently residing in the former Mandate territory.

16) It would give to Israeli Arab leaders, who currently exercise no real political power in Israel, the possibility of becoming parliamentary leaders in a Palestinian parliament where they could exercise real power and leadership, both in the Palestinian state and in its extra-territorial reach into Israel. Up until 2007, not a single Arab Israeli was ever permitted to hold a cabinet post in the Israeli government (the Labor party appointed Israel's first and only Arab cabinet minister in that year) because of the need to discuss sensitive state secrets at cabinet meetings and the (very realistic) Jewish concern over Arab loyalty. A transfer of Arab voting rights to the Palestinian parliament, and the granting to that Parliament of important extra-territorial rights and obligations within Israeli territory, would fundamentally change this situation and greatly empower politically the Arabs living in Israel—both politicians and the general Arab electorate.

17) Since it is just as unreasonable to ask Arab Israelis to sing the Hatikva and pledge loyalty to the Star of David flag as it is to ask Israeli Jews to renounce these same cherished symbols of their national identity in order to accommodate Arab sensibilities, the two-state condominial arrangement (envisioning a transfer of Palestinian *(continued on page 74)*

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The Piracy of Privacy:

Why Marketers Must Bare Our Souls

by Allen D. Kanner

When The Police sang their famous lines, "Every breath you take, every move you make, ... I'll be watching you," they may have had an obsessed stalker in mind or even a government run by Big Brother. They probably were not thinking of the exponentially expanding world of high-tech marketing. Yet corporate advertising constitutes the greatest threat to privacy in human history. It is a threat, moreover, that has arisen as a byproduct of an economic system so single-mindedly bent on increasing profits that it is only vaguely aware of what it is actually doing.

The corporate capacity to scrutinize people's private lives has made great leaps forward in the last five years, with further advances on the horizon. To remain competitive, corporations are now compelled to probe more intimately and thoroughly than ever before. Consider the following developments.

Every Step You Take

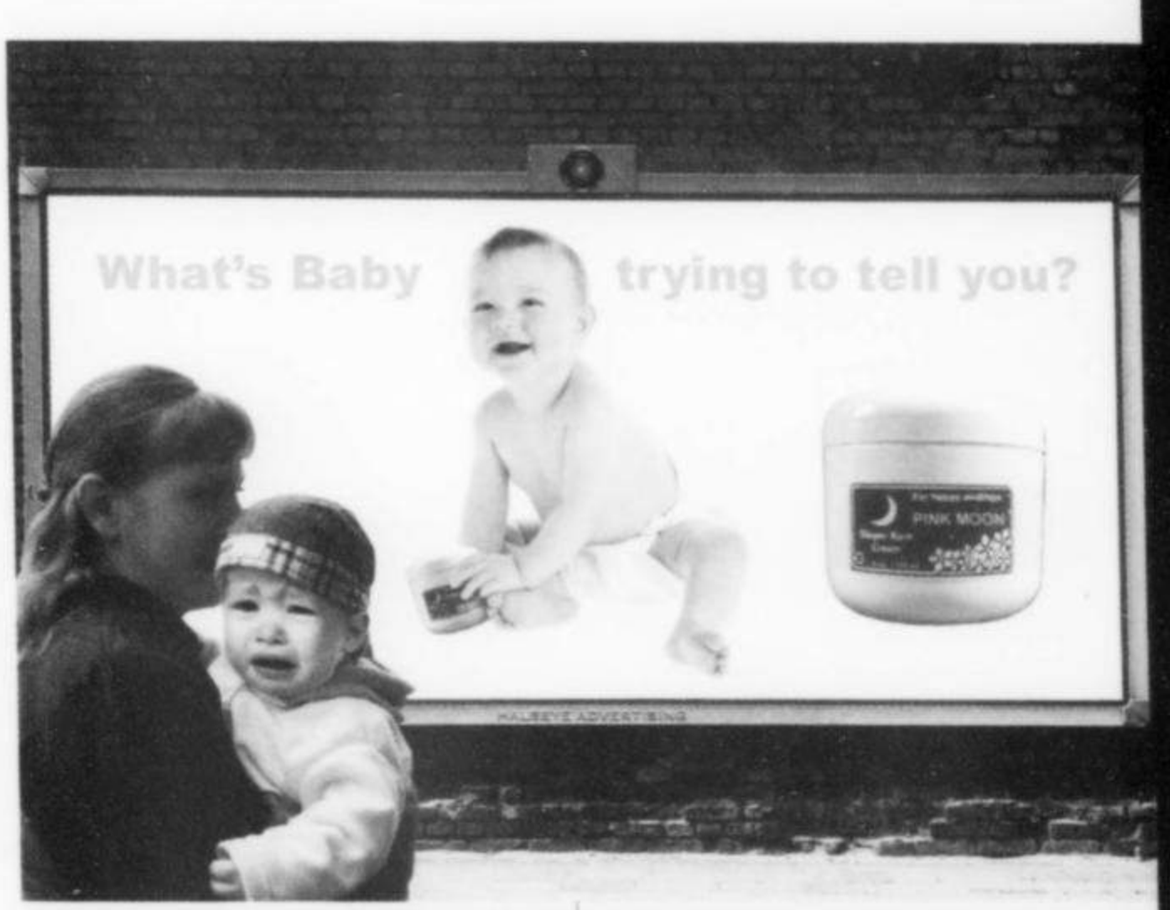
Using built-in links to the global positioning system (GPS), smartphones such as the iPhone and Blackberry can now track individuals down to the street corner on which they stand. This enables marketers to send ads, say, for a nearby restaurant as someone emerges from a movie theater. In a similar vein, AisleCaster is a GPS-linked mobile phone program that offers shoppers specials based on their precise location in a supermarket or mall.

Further, some mobile phones collect and store an average of twenty pieces of information per customer, including the person's age, gender, race, income, health, travel patterns, interests, purchasing history, and whether she or he has children. Using these data, smartphones can customize commercials to a particular customer. Thus, different people receive different ads.

In 2006, Google CEO Eric Schmidt predicted that within several years, highly personalized car ads will be sent based on an individual's GPS location. Schmidt has described privacy as passé.

Quividi and TruMedia are companies that produce digital billboards with tiny cameras that gather information from passersby, such as their gender, age, race, and length of time looking at the billboard, and tailor their display ads accordingly. With the rapid spread of digital screens to stores, gyms, doctor's offices, elevators, taxicabs, the sides of buildings, and elsewhere, these miniature snooping cameras have a bright future.

It is well known that marketers monitor online activity. But the amount of information collected is staggering. According to a study commissioned by the *New York Times* (see

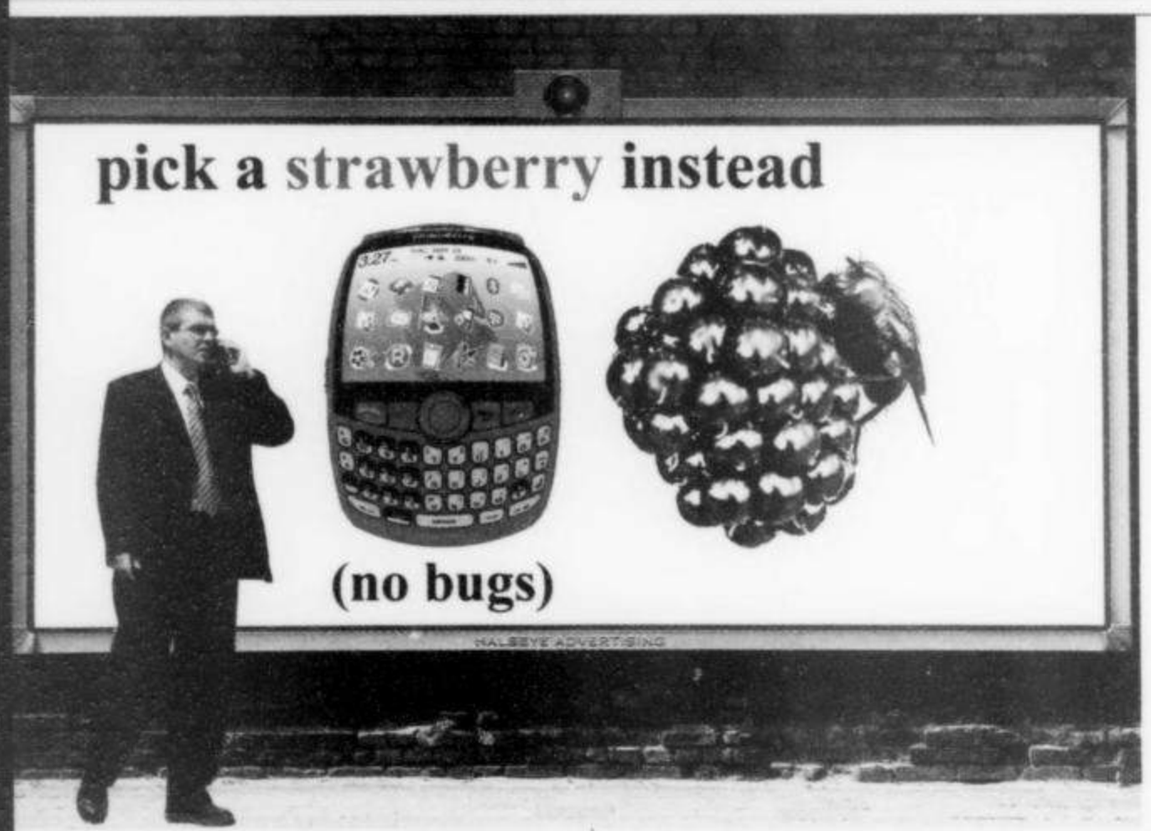




How do you feel about billboards sizing you up as you walk by, and guessing at how to tempt you?

DAVID BYGOTT

Allen D. Kanner, Ph.D., is a co-founder of the Campaign for a Commercial-Free Childhood (www.commercialfreechildhood.org); co-editor of Psychology and Consumer Culture *and* Ecopsychology*; and a child, family, and adult psychologist in Berkeley, California.*





DAVID BYGOTT

Louise Story's article "To Aim Ads, Web Is Keeping Closer Eye on You" from March 10, 2008), in December 2007, Yahoo, Google, Microsoft, AOL, and MySpace recorded 336 billion transmissions in which the consumer's data were sent back to the Web companies' servers. Advertisers are now choosing where to place their ads not so much on the size of a site's audience as on how much the site knows about its visitors.

In the public sphere, marketers are constantly achieving new levels of intrusiveness. Ads are appearing on supermarket eggs, airline motion sickness bags, and paper liners in pediatricians' offices. A picture of Adidas sneakers placed in a subway station bursts into a whirl of flying shoes when someone walks past it. "Got Milk" billboards have emitted chocolate chip cookie odors in bus stops, a practice that was halted due to complaints. Some shopping carts at Jewel-Osco grocery stores are equipped with two screens, one that advertises to parents as they pass by specific products and another that plays TV shows for the children in the cart.

Neuromarketing is a growing area of research that uses brain-imaging techniques, such as MRIs, to monitor neural activity while people view commercials. In one recent study, investigators were able to predict whether a product would be bought by examining shoppers' neuronal firing patterns as they evaluated products on computer screens. A Harvard University study sponsored by Jack Daniels compared scans of teenagers, twenty-year-olds, and older men in various drinking situations. The results were used to refine a whiskey advertising campaign. Other investigators are measuring eye blink rates in children to determine what types of images keep them glued to the screen.

The ongoing integration of various media such as television, computers, cell phones, and iPods means that information collected through one media is automatically transferred to another. Soon the electronic media will function like a giant octopus, with each tentacle monitoring our lives.

The Larger Structure

Does the invasion of privacy really matter? Imagine five years from now that you are undergoing a divorce and that you are the father of a young boy. A toy company's marketing division has flagged your situation; its research indicates you're likely worried about the relationship with your son. The marketers also know that you've just been paid and that the boy's birthday is next week. The ad they send on your smartphone—showing an ecstatic boy receiving an expensive video game from his loving father—has been electronically tweaked so the boy looks a little like your child. You order the game on the spot.

Your love for your son has been subtly altered during this process. Instead of paying close attention to his true needs, perhaps for more time with you, your attention has been shifted at a vulnerable moment toward making him happy through buying him gifts. You might work extra hours to afford the video game, time you could have spent with him.

By exposing people to thousands of such exquisitely personalized ads, corporate marketing could surreptitiously mold the most meaningful episodes of our lives. Our greatest passions, anxieties, dreams, and losses would be distorted and redirected to serve the consumer culture.

Yet the intersection of corporate capitalism with modern communication technology necessitates the sacrifice of privacy. The reason is simple: the more advertisers know about their customers, the greater their chances of making a sale. Knowledge is power. But as each new area of privacy is transgressed, it soon becomes saturated with commercial messages. Competition among marketers guarantees that the industry maintains its *(continued on page 74)*

The Renaissance of Western Politics:

The Good-Enough Leader, Relational Economics, and an Empathic Foreign Policy

by Andrew Samuels

I. Hope And Disappointment In Politics—A Personal Memoir

In 1996, just before the presidential election of that year, I spoke at a conference on psyche and politics in San Francisco. I flew back to Britain to attend the Labour Party Convention. There I heard Tony Blair, for whom I was a consultant at the time, tell the party that Britain was a "young country" with everything to look forward to. After we won in 1997, there was going to be an ethical foreign policy, a revitalized concern for citizens from the cradle to the grave, and the harnessing of the best elements from the market economy, as well as from social democracy. Hope was everywhere.

I dared to believe in it. I was ecstatic when my proposal for a series of public apologies was accepted, and I was naively dismayed when the media mocked Blair's public apology for the Irish Potato Famine: "He'll be apologizing for the weather next," they sneered.

Well, we all know how badly it turned out: he had the lowest rating of any post-war prime minister. True hatred and contempt were directed against this man from all quarters of British (and world) society. We had idealized him, but our hopes were dashed as his promise transmuted into corruption, as he climbed into bed with the City of London and Wall Street, and as he embraced betrayal and warmongering. It was a crippling and defining experience for me.

I almost loved him and then I think I really hated him. And I hated myself, too. What I am remembering from my own experience could be a parable. I'll return to the theme of hope and disappointment throughout this article.

Over the past fifteen years, I have built an international practice as a political consultant working with leading politicians, their advisers, political parties, and activist groups in several countries. In particular, I have gravitated to work in the general area of nationalism, national identity, and nation building (in South Africa, Brazil, Poland, and Russia). My writing is grounded in these experiences.

I mistrust realistic people. They have done a lot of damage, telling us not to imagine a

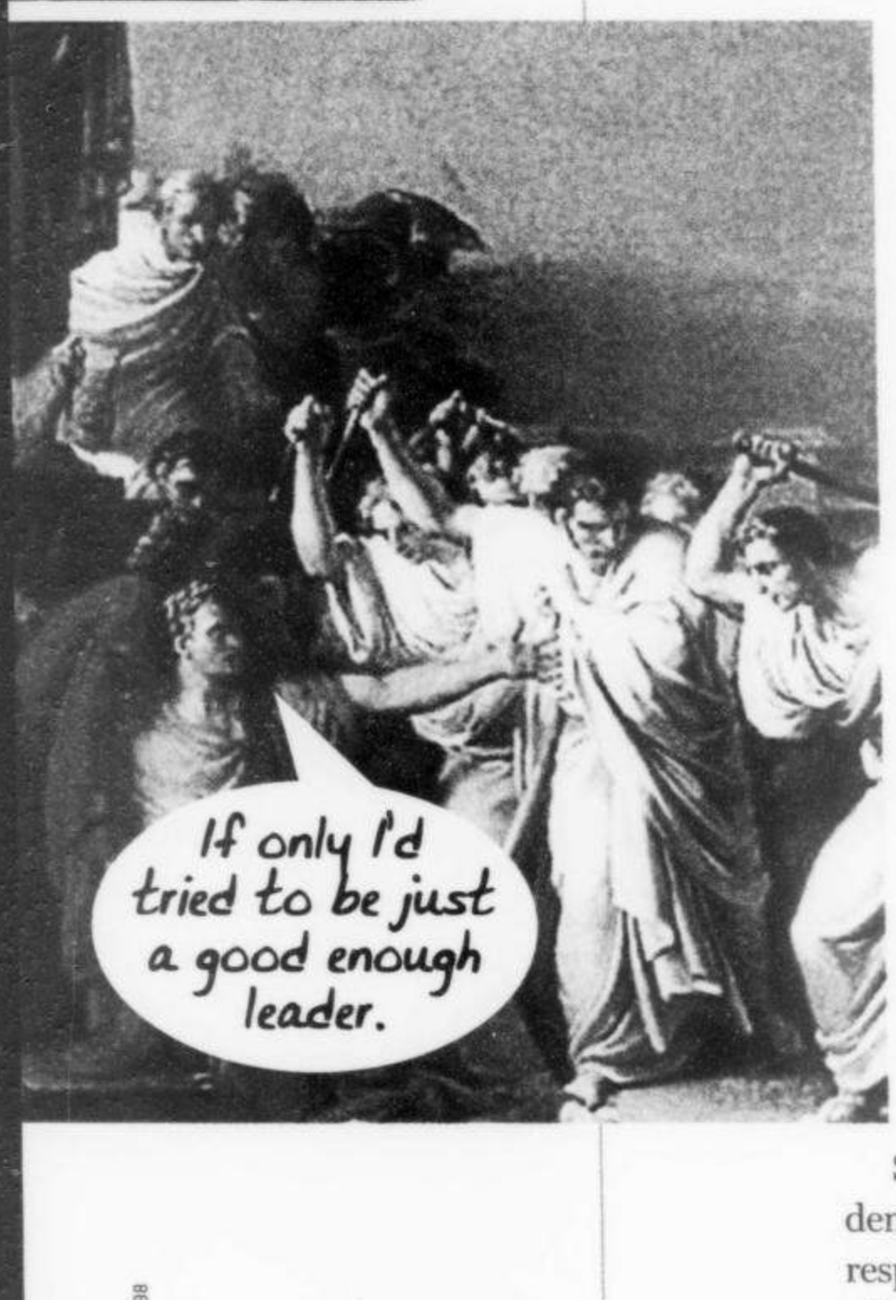


GETTY IMAGES/PAUL J. RICHARDS

The author idealized Tony Blair as a candidate and then was so disappointed by his performance as British prime minister that, he says, "I think I really hated him." Are Americans in danger of doing the same with Obama?

Andrew Samuels—a psychotherapist, university professor, political consultant, and activist from London—is the founder of Jews for Justice for Palestinians and of Psychotherapists and Counselors for Social Responsibility, and author of Politics on the Couch.





TOP: FLICKRCC/MHARRSCH
BOTTOM: WIKIMEDIA COMMONS/
VINCENZO CAMUCCINI. MORT DE CÉSAR. 1798

utopic move out of the social and political conditions in which we find ourselves. If we cannot imagine such a move, then there can be no personal growth, change, or transformation, no therapy or analysis in fact. All these things depend on a utopic fantasy of a kind.

All too often, though, so-called realists point to the excesses of idealists as evidence of the dangers of dreaming. But this equating of utopic vision with Stalin or Mao is not a detached and wise perspective—it is a highly political one, making a propaganda point against change and transformation in the polis. From a therapy standpoint, many practitioners now agree that every single client in *personal* distress has to have or work on a little bit of a utopic *social* vision. For social conditions to change, clinical practice has to change, and vice versa. And things are changing in the clinic if not, as yet, in the world.

In terms of the engagement of psychoanalysis with the public sphere, the time has come to break some boundaries. It's time to learn how to transit better the divides we have been told exist between clinical office and the street, between spirituality and politics, between "above" and "below," between the inner world and the outer world, between being and doing, between extraversion and introversion, and even between what people still call "feminine" and "masculine" approaches to life. Working these forbidden zones, and doing it in the company of a growing number of people worldwide, shows that it is legitimate and necessary to reframe the relationship of the public and the private, seeking new back passages between the fantasies of the political world and the politics of the fantasy world.

II. Good-Enough Leadership

I WANT NOW TO LOOK AT ONE SPECIFIC, CONTEMPORARY, POLITICAL DISEASE: THE problem of hierarchical, heroic leadership. Political theory and practice assume there are two main approaches to leadership: one is heroic and hierarchical, and the other is collaborative.

The hierarchical and heroic leadership is based on male authority (think Meir, think Thatcher, think Indira Gandhi) and assumes there is but one objectively true social story. In this model, there are good leaders and there are bad leaders, and we all have our lists of them. This kind of leader is our problem.

The second approach is much more collaborative and non-hierarchical, involving a kind of sibling model of leadership. But although appealing and sometimes usable in community projects, sibling leadership is just too demanding on citizens to be in operation all the time. People duck or dive for cover; they don't necessarily mean to become bystanders, but they don't see any other way to manage the burden of being collaborative leaders.

For many years, I've been advocating a third kind of leader—the good-enough leader. It's an idea taken from therapists' ideas about the family. The great pediatrician and psychoanalyst Donald Winnicott said parents and babies have to find a middle way between the baby's idealization and denigration of the parent. A baby naturally tends to idealize her parent, but when things go in a less-than-perfect way (as they surely will), that idealization flips over into denigration.

Sound familiar? An initial idealization, then a failure to deliver things perfectly, then denigration? It's meant to sound familiar. The media depends on it. Because this is how we respond to leaders, first by passively following the idealized leader, then by seeking out feet of clay. What can we do about the pattern?

We must try to change how we position success and failure. I know the word "failure" hurts people's feelings because it is so in-your-face. Failure means falling short, being imperfect, fallible, only passable, fucking up. Yet maybe what we need nowadays are "can't do" politicians, self-admittedly impotent politicians—the financial crisis shows us they are that, anyway, doesn't it?

Maybe being only and always in control isn't always valuable. Winnicott said, "The

parent fails the baby but in the baby's own way." I'd add that failure by a leader paves the way for greater contributions and more autonomy on the part of citizens. The leader fails the citizens but in the citizens' own way.

Bob Dylan nibbled away at the success-failure binary when he sang "There's no success like failure and failure's no success at all." And in July 2008, Bill Clinton spoke of the inevitability of failure in politics. I believe it was the first time he'd ever done that. When Harold Macmillan, the British prime minister, was asked by a journalist in 1963 what had brought him down, he replied, "Events, dear boy, events."

The Sufi poet Rumi wrote that "failure is the key to the kingdom." Good-enoughness always involves failure. The key thing is how to manage failure, even to see failure as an art—Samuel Beckett wrote that we have to "fail better." Disappointment is difficult, for sure, but it, too, has to be managed.

So the good-enough leader can accept the likelihood of failure, in a post-heroic take on leadership. But there's a head-heart problem here. Truly, we are caught up in a cultural complex as defined by San Francisco Jungian analysts Tom Singer and Sam Kimbles. In our heads, we often know that the old-style leaders are dangerous, but in our hearts and guts we feel we need the fatherly protection they offer. In our souls, we are in love with the heroic leader whose Führer-eroticism turns us on. In our heads, we agree with Brecht's Galileo, whom Bill Bradley used to quote many years ago: "Unhappy is the land that has need of heroes."

Could we become more aware of our abusive love affair with heroic leaders?

So far so good (enough). But what happens to our good-enough leaders when things get violent? This is where good-enough leadership appears to hit a rock. Where does good-enough leadership leave us with respect to violent action? This question will not go away whether we are talking about legitimate war, illegitimate war, state terror and violently repressive action, or suicide bombing and the cult of the martyr.

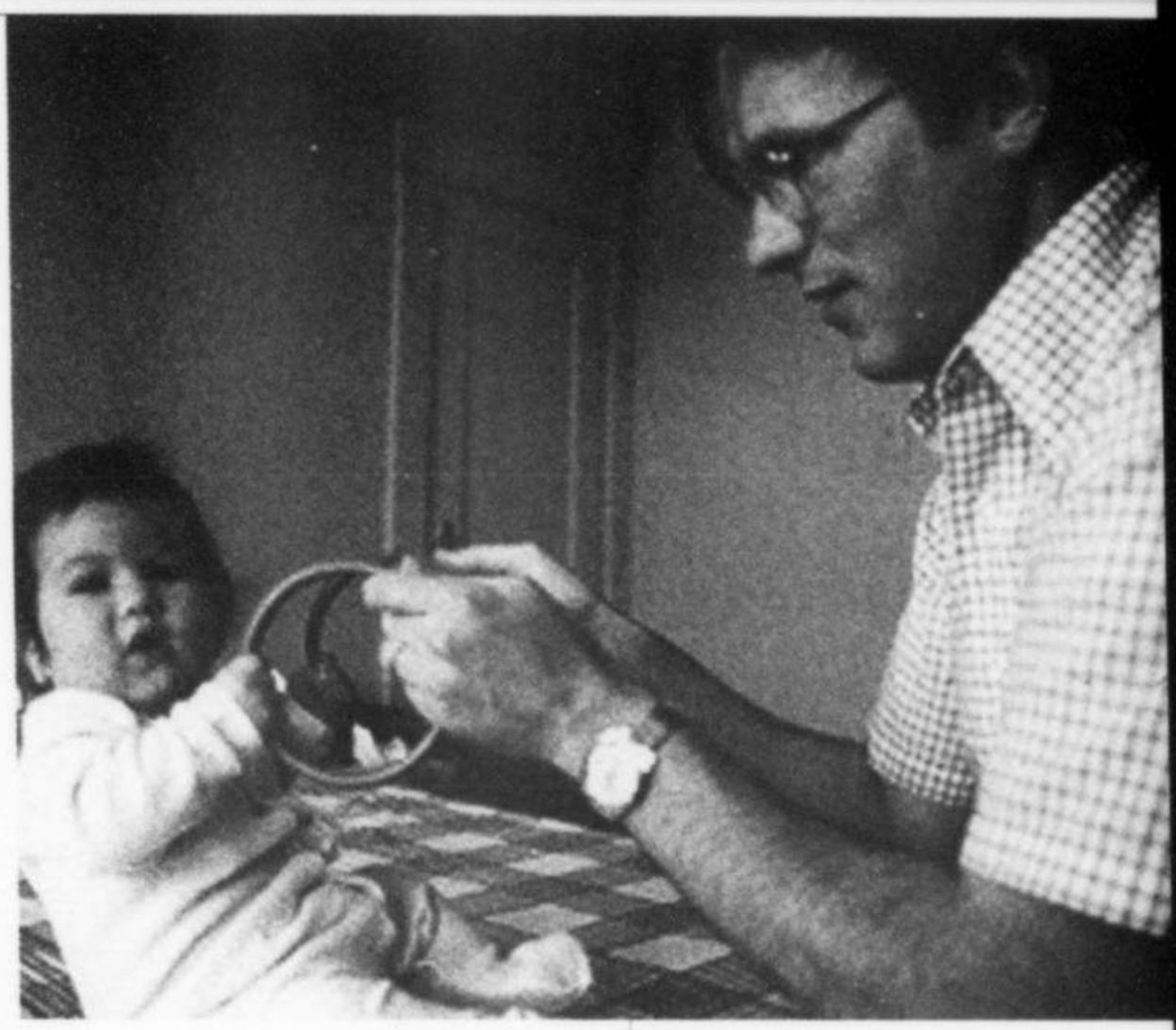
Don't we need straight and traditional masculine virtues then? In a time of "terror" and war without end, aren't the conservatives right? Don't we need paternal security and a national father's protection? The hell with nurture! Let's see about that, as I turn now to some discussion of fathers. As stated, I'm preparing the ground for suggestions about new ways to think, imagine, and manage conflict.

I see psychoanalysis as being on the verge of constructing and creating a positive account of the father that does not stupidly build him up to an unrealistic degree. An account that makes it much more difficult for our old-style political leaders to masquerade as the only kind of fathers-of-the-nation that there could be. An account that does not dwell on the malevolent power of the father's body but on its affirming physical warmth, a warmth as much aggressive as erotic. Not on his holding the mother who holds the children but on his holding of the children himself. The stay-at-home weekend father. The sensitive and affirming father, the playful father, the wounded and unhappy father, not the punitive, stern, self-contained father. Not the commander-in-chief father. We need a story of the father in which emotional security is as important as physical security. That would be a useful beginning to an equally new and analogous story about political leadership.

If we change what we think about fathers, alter what we expect of them, engage with these questions—then perhaps what we think about leaders, what we expect of them, can change as well.

But there'll still be this nagging doubt. What if there's real, actual political conflict and violence, war, terror? Won't we need the martial values then? Didn't Winston Churchill say "courage is the virtue that guarantees all the others"?

I can't resist complicating this a bit, challenging my own thesis, so to speak, and doing it by introducing something that some liberals might find a bit difficult. From the perspective of the political psyche, I think we need to seriously re-value the presence of aggression in the pursuit of social justice. My long study of South African politics suggests that without the forceful military contributions



LANETTE LEE PRICE

"I see psychoanalysis as being on the verge of constructing and creating a positive account of the father that does not stupidly build him up to an unrealistic degree," the author writes, calling for more nurturing models of fatherhood.

Jewish Musical Modernism

Old and New

Edited by Philip V. Bohlman

With a Foreword by Sander L. Gilman

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of *Umkhonto we Sizwe* (Spear of the Nation, the military wing of the African National Congress), the South African Communist Party, and the mainly Black Cuban troops in Angola, we'd not have seen the new South Africa: no Mandela, no Truth and Reconciliation Commission, no books on restorative justice. And, to complicate it even more, all of these were financed and supported by the Soviet Union.

III. It's The Psychology Stupid! From Economic Sadism To Relational Economics

The economic psyche is in the midst of a huge shift in values and in collective consciousness—a profound, complex, nearly unbearable, perhaps doomed to fail psychological shift in our philosophies of life with powerful implications for world and soul alike. Notions of sustainability and fairness to families sit alongside passionate concerns that the aesthetic and emotional value of economic activity be part of an insistence on its spiritual probity. Yet amid these very shifts, we still see dramatic and unmistakable evidence of retrogressive tendencies. The growth of inequality in countries such as the United States and Britain in the past thirty years has been repeatedly charted, and it is not going to get better any time soon. The best way to get rich is to have rich parents and live in a rich country. *Basta, genug*, enough said.

Thinking about inequality for a moment, it is clear that a relationship exists between *class* and the individual's *inner world*. Many people have achieved a higher socioeconomic status than their parents. And yet, in their inner worlds, encountered in therapy, in dreams perhaps, the social class they grew up in is still the social class they are inhabiting in terms of psychic reality and narrative truth. My first ever banker client dreamed of his father's coal mine all the time. The (male) solidarity of the miners—for example, when there was a disaster underground—struck him as different from the atmosphere and ethos of a large Wall Street investment bank. We did, of course, play a little with what we were "mining" in the analysis, but the main thrust of our dialogue about these dreams was in terms of a thorough, many-layered, compassionate and healing *comparison* of his entire situation with that of his father's. Not competition with the father. There's more to intergenerational male relating than Oedipus, and the work with this guy reminded me of that.

Like everyone, I have my own passionate views about all aspects of economics, ranging from doubts about the viability and fairness of the principle of wealth inheritance, to questioning usury, the practice of charging interest, to the perception that market economics works a bit like victor's justice—if you're making it, you're liking it. If you're in rural Africa or much of America today, you probably aren't liking it very much.

Differing economic systems reflect different ideas about human nature: altruism versus self-interest; cooperation versus the survival of the fittest. But responses to the financial crisis made me realize that we do not have much of a handle on how people really experience economic life in their psyches. In the economic psyche, images of wealth, poverty, and money have become numinous. We are captivated whether we want to be or not.

As a thought experiment, I've been trying to imagine a society in which all income is earned income or stems from pensions and social security. There is little or no private ownership of capital. Estate taxes are very high. Inequalities of wealth are consensually regulated. Markets are tempered by collective commitment to collective well-being. When I first wrote this fantasy down, I noted in the margin: not such a madly utopic utopia, really. *Please join me in imagining such an economy.*

IV. Economics in Our Inner Worlds

WHAT I'D LIKE TO DO NOW IS TAKE YOU ON A PSYCHOANALYTIC EXPLORATION OF HOW THE inner world works when it comes to economics. The journey is personal and experiential. I ask you respectfully and sincerely to conjure up stuff from your own personal past history and present situation in order to engage with the questions I am asking. The present-day dynamics of the economic psyche are heavily inflected by money memories from the past.

I first wrote the following questions to share with a group of clinical therapists. I believe they can be directly and responsibly used in an expanded version of good analytical practice. The general public can also benefit from reflecting on these questions:

What are your memories of how money was handled in your childhood? Are these good or bad memories?

Did it matter what sex a person was when it came to money in your family? Were men, for instance, supposed to know and care more? Women to be grateful? Or vice versa?

How did money move around within your family? Who controlled budgets? Was this control disputed at all?

Could money be talked about openly in your home?

Have you done "better" than your parents? If so, have there been any emotional problems over that? Your problems, or theirs, or both? If you have not done "better," how do you feel about it?

How do you think you are doing in terms of handling money issues in your current relationship or family? Rate yourself on a scale of 1–10, where 1 is very bad and 10 is very good.

When you fantasize about having a lot of money, what are you doing with it? If you've never had such fantasies, try it right now!

Some answers to this last question about fantasizing having a lot of money are benevolent, and maybe 10 percent of those are true! What interests me is eliciting economic sadism. This is where I think we may find the deal-breaker, bar, delimiter, or stopper on our present-day progressive, altruistic, benevolent, and idealistic economic aspirations. Most people have pretty nasty fantasies in the money zone: fantasies of getting rid of rivals, attaining superiority, and eliminating awkward otherness whenever it is encountered. In analysis, some but surely not all of this may emerge in the transference. But perhaps there is an ineluctable cruelty attached to money, and this may be one area where tragic vision is all we can muster. Humans love their inequalities, and that is that. On the other hand, with economic sadism brought to consciousness, economic benevolence (a term introduced in this context by Adam Smith, referring to a tendency that the polls tell us still sputters altruistically below the surface in Western polities) may flower in the form of electoral support for fiscal and other programs to reduce economic inequality.

Reflecting on our economic sadism, I think many of us are more complicit in the Great Crash of 2008 than we can bear to admit. At workshops on the economic psyche, I ask participants to fantasize about the most shameful, sadistic, controlling, horrible thing they would do if they had a very large sum of money at their disposal—trillions of dollars. A professor of philosophy at one workshop in Pittsburgh said, "Well, if I had unlimited funds, I'd buy thousands of acres of skiing land at Aspen and fence it off so no-one could use it." I did not think this was very sadistic, to say the least. Then he blurted out: "And I'd hire the U.S. Marine Corps to machine-gun anyone who came near." He burst into tears and told us about his tycoon father and the relationship they had, and other personal information.

Shameful economic fantasy tells us how even people of progressive views may be deeply invested in a system of economic injustice. If we want to change this system, we need to recognize what we are up against. It's about owning our own bit of the system, a piece of shadow from which we can all too glibly detach ourselves. The lesson is that economic sadism is not something we can escape just because we want to leap out of the pit.

The sooner we admit our economic crimes to others—to other peoples, creeds, genders, and species—the better and lighter the human future will be. The more that even the middle classes deny their economic sadism, the greater will be "the horrors and the vengeances of time that wait silently in the wings of the bloody dramas of our future" (in Ben Okri's words).

Economic sadism is not just the hubris of the bankers, it's our hubris, too. Not being Odysseus, most of us got seduced by the Circe of easy personal debt. How many credit cards are there in our purses and wallets? As the Baal Shem Tov put it: "Sinners are mirrors. When we see faults in them, we must realize they only reflect evil in us."

I composed the next part of this piece in an attempt to discover some deeper and even more beautiful aspects of economic activity. Reviewing my words one lovely spring morning, I found what you have just read to be a bit too downbeat, too tragic, even sentimentally so. It conformed to the expectation that a psychoanalyst must have a tragic vision. You see, I can't see how something as ubiquitous and universal as economic activity can only be bad! It'd be like saying sex is bad! Perhaps it is time to set psychoanalysis aside for a moment.

Let me begin with a brief excursion into Islamic conceptions of and rules for economic activity. Not for the first time, I have found utility and inspiration in what Muslim writers have to say about pressing issues for us in the West. I have previously written about the idea of *Ta'aruf,* the Qur'anic idea that conflict between groups of people, nations, and even the sexes was created by Allah so that people could get to know one another better. *Ta'aruf* means "that you shall come to know one another." I found that many psychoanalytic theories about aggression parallel this idea of *Ta'aruf.*

Similarly, in terms of the economy, there is increased discussion these days of what is involved in Sharia-compliant banking in which the earning of interest is forbidden (Sharia means stemming from the Qur'an and its secondary literatures). Central to Islamic finance is the idea that money itself has no intrinsic value. As a matter of faith, a Muslim cannot lend money to (or receive money from) someone and expect to benefit: interest (known as *riba*) is not allowed. To make money from money is forbidden—wealth can only be generated through legitimate trade and investment in assets. Money must be used in a productive way. Islamic finance is principally based on trading—it is essential that risk be involved in any trading activity. Any gains relating to the trading are shared between the person providing the capital and the person providing the expertise.

We may not want to wholly embrace this moral repudiation of money by Islam. For there is also something to recuperate in Western conceptions of money. (This is something I have been saying in work I'm doing for Britain's Financial Services Authority—it's a bit like a combination of the SEC and the Federal Reserve Board.)

The etymology of the English word "money" is that it stems from the Latin *moneta*, which was also the name the Romans used for Mnemosyne, the personification of memory and the mother of the Muses. The deeper root is *mens*, which means conscience, reason, and rationality. Money as suggesting conscience, reason, rationality? How amazing. Something certainly has got lost concerning money in the West, and not only in translation!

V. Getting Out of the American Box

Now for the final segment. We need to denationalize the psyche and stop the pattern in which individuals are educated to think like states. We need to re-image ourselves, not as citizens of one country or citizens of the world (which is such a cliché), but more as nomads, bums, traveling folk, itinerants, people of no fixed abode, homeless drifters.

Why? To see if we can get outside of our national box or worldview, to go beyond what is best for Americans or Brits, getting out of our places to put ourselves in the places of others.

Seeing ourselves as homeless is part of a quest for a more empathic connection with other countries and groups. This could actually be economically effective, a sort of win-win approach to international relations. It is part of a truly ethical approach to foreign policy in which, following Levinas, we love the other "because he is yourself." It's Rozensweig's "speaking-listening." It's an adaptation of Martin Buber's "we-we" relating.

On occasion, I've asked American audiences to imagine a world that did not have America in it, so that taking an American viewpoint becomes much more difficult. Then I've asked them to think of something like September 11.

How hard it has been to see that people outside the United States did not all automatically agree that something had to be done by the UN if not by the United States itself. How maddening and infuriating it must have been for many Americans, maybe the majority, to find that some people with other national backgrounds didn't respond to the towers tumbling down in an American way. Did it

increase the pressure for the war on terror? Remove the chance of a more imaginative and far-seeing response?

If you can get out of the American box with respect to September 11, then it is surely possible with respect to many other less terrible, though no less important, issues and images. Outside the American box, ask yourself about the possibility of not responding or retaliating militarily to September 11. Is it possible to do nothing?

When Brazil's President Lula stated on March 26, 2009, that the economic crash was the responsibility of white men with blue eyes, and that black people were the victims, many of us were shocked. Having worked for Lula, I knew exactly what he was getting at in terms of domestic political consumption, so I feel free to claim his remark as inspiration for our attempt to leave the American or Western box.

Whiteness it was that developed the mind-body split, global warming, unsustainable economics, nuclear technology, and free-market economics. Whiteness got the bonus. Whiteness it is that can contemplate brown and black people dying as if they mattered less than white people—they get killed these days in a kind of video arcade by unpiloted drones steered from underground chambers thousands of miles away back home in the States. For sure, race and ethnicity play out in myriad ways according to history and cultural context. But we have to contend with this constant whiteness, American whiteness, Western whiteness—the box we are in. We have allowed these whitenesses to become essentialized, universalized, removed from history.

Psychoanalysts understand how clients struggle to stop thinking like their parents. In our political work and in our professional gatherings, we psychoanalysts have to try to stop thinking like a nation or like a state. In order to claim the freedom to stop thinking like the state, we have to make sacrifices—a sacrifice of identity, security, and having one's feet on the ground in a place called home. It's time to leave home, to get outside the box, to press for a relational economics, to help the leader become good enough, to fight for an empathic foreign policy devoted to standing in the shoes of the other. To do this, we have to make some sacrifices: sacrifices in which we act to lose home, suspend identity, and refuse the offer of security. We make these sacrifices in the yearning hope of finding home, identity, and security once again.

"Whiteness it is that can contemplate brown and black people dying as if they mattered less than white people."

I'll conclude on the theme of sacrifice, with climate change and sustainable and just economics very much in my mind. Sacrifice is a widespread psychological and historical theme. Sacrifice lies at the heart of the Abrahamic religions (the aborted sacrifice of Isaac) but is much, much older as a propitiation of the gods. Asceticism has a long cultural history, as does martyrdom, including that of suicide bombers.

In Jungian psychology, we think of the sacrifice of the ego for the flowering of the wider personality in individuation. In art and religion, we contemplate the sacrifice of autonomy and control to something experienced as "other," whether inside or outside the self.

What if we don't make those sacrifices? I answer indirectly by turning to the First World War poet Wilfred Owen and a few lines from his great poem "The Parable of the Old Man and the Young." This offers a completely different ending to the story of Abraham and Isaac that we all—Muslims, Jews, Christians, those of other faiths, or those of none—could take as a profound warning of a terrible future. We pick up the narrative at the point when the Angel of the Lord appears:

Lo! an Angel called him out of heaven

Saying, Lay not thy hand upon the lad,
Neither do anything to him, thy son.
Behold! Caught in a thicket by its horns,
A Ram. Offer the Ram of Pride instead.

But the old man would not so, but slew his son,
And half the seed of Europe, one by one. ■

The Mother's Corner

by Leslie Crawford



THERE IS THAT CORNER IN MY HOUSE. THE NASTY ONE THAT I TRY TO AVOID. Tight, uncomfortable, it's easy to back into but often tremendously difficult to escape. At least, once you've laid down the law and explained the rule to your screaming three-year-old child: "THIS IS HOW THINGS ARE, AND THIS IS WHY YOU CAN'T."

The other night, pressed for time before I left for my weekly track run, I set down two bowls of split pea soup and grilled cheese sandwiches on the kitchen table for Sam and Molly.

"I want to eat my dinner in my room," Molly says.

Now, Sam, who is eleven, has eaten dinner in all kinds of places: on a blanket on our front sidewalk, in the bathtub, on the neighbor's trampoline.

But for no apparent reason, tonight I decide to be inflexible and tough with little Molly. "We don't eat food in our bedrooms, Molly. That's what the kitchen is for."

I've made up this arbitrary new rule based on the sudden twisted logic that is an amalgam of several free-floating ideas drifting around my brain, including: 1) There must be order in the house because if there isn't, then what will happen? 2) If she eats in her room tonight, she'll think she can anytime, and then what will happen? 3) I need to be a firmer parent, not all loosey-goosey and permissive, because if I am that way, then what will happen? I'll tell you what. Terrible, terrible things. I don't know what, exactly, but it will be very bad.

In response, Molly starts to scream. Ninety-five percent of the time, she is a rather calm child, but when she shrieks, windows howl and dogs shatter into a thousand pieces. "I. Want. To. Eat. In. My. Room! Sob. Sob. Sob."

By now, I'm standing in a very uncomfortable position in that bad, bad corner of our house and don't know how to escape.

"What does it matter, Mom?" asks Sam, very reasonably. By now, Steve has gotten home so I can leave, and he's also giving me a look like, "What does it matter?" but he's a complete mensch and never disagrees with my rules—however arbitrary and crazy making—in front of Sam and Molly.

It's not right to leave Steve with this chaos that could last for over an hour, given that Molly rarely ever gives up a fight if she feels her honor—or a lollipop (we've had more tantrums over lollipops)—is at stake.

When I'm in one, I often forget. But here's the thing about corners. When you are facing the wrong way, there appears to be no way out. You are trapped by walls. But then, idiot that you are at that moment, you realize you can walk right out of it anytime, if only you can turn around and see that it's all quite simple. You need only take a step or two and then you have plenty of wiggle room. Not just wiggle room. Room to run absolutely free and do as you like.

Suddenly, I flash to a page from *Where the Wild Things Are*, just after the character Max has returned to his room after his romp with the monsters. On his side table is a sandwich and bowl of soup, "And it's still hot."

I realize, at that moment, that there is a logic driving Molly's desire. We had read the book a few days before, and it was the warm dinner waiting for Max, more than the escape from home, that made an impression on her. "Molly, did you want to be like Max and have your soup and sandwich in your room too?"

"Y-y-y-yes," she says with a sniff and clutching her soup bowl like a shield.

"Oh, now I understand," I say, stepping further and further away from that corner, that oxygen-deprived vortex. "So let's do something special tonight. Usually, we don't eat in our rooms. But just this once, you can be like Max and eat in your room."

Molly looks so relieved. She starts marching upstairs. Steve looks so relieved. Sam gives me a look like, "Why are you so dim?"

No one is crying anymore. I can leave the house. My very square and corner-filled house.

Time to move to a round house. ■

GETTY IMAGES/HENRIK SORENSEN

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Was Kosovo the Good War?

by David N. Gibbs



An ethnic Albanian refugee cries after crossing the Kosovo-Albania border in May 1999. Refugees flowed into Albania in the face of a Serb campaign of ethnic cleansing in Kosovo. But to dramatize this as a conflict between Kosovar good guys and Serbian bad guys—as the dominant narrative does—serves the interests of NATO and a militaristic approach to foreign policy more than the truth.

AP PHOTO/LUCA BRUNO

As the 1999 NATO war against Serbia reaches its tenth anniversary, it is being recalled with a measure of nostalgia. The Kosovo war is remembered as the "good war"—a genuinely moral military action, which offers a reassuring contrast with the Iraq fiasco. The Kosovo war was undertaken (so the argument goes) only as a last resort, to restrain an unpleasant dictator (Slobodan Milosevic) who would only respond to force. And the war produced positive results, in the sense that Kosovo was freed from Serb oppression and Milosevic was soon overthrown. Now, a decade later, the Kosovo war is recalled as an exemplary case of humanitarian intervention, and is widely viewed as a model for possible interventions in Darfur and elsewhere. Indeed some of the key figures in the Obama administration, notably Samantha Power, have advocated that "humanitarian intervention" on the model of Kosovo should be a basic theme of U.S. policy.

Given the importance of Kosovo as a model for future military actions, it is important to understand more fully what actually happened in this critical case. New information has become available in recent years from the Milosevic war crimes trial and other basic sources—information that casts the war in a wholly different (and not so positive) light. In what follows, I will review some of these revelations, and how they have discredited widely accepted myths about the "benign" character of the Kosovo intervention.

First, a bit of background: Kosovo had long been an "autonomous province" of the Republic of Serbia, initially as part of communist Yugoslavia. Within Kosovo, the population had been divided between an ethnic Albanian majority and a relatively small Serb minority, which constituted between 10 percent and 15 percent of the total population. Ethnic conflict between these two groups gradually destabilized the province. In 1989, the Republic of Serbia ended the autonomous status of Kosovo and placed it under effective martial law. A highly repressive system of rule was imposed that victimized Albanians in the province, while it favored the Serbs. Albanian efforts to escape this repression formed the basis of the armed uprising in the late 1990s, led by the Kosovo Liberation Army (KLA). These efforts ultimately triggered the 1999 NATO bombing campaign against Serbia. After the Serb defeat, an international peacekeeping force occupied Kosovo. With the peacekeepers still present, Kosovo officially seceded from Serbia and achieved full independence in 2008. A

This article draws from David N. Gibbs's new book, *First Do No Harm: Humanitarian Intervention and the Destruction of Yugoslavia* (Vanderbilt University Press, June 2009), especially from chapter 7. Readers interested in obtaining full source citations can find most of them in the book or request them from the author at dgibbs@arizona.edu.

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Top: Serbian police stand in front of the bodies of Kosovo Liberation Army soldiers in the village of Rogovo, southwest of Pristina, on January 29, 1999. Bottom: General Klaus Naumann, who presented evidence at Serbian leader Milosevic's war crimes trial showing that Milosevic had in fact been open to a diplomatic settlement and was not the first to break the 1998 Holbrooke cease-fire agreement. The author writes, "The breakdown of the Holbrooke agreement was actually triggered by the KLA guerrillas, who used the Serb restraint as an opportunity to launch a new offensive."

TOP: AP PHOTO/DUDAS SZABOLCS. WIKIMEDIA COMMONS/U.S. ARMY

majority of the Serb population was ethnically cleansed from Kosovo, shortly after the NATO bombing, although a relatively small number of Serbs still remain in parts of the province.

Myth 1: NATO began its bombing campaign only after it had made every effort to avoid war and to achieve its objectives in Kosovo through diplomatic means. The war resulted because Milosevic firmly resisted a diplomatic settlement.

In reality, Milosevic *was* open to a diplomatic settlement, and this point is now well established by the very best sources. Specifically, Milosevic signed a series of international agreements in October 1998 that called on the Serbs to withdraw most of their forces from Kosovo and to implement a cease-fire. He also agreed to the deployment of an internationally organized Kosovo Verification Mission, which would supervise implementation of the Serb troop pullback. These agreements were brokered by U.S. diplomat Richard Holbrooke.

The Holbrooke agreement gradually broke down, as fighting continued between Serb and Albanian forces and then escalated during late 1998. At the time, it was widely believed that it was the Serbs who scuttled the agreement. However, we now know that this was not the case. In fact, the Serbs implemented the Holbrooke agreement, and it was the *Albanians* who caused the agreement to break down.

The evidence that the Serb/Yugoslav forces complied with the agreement comes from General Klaus Naumann, a German officer who played an important role in the diplomacy of this period (and who later participated in the 1999 NATO war). In 2002, Naumann appeared at the Milosevic trial as a key prosecution witness and stated the following: "The Yugoslav authorities honored the [Holbrooke] agreement ... I think one has to really pay tribute to what the Yugoslav authorities did. This was not an easy thing to bring 6,000 police officers back within twenty-four hours, but they managed." And General Naumann's views are supported by the Independent International Commission on Kosovo, which noted in its 2000 report: "Serbia initially implemented the [Holbrooke] agreement and withdrew its forces accordingly."

The breakdown of the Holbrooke agreement was actually triggered by the KLA guerrillas, who used the Serb restraint as an opportunity to launch a new offensive. This strategy is noted in the following exchange, between a BBC interviewer and General Naumann. The interview cites information from NATO and from the director of the Kosovo Verification Mission, which was responsible for overseeing implementation of the Holbrooke agreement:

> BBC: "We've obtained confidential minutes of the North Atlantic Council or NAC, NATO's governing body. The talk was of *the KLA as the 'main initiator of the violence* ... It launched what appears to be a *deliberate campaign of provocation* [against the Serbs].' This is how William Walker [head of the Kosovo Verification Mission] himself reported the situation then, in private" (emphasis added).
>
> General Naumann: "Ambassador Walker stated in the NAC that the majority of violations [of the Holbrooke agreement] was caused by the KLA."

The record is thus clear: it was the Albanian guerillas, not the Serbs, who caused the upsurge in fighting.

During February and March of 1999, the United States and several European allies

organized an international peace conference—officially intended to provide a comprehensive settlement of the Kosovo conflict—that took place mostly at Rambouillet, France, outside of Paris. The Western mediators who directed the conference sought to end Serb repression in Kosovo, to re-establish Kosovo's regional autonomy (though still as a province of Serbia), and to establish an armed international peacekeeping force to oversee implementation. An independent Kosovo was not contemplated at this point.

Ultimately the Rambouillet conference broke down, and this failure led directly to the NATO bombing campaign. At the time, it was widely assumed that the Serbs had refused to negotiate seriously and were determined to use military force against the Albanians. However, a close reading of the record shows that the conventional wisdom was again wrong. In fact, the Serbs remained open to a negotiated settlement, and they resorted to force when a settlement proved unachievable.



"Even Madeleine Albright, though hypercritical of the Serb delegation, acknowledged that the Serbs had accepted most of the proposals for a political settlement." Here U.S. Secretary of State Madeleine Albright, left, talks with U.S. Brigadier General John Craddock in June 1999, while visiting the U.S. military forces deployed in Macedonia.

Most participants in the Rambouillet conference conceded that the Serb delegation had actually accepted all (or virtually all) of the political demands that were put forward by the U.S. and European mediators. The Serbs "seemed to have embraced the political elements of the settlement, at least in principle," according to Marc Weller, a legal scholar who served as an adviser to the Albanian delegation. State Department spokesman James Rubin claims that the Serbs had agreed to "nearly every aspect of the political agreement." U.S. diplomat Christopher Hill stated that "Milosevic was open to the Rambouillet political deal." Even Madeleine Albright, though hypercritical of the Serb delegation, acknowledged that the Serbs had accepted most of the proposals for a political settlement. With regard to the more contentious implementation aspects, Milosevic himself implied that he would accept a peacekeeping force in Kosovo to supervise the agreement, led by either the UN or the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe. He did, however, continue to resist the idea of a NATO-led force, which the United States demanded.

The available information suggests that a full settlement of the Kosovo conflict was within reach and could have been achieved at Rambouillet. What caused the agreement to break down was a new development that occurred late in the negotiation process. Specifically, the Western mediators now proposed that a "Military Annex" be added to the final agreement. The proposed addition affirmed that NATO peacekeeping forces would be deployed, and that these forces would have "free and unrestricted passage and unimpeded access throughout the FRY [Federal Republic of Yugoslavia]." This section was highly significant; it meant that not only would Kosovo be occupied by a NATO peacekeeping force, but potentially all of Serbia and all that remained of Yugoslavia would be occupied as well. After the Military Annex appeared, the Serb delegation appeared to lose all confidence in the negotiation process, and the peace talks broke down.

The suspicious wording of the Military Annex was originally noted by British journalist John Pilger in 1999, during the course of the NATO bombing campaign. In response, U.S. officials have insisted that the Annex was a harmless detail, and deny that there was any effort to sabotage the peace talks.

The truth telling was left to the British. In a post-war parliamentary hearing, former Defense Minister of State John Gilbert affirmed that key negotiators were in fact seeking to sabotage the conference. Gilbert was the number two figure in the British Defense Ministry, with a specific responsibility for intelligence gathering, and he supported the war. He is surely a credible source. With regard to the motives of the negotiators, he offered this observation: "I think certain people were spoiling for a fight in NATO at that time ... we were at a point when some people felt that something had to be done [against Serbia], so *you just*

AP PHOTO/POOL/HECTOR MATA



The author writes that while it is certainly true that the Serbs had an ugly record of oppression and violence against the Albanian ethnic group, "the Albanian Kosovo Liberation Army (KLA) had a record of viciousness and racism that differed little from that of Milosevic's forces." Here, a KLA commander orders a line of KLA soldiers to march under German NATO detention from a Kosovo police station after the NATO troops allegedly found fifteen tortured prisoners inside, including one man in his seventies found dead chained to a chair, a woman in her fifties with a broken arm, and several others who had received severe beatings left with bruises and deep lacerations. German press officers said most of the wounded appeared to be "gypsies." Local bystanders said gypsies are widely accused of collaborating with the Serbs.

AP PHOTO/DAVID GUTTENFELDER

provoked a fight." With regard to the peace terms themselves, he said, "I think the terms put to Milosevic at Rambouillet were absolutely intolerable: How could he possibly accept them? *It was quite deliberate*" (emphasis added).

Lord Gilbert did not specifically mention the Military Annex (and its clause about NATO access to all of Yugoslavia), but it is easy to see that the Annex fit in well with the overall picture of provocation that Gilbert described. And it seems likely that the United States played a major role in crafting the Military Annex, and thus sabotaging the talks: in memoirs, General Wesley Clark revealed that he personally helped with the drafting. In any case, the advent of the Military Annex undermined the prospect of a peaceful settlement.

I have elsewhere discussed at length the Clinton administration's motives for provoking a war; in this article, I will provide a shortened explanation. Basically, the United States was seeking a new justification for the North Atlantic Treaty Organization, which seemed to lack any plausible function since the fall of the Berlin Wall. The "successful" intervention in Kosovo played a key role in affirming NATO's importance for the post-Cold War period, and providing it with a new function.

Whatever the motives, the record suggests that the Clinton administration was seeking a pretext for war with Serbia. The collapse of peace talks at Rambouillet offered this pretext.

Myth 2: The Kosovo conflict was a morally simple case of Serb oppressors and Albanian victims.

The 1999 war was widely portrayed at the time as a small-scale replay of World War II, with the Serbs in the role of Nazi aggressors and the Albanians as the Jews, and this image was a central theme of Samantha Power's widely influential book, *"A Problem from Hell": America and the Age of Genocide*. It is certainly true that the Serbs had an ugly record of oppression and violence against the Albanian ethnic group, and that Milosevic himself bears considerable responsibility for orchestrating this oppression. This part of the story is largely accurate, and little has emerged since to refute that image.

The problem is that the Albanian political groups backed by the United States in the war were not a great deal better. While there were some relatively decent and nonviolent Albanian political groups that were important in the early phase of this conflict, the principal group to receive direct U.S. support—the same group that later formed the government of independent Kosovo—was the Kosovo Liberation Army. The KLA had a record of viciousness and racism that differed little from that of Milosevic's forces. Attacking Serb civilians through terrorist acts was always a central feature of the KLA's military strategy.

The terrorist nature of KLA strategy was widely known among Western officials; even a prosecution witness at the Milosevic trial acknowledged this fact. British parliamentarian Paddy Ashdown, who was extensively involved in the Kosovo diplomacy, testified about the KLA's terrorist strategy. The transcript of Ashdown's cross-examination includes the following exchange:

> Milosevic: "It was a well-known fact that these [KLA] were terrorists, that this was a terrorist organization."
>
> Ashdown: "Mr. Milosevic, I never denied that it was a terrorist organization."

According to journalist Stacy Sullivan, who interviewed many KLA figures, the guerrillas "hit the Serb housing settlements, and they claimed responsibility for downing a civilian aircraft and planting a car bomb that injured the rector of the university. By definition, these were terrorist acts."

The purpose of such terrorist tactics was to provoke Serb retaliation, which helped to

feed a cycle of violence. These tactics were widely recognized. Even Madeleine Albright, whose memoirs focus almost exclusively on Serb savagery, briefly concedes that the KLA "seemed intent on *provoking* a massive Serb response so that international intervention would be unavoidable" (emphasis added). Needless to say, this strategy—of baiting the Serbs into attacking Albanian civilians, and thus increasing pressure for external intervention—worked quite well. This is precisely the scenario that played out during the period 1998–1999, leading to NATO intervention and a KLA victory.

It has long been assumed that, throughout the conflict, it was the *Serbs* that had perpetrated most of the violence. In fact there were extended periods when the Albanians were the main perpetrators. This point was noted by British Defense Minister George Robertson during parliamentary hearings after the war ended. Lord Robertson stated that up until January 1999, "the KLA were responsible for more deaths in Kosovo than the Yugoslav authorities had been."

In later phases of the war, it was clearly the Serbs who were the main perpetrators of violence. Beginning in January 1999, there was a substantial spike of Serb attacks, with an ugly massacre in the Albanian village of Racak and other outrages during the last weeks of this first phase of war. And there was a huge escalation of Serb atrocities that took place during the NATO bombing—an escalation that produced horrific results. Nevertheless, Lord Robertson suggests that initially it was the *Albanians*, not the Serbs, who committed the worst violence. The diaries of Tony Blair's press spokesman, Alistair Campbell, also emphasize the amoral character of the KLA, and how this fact was well known among British officials. According to Campbell, Blair and his foreign minister Robin Cook both believed "the KLA ... were not much better than the Serbs."

Perhaps the most damning indictment of the KLA was the way it behaved once the Serb forces were defeated in June 1999. Following the Serb defeat, the NATO and UN peacekeepers effectively placed the KLA in power throughout most of Kosovo, and the Albanian guerrillas promptly used their newfound power to ethnically cleanse the Serbs through a campaign of violence and intimidation.

This campaign of terror was tracked by the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE), and has been described in the memoirs of former UN officials Iain King and Whit Mason:

> The summer of 1999 was a season of vengeance and raw predatory violence. The OSCE collected dozens of horror stories. A deaf and mute Roma man was abducted from his home, because his family had allegedly cooperated with the former [Serb] authorities. A 44-year-old Serb man was "beaten to death with metal sticks by a Kosovo Albanian mob"... Serbs were shot and killed while working in their fields. These attacks and dozens of others like them were reported by field staff working with the OSCE. All these attacks occurred when NATO-led [peacekeepers were] responsible for security in Kosovo.

Between 400 and 700 Serbs were murdered in the first eight months after the NATO victory, according to estimates published in the London *Sunday Times*. The dead included Serbs as well as Roma. Partly because of these attacks—which the NATO forces did little to stop—nearly a quarter of a million Serbs, Roma, and other despised ethnic groups fled Kosovo. The Albanians' longstanding objective of an ethnically "clean" Kosovo, free of Serbs, was achieved in large areas.

It is thus a myth to view this war as a simple case of Serb aggressors and Albanian victims. In reality both sides were quite vicious. It is of course true that, overall, the Serbs committed more atrocities and ethnically cleansed even larger populations than the Albanians did. And needless to say, ethnic Serb armies committed many horrific crimes elsewhere in the Balkans, including the 1995 Srebrenica massacre. But none of this can excuse the crimes of the KLA, or the fact that U.S. policy was complicit in some of these crimes through its backing of the KLA. Now, ten years after the fact, we should not whitewash the crimes of either side.

(continued on page 73)



FOREIGN AND COMMONWEALTH OFFICE

U.S. diplomat Richard Holbrooke is currently the Special Representative for Afghanistan and Pakistan under the Obama administration. During 1998 and 1999, in his capacity as special presidential envoy, Holbrooke worked to negotiate an end to the conflict between the armed forces of Serbia and the separatist Kosovo Liberation Army. In March 1999, he traveled to Belgrade to deliver the final ultimatum to Serb leader Slobodan Milosevic before the NATO bombing campaign began.

Energy Generation in the Obama Years

(No, Nuclear Power Is Not "Safe and Clean")

by Conrad Miller



As the Obama presidency begins, the development of "alternative energy" is being highlighted as a centerpiece of the new administration's energy plans.

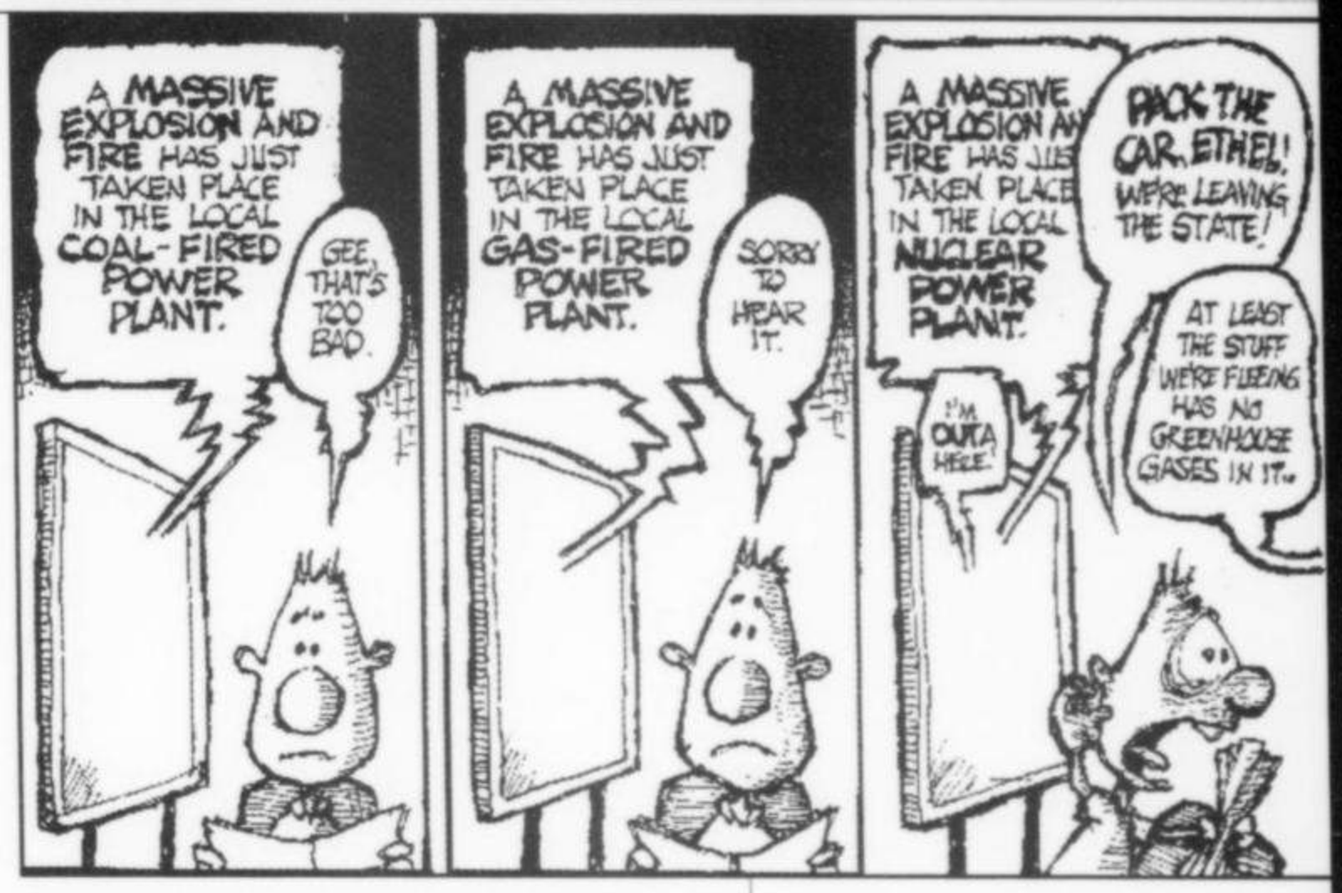
Energy experts like physicist David Goodstein (the former vice-provost of Caltech and author of *Out of Gas*) tell us that within a decade all of the electricity for America's homes can be generated by solar power in the equivalent of an area of eighty square miles in our southwest deserts. Americans should be aware that the United States has been called "The Persian Gulf of Wind." Two-thirds of our nation's needed electricity could be generated by the winds of North and South Dakota, with the other third by the winds of Texas. But hydropower still accounts for the majority of so-called alternative energy today, at about 7 percent of all U.S. energy produced.

Wind's Potential

Many of us know that T. Boone Pickens, a wealthy oilman, is investing $10 billion in the world's biggest wind farm, in the country's number-one windpower state, Texas. What many of us do not know is that right now, and for the past few years, the United States *leads* the world in annual windpower installation by a large margin of megawattage. Over the past couple of years more than 5,000 megawatts of windpower per year have been installed here. Germany, the planet's current top windpower producer, is installing approximately 1,500 megawatts annually within its borders. An average nuclear reactor generates 1,000 megawatts while on line.

The popular Clipper 2.5-megawatt wind turbine produces enough electricity to power 675 homes. One of these turbines could provide all the power needed for a small town. About 112,000 of them could supply all of America's homes' electricity, perhaps within a decade, depending on logistics and whether the Obama administration would pursue such a program avidly enough. Perhaps some of our closed and closing automobile factories could be retrofit to be included in a manufacturing renaissance that could put much of America back to work building a surefire industry whose turbines all of the world will need. Ford, alone, built 2.5 million vehicles in 2007. Just think of all the ancillary jobs that would be generated for gear production, electrical circuits, retooling our manufacturing base, transportation, etc., as America surpasses Germany to become the world's top source of windpower within the next two years. (At the beginning of 2009, Germany had a total of approximately 24,000 megawatts of windpower capacity installed, while the United States had approximately 20,000 megawatts.)

Conrad Miller, MD, is a board-certified Emergency Medicine physician. The entire chapter on nuclear power from his latest book, The Most Important Issues Americans THINK They Know Enough About *(2008), plus more relevant information is available at www.crestofthewave.com.*



Nuclear? No!

ARE AMERICA'S LEADERS AND CITIZENS AWARE THAT Germany is phasing out nuclear power, as are several other European countries? Today, Germany has garnered the leading worldwide edge for both wind and solar technologies. With studies coming out showing increased incidence of cancer and leukemia surrounding nuclear plants in the United Kingdom and Germany, isn't it time America acknowledged that nuclear power is not "safe and clean" as nuclear-industry-funded flaks like Patrick Moore and Christy Todd Whitman shamelessly proclaim? Shouldn't Americans also know that 80 percent of the fuel for nuclear plants, uranium, is imported? No, nuclear power will not make us "independent of foreign oil," for only 2 percent of our electricity is generated by oil (18.8 percent is the latest figure for electricity generated from nuclear power in the United States.)

The Insuperable Problem of Plutonium

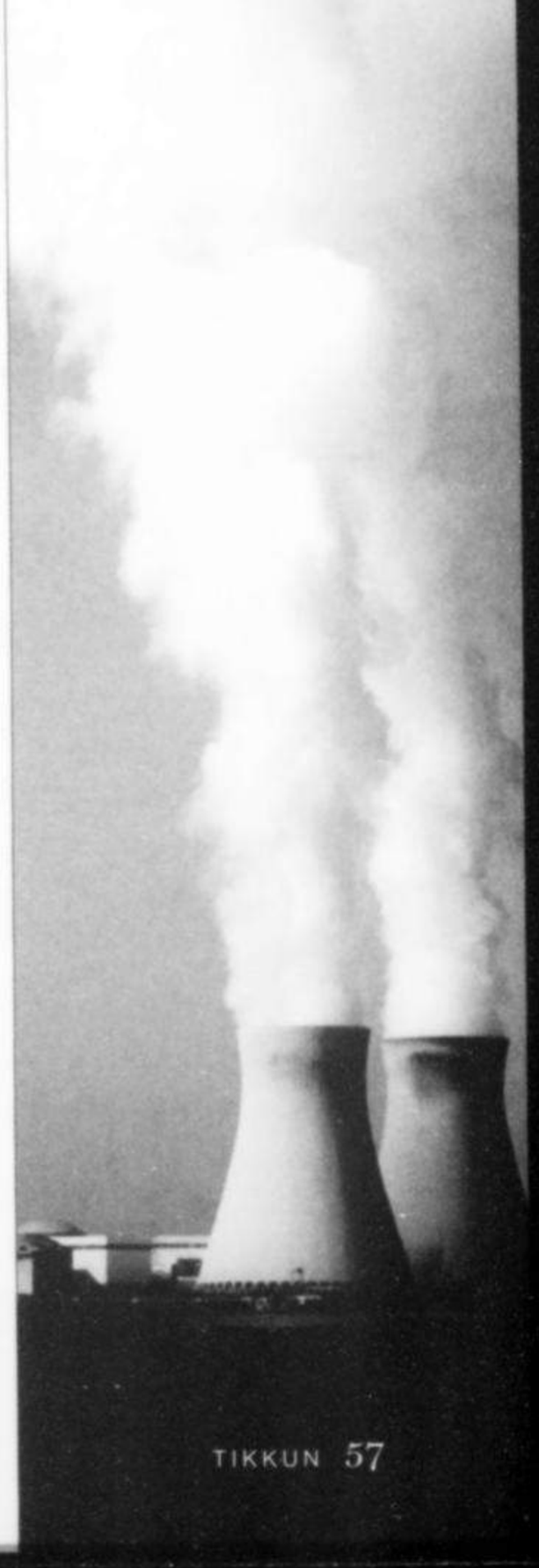
MOST AMERICANS ARE WELL AWARE OF THE MOST OBVIOUS PROBLEM WITH NUCLEAR power: radioactive waste. This ultimately toxic waste still cannot be safely contained for the necessary thousands of years. Plutonium-239 has a half-life of 24,000 years. That means that after 24,000 years, half of the quantity of plutonium-239 we started with is still radioactive. Experts inform us that any radionuclide such as plutonium-239 is hazardous for ten to twenty half-lives, meaning plutonium-239 will require absolutely complete unbreachable containment for 240,000 to 480,000 years. It is unknown how long current technological containment experiments can contain nuclear waste. However, we do know that concrete only lasts about fifty to one hundred years for its possible containment function.

Plutonium's lung-cancer-causing dose is one microgram, or one millionth of a gram. With 454 grams in one pound, that means that one pound of plutonium can theoretically cause 454 million lung cancers, if dispersed in small enough particles via some accident to enter poor unknowing victims' lungs. Thus, twenty pounds of plutonium (just one of more than 500 radionuclides produced in each of our 104 nuclear plants every day by splitting the uranium atom via fission) could kill every human being on earth by inducing lung cancer, which could take up to thirty years to develop, and which would have no label for its cause. Each nuclear plant produces between 400 and 1,000 pounds of plutonium among its radioactive wastes per year. Twenty pounds of plutonium is sufficient to produce an atom bomb as powerful as those that were dropped on Hiroshima and Nagasaki at the end of World War II.

Remember that the nuclear power plant began as the unit that produced plutonium for our country's first atomic bombs. Then someone decided that these units could produce electricity that would be "too cheap to meter." This did not prove to be true. Government subsidies and limited insurance liability laws (e.g., the Price-Anderson Act, which limits nuclear industry liability for a nuclear accident to a mere $10 billion, meaning the excess cost above this designated amount would fall on taxpayers) have sustained the nuclear industry. By this time it's a very "mature" industry, but it still states that without large multi-billion-dollar government loan guarantees, no new nuclear plants can be built today or in the future.

Chernobyl's Lessons

THE TRULY CATASTROPHIC DANGER OF NUCLEAR POWER IS A NUCLEAR ACCIDENT LIKE THE April 26, 1986, Chernobyl steam explosion and fire that occurred in the Ukraine, which was then part of the USSR. Many of our new voters may not recall that incident since they



TOP: GARY OLIVER; BOTTOM: FLICKR/CC/KOERTMICHIELS

weren't born yet, or they were still riding their tricycles and skateboards back in the mid-1980s. The expense of that accident has been estimated to be about $400 billion, in a relatively rural area. Imagine if that happened in a metropolitan area like New York City, where the Indian Point nuclear reactor complex in Westchester county today currently leaks strontium, tritium, and other radionuclides toward the Hudson River, which is just 300 yards away. The monetary cost would easily be in multitrillion dollars, devastating the hub of our economy and thus wounding our national economy for an almost unimaginable period of time (not to mention the human and environmental costs).

Although nuclear power proponents may repeatedly drum the number thirty-one into our media subconscious as the death toll for Chernobyl, Dr. Alexei Yablokov, president of the Center for Russian Environmental Policy, reports that at least 300,000 people have died prematurely thus far as a result of the world's worst human-caused industrial accident. Former Secretary General of the United Nations Kofi Annan stated: "At least 2 million children in Belarus, Ukraine, and the Russian Federation require physical treatment [due to the Chernobyl accident]. Not until 2016, at the earliest, will we know the full number of those likely to develop serious medical conditions."

Dr. Vladimir Chernousenko, nuclear physicist and former head of the Ukrainian Academy of Science, supervised the "cleanup" of Chernobyl (and later died from cancer). He informed us that an area approximately 375 miles in diameter around the blown-apart Chernobyl plant would be contaminated for 100,000 years. While speaking about nuclear power during a U.S. visit, he also stated:

> To construct a safe reactor is practically impossible either here or in Russia ... we simply cannot get energy from such enterprises. Because we are dealing with nuclear processes, with uncontrolled reactions, which occur within millionths of a second, and no matter what kind of protection mechanism you design, sooner or later the objects must explode and they will. Why were they created at all? When they were created, constructed, it was understood that they were extremely dangerous, but at that point the physicists were told that they must save the world from Hitler at any cost and as soon as possible. And unfortunately the physicists accomplished this, which they regret to this day.

This applies to all new but commercially untested nuclear reactors. Although we may hear the phrase "inherently safe" oxymoronically proclaimed about these awesome contraptions, remember that the Chernobyl accident occurred when the reactor suddenly went from approximately 7 percent of full power to 100 times 100 percent of full power in less than one minute! New reactors may improve upon old designs, but the ultimate danger shall always be there, no matter the hype or the happy hopes the "nuclear power is green" dreamer/profiteer errantly lays upon a desperately energy-seeking human race.

Nuclear Containment and Transportation in the United States

FROM MINING TO SHIPPING TO DECOMMISSIONING, THERE ARE UNTOLD COSTS, BOTH health-wise and dollar-wise, in the nuclear cycle that Americans have been shielded from hearing about. Yucca Mountain in Nevada has thirty-three earthquake faults, and it has been rejected by numerous scientists as a safe repository for nuclear waste. Up to 70,000 rail and truck shipments of high-level radioactive waste over the next thirty years could wreak havoc upon any community or city along their routes through forty-three states should an accident or ambush occur to what are still, to this day, inadequately tested casks. The *Nuclear Monitor* has called shipping the "weakest link ... in irradiated fuel management," with only 2,500 to 3,000 such shipments actually transpiring "in the U.S. since the dawn of the Atomic Age."

The *Nuclear Monitor*'s March 2006 issue reported: "Conservative estimates reveal that each truck cask on the highways would carry up to forty times the *(continued on page 73)*

[FILM]

Angels, Demons, MacGuffins, and the Goldbergs

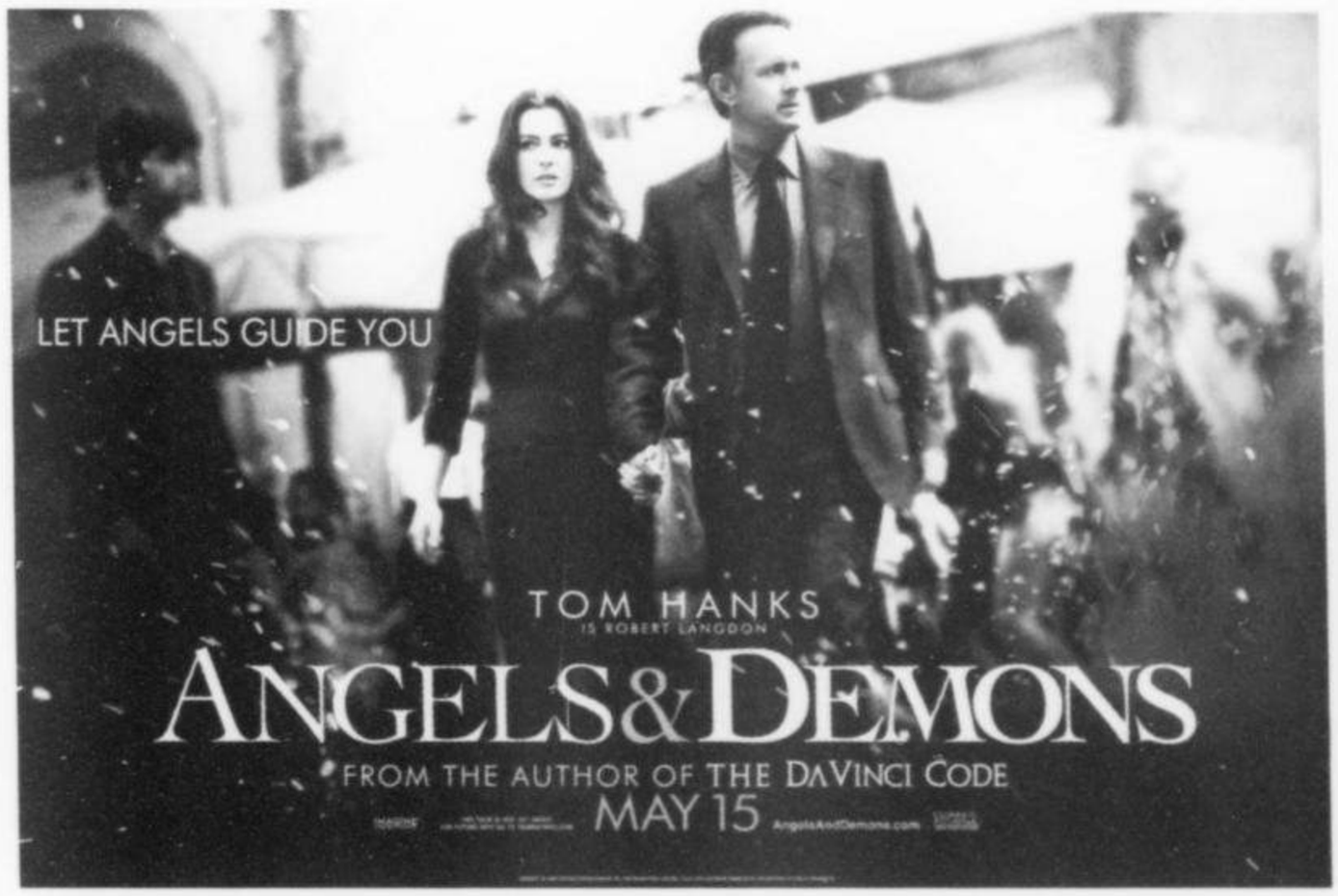
ANGELS & DEMONS, Columbia Pictures, 2009

YOO-HOO, MRS. GOLDBERG, International Film Circuit, 2009

Review by David Sterritt

Angels & Demons begins in intriguing places—the Vatican in Rome and the Large Hadron Collider in France, where CERN, the European Organization for Nuclear Research, analyzes particle-beam collisions in hopes of finding the ultimate building blocks of matter. In the Vatican, the Pope's ring is being cut apart with a hammer and chisel, signaling that the pontiff has died and a new one will soon be selected. At the collider, scientists are trying to create an unprecedented amount of the mysterious stuff called antimatter and thereby discover the so-called God particle, aka the Higgs boson, which (if it exists) would account for why fundamental particles have mass and how the universe we inhabit came to be. The movie promises a dialogue between fact and fiction, materiality and spirituality, physics and metaphysics.

It doesn't deliver on the promise, though. The picture's guiding hands—director Ron Howard, screenwriter Akiva Goldsman, and star Tom Hanks—have picked up nothing in the way of spiritual depth since their previous adaptation of a Dan Brown novel, *The Da Vinci Code*, in 2006; nor has the addition of screenwriter David Koepp, who scripted some of Steven Spielberg's more empty-headed fantasies, changed the generally empty-headed approach to faith-based topics. The plot is more streamlined this time around, draining off some of the concept's goofiness without making it a speck more plausible, and the action moves at a steadier pace. But finding an intelligent thought here would stump all the scientists at CERN.



For those tuning in late to the Dan Brown movie saga, let's review. The hero, Harvard University symbologist Robert Langdon, made his debut in *The Da Vinci Code* when the French police asked him to help with a puzzling case—the murder of a curator at the Louvre, who left behind enigmatic ciphers that point to a long-buried secret concerning Jesus, his relationship with Mary Magdalene, and the birth of a daughter, Sarah, who carried the holiest of bloodlines into future generations. Determined to decipher the ciphers, even though he's now the number-one suspect in the crime, Langdon hops from clue to clue with a pretty cryptologist at his side and gendarmes hot on his trail. His investigation touches on the Priory of Sion, a conspiratorial cult; the Knights Templar, a medieval monastic order; the Hieros Gamos, a pagan sex ritual; the legend of the Holy Grail; the Fibonacci number sequence; the smile of the *Mona Lisa*; and plenty more, including a sadomasochistic monk named Silas, who belongs to the Opus Dei sect and wears a flesh-mortifying

cilice beneath his clothes.

Angels & Demons was published three years before *The Da Vinci Code*, which makes it technically a prequel, but there's no connection between the movie versions apart from their churchy themes and Langdon's talent for high-speed sleuthing, which makes Sherlock Holmes look like an *American Idol* loser. After the opening scenes, the picture kicks into gear when enemies of the Roman Catholic Church steal the antimatter created at CERN, smuggle it into the Vatican, and threaten to use the explosive stuff to blow up the Holy See after executing four kidnapped Cardinals who are favorites in the papal election. All of this will happen over a four-hour period unless the symbologist and his sidekick (a pretty physicist this time) can foil the scheme. Conveniently for our hero, his adversary has an absolute mania for sending out brain-teasing clues, which Langdon interprets with little difficulty, perhaps because they're on the Harvard curriculum. Behind the evildoing is a revived version of the Illuminati, a secret society that used scientific materialism as a weapon against the church a few centuries ago. (That's what the movie claims, although I don't recommend it as a study guide.) The group's members hate the church because it persecuted their predecessors in olden days, using tools like capital punishment and enhanced interrogation techniques. The movie doesn't explain why the Illuminati's scientific views haven't made much progress since the Middle Ages—they still think the elements are earth, air, fire, and water. No wonder they have to *steal* antimatter instead of whipping up their own.

That last point sums up what's wrong with pictures like this. In terms of relevance to the actual world, *Angels & Demons* is stuck in air-earth-fire-water mode as pathetically as its own villains. It's clearly reactionary drivel, and if you read it allegorically—with the Illuminati standing for al-Qaida, say—it's even worse, putting the salvation of the world (or Catholicism, actually) into the hands of a secular supersleuth with a knack for solving puzzles. Brown's unapologetically trashy style indicates that he's less interested in literary art than in making the bestseller lists; sure enough, both Robert Langdon novels have promptly landed there. (A third, *The Lost Symbol*, is due this fall.) The screen adaptations fall right in line with this, subordinating ideas to eye candy every step of the way.

Angels & Demons exemplifies Hollywood's longstanding policy of exploiting rather than exploring religion, using it as packaging for conventional melodrama, as in *Doubt*, or superficial "uplift," as in *Touched by an Angel*, or salacious horror-mongering, as in *The Exorcist*, or neurotic self-indulgence, as in *The Passion of the Christ*. When exceptions come along—the TV version of Angels in America, for instance, or Martin Scorsese's flawed but devout *The Last Temptation of Christ*—they're attacked by zealots for not adhering to one party line or another. (For my money, the HBO series *Big Love* has more to say about religious values in everyday life than any theatrical feature in ages.) Hollywood's most conspicuous religion-based films are, like Brown's novels, designed to give the appearance but never the substance of spiritual engagement; from *The Ten Commandments* in 1956 to *Raiders of the Lost Ark* in 1981 to *The Lion, the Witch and the Wardrobe* in 2005, they traffic in fantasy and spectacle, not significance and insight, remaining doggedly oblivious to a *real* and *active* spirituality that would mean something outside the multiplex. *Angels & Demons* falls into the same depressing trap.

As an aspiring summer blockbuster, the picture has been blessed by its producers with a talented cast: Hanks, a smidgen less charming than usual; Israeli actress Ayelet Zurer, smart and appealing as the pretty physicist; Stellan Skarsgård, smoldering away as a police commander out of his depth; and Armin Mueller-Stahl, mugging like mad as the cardinal who runs the electoral conclave. Ewan McGregor gives a richer performance as Patrick McKenna, a priest who gets to run the Vatican until the next pontiff takes over, but he's involved in the film's most egregious display of faux populism. This occurs when McKenna has to decide whether to admit Langdon into the closely guarded Vatican archives. McKenna asks Langdon whether he believes in God, and Langdon tries to evade the question. Pressed on the matter, Langdon says faith is a gift he hasn't received; pressed a bit more, he says he probably isn't *going* to receive it. McKenna then ushers him into the archives straightaway, as if the honesty of his answer erased his total lack of spiritual inclinations. I call this bogus populism because the moment is an obvious bid to manipulate the audience—if you're religious, you're invited to feel a step ahead of Langdon, who would surely *like* to have the gift; and if you're nonreligious, you get a pat on the back, since this earnest young cleric has smiled on Langdon's secular humanism. Not even the revelation of McKenna's own secrets, deep in the movie's last act, undoes this scene's emotional mischief.

All of this said, I'd forgive many faults in *Angels & Demons* if it said anything intelligent about the God particle, one of the most fascinating subjects in contemporary science. But the subplot about CERN is merely a gimmick. Gimmicks have their uses, of course, and the supremely gifted Alfred Hitchcock was so fond of them that he called them by a special name—for him a gimmick was a MacGuffin, a story element that matters little to the audience but propels the picture forward by giving the characters something to fuss about, like the stolen money in *Psycho* or the microfilm in *North by Northwest*. The antimatter in *Angels & Demons* is a textbook MacGuffin, carrying no significance whatsoever except for the possibility of blowing up. So why does the story link danger to the God particle instead of, say, nuclear weapons or dirty bombs? You don't need a symbology degree to figure out the answer—mentioning the particle enhances the impression that this completely Godless film is somehow about God after all. Too uninspired to be angelic and too tepid to be demonic, *Angels & Demons* winds up in the limbo where stupid movies dwell. It has nothing to offer but riddles to be solved, villains to be chased, mumbo jumbo to be muttered, and God as the MacGuffin of the month.

Yoo-Hoo, Mrs. Goldberg

MOVIEGOERS LOOKING FOR MORE intelligent fare should keep an eye out for *Yoo-Hoo, Mrs. Goldberg*, an engaging



documentary about writer-director-star Gertrude Berg and her fondly remembered sitcom, *The Goldbergs*, which began a seventeen-year radio career in 1929 and moved to the television airwaves in 1949, becoming the new medium's first character-driven domestic comedy. The title comes from the cheerful "yoo-hoo" that Molly Goldberg and her neighbors called from their tenement windows when they wanted to chat.

The radio version, originally called *The Rise of the Goldbergs*, established the tone of gentle comedy and the subject of Jewish-American assimilation that lasted throughout the show's history. The main characters were Molly, her Yiddish-accented husband and uncle, and a good-natured son and daughter. In the early episodes they lived in the Bronx, and after ten years they moved to a town in Connecticut, providing a fresh background for the ethnic humor that remained the staple of the program. Pathos sometimes appeared as well, with occasional episodes speaking about the Holocaust or anti-Semitism in American society.

The Goldbergs had a bad run-in with politics in 1951 when actor Philip Loeb, who played Jake Goldberg, was blacklisted by the industry after his name was circulated on a list of alleged communists; this alienated the CBS network and drove away the program's longtime sponsor, Sanka coffee, which was so much a part of the show that a Sanka can sat permanently on the Goldbergs' windowsill. Berg reluctantly replaced Loeb with one actor and then another, but audiences didn't warm to them and the program seemed somehow diminished. Moving the characters back to the Bronx didn't help, nor did a final season with a suburban setting. After moving to the minor DuMont network and then to syndication, The Goldbergs finally petered out in 1956.

Yoo-Hoo, Mrs. Goldberg was produced and directed by Aviva Kempner, whose past work includes *The Life and Times of Hank Greenberg*, a first-rate documentary about baseball's most famous Jewish player. She efficiently recounts the sitcom's history, interspersing film clips and archive materials with reminiscences about the show by such luminaries as Supreme Court Justice Ruth Bader Ginsburg and Norman Lear, the TV producer and social activist. These comments add humanity to the film, and people who remember *The Goldbergs* from bygone times will have a wonderful time revisiting it here. The movie would be stronger, though, if it touched more seriously on Jewish-American identity and other issues.

As I watched the film, I wanted to know what, for example, was Berg's basic conception of Jewish-American identity? Kempner demonstrates Berg's concern about anti-Semitism and Jewish persecution, but was this rooted in a specifically Jewish ethic or in a generalized sense of solidarity that any afflicted minority might feel? Were prayers or seders ever shown, and did the characters ever discuss Jewish beliefs and values? If so, what did non-Jewish audiences make of this? If not, was the show's Jewish-American image just a matter of Yiddishisms and social habits? More broadly, how did Berg modify the program as the Depression gave way to World War II and then to the postwar economic boom? When the working-class Goldbergs moved to the middle-class suburbs, what happened to the windowsill chats that meant so much to the program's atmosphere? Could different creative decisions have kept the show in business beyond the middle 1950s, when working-class sitcoms like *The Goldbergs* and *The Honeymooners* and *Amos 'n' Andy* were swamped by a swelling tide of middle-class sitcoms like *Father Knows Best* and *Leave It to Beaver?*

That's a lot of questions, but I mean them to be matters for further reflection, not grounds for skipping over Kempner's movie. *Yoo-Hoo, Mrs. Goldberg* deserves thanks for bringing up so many thought-provoking issues, even if the treatment is less thorough than I'd prefer, and I encourage Kempner to continue probing aspects of mass-media history that are now half forgotten despite the influence they've had on later entertainments. *The Goldbergs* is a cultural time machine, and ongoing thought about the questions I've raised could reveal a good deal about conceptions of identity in the not-so-distant past. ■

David Sterritt, Tikkun*'s film critic, is chairman of the National Society of Film Critics and professor emeritus at Long Island University. He was film critic of* The Christian Science Monitor *for decades. His latest books are* Guiltless Pleasures *and* The B List.

[BOOKS]

GOLEMS, NOVELISTS, AND OTHER SUPER-HEROES

MAPS AND LEGENDS

By Michael Chabon
McSweeney's Books, 2008
Harper Perennial (paperback), 2009

Review by Michael Lukas

IN THE SPRING OF 2005, MICHAEL Chabon sparked a minor literary scandal—a brushfire compared with the Oprah-fueled James Frey inferno that would follow, but a scandal nevertheless—with a lecture he delivered a few times in Seattle and Washington, D.C. The lecture, entitled "Golems I Have Known, or, Why My Eldest Son's Name is Napoleon," was reprinted recently in *Maps and Legends*, a collection

of Chabon's nonfiction put out by McSweeney's. It is an oblique and ruminative piece, touching variously upon lying, marriage, and golems, those legendary clay automatons made famous by Prague Rabbi Judah Loew, who in the sixteenth century was said to have created one to protect the Jewish ghetto from anti-Semitic attacks. Much of the lecture focuses on Chabon's childhood relationship with an elderly neighbor, a kind old man who turns out to be a former Nazi. It's an amazing story. But, as it turns out, most of it is fiction.

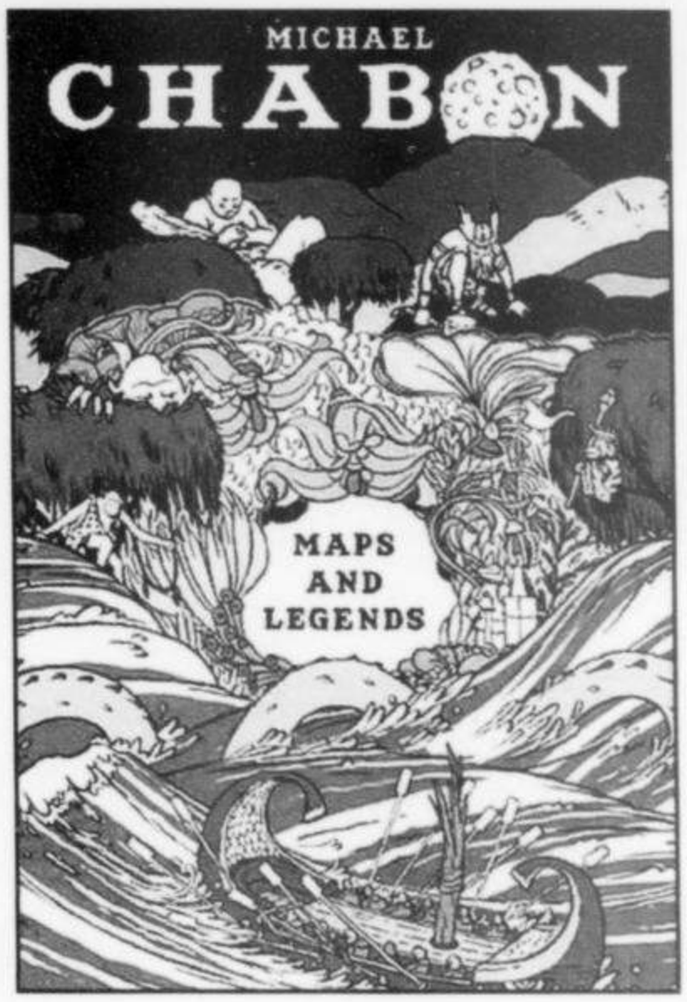
In essence the scandal was a question of genre and interpretation. Those who were upset by the piece read it as nonfiction, while Chabon's defenders framed the lecture as a meditation on the nature of storytelling. Although Chabon himself refrained from commenting at the time, his postscript in *Maps and Legends* mounts a spirited defense of his genre-bending tricksterism. "The possibility that somebody would believe or even half believe the semi-preposterous tale never occurred to me," it says. The point was to give the audience "some of the excitement that comes from handling the raw materials of golem-craft, of bringing inanimate facts of clay, through imagination and invention, to a fabulous kind of life."

As a fiction writer, handling the raw materials of golem-craft is Michael Chabon's job. And there are few more imaginative or inventive. He writes plot like a whip, blending an almost tactile realism with a touch of the fantastic. And his prose ranks up there with that of the best living American writers. To read any of his major novels—*The Mysteries of Pittsburg*, *Wonder Boys*, *The Amazing Adventures of Kavalier and Clay*, or *The Yiddish Policemen's Union*—is to be at once transported and transformed. Upon emerging from the page, we pinch the backs of our hands and blink, believing, or at least wanting to believe, that the worlds he created are real.

Of course, the raw materials of nonfiction are of a less malleable nature than the slippery river clay from which fiction is formed. And so, although the artist is the same, the end product looks somewhat different. Located near the intersection of Nabokov and Benjamin, Chabon's nonfiction addresses a startlingly wide range of topics with curiosity and wisdom. His essays are a joy to read. And more importantly, at least to those Chabon admirers in the audience, they give us a peek under the hood at the whirring machinery that makes this author tick.

The opening essay in *Maps and Legends* is a passionate and lucid defense of literature as entertainment. Built on the chassis of Chabon's much chattered-about introduction to Issue 10 of *McSweeney's Quarterly*, the essay proposes an aesthetic theory that encompasses "everything pleasurable that arises from the encounter of an attentive mind with a page of literature." This idea of literature as entertainment, as a vehicle of pleasure judged only on its ability to stir the reader's soul, is the steel cord running through the foundation of the book, underpinning Chabon's literary criticism as well as his more personal essays.

As a critic, Chabon cuts



right to the heart of the matter, dissecting plot and theme like John Madden tracing the shuffle step of a fullback in motion across the screen. He sees fiction with the dispassionate yet sympathetic eye of a fellow traveler, boiling entire oeuvres down to a single idea and plucking out details others may not catch. Comparing Cormac McCarthy to Jack London, Chabon argues convincingly that *The Road* should be read as an adventure novel. And in a piece on Sherlock Holmes, he contends that Conan Doyle invented the detective story by re-engineering the relationship between *fabula* (story) and *syuzhet* (plot). But he puts it much better than that: "Like the builder of Skidbladnir, the sailing ship of the Norse gods that could be folded up to fit into your pocket, or an engineer packing an extra million transistors onto a 3 mm chip, Conan Doyle found a way to fold several stories, and the proper means of telling them, over and over into a tightly compacted frame."

While the essays in the first half of *Maps and Legends* depict Chabon the reader, the second half of the book allows us a sustained look at Chabon the writer. Describing the 64KB Osborne 1a computer and plywood workbench on which he wrote his first novel, *The Mysteries of Pittsburg*, he nails the emotional state of the artist as a young man, the brash and insecure ambition of a twenty-two-year-old on the verge of greatness. In "Diving in the Wreck," he depicts in excruciating detail the five years he spent writing his unpublished second novel *Fountain City*, a process he

In Memoriam

Ruth Fredman Cernea

1934–2009

The University of Chicago Press

compares to the voyage of Lewis and Clark.

Whatever his subject, Chabon advances with care, compassion, and hunger for a truth that goes beyond fiction and nonfiction. His approach to writing, in any genre, is perhaps best articulated in his own words, from the essay "Recipe for Life":

> The adept handles the rich material, the rank river clay, and diligently intones his alphabetical spells, knowing full well the history of golems: how they break free of their creators, grow to unmanageable size and power, refuse to be controlled. In the same way, the writer shapes his story, flecked like river clay with the grit of experience and rank with the smell of human life, heedless of the danger to himself, eager to show his powers, to celebrate his mastery, to bring into being a little world that, like God's, is at once terribly imperfect and filled with astonishing life.
>
> And we, like the golem, feel a stirring in cold clay hearts. ■

Michael Lukas's writing has appeared in VQR, Slate, *and the* San Francisco Chronicle. *He is currently finishing a novel about a young girl who becomes an adviser to the Ottoman Sultan and changes the course of history.*

[BOOKS]

GOD, THEY'RE BURNING US

WITH AN IRON PEN: TWENTY YEARS OF HEBREW PROTEST POETRY

Edited by Tal Nitzan and Rachel Tzvia Back

Excelsior Editions, 2009

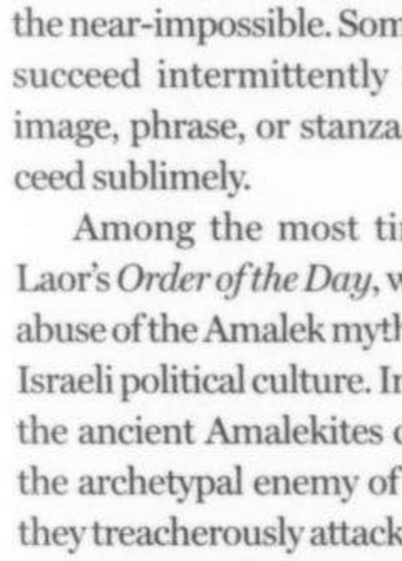
Review by Richard Silverstein

With an Iron Pen collects eighty-eight Hebrew poems written over the past twenty years, offering a powerful chronicle of the evils of the Israeli Occupation. What I especially like about the collection is that it features the lions of Israeli poetry such as Yehudah Amichai, Natan Zach, Tuvia Ruebner, and Dahlia Rabikovitch, along with young rebels and poets lesser known (especially outside Israel).

This book confronts profound literary questions for political poetry: How can one of the most sublime forms of human expression apprehend pure evil—human behavior that is devoid of humanity? What feeble words from a poet's pen do justice to the subject or provide a suitable rejoinder? How can the suffering, banality, and insanity of something like the Occupation be conveyed? Can anyone responding on a pure literary plane to the Occupation really do justice in verse to the suffering it imposes on Palestinians (and Israelis)? Is the job of the poet merely to record the evil for posterity or to encourage a more activist form of resistance? What can poetry really do to combat such evil? Aren't mere words too little and too late?

To their great credit, these poets have made courageous attempts to accomplish the near-impossible. Some fall short. Some succeed intermittently with a powerful image, phrase, or stanza. And others succeed sublimely.

Among the most timely is Yitzchak Laor's *Order of the Day*, which explores the abuse of the Amalek myth in contemporary Israeli political culture. In Jewish tradition, the ancient Amalekites came to represent the archetypal enemy of the Jews because they treacherously attacked the Children of Israel as they left Egypt. Recently, Bibi Netanyahu likened Iran to Amalek, thereby justifying an Israeli attack on Iran's nuclear facilities. He claimed that like that biblical tribal enemy, the mullahs sought not only Israel's demise but also the entire Jewish people's annihilation. Laor's poem, dripping in sarcasm and irony, is like an inoculation of truth in the face of political-historical mendacity:



> Remember
> That which Amalek did to you
> of course,
> Over.
> Do unto Amalek
> what Amalek did to you
> of course,
> Over.
>
> If you can't
> find yourself an Amalek,
> call Amalek whomever you want
> to do to him what Amalek did to you
> of course,
> Over.
>
> Don't compare anything to what Amalek did to you
> of course,
> Over.
> Not when you want to do that which Amalek did to you
> of course,
> Over and out,
> Remember.

The book takes its title from this stunningly evocative passage in Jeremiah 17:1:

> The sin of Judah is written with an iron pen
> And with the point of a diamond it is engraved
> On the tablet of the heart.

The iron pen that writes the sin of Judah is perhaps also the poet's pen as he portrays the crime of Occupation. In this sense, the poet plays a role similar to Jeremiah, the prophet who records the sins for his contemporaries and subsequent Jewish history. Both are doing the Lord's work. What is especially powerful about this notion is that it removes the issue of the utility of the protest poetry. Of course, it would be useful for the poem to have a concrete impact on the political situation. But given the hardened hearts within both Israel and Palestine, this may be too high an expectation. The invocation of Jeremiah transforms the act of poetic protest from a time-bound and earthbound act to a spiritual-moral act for the ages.

The verse from Jeremiah above also calls to mind one of the most powerfully dark stories of twentieth-century literature, Franz Kafka's *In the Penal Colony*. In it, a nation imprisons criminals in a colony and etches their crimes onto their bodies with

an infernal torture apparatus. The machine eventually kills the prisoners, but not before literally writing the crime and sentence into their skin.

As a blogger who has attempted since 2003 to analyze the moral and political bankruptcy of the Occupation, I am often troubled by the question of efficacy: who reads my work and what impact, if any, do I have? What can I actually do to make the situation better in any material way? Am I just writing for an audience of one and a few hangers-on? The invocation here of Jeremiah reminds us that we have a duty to write the sins of Judah, regardless of the impact we may have on mitigating them.

With an Iron Pen is replete with powerful works by Israel's finest poets. One of these is Dahlia Rabikovitch's *Story of the Arab Who Died in the Fire*. It describes the immolation of a Palestinian day laborer who slept in an abandoned Israeli warehouse (because it was illegal to live or sleep within Israel). Jewish hooligans nailed shut the door before setting it on fire. Rabikovitch describes in clinical details the process by which the fire consumed the victim's body:

... The fire took him all at once,
Such a thing hath not its likeness,
It peeled away his clothing
Seized upon his flesh,

... God, they're burning us, he screamed,
That's all he could manage in self-defense.
The flesh was blazing ...

By that point his mental faculties were gone,
The firebrand of the flesh
Paralyzed any sense of a future,
The memories of his family
The links to his childhood.
He was shrieking, no longer constrained by reason,
By now all the bonds of family were broken,
He did not seek vengeance, redemption, the dawn of a new day.

... From his throat issued inhuman voices
Since many human functions had already ceased
Except for the pain transmitted in electrical pulses
Along neural pathways to pain receptors in the brain.

In a subsequent interview with Yediot Achronot, Rabikovitch says she wrote the poem because she "understood the fear he felt before he was saved by death." The notion that death is a respite from human suffering inverts the typical view of the civilized world that preserving life is an intrinsic good. In this interview, the poet acknowledges that there are some human conditions that destroy the very fabric of civilization and make life no longer worth living. In doing so, she forces the reader to confront the crime in all its gore. It is as if she is telling us: "This is what this Occupation is doing to us. You must confront it. I will not let you look away." ■

Richard Silverstein is a blogger, freelance journalist, and peace activist. He writes the Tikun Olam *blog and publishes regularly in the* Guardian*'s Comment is Free section. He earned an M.A. in Comparative Literature from UCLA in 1979.*

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RESPONSE TO SCHWEICKART
(continued from page 7)

workers (for instance the employees of the *Boston Globe*). There is, of course, a good deal of debate about the fine details. But we can leave them aside for the moment.

I believe that there is another lesson to be drawn from the current economic debacle: not to oversell one's ideas. There is a good deal to be said for markets—there is room for a free market for consumer goods also in economic democracy. But the market has been oversold. From an understanding of its usefulness as a source of information about prices, and for providing incentives for innovation, the market became the new golden calf to which American leaders—both Republicans and Democrats—have been bowing down in awe since the days of Ronald Reagan. The market became God.

Another form of overselling the market is to confuse the economic model with reality. Economists build models because reality is too complicated for us to understand without some simplifying assumptions. They help us understand. But we still live in the real world, which rarely conforms to the models. The same is true of economic democracy. What Schweickart has worked out is an interesting model. We need to be prepared to find that economic democracy in the real world is more complicated and a lot messier.

The market has been oversold, and we are paying a heavy price for that in many respects. We must be careful not to oversell economic democracy either. The questions I will raise about economic democracy are designed to keep us cautious and humble. On paper economic democracy looks quite wonderful. So does the picture Adam Smith paints of the "unseen hand" of the market. But the real world market is more complicated and has more problems. Economic democracy is likely more complicated, as well.

One central problem with capitalism is that it enables the employer to forcibly lower wages. Economic democracy will be a valuable alternative to the extent that there is no power differential between workers and managers. The economy is truly democratic; everyone has a say. What power differentials there are, are very limited. But we have a good deal of experience with democracy and we even have a certain amount of experience with economic democracy and we know that it is a real challenge to maintain institutions with small power differentials. Experience shows that as cooperatives grow in size, the distance between rank-and-file workers and their managers grows. Meetings become larger; the persons who manage are more distant from the persons on the shop floor or in the word-processing pool. The latter feel, not without reason, more distant from the levels where real decisions are made. They feel ignored; they lose interest in democracy and stop going to meetings. Class differences of a sort develop. Power in managing the enterprise is no longer equal.

The experience of Mondragon exemplifies those kinds of problems. Many workers today are really disillusioned with the democratic economy and cease to participate actively in meetings. Originally the greatest allowable pay differential between top and bottom levels was 3 to 1. Today the differential is 6.5 to 1, and management is pushing for permission to pay much more to select managers. The serious breakdown in solidarity between managers and workers looks very much like the emergence of class differences.

The size of enterprises is clearly a problem for maintaining complete workplace democracy; economic democracy must reckon with it, and we must admit it openly. I'm not saying that this problem has no solution, but we must acknowledge that the problem exists.

Economic democracy faces other problems—problems that are familiar to us from our political democracy. In a democracy, policies are distilled from conflicting ideas, proposals, and interests. No one is forced to adopt a policy he or she detests. Long discussions may be needed in order to work out a compromise that is acceptable to everyone. Forging a compromise is of the essence of the democratic process.

Not all compromises are the same. A good compromise is based on a careful discussion of alternative policies, resting on a study of relevant information, in which the members of a group develop a policy that is as fair to conflicting interests as is humanly possible and promises to benefit everyone as much as one can. But there are also the "bridge to nowhere" kind of compromises. The senator from Alaska wants to appropriate $300 million to build a bridge that will benefit at most 150 people (who now take a ferry boat). He gets his colleagues in the Senate to vote for that white elephant with a promise that he will vote for *their* favored local pork barrel project. Here decisions rest on the crudest self-interest: I will do something for you, however bizarre, if you will do something for me—practically no questions asked. No one examines the different projects, no one cares whether the projects they vote for are good for most citizens or whether they benefit only a small number of cronies.

The question for economic democracy obviously is how we can prevent the same kind of "I scratch your back, you scratch mine" bargaining from entering the new system. National guidelines for investments are voted on by elected representatives. It is of the utmost importance that these guidelines be the result of serious and thoughtful discussions among all concerned. Economic democracy will fall apart once the investment guidelines begin to include the favorite projects of local politicians and their friends. Economic democracy demands that banks show no favoritism when they hand out investment funds to different worker-owned enterprises.

The question is whether the representative institutions that run economic democracy, for instance by adopting guidelines for the disbursement of investment capital, will run any differently from the way Congress runs today in the United States. There is, we know from sad experience, a great deal of difference between democracy as a plan for a joint managing of a business or a whole country, and the actuality of democracy corrupted as we see it everywhere in our own experience. Once cliques of legislators hand out favors to their friends, because they went to the same schools, or attended Harvard, or summered on Cape Cod, equality—that essential prerequisite of democracy—will be impaired and democracy weakened.

In response to this worry, the defenders of economic democracy can rightly point to

the fact that the existence of great wealth has corrupted our democracy. Even the founders knew that that was a danger. They had read their Rousseau who had insisted that "no citizen shall ever be wealthy enough to buy another, and none poor enough to be forced to sell himself." But I don't think that the enormous disparity in wealth between rich and ordinary Americans and the corresponding disparity in power is the *only* source of corruption in democratic processes. The question remains of how economic democracy can assure that the compromises made are based on the views and interests of all concerned, on full information, and on exhaustive discussions, rather than on favoritism, cronyism, and crooked deals.

Economic democracy faces many worries like this. I want to mention only one more. Schweickart's version of economic democracy includes a free market among other institutions. It is a market only for consumption items; there are no financial markets. Markets are competitive, and competition is often a good thing. The astonishing advances in computers—hardware and software—in the last twenty years are in part the result of different groups of engineers, hackers, and tinkerers competing with each other to improve products. This kind of competition or emulation requires that all competitors remain active and working. But there is another kind of competition in which one competitor tries to eliminate the other. Bill Gates is a master of that kind of competition, and now the vast majority of computers in the world run on Windows, which has become bloated, cumbersome, and expensive. For the last 150 years, market competition has shown itself to produce oligopolies. It produces larger and larger enterprises. But, as I have described above, workplace democracy is endangered as enterprises become bigger. The markets in economic democracy may well contain their own dynamics that create obstacles to continuing economic democracy for an extended period.

I have mentioned three worries about economic democracy: Can enterprises remain truly democratic once they grow in size? Can we prevent enterprises from growing larger and larger in a competitive market? Will democracy in a country with economic democracy be as corrupt as ours? These are not rhetorical questions. They are real worries that defenders of economic democracy should take seriously. All these issues threaten the equality that is an essential prerequisite for the functioning of economic democracy.

There are many other questions such as these about economic democracy, many of them drawn from the experience of existing or past cooperatives and other alternative economic institutions. In the background of these specific lessons stands a controversy at least as old as Marxist Socialism. In 1845 Karl Marx and Frederick Engels wrote in *The German Ideology* that the new social order that would replace capitalism required not only transformed institutions but also new human beings. In their enthusiasm for revolutionary change, they claimed that the process of revolution itself would enable the working class to rid "itself of the muck of ages and become fitted to found society anew." About seventy years later, Lenin proposed to make a revolution "with human beings as they are." The socialist tradition has long been split over this question of whether the institutional change would have to be accompanied by a moral change. There are good reasons for Lenin's realism. Changing institutions is difficult enough; changing human beings seems an insurmountable task.

But the questions I raised suggest strongly that moral change is indispensable for economic democracy. Good institutions can easily be ruined by bad or even just ordinary, fallible people. We are left with the uncomfortable sense that if people like us are going to run the institutions of economic democracy, it won't be long before economic democracy will start to resemble, at best, a reasonably benign version of capitalism.

It is not sufficient to lay out this beautiful model of economic democracy. We must also ask ourselves how we can "rid ourselves of the muck of ages and become fitted to found society anew." ■

OBAMA IN CAIRO
(continued from page 18)

First and foremost, President Obama should have announced that the United States would stop providing political, economic, and military support to corrupt and brutal authoritarian regimes, without exception. This goes for occupiers such as Israel (and, one could add, India in Kashmir, and Morocco in the Western Sahara) and governments of key allies such as Saudi Arabia, Jordan, and Egypt, where thousands of activists have been harassed, imprisoned, tortured, and even killed by security forces without any fear of U.S. retribution. These activists will continue to suffer once Mr. Obama leaves.

Indeed, President Obama's speech gave no indication of just how grave the situation is in most Middle Eastern countries. Not only is poverty increasing in most, so is the level of repression. Most of our most important allies—in particular, Egypt, Morocco, Jordan, and Saudi Arabia—have seen political repression and censorship increase in the last few years, even as they've gradually liberalized socially to various degrees. Thousands of political prisoners languish in jails and face routine torture, all because they dare to take America's ideals more seriously than do our own leaders, including, it seems, President Obama.

How else to explain how he offered not one word of support for some of Egypt's most important dissident voices, such as Ayman Nour, the one-time presidential candidate recently released from prison, who not long before the speech was set on fire by government thugs? Instead, the Obama administration regularly praises Mubarak's "leadership" on a peace process that has done nothing to produce peace, while democracy activists young and old, secular and religious, face continual harassment or worse.

Instead of making concrete demands on President Mubarak and other regional leaders regarding freedom, democracy, human rights, and committing the United States to a major shift in our

policies on those issues, President Obama argued that the first step to healing the U.S.-Islamic divide must be to "confront violent extremism in all of its forms." What the president doesn't realize is that from the standpoint of the peoples of the Middle East, U.S. support for the governments of Israel, Egypt, and other authoritarian regimes—along with our invasion of Iraq, which despite his pledge to "speak the truth" he refused to admit was wrong—has resulted in as much violence as attacks sanctioned by militant Islam. It is also considered equally extremist in its goals and the methods it uses to achieve them.

When it comes to Israel and Palestine, the president's words do mark a significant shift in tone from the rhetoric of his predecessors, especially his placing Palestine on equal footing with Israel as a nation deserving independence and sovereignty. But hearing them I couldn't help thinking that they constituted the speech that President Clinton should have given at the start of the Oslo peace process, when Yitzhak Rabin and Yasser Arafat grudgingly shook hands on the White House lawn sixteen years ago.

Back then, when there were only a bit more than 100,000 Jewish settlers in the West Bank, calling for a "stop" to settlements made sense. Today, with nearly triple the number of settlers there, and with Israelis having rendered huge swaths of the West Bank permanently off-limits to Palestinians, it is a decade too late. Stopping settlement construction will still leave the West Bank a mishmash of Palestinian islands that cannot form the nucleus of a sovereign state.

By most any measure, nothing less than the dismantlement of the Israeli matrix of control over the West Bank, including most settlements, bypass roads, and checkpoints, will allow for the creation of a territorially viable Palestinian state.

Perhaps President Obama has determined that such a development, however desirable, is impossible to achieve at this point. After all, well-known scholars like Meron Benvenisti came to such a conclusion as far back as 1987. If so, Mr. Obama must move quickly to consider various alternative scenarios that would allow Israelis and Palestinians to achieve peace, security, stability, and sovereignty outside of the Oslo framework. *Tikkun* magazine has argued, for example, that most of the settlements could remain on the condition that the settlers accept Palestinian sovereignty and citizenship. Other proposals, like the condominialist concept outlined by David Nieli in the current issue, attempt to constrain citizenship to Jews or Palestinians only within each respective "state" within a larger bi-national condominium.

One could offer many criticisms of such proposals, from impracticality to injustice, but at least they are based on a realization of how untenable the current peace process and the possible outcomes it could lead to remain.

What is clear, however, is that most Muslim listeners to Obama's speech understand that unless the president is willing to force Israel to choose between the settlements and continued U.S. patronage, or take an even bigger chance by offering a creative solution that radically changes the way sovereignty and citizenship are understood by both peoples, peace will remain impossible to achieve.

Ultimately, Obama doesn't understand that the best and perhaps only way to get the peoples of the Muslim world to support policies such as preventing Iranian acquisition of nuclear weapons, pacifying Afghanistan, or stamping out violent Islamism, is to hold all the peoples of the region and their leaders, without exception, to one, easily measurable standard. Unless President Obama's words are matched by a rapid and profound shift in the strategic calculus underlying American foreign policy, Obama's historic speech will be remembered as little more than *haki fadi*, or empty talk, and peace in the Middle East—and with it America's quest for a better relationship with the people of the Muslim world—will remain an illusive dream. ■

LETTERS
(continued from page 6)

missiles and even nuclear weapons.

Reuveny indulges in "IOI"—"If Only Israel" would. Israel has made mistakes, but the fundamental question is not about the West Bank, but about whether the Palestinians and the Arabs in general accept Israel's existence. If the answer is clearly yes, then I think Israel would bend over backwards to create peace. If not, then it is hard to know what Israel can do.

RABBI ADAM D. FISHER
Stony Brook, NY

Rafael Reuveny replies:

RABBI FISHER'S POINTS ARE EITHER misinformed or misleading. Despite their popularity among pro-Israel Americans, they all but assure an endless conflict. First, most of the Palestinians accept Israel. Radical minorities on both sides reject each other's statehood, but we must ignore them. Arafat rejected the Clinton plan not because he rejected Israel, but because Israel refused to return East Jerusalem and compensate the Palestinians with land equal in size for occupied land it sought to annex. The following revolt was a rational response to a colonial ruler that refuses to decolonize.

Second, the Palestinians are not a threat to Israel. Even if they wanted to destroy Israel—which they do not—they could not do it. Israel is a Goliath; it is here to stay. Conditioning Israeli withdrawal on an Arab and Palestinian acceptance of Israel sounds nice but is in fact an empty statement; they offer peace and normalization in return for decolonization. What more can you ask for?

Finally, the Israeli settlement buildup has not been a mistake; it has been the foundation of a well-designed and executed colonial project. Historically, colonialism was a national project, and the Israelis' story is no different. The obstacle to peace has always been the settlers' refusal to decolonize, as in the historical parallels.

Israel has "nothing to fear by fear itself," as this helps Israeli colonizers. Despite being a minority, they are so well entrenched in Israeli domestic politics that only the United States could force

decolonization, but this would probably not happen unless the pro-Israel American bloc strongly pushes the president to do so.

RABBI LERNER'S DEBATE WITH ALAN DERSHOWITZ

Here are some responses to the recent "debate" on CNN, which you can view at www.tikkun.org/LernerDershowitz.

I LEARNED SOMETHING IN your debate with Alan Dershowitz from your point that Israel needs "tough love" (which I understand means no more U.S. (passive?) enabling of Israeli violations of Palestinians' basic human rights) but in a context of understanding that Israeli society (like the Palestinians) suffers from post-traumatic stress as a result of the ongoing conflict. That psychological point needs to be remembered in formulating policy. It's obvious now that you mentioned it on CNN.

JAN GARRETT
via email

I AGREE WHOLEHEARTEDLY WITH Professor Dershowitz. If Palestinians lay down their arms, there will be peace, but if Israel lays down its arms, it will be destroyed. I think that you at *Tikkun* are living in a dream world.

MARK D. YURA
via email

ALAN DERSHOWITZ CAME OFF AS AN angry, rude jerk. Rabbi Lerner, you looked and sounded charismatic and got your points across clearly, convincingly. You were wise to ignore the personal attacks and promote the NSP/*Tikkun* approach—the strategy of generosity. You resisted taking his bait. You are skilled at this and should accept most such invites, even though you have to just reiterate sound bytes.

You can strengthen your presentation by cleaning up your physical act a bit. Alan Dershowitz has that down—the crisp shirt, suit, haircut. People who are not put off by your slightly crumpled clothes will also not be put off if you "dress for success," and you will have a better chance of getting through to more superficial TV viewers, so many of whom base credibility on appearance in this increasingly lookist culture.

It's great that you kept smiling when he interrupted. You could have spoken louder, but it's good that you did not stop speaking when he interrupted the "last word" that the moderator gave to you.

It's great how you came up with common ground that Alan Dershowitz had to agree with. Congratulations on a winning performance under difficult circumstances.

PHOEBE ANN SORGEN
via email

ALAN DERSHOWITZ INTERRUPTED you and went after you, taking comments out of context when he knew he was "losing" the debate. A classic trick—change the subject, put the other person on the defensive, try to reduce the obvious winning credibility of one line of thinking over the other. I thought you stayed on track and that you took the high road, which increasingly I and much of this culture appreciate. Taking the high road actually turns the tables on Dershowitz to those who have eyes to see and ears to hear. You were modeling what you hope our world will eventually embrace, for the sake of our world that God does not want us to destroy. I so appreciate your speaking with a prophetic voice. I continue to pray for your strength and healing.

REV. PAUL SEEBECK
Spokane, WA

I THOUGHT THAT RABBI LERNER DID great on CNN and that his message got out well. Thanks to him and everyone who works with him. I encourage him and others to continue their work in broadcast media and keep smiling because it is the best defense against the smear campaigns.

ZAC MOORE
via email

Rabbi Lerner responds:

WE NEED THE HELP OF OUR READERS to get our message out to the mass media. Sending letters to television news show producers and journalists to introduce them to our ideas and urge them to interview me or others with a *Tikkun* perspective can have a very big impact (particularly if you take the time to send them a snail mail letter. To facilitate this process, we've put a box at the top of our website (www.spiritualprogressives.org) called "Contact Media." If you click on that box, you'll find names, addresses, and titles of all kinds of folk from both local and national media. Taking the time to contact them will make a great contribution to breaking through the web of lies and distortions that most people hear as "news" or read in editorials and op-eds. We have useful tips for how best to do this on our website. ■



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LIFE CYCLE
(continued from page 20)

approach to life—one in which our principal life task is not to dominate the center of our own concern. Recognizing that what is closer appears to be larger (but isn't really!), Judaism reminds us that this looming large is a distortion of a more inclusive, integrated perspective. We loom large in our own imagination and narrative, but only because it is ours. Life invites us to live fully—to risk a perspective that sees the cosmos as a dynamic, integrated whole. We are significant to the degree that we relate to it all, not because of our perceived centrality but because of our real and dynamic relating. In the words of the philosopher Hans Jonas, in *Mortality and Morality:*

> Life thus faces forward as well as outward; just as its Here extends into There, its Now extends into Not Yet, and life exists "beyond" its own immediacy in both horizons at once.

Each life—and every life event—extends beyond itself, connecting to what came before and what will come afterwards, to our own locality and to the cosmos as a whole. Putting God at the center is how Judaism seeks to correct the distortion of our own self-absorption. "Do God's will as though it were yours, so that God will do your will as though it were God's. Nullify your will for God's, that God may nullify the will of others for yours," teaches *Pirkei Avot* (Mishnah *Avot* 2:4). This shift of centrality is not about denigrating our uniqueness or worth (we each, after all, reflect *tzelem Elohim*, God's image!). Rather, it is about deriving our value and contentment from our rootedness in relationship, in our connection with each other, with all of creation. God is the supremely relating one, and we derive our purpose and meaning in the context of that connection. The Copernican Revolution opened great possibilities by making the earth peripheral and moving the sun to the center. The Torah Revolution offers exactly the same liberatory growth by prioritizing oneness, relation, and integration while marginalizing self-centeredness and self-concern.

The Israeli poet, Yehudah Amichai expresses the power of this inversion in *Open Closed Open: Poems* (page 104) when he writes:

> In a Jerusalem courtyard I saw seeds
> spread out on a cloth to dry in the sun, and I said:
> Let me be their historian and tell them about the
> watermelons
> and pumpkins they came from. I insist that the
> sand
> remember the stone, the stone remember the
> great rock
> and the rock—the lava and the fire.
> And I myself forget what went on last summer,
> even what went on yesterday, which happened
> to be
> a Wednesday. But I remember
> the psalm the Levites would sing each week
> in the Temple on Wednesday.

What happened to the poet yesterday or last week or last summer is of little concern. But subsuming his personal story to that of the people Israel, to the narratives of Torah and the concerns of God—that focus shines the light of purpose, service, and compassion on every aspect of his personal existence.

Armed with this insight, we can now envision the life cycle, not as stages in the life of each Jewish individual, but rather as the unfolding expression of the covenant at every moment of each person's life. It is not *our* life cycle we celebrate; it is the life of the covenant linking God with *Am Yisrael* that is worthy of our attention and that justifies our celebration.

Viewed only materially, the value of life dissolves in its own finitude. We are merely a collection of elements organized to perceive ourselves and our own fragility. Our life is one of struggle and inevitable end. In such a schema, celebration is a momentary distraction from a grim and indifferent doom. Placing ourselves at the center is a prescription for depression or insanity.

But the celebration of real connection, of real embeddedness, of real relationship—to all that is becoming and to the One who invites greater complexity, goodness, and experience—that endless living process is indeed an engine of hope and purpose. Judaism labels that connecting, that relating, *brit* (covenant). It is made real through the study and implementation of Torah. In the words of Professor Charlotte Fonrobert (formerly on faculty at the Ziegler School of Rabbinic Studies, now at Stanford University):

> Embodied life, suspended between birth and death, between becoming and decaying, is not transcended and thus left behind, but on the contrary, it is, as it is, imbued and infused with a new script, the Torah, which regulates it, guides it, and hence enhances it.

Revisiting

Let's revisit the stages of the life cycle, not through the prism of each Jew's individual life, but through the lens of *brit*:

- **Birth:** The covenant has the capacity to be self-renewing, to begin again. Each individual Jew is an opportunity to get it right; to launch afresh; to enter the world with wonder, new eyes, and a clean slate. Each Jewish baby is an embodiment of covenantal hope, of the audacity of a dream in the flesh. *Brit milah* and *simchat bat* are opportunities to dance the newest expression of covenant into the world, to hurtle the story of the ancient Hebrews that much further into the future.
- **Adolescence:** Surely the weakest link in the chain of continuity is that moment when the child realizes that the Judaism of the parents no longer dictates his or her way. Each child, emerging from the cocoon of childhood, stands in the blazing light of adulthood, deciding to fly with his or her own brilliant wings. Whether or not the Torah provides the wind is the fateful commitment of each adolescent, and the future of the Jewish people hinges on the treble chant of thirteen-year-olds. Bar and bat mitzvah is the public enactment of this fragile yet durable renewal.
- **Adulthood:** Not merely internal, the Jewish people live as a flesh-and-blood

people in a rough-and-tumble world. Finding a way to shine light into the world, finding a way to nurture and cherish the next generation remains the fundamental work of a covenanted community: rearing children *al pi darko*, on the path they should walk—a path of justice and of love. The rituals of adulthood are all affirmations of these sacred commitments, confirmation that it does, indeed, take a *shtetl* to raise each other and each other's children.

- **Death:** Just as birth is the covenant's opportunity for renewal, death is the occasion for value and memory. As the frail, tired, and habituated move on, the covenant community has the opportunity to affirm that each person's worth is more than merely instrumental, that each Jew, each person, each living thing, expresses perpetual worth as a manifestation of God in the world. By escorting their remains with dignity and community and tradition, we affirm our own place as honored, valued partners with God and with the people Israel in the work of repairing the world.

Imbued and infused with Torah, with covenant, the life of a Jew is a manifestation of caring and service, of connection and nurturance, of becoming and belonging. Such an unfolding is surely worthy of celebration! ■

VEGETARIAN MITZVAH
(continued from page 32)

day, among other things, it is traditional to fast and to refrain from wearing leather shoes, as we are to be as pure as possible while asking for forgiveness and mercy. While fasting on Yom Kippur, however, we read the Prophet Isaiah, who reminds us that the true purpose of our fast should be to sensitize us to the needs of the hungry and the oppressed, so that we will work to end oppression and "share thy bread with the hungry" (Isaiah 58:6-7). Yet, we deny bread to the hungry by feeding so much grain to livestock animals to be killed and consumed as meat. We cannot atone while continuing to engage in the behavior for which we want to atone.

Other animals should not have to suffer and die for our meals and clothes. "Living creatures possess a soul and a certain spiritual superiority," writes the great thirteenth-century commentator Nachmanides, "which in this respect make them similar to those who possess intellect, and they have the power of affecting their own welfare and their food, and they flee from pain and death." If we are sincere in seeking atonement or at-one-ment, we cannot want for ourselves what we do not grant to others. Atonement through *teshuvah* (turning or repentance) can be a way for us to get back to who we really are and who we really want to be. If we truly want to atone and have compassion for ourselves, and want to emulate the compassion of the Divine, it is imperative that we extend compassion to others. Vegetarianism, and especially veganism, is a much purer form of diet—one without violence, killing, or the spilling of blood.

7. Knowledge and Spirituality.

JUDAISM OFTEN EMPHASIZES THE interplay between thinking and doing, highlighting the vital role of *kavanah* (spiritual intention and concentration) as a precondition for action. That is a motivation behind the blessings, of which there is none specifically for meat—unlike for grains, fruits, and vegetables. According to Jewish tradition, meat-eating was permitted, with elaborate restrictions, after the Flood of Noah as a temporary concession to the human weakness of those with a "lust for meat." It is also part of our teaching, from Hillel's disagreement with Shamai over the lighting of the Chanukah menorah recounted in the Talmud, that *ma'alin bakodesh v'ayn moridim*: in sacred matters we must increase in holiness rather than decrease. We can increase our holiness by making our consumption more holy.

For those who erroneously think it might be a mitzvah to eat meat during holy days, it is a *mitzvah haba'ah al y'dei aveirah*, a mitzvah that derives from a sin; it is the fruit of a poisonous tree, and therefore no mitzvah at all. Citing Jewish law, Rabbi Adam Frank says, "The end user of a product knowingly derived by cruel means is a participant in the cruelty." Rabbi Frank adds: "Modern, secular thinking allows for sentient creatures to be treated like inanimate objects, but Jewish tradition does not.... My decision to abstain from the consumption of animal products is an expression of my adherence to Jewish law, and it expresses my disapproval and disdain for the cruel practices of the industry."

Our sage Rabbi Joseph Albo chimes in, "Aside from the cruelty, rage, and fury in killing animals, and the fact that it teaches human beings the bad trait of shedding blood for naught; eating the flesh even of select animals will yet give rise to a mean and insensitive soul." Neither scripture, nor science, nor our long and proud tradition commands or requires Jews or others to consume meat; quite the contrary.

In our creation story, the term *nefesh chayah*, living being or living soul, is applied to people *and* animals. Eating meat can be considered a *Chilul HaShem*, a desecration of YHVH's name, due to the destruction of life and spirit entailed, while eating plants could be considered a *Kiddush HaShem*, a blessing and sanctification of YHVH's name—however you conceive of YHVH—due to the protection of health and life of both humans and nonhuman animals. "When you slaughter a creature," Yiddish author and Nobel Prize winner Isaac Bashevis Singer said, "you slaughter God."

Our sages in the Talmud (Chulin 84a) determined that "The Torah teaches a lesson in moral conduct, that people shall not eat meat unless they have a special craving for it ... and [then] shall eat it only occasionally and sparingly." The first Ashkenazi Chief Rabbi of pre-state Israel, Rabbi Abraham Isaac Kook, in *A View of Vegetarianism and Peace*, regarded the reluctant permission for some to eat a small amount of meat as a concealed reproach and an implied rebuke.

According to Rabbi David Rosen, former Chief Rabbi of Ireland, who is an authority on Halachah (Jewish law), "meat has become halachically unacceptable" and vegetarianism is now a "halachic imperative." As Rabbi Bonnie Koppell states, "There is no question that the *Torah's* ideal is vegetarianism."

Rabbi Shimon bar Yochai hid in a cave

with his son Rabbi Eleazar for thirteen years after being condemned to death by the Roman conquerors for speaking out against them, following the destruction of the Second Temple and the murders of Rabbi Akiva (50-135 CE) and many of his students. They were sustained by their cave, a nearby carob tree, a local stream, and their studies of the Torah. Rabbi Shimon taught that our world and the unseen "higher" worlds are unified as manifestations of the Divine Soul, and that the meaning of life is to reunify Creation with the source of Creation.

Further, it is believed by Maimonides, Rav Kook, and other Chief Rabbis and Torah scholars that in the messianic age of the Third Temple, when "the wolf shall dwell with the lamb ... and the lion shall eat straw like the ox" (Isaiah 11:6-7), Temple sacrifices as well as all other food will be vegetarian. Vegetarians live closer to the messianic age by creating it in the present, while also hastening it for the world. "Vegetarianism is a response to today's world," Rabbi Zalman Schachter-Shalomi declares. "Meat-eating, like polygamy, fit into an earlier stage of human history." While polygamy is acceptable in the Torah, it was deemed to be unacceptable 1,000 years ago. Likewise, meat will eventually be deemed as unfit and unacceptable, thereby relegated to a primitive past—yet we can live the ideal now, creating both inner and outer peace and justice.

As Rabbi Rami Shapiro reminds us, "Vegetarianism is central to holy living as Judaism has understood it for thousands of years."

8. Divinity.

THE SCHOLAR AND MYSTIC RABBI MOSES Cordovero (1522-1570 CE) wrote a manual on ethics titled *The Thirteen Divine Attributes*. He included meditation exercises involving the visualization of one's body as the Tree of Life, while focusing on a particular aspect of the Tree, or body. The meat industry is responsible for a tremendous amount of deforestation, cutting down, burning, and clearing millions of trees each day, destroying about an acre of Amazon Rainforest every second, thereby also displacing or killing the people, animals, and plants living there.

The meat industry is making mincemeat out of the rainforests, which are often referred to as "the lungs of the planet," essentially converting this amazing life-sustaining resource into carbon dioxide and cholesterol, significantly contributing to both planetary and personal ill-health. In a miracle of continuing co-evolutionary development, as Rabbi Arthur Waskow discusses, we breathe in the oxygen that trees breathe out, while we breathe out the carbon dioxide that trees breathe in. We need each other and breathe each other into continued existence, yet the production and consumption of meat is killing the trees of life, ignoring both science and Torah.

A spiritual view of the world recognizes the awesome power and beauty of nature, while it abhors destruction and desecration, embracing what Rabbi Abraham Joshua Heschel described as "radical amazement" in the presence of the divine. The livestock industry is the antithesis of this view. As Rabbi Adam Frank says, "The environmental destruction caused by the animal-agriculture industry, by the amount of dung produced, by the amount of sewage that gets poured into our waterways and our systems [is] ... damaging our world." He adds that this environmental destruction violates "the Jewish mandate to protect and observe and care for the Earth.... We are ignoring things that are essential and that are critical to the character of Judaism, in order to meet our selfish desires and wants." It is impossible to fully elevate ourselves if we are debasing our bodies, our minds, our spirits, and our world by spilling the blood of other beings.

9. Peace and Justice.

JUDAISM REPEATEDLY STRESSES THAT we must always seek and pursue *shalom v'tzedek* (peace and justice) and that moral degradation and violence result from unjust conditions. Animal-centered diets waste valuable resources and desensitize us to violence. Such diets help to perpetuate the widespread poverty, hunger, environmental destruction, and despair that lead to mass suffering, social insecurity, ethnic hostilities, violence, genocide, and war.

Our sages note that the Hebrew words for bread (*lechem*) and for war (*milchamah*) come from the same root and are therefore related, since shortages of food and instances of wars are correlated, with each contributing to the other.

To resolve these most important issues, we are told to "seek peace and pursue it" (Psalm 34:14). We are told, "justice, justice shall you pursue" (Deuteronomy 16:20), and we are instructed that we "shall not kill [murder]" (Sixth Commandment). We are further told to "love peace, pursue peace, love all creatures" (Hillel), that "he who kills an ox is as if he slew a person" (Isaiah 66:3), and that "one who destroys a single life is considered to have destroyed an entire world, and one who saves a single life is considered to have saved an entire world" (Sanhedrin 4:5).

According to Rabbi Adam Frank: "Judaism does not make the claim of moral superiority, rather, it makes the demand for responsibility of actions. Judaism starts from a place of concern for justice and tries to protect all members of community, both local and global, from abuses of power and privilege." The *mitzvah* of vegetarianism promotes this responsibility.

10. Hunger.

HUNGER IS A HUGE AND GROWING concern in the United States, Israel, and through much of the world. Article 25 of the United Nations' *Universal Declaration of Human Rights* includes food as a human right. While millions of people annually die from overconsumption, particularly consumption of fat and cholesterol, millions of excluded people annually die from underconsumption—from starvation and hunger-related diseases. Although the world produces more than enough food to feed all its people, the inequality of wealth and power, along with the inefficiency of land use and food distribution, creates conditions that lead to scarcity, chronic hunger, malnutrition, starvation, environmental degradation, and ethnic violence.

About one billion poor people chronically suffer from hunger, malnutrition, and their debilitating effects. Tens of thousands of them, disproportionately children, consequently die each day, about one every few seconds, while millions of affluent people get sick and die from the ill effects of overeating and overconsumption,

primarily of animal products. In the words of rock star Chrissie Hynde, "Global hunger could be directly attributed to meat-eating."

World hunger is neither necessary, nor automatic, nor inevitable. John Cavanagh and Jerry Mander point out that "when those who have the money to enjoy meat-rich diets cause the market to redirect available supplies of grain away from the tables of people who cannot pay in order to feed livestock to provide meat to those who can, they contribute to the dynamics of hunger."

Vegetarianism creates conditions that are more fair and just, more efficient and sustainable, and more healthy, thereby potentially allowing more people to be fed, rather than using land, grain, water, labor, energy, and other resources to inefficiently and immorally produce food to be fed to animals that are later killed and fed to a smaller number of more affluent people.

11. Keeping Kosher.

THE PRACTICE OF *KASHRUT*, OR KEEPING kosher, is the specific way of applying Jewish teachings and Jewish values to our consumption of food. Besides being life-sustaining, satisfying, and often joyous, eating is a holy act. And as Rabbi Pinchas Peli writes in *Torah Today*, "The laws of kashrut come to teach us that a Jew's first preference should be a vegetarian meal." Further, Rabbi Robert Gordis states, "Vegetarianism offers an ideal mode for preserving the religious and ethical values which kashrut was designed to concretize in human life." Indeed, as Rabbi Daniel Jezer says, "A higher form of being kosher is vegetarianism."

Vegetarianism, as a form of eco-kashrut, is an easy and effective way to keep kosher, to be more sustainable, to be more healthy, and to be more holy. In this sense, all meat is *treyf*, unkosher and unfit for human consumption. Rabbi Jonathan Sacks, chief rabbi of the United Hebrew Congregations of the Commonwealth, commented that "I'm a vegetarian and I stay milchik all the time." Similarly, Rabbi Shear Yashuv Cohen, Ashkenazi Chief Rabbi of Haifa, Israel, said, "If you don't eat meat, you are certainly kosher, and I believe that is what we should tell our fellow rabbis."

12. Fighting Fascism.

HISTORICALLY, AND UNFORTUNATELY still presently, Jews have been common targets of authoritarian, fascist, and genocidal policies and actions, whatever their names and places. Jewish ethics, Jewish values, and even the method of the Talmud itself, respects and protects minority opinions and minority groups. "Just as the Nazis dehumanized the Jews in their propaganda and in the atrocities they committed," writes Jay Levine, M.D., "the apologists for meat consumption and the exploitation of animals have stereotyped and degraded the animal kingdom for their own purposes, declaring animals to be devoid of cognitive functioning and even of pain."

It is important to note that "the Nazis explicitly structured their industrial destruction of the Jews [and other peoples] on the model of animal slaughter," according to Rabbi Hillel Norry. "This is not to compare the suffering of animals and humans, but shows that the way we treat animals is similar to the way the Nazis treated us."

Rav Shraga Feivel Mendlowitz, the founding dean of New York's Mesifta Torah VoDaath, became a vegetarian after the Holocaust/*Shoah*, simply yet powerfully declaring, "There has been enough killing in the world."

Isaac Bashevis Singer powerfully declares, "In relation to them, all people are Nazis; for the animals it is an eternal Treblinka." The livestock industry is a chronic and widespread form of enslavement and torture, while vegetarianism is a powerful way of actively yet nonviolently opposing the daily and brutal outrage of meat production and consumption.

13. Concern for the Community.

CONCERN FOR THE JEWISH COMMUNITY (*Klal Yisrael*), as well as the wider community (*Klal Ha'Olam*), is integral to Jewish ethics and requires personal and communal responsibility.

Israel, and the rest of the Middle East, is especially threatened by global warming, as indicated by a 2007 report from the Israel Union for Environmental Defense: there will be an increase in the frequency, intensity and duration of heat waves; the number of rainy days will drop and annual rainfall may decrease by up to 30 percent; an expected rise in the Mediterranean Sea will cause major flooding of low-lying and coastal areas; Israel's flora and fauna, already widely affected by human activities, are especially vulnerable to the effects of major climate changes; and the potential economic cost to Israel due to global warming effects has been estimated to go as high as $33 billion annually.

According to Friends of the Earth Middle East's report, "Climate Change: A New Threat to Middle East Security," climate change is likely to act as a "threat multiplier" in the Middle East. The report adds that climate change will exacerbate "water scarcity and tensions over water within and between nations." Furthermore, "Water shortages and rising sea levels could lead to mass migration in the region. Economic unrest across the region, due to a decline in agricultural production from climate impacts on water resources, also could lead to greater political unrest ... thereby affecting internal and cross-border relations."

Conclusions

VEGETARIANISM HELPS US TO PRESERVE and protect our health, environment, culture, community, society, and spirit *l'dor vador*, from generation to generation. Ecclesiastes 3:19, which is attributed to King Solomon, says: "The fate of men and the fate of animals, they have one and the same fate. As one dies, so does the other, and they all have the same spirit." What we do to animals and the environment, therefore, we are ultimately doing to ourselves and our communities. We are fouling our own nest.

Like Leo Baeck, I am struck with "ethical optimism." We can do better.

Rav Kook, the first Chief Rabbi of prestate Israel, famously wrote "*hayashan yitchadesh, v'hechadash yitkadesh*, the old shall be made new, and the new shall be made holy." A shift toward vegetarianism can also be a major factor in the rededication, revitalization, and renewal of Judaism, as it would further demonstrate that Jewish values are not only relevant but essential to everyday personal life, communal development, and global survival.

If you want to make a powerful and

positive difference and have more meaning in your life, living by Judaism's highest ideals, participating in a lifelong, life-affirming spiritual process, then vegetarianism is the best gift you could give yourself, your family, our community, and our world. To paraphrase Hillel: Do not do unto other beings what would be hateful if done to you. All the rest is dessert. Now go and eat! ■

KOSOVO
(continued from page 55)

When the fighting ended in 1999, investigators from the International Criminal Tribunal for the Former Yugoslavia sought to investigate crimes committed by both sides during the war. The former chief prosecutor at the tribunal, Swiss lawyer Carla Del Ponte, described the challenges that she faced, in her recently published memoirs. According to Del Ponte, there were repeated attacks and threats of violence that were directed at anyone who cooperated with the international investigations of KLA atrocities. It is evident that Del Ponte herself was intimidated: "Some Swiss compatriots even cautioned against discussing certain Albanian-related issues in this memoir, and I am discussing them here only with extreme care."

The KLA had many other unattractive features, including associations with al-Qaida (which had personnel present in Kosovo) and international narcotics networks. Overall, it seems fair to say that the KLA had an appalling record.

Myth 3: The NATO air attacks prevented even greater Serb atrocities, and thus had a positive effect on the human rights situation in Kosovo.

In fact, the bombing campaign increased the scale of Serb atrocities. Up until the bombing, the total number of persons killed in the war—including both Serbs and Albanians, civilians and soldiers—totaled 2,000. The number of Albanian civilians murdered by Serb forces has never been properly estimated, but the total was probably in the hundreds. During the bombing campaign, however, there was a huge escalation in Serb-directed violence. The Serbs could do little to protect themselves from the NATO attacks, so they took out their frustrations on the relatively defenseless Albanians.

Let us review the chronology: By mid-March of 1999, it was clear that the negotiation process had irretrievably broken down, and that NATO was preparing to bomb. On March 19, the Kosovo Verification Force began leaving the province—a sign that bombing was immanent. The following day, March 20, Serb forces began a large-scale offensive in Kosovo, generating ugly atrocities. And on March 24, NATO actually began its ten-week bombing campaign, which led to still greater Serb atrocities. This chronology strongly suggests that the NATO action itself was a key cause for this upsurge in violence. It should also be noted that the Joint Chiefs of Staff had warned President Clinton that any bombing campaign might cause Serb revenge attacks and augmented atrocities. The atrocities had been predicted in advance.

And when the bombing actually occurred, the Serb forces did in fact commit substantial atrocities: approximately 10,000 persons were killed by Serb security forces during the NATO campaign. By the end of the war, around 90 percent of the Albanian population had been displaced. The primary moral responsibility must rest with the Serb forces who committed the atrocities, and with Milosevic himself, who directed them. However, NATO also must bear some responsibility for recklessly creating a situation that virtually guaranteed atrocities.

And the NATO campaign produced other calamities: the bombing itself killed between 500 and 2,000 civilians, according to Tim Judah of the BBC. Even if we accept the lower figure, then the NATO bombing killed approximately as many civilians as all the Serb-directed actions that preceded the bombing. NATO's strategy entailed "hitting [Serb] civilian infrastructure," according to the memoirs of General Rupert Smith, who served as NATO deputy commander during the war. And when the war was over, the Albanians launched a wave of reprisals and ethnic cleansing, resulting in still greater atrocities, as noted above.

If the NATO operation sought to establish the principle that ethnic cleansing is inadmissible as a means of settling conflicts, then the operation was a conspicuous failure.

Conclusion

THE MOST DISTURBING ASPECT OF THE Kosovo case is that a purported humanitarian intervention served mainly to increase the scale of atrocities. In this respect, the Kosovo war has much in common with the 2003 Iraq invasion, which also was sold to the public (in part) as a humanitarian effort to "save" the Iraqi people from a violent dictator. In retrospect, however, it seems likely that the invasion caused as many or possibly more deaths than the total number killed by Saddam Hussein. The main lesson of the Kosovo and Iraq experiences is that military actions—whether we call them "humanitarian" or not—retain the potential to increase human misery. The advocates of humanitarian intervention give too little consideration to this danger.

It might be worth recalling the medical phrase, "first do no harm." Among physicians, it has long been recognized that medical action has the potential to make patients worse off than before. The fact that a patient is suffering is, by itself, insufficient reason to operate, since operating runs the risk of increasing his or her suffering. Perhaps the same cautions should apply with regard to military interventions. Certainly, we should avoid risky actions that are likely to increase the death toll (as actually occurred in Kosovo). First, we should do no harm. ■

ENERGY
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long-lasting radioactivity released by the Hiroshima atomic bomb. Rail and barge casks, six times larger, would carry over 200 times the long-lasting radiation released at Hiroshima. Release of even a fraction of this cargo would spell unprecedented radiological disaster." Exposure to a hot spill of high-level radioactive waste from three feet away for ten seconds could deliver a fatal dose of radiation. The individual involved would probably die from

radiation sickness within two weeks—bleeding from multiple orifices and suffering from an imploding immune system, as occurred with many Japanese atomic bomb victims at the end of World War II.

No major TV networks carried the news that buried within the Senate version of the economic stimulus bill was up to $50 billion for nuclear loan guarantees, of which more than 50 percent was expected to end up in default according to the Congressional Budget Office. Sadly, our major networks never mentioned anything about the removal of these loan guarantees in the reconciled stimulus bill, either. The nuclear story exists in the shadows. Americans, beware that this unwarrantedly subsidized industry may sneakily gain loan guarantees in the future if the light of the media does not shine on the next attempt to bail out the nuclear cabal.

Renewable Renaissance

IMPORTANTLY, NO NEW NUCLEAR PLANT would be ready for ten years, while we could be supplying all our energy from alternative sources within a decade should we spend our precious resources wisely. Denmark today gets 25 percent of its electricity from wind. Spain expects to generate almost 30 percent of its electricity from renewable resources by 2010, requiring all new and renovated buildings to use solar power for part of their energy.

A 2.5-megawatt Clipper wind turbine can be made in one day. New thin-film photovoltaics could be part of a rooftop renaissance of solar energy at competitive cost without the need for new electric transmission lines. "Small" hydropower capacity (from facilities generating less than 30 megawatts, theoretically not impacting fish spawning) in the United States today is more than 275,000 megawatts—nearly triple our current hydropower production. And then there is energy efficiency or "negawatts, not megawatts" decreasing combustive pollution. As Amory Lovins famously says, "because saving electricity is cheaper than making it, pollution is avoided not at a cost but at a profit."

It is time to create an electricity system for the United States that relies neither on fossil fuel nor nuclear power. We can do it, starting now—yes, we can! ■

PIRACY OF PRIVACY

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trajectory toward a more complete inner invasion and outer immersion, a total marketing envelopment of our being.

Of course, once personal information is gathered, it can be used for purposes other than selling products. We saw this recently with the Bush administration's requisitioning of phone company information to spy on American citizens. Since corporations are profit-driven, their valuable data banks will not remain within the confines of their sales departments.

Just to be clear, corporations do believe in privacy—for themselves. Their privacy is called proprietary information or trade secrets. The possible revelation of trade secrets is routinely, and successfully, used as an argument against regulation.

Similar to environmental destruction or the exploitation of labor, the corporate violation of privacy reflects fundamental structural flaws in corporate capitalism that transcend the type of product or service being sold. In each of these instances, the damage wrought is an inevitable by-product of the economic system. Corporations do not destroy nature because their charters demand it, nor exploit labor because they have a mandate to see working people suffer, nor intrude upon privacy because they wish to embarrass and expose people. Rather, the manipulations necessary to increase sales require drastic interventions with side effects that rain ruin upon the world and ravage the psyche.

The long-term answer is not more regulation. There is something deeply amiss about a perennial battle between marketers and regulators over corporate access to our inner and outer lives. We must escape from the battle itself. This will require an economic system that cherishes the planet and its people, and does not compel its businesses to demolish our privacy for their quarterly profits. ■

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NEW IDEA FOR ISRAEL AND PALESTINE

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Arab national identity and national citizenship to the Palestinian state) would solve the dilemma posed by this clash of symbolic loyalties.

18) Since two-state condominialism would enable Palestinian Arabs to attain most of what they most want—i.e., an internationally recognized state within all of its pre-1967 borders, a right of return and to settle anywhere within Mandate Palestine, East Jerusalem as Palestine's capital, the free movement of people and goods across Israeli/Palestinian borders, etc.—the settlement would create a powerful incentive for ordinary Palestinians to police their ranks against terrorists and extremists who would jeopardize the condominial agreement and all its benefits by continued violence and hostilities directed against the state of Israel and its Jews.

19) With the establishment of the Condominial Territory as a unified settlement community, and the free movement of both Palestinian and Israeli citizens across state boundaries, the Jewish concern with maintaining a "united Jerusalem" and access to sacred Jewish shrines in Palestinian territory (e.g. the Cave of the Patriarchs, Rachel's Tomb, the Western Wall, etc.) would disappear. Citizens of both states would be allowed to live in and visit the territory, cities, and holy places throughout historical Palestine without fear of ethnic exclusion.

20) Since the Palestinian state, by treaty obligation, would have a restricted military, and would implicitly be protected by the state of Israel from invasion from hostile outside powers, the new Palestinian state would be free to devote most of its resources to domestic projects and the educational and social welfare needs of its people, rather than to huge military budgets.

21) As a win-win situation, two-state condominialism would transform Israel's image in the Mideast region, dramatically altering its pariah status among its

Islamic neighbors. It would also reduce Israel's need for enormous military expenditures and for huge military aid from the United States. It would provide the basis for both Israel and the Palestinian state to play an important public role in the economic and cultural life of the surrounding region.

22) For those—like the post-Zionist Jews—who are hostile on principle to ethno-nationalisms of any stripe and who yearn for a single, multiethnic state based on civic democracy and equal citizenship rights, regardless of group identities, two-state condominialism offers the long-term prospect of a gradual reduction in ethno-nationalism itself, and of the emergence of political institutions that transcend nationalism. Once Arabs and Jews have lived in peace with each other for a sufficient length of time in a shared settlement community as members of two ethnically secure nation states, and once they have become even more interdependent economically and come to see each other more as joint cooperators than murderous rivals or genocidal enemies, a more unified, civic-democratic set of arrangements could emerge. A two-state condominial arrangement would almost certainly further the possibility of attaining such a long-term goal better than a two-state separationist arrangement, in which Jewish Israel would feel perpetually threatened by the demographics of its growing Arab-citizen population, and irredentist Palestinians would feel cheated out of their basic human right to return to the land from which they and their forbears were so tragically expelled in the 1948 and 1967 wars. With both peoples secure, politically and psychologically, in their own separate nation-states, and each free to move about as workers or settlers in the territory of their former rivals, a wider circle of empathy and identity could develop, with ethno-national consciousness correspondingly receding in importance.

Shared Stewardship: A Win-Win Situation and an Inspiring Vision

Historical Palestine has been a tinderbox of violence and instability since British Mandate times. Arabs and Jews are still at each other's throats. They have made little effort to understand each other's sensibilities or perspectives, and have often hardened into fixed positions that do neither side much good.

Some will argue that good fences make good neighbors and that a clean divorce between battling groups is often the best solution. Palestinians and Jews, according to this view, will never be able to get along with each other and should be encouraged to go their separate ways. This view, in my judgment, is myopic. For, barring large-scale ethnic cleansing, the two peoples will continue to be closely intertwined with each other, certainly in Israel and most likely in any future Palestinian state, as well. Their cooperative integration, not their segregation or separation, must be the goal of any successful future policy.

It is naïve to think that Palestinians are ever going to accept gracefully—or even ungracefully—a two-state solution that gives them less than half the territory they could have had in 1947, when they rejected the UN partition plan as an outrageous injustice. Does anyone really think that after all the suffering, all the sacrifice, all the humiliation, and all the bloodshed and trauma that Palestinians have endured since the 1948 war, they are going to accept with equanimity a truncated Palestinian state on 22 percent of the land of former Mandate Palestine, without a right of return to the territory from which they were forced to flee to make room for a Jewish state?

Most Palestinians living in Gaza and the frontline refugee camps have their historical roots not in the West Bank or in East Jerusalem but in what is now the state of Israel. Human beings live by dreams. For a defeated, humiliated, impoverished people like many of the Palestinians living on Israel's borders, the prospect of returning to their former homeland, even if it is an option most never exercise, has kept their spirits alive and meant the difference between hope and despair. There are some things in life that are worth dying for; for many Palestinian refugees, a right of return to the territory that is now Israel is one of them.

One of the great advantages of the two-state condominial solution is that it pays due respect for both peoples' love of, and desire to settle in, the whole expanse of Palestine/Eretz Israel, while at the same time accommodating both groups' equally strong desire to be part of an ethnically defined political community based upon common history, common descent, and a shared sense of who they are and to whom they belong as a people. It offers what the popular management guru Stephen R. Covey calls a win-win outcome—a solution that is mutually beneficial and satisfying.

Even though the two-state separationist solution has continued to garner international support, most people (including most of its supporters) agree that it is not a very happy outcome for either side.

Let me give you some examples. The former Israeli Labor chairman and reluctant two-state supporter Benjamin Ben-Eliezer says that for there to be peaceful coexistence between Palestinians and Jews, "both sides will have to make painful concessions and give up part of their historical dreams." Similarly, former Israeli Prime Minister Ehud Olmert, for many years a member of the right-wing Likud party, has come to believe in recent times that peace can come about between Israelis and Palestinians only if Israel makes the heart-wrenching decision to relinquish control of both East Jerusalem and almost all of the West Bank. For Israeli Jews, says Olmert, such a decision "is difficult, terrible, a decision that contradicts our natural instincts, our innermost desires, our collective memories, the prayers of the Jewish people for 2,000 years." But it is a decision that must be made, he believes, if peace with the Palestinians is ever to be achieved.

The Israeli novelist Amos Oz finds similar attitudes among both Israeli and Palestinian supporters of the separationist solution. He says public opinion polls show that "a clear majority on both sides ...

favors the idea of a two-state solution, Israel next to Palestine," but "everyone is unhappy about those solutions, everybody is full of suspicions and mistrust, everybody who says 'yes' says so with clenched teeth."

Palestinian reluctance and disappointment over the prospects of a separationist solution is similarly stressed by many writers. Ghada Kharmi says that dividing the former Mandate Palestine into two states has been accepted by many of her fellow Palestinians not because of any belief that it is in itself "an ideal or even a desirable solution," but because it may be for many "the only way ... of saving what little was left of Palestine." Similarly Ali Abunimah, a Palestinian writer whose parents fled from Palestine during the 1948 war, explains how, like many Palestinians, he "swallowed hard and accepted" when the PLO in 1993 formally recognized Israel and agreed to a two-state solution. Such a separationist solution, he says, was accepted by Palestinians like himself only with great bitterness and regret.

Supporters of a one-state solution in which neither Palestinian Arabs nor Jews would have an ethnically defined state of their own are often just as conflicted and ambivalent about the solution they propose as those supporting two-state separationism. "It is not easy for me to part with my father's dream of a Jewish nation-state," writes Meron Benvenisti, the former Jerusalem deputy mayor. "For most of my life that was my dream, too," he adds, describing the great sadness and misgivings that have attended his reluctant conclusion that two-state separationism is no longer feasible and must give way to a unified state that is not officially Jewish. Similarly, Virginia Tilley says the many Israeli and Palestinian journalists and intellectuals who have come to believe in the need for a unified Jewish/Arab state have done so for the most part only "with inner pain and moral turmoil," with "anguish and sorrow," most believing that something important will have been lost.

What are the prospects for lasting peace when such painful concessions have to be made? A solution that contradicts "natural instincts," that is "terrible," that evokes great "bitterness," that must be accepted with "clenched teeth," that is embraced only with "inner pain and moral turmoil," with great "anguish and sorrow"—what are the prospects of such a solution leading to an outcome with which anyone is happy and has a long-term prospect of reconciling former foes? The short answer is: not very good!

It is the kind of solution that leads to an India-Pakistan type of outcome where ongoing enmity on both sides produces festering sores, mutual recriminations, periodic riots, terrorist raids, and continuing arms races (including nowadays one with nuclear weapons). The reality of the situation should remind us of how important a win-win kind of solution is—one that rejects the polarized, zero-sum kind of thinking inherent in the separationist logic that has been dominant in the Mideast since Mandate times.

The social psychologist Michael E. McCullough writes, "People will become more motivated to put their histories of bloody conflict behind them and try to forgive their former enemies when the benefits of cooperation are undeniably superior to the unforgiving, zero-sum status quo." McCullough has looked at many historical instances of former foes who have come together and found genuine reconciliation, and he believes that human beings, far from being exclusively warlike and aggressive creatures, have a built-in faculty for forgiveness and reconciliation under the right circumstances. He places this faculty within a framework of evolutionary psychology. The key factor to reconciliation, says McCullough, is the emergence of a positive-sum solution in which both parties feel they have arrived at an agreement that is both just and pragmatically better than the existing state of affairs. "When we design societies so that people's rights are protected, so that they experience justice, and so that they have incentives for cooperating with their former enemies," McCullough says, "then forgiveness arises as a natural consequence of how our minds evolved to operate." This fact needs to be placed at the center of all attempts to resolve the Arab/Israeli conflict.

Truth and Reconciliation

THERE IS A FINAL ELEMENT THAT I HAVEN'T mentioned—an element that McCullough describes as "forgiveness requiring a strong dose of truth." Surveying some of the literature on how civil wars in South Africa and a number of Third World countries were brought to a peaceful conclusion, McCullough found that successful peace processes often involve "a process of truth telling through which the warring factions can reach consensus about how to understand the injustices they've suffered and the harms they've perpetrated upon each other." A number of Jews prominent in the Israeli and American peace movements have made similar claims that a genuine reconciliation between Palestinians and Jews will ultimately require some kind of honest reckoning of what each group has done to the other in order to establish a new kind of relationship. Only then can the evils of the past be transcended without being either forgotten or denied.

The Tikkun Community has been particularly active in the call for an honest reckoning and reconciliation between the antagonistic parties. Believing as they do that "social change and inner change go hand in hand," Rabbi Michael Lerner and his group have been in the forefront of the call for both Palestinians and Jews to acknowledge the wrongs that both sides have done to the other. This call for an honest accounting is done with the understanding that it is the only way to clear the historical ledgers and unburden both sides from the guilt, distortions, and psychic burdens of the past that now stand in the way of genuine reconciliation and mutual forgiveness. In a full-page ad in the *New York Times* co-sponsored by the Network of Spiritual Progressives, the Tikkun Community said real justice and reconciliation in the Mideast ultimately requires "repentance and atonement for the long history of insensitivity and cruelty each side has shown toward the other side." It is only through such honest reckoning, the ad said, that a genuine change in consciousness can take place that would enable the two peoples to fundamentally alter the kinds of relationships they have had with

one another in the past.

Similar views have been expressed in Israel by Uri Avnery's Gush Shalom peace group. Avnery, who as a teenager fought in the 1948 war, has been calling for a number of years for a South Africa-style joint commission for truth and reconciliation in which Palestinian, Israeli, and outside scholars produce an honest historical accounting of what really happened in the 1948 and 1967 wars, and what wrongs were done by each group to the other. Avnery believes that such truth-telling by both parties could contribute to an overcoming of the deep distrust that both peoples have of the other, which has been a roadblock to peace.

At the very least what is needed in the former territory of the British Mandate is an acknowledgment by each side of the salient truths contained in each other's respective national narrative. From the Jewish side, this would require acknowledgment that the Balfour Declaration—a unilateral decree about the future of Palestine issued by a European imperialist power without the slightest consultation with the native inhabitants of Palestine itself—involved a fundamental injustice to the indigenous Palestinian Arabs, many of whom had ancestral roots in the territory going back centuries. Equally important, it would require acknowledgment that the Arabs who fled Israel during the 1948 war did so mainly because of legitimate fears for their physical safety at the hands of the Zionist army (Haganah) and Jewish terrorist groups (Irgun, Stern), and that, whatever the reasons for their flight, Israel's subsequent refusal to allow them to return to their homes and villages after the fighting had stopped was nothing less than an act of "ethnic cleansing" (to use the contemporary term), leading to untold suffering and hardship for the people involved.

What is needed from the side of the Palestinian Arabs is a formal acknowledgment of the deep spiritual and historical bond that has connected the Jewish people to the Land of Israel (Eretz Israel) throughout many centuries of exile, as well as an acknowledgment of the extreme situation in which so many Jews found themselves in the face of the murderous anti-Semitism that arose in late nineteenth-century Europe and the subsequent ascent to power of the Nazis in Germany. In addition, there should be a public acknowledgment of the great injustices that were done to Mideastern and North African Jews by various Arab governments following the creation of the Jewish state. These Jews must be acknowledged as victims of local Arab versions of ethnic cleansing just as cruel as that suffered by Palestinian Arabs at the hands of Israeli Jews in the Great Catastrophe of 1948. Israel's willingness to take in these desperate refugees in such huge numbers should be acknowledged as the great act of generosity and humanitarian national sacrifice that it was.

Such public truth telling is needed on both sides to clear the historical air and cut through the pattern of denials and evasions that typically characterize discussion of these issues when adversarial positions are assumed. An acknowledgment by both parties that the enmity and hostility that has existed for generations between them is more a product of history and of fate than of any intrinsic hatred of one people for the other would go a long way toward achieving the reconciliation and psychological transformation that a lasting peace requires. This means that Zionism must be understood by the Arab side as a form of historically rooted Jewish nationalism, not a form of racism, just as the anti-Zionism of Palestinian Arabs must be understood by Jews not as a form of anti-Semitism but as a product of a rival Arab nationalism—a nationalism that is just as historically grounded and valid as Jewish nationalism and not based on any intrinsic, anti-Semitic hatred of Jews. The Palestinian/Israeli conflict must be acknowledged by both sides for what it has always been—a tragic confrontation of two peoples, both with powerful claims to the territory of a very small land, who, for a variety of historical and cultural reasons, have done a very poor job of creatively reconciling their differences and getting along with one another.

The fact that in the past they have done such a poor job of reconciliation does not, however, remove either the possibility or the moral imperative to get it right in the future. What the great scholar of Jewish mysticism, Gershom Sholem, said many decades ago is just as true today as when it was first uttered in the period between the two world wars (indeed, in a world of proliferating nuclear weapons, it is even more true): "The Land of Israel"—i.e., historical Palestine—"belongs to two peoples, and these peoples need to find a way to live together ... and to work for a common future." An acknowledgment by both peoples of what is legitimate in the other side's claims and perspectives would go a long way toward reducing the poisonous enmity that exists between them. The enormous outpouring of Jewish goodwill on the occasion of Anwar Sadat's visit to Jerusalem in November of 1977 showed just how responsive Israeli Jews can be to any Arab who makes the least effort to understand their situation.

While the sympathy and goodwill of Jews such as Judah Magnes and Martin Buber, who tried as best they could to understand the Palestinian narrative, was not reciprocated by Arabs in the 1940s, the prospects today for Arab reciprocity are much greater than in the chaos-strewn years of the 1940s. A rebirth of a Brith Shalom-type spirit of generosity and understanding—if carried out within the context of a final settlement that accords to Palestinians both the state they seek within pre-1967 borders and the right of return to the territory that is now the state of Israel—would almost certainly alter Arab attitudes and beliefs. Israelis would discover that there are a lot more Anwar Sadat types out there than they now suppose. If each party reaches out to the other in generosity and understanding, and if each gets materially much of what its national movement so ardently desires, the change in the psychology of the two peoples will prove more electrifying and transformative than anyone can now imagine. Swords will be beaten into plowshares and the two peoples will know war no more. At some very deep level of their psyche, I believe, all but the most fanatical and zealous Palestinians and Jews yearn for some kind of just and lasting peace.

The challenge for the next generation will be to tap into that yearning and make its fulfillment a reality.

Hope in the Younger Generation

In 1918, just a year after the Balfour Declaration, David Ben-Gurion set forth the core of the Jewish/Arab dispute over historical Palestine in terms whose conciseness and understanding have never been surpassed. "I do not know what Arab will agree that Palestine should belong to the Jews," Ben-Gurion wrote. "We [Jews], as a nation, want this country to be *ours*; the Arabs, as a nation, want this country to be *theirs*."

Despite bouts of guarded optimism in the 1920s and early 1930s, Ben-Gurion remained a pessimist throughout most of his long life, concluding that there could be no peaceful settlement to what divided Arabs and Jews in historical Palestine. To the seemingly intractable conundrum posed by Ben-Gurion, we must today ask, "Is it possible to reach a settlement in historical Palestine in which both Arabs and Jews can proclaim, 'this land will be both *ours* and *theirs*'?"

I believe that the answer is yes, but only if the younger generation is willing to think creatively about solutions in which all parties feel they have greatly gained and to which they can energetically commit themselves. We don't want a solution in which both sides have to make painful concessions and give up most of their historical dreams—dreams for which they have sacrificed so much and which serve in various ways as the unifying bonds of their collective existence.

Young people today should not think the older generation has superior wisdom and experience on this issue. Neither the generations that came of age before World War II, nor the baby boomers that grew up in the decades after it have developed a viable solution.

Peace activist Ilan Pappe says: "Our political elites [in Israel] are incompetent in the best case and corrupt in the worst in all that pertains to finding a solution to the [Palestinian-Israeli] conflict.... The elites which accompany us in the Western World and the Arab World are just as bad." Although, for reasons given, I believe Pappe's one-state solution to be impossible, his indictment and salient challenge here is right on the mark. *The older generation does not have an answer!*

Jews, it is said, believe in miracles—not necessarily developments that contradict the physical laws of nature, but developments in the communal and interpersonal realm that seem so unlikely when they occur and so magnificent in their outcome that we are dumb-struck with wonder. It was a miracle in this sense that enabled the Jews, after being expelled by the Romans from Ancient Israel, to stick together as a people for almost two thousand years in a tightly knit, worshipping community, despite relentless persecution. It was a similar miracle that enabled the Jews in the twentieth century, following their widespread dispersal throughout Europe and the Mideast, to come together in the land of Biblical Israel, take in millions of fellow Jews fleeing oppression, make the desert bloom, and create a vibrant, progressive, modern democracy—one that, despite all its sins and the misery it has caused the native Palestinian population, is surely one of the more decent societies on this planet.

The time has come for a third great miracle, one that will be no less momentous than the previous two: a miracle in which Arabs and Jews join together in a cooperative union in which they not only abandon their former enmities but develop a genuine respect—maybe even a love—for one another, and their union becomes a beacon of peace and concord throughout the Mideast. Such a miracle would fulfill the Isaianic dream of Israel becoming "a light unto the nations," a model of ethnic reconciliation and goodwill that many other ethnically divided nations around the world might strive to emulate. It would also fulfill the dream of the most high-minded of the early Zionists—men like A.D. Gordon, Herbert Samuels, Martin Buber, and Judah Magnes—who envisioned a pioneering Jewish settler community in which Jews would offer to the world an example of moral and spiritual renewal.

"Where there is no vision the people perish," according to the Book of Ecclesiastes. This ancient saying from the Biblical wisdom literature was perhaps never more applicable than in the case of our modern, now century-long, conflict between Palestinians and Jews. What is clearly needed today is a fresh vision. In speaking of "two-state condominialism," I offer an example of such a vision. There may be others—or significant modifications of what I have suggested—that are much better. By all means they should be pursued. We need to harness all our creativity, wise judgment, common sense, and sense of justice to develop a visionary plan. But the end goal of such a plan must always be this: a political structure and cooperative arrangement that will enable both Jews and Arabs in the former territory of the British Mandate to realize collectively most of their respective national dreams. Anything less—any arrangement that is not a win-win situation offering better prospects for both peoples than the present status quo—is doomed to failure and will foster continued enmity between the contending parties. Here is the challenge of our time. I believe that the younger generation of Jews, cut from the cloth of a people who have brought to the modern world such enormous innovation and creativity, are fully up to the task. And despite a century of conflict, I believe younger Palestinians will be found who are fully up to the task too. ■

VOLUNTEERS WANTED

Volunteer from your home!

Here are three ways to get involved:

1. If you have computer skills, help us rebuild our online archive.
2. Use your phone from home to help us do outreach to welcome new members of the Network of Spiritual Progressives.
3. Do outreach to the media to help them address our issues.

Email pete@tikkun.org to get started.

A Chat with God about This and That

Dear God, today I'd like to chat about this and that
like pals, no thou shall and shall not, no calling up
to you from the abyss, no proving you exist.

Let's go casual, a blue jeans affair, and talk
about something dumb, a TV show maybe.
I don't watch much, don't like my eyes

helpless, drawn to the high rate of screen flicker
where crowds of incorporeal figures
speak new worlds into being.

I want to keep my brain waves clear
so I can receive you. Oh, God,
here we go again with the metaphysics.

Before we switch topics, I'm curious:
You're all-knowing, your attention omnipresent—
how many channels can you watch at once?

How many wars? How many lovers?
How many rivers flooding? How many wildflowers
blooming in how many climate zones?

Do you become numb, too?
Or can you resist being transfixed?
Oh, dear, let's get back on track,

have our chat about this and that.
Let's not mix up the ordinary
and the extraordinary. No kisses,

no flourishing, no miracles, no thunder,
no wrath, no death, no wonder, no one
wrecked like me. How about an errand?

Not the one into the wilderness—
I want the constant, the necessary,
say, grocery shopping. People commonly

advise don't go to the store hungry,
you'll buy too much. But I can't buy
anything unless my stomach calls me

to the tilapia, polenta, pistachios, parsley,
and oranges—then delicious Ls, Ohs, and Ahs
on my tongue prepare a Platonic ideal

of a meal to serve my loved ones.
Do I need temptation to nourish life?
Or do I need to need in order to create?

Or perhaps my divine concoction is made
with a little this, a little that. I won't name
the ingredients, the secrets of the trade,

though you already know, having given me
all I am and all I possess and all I don't.
This and that are such boring words,

unattached as they are to earth or heaven,
unlike the earth and the heavens
in which you are manifest.

Or perhaps those words are free-flying birds
alighting on whatever they please.
Sometimes I'd like to stay in one place.

Give me some boredom, dear God, a balm
for my lament or praise or thanks to you
that nothing but nothing refuses to flower.

— Aliki Barnstone

Dear Swami

Where Swami answers your questions, and you will question his answers

BY SWAMI BEYONDANANDA



Dear Swami:

I am in so much distress about the current economic situation that I can't sleep at night, and frankly I seem to be experiencing depression interspersed with episodes of anger. For the first time in my life, I am considering seeing a therapist. Yes, I know. There are certain aspects of the economic crisis that are out of my control. However, I do very much respect your wise perspective. Do I need to see a shrink? Is there something else I can do to reduce the stress? And do you have any other financial advice?

Bill Zardue
Xenia, Ohio

Dear Bill:

I can understand how stressed you must feel, and let's face it—stress can be stressful. I cannot stress enough how stressful stress can be. And since there is a strong relationship between society at large and society at small, it is understandable that during an economic depression one might get depressed over the economy. But just because there is toxic news out there doesn't mean you have to take it poisonally. You just need to shift your perspective, ever so slightly. Next time you hear your inner voice saying, "I feel depressed," just change the em*pha*sis to a different syl*la*ble. Say, "I feel deep rest." Say that enough, and before long you will feel deeply rested.

As for seeking help for economic depression (or as it is known clinically, CFD or Cash Flow Deficiency), instead of paying big bucks to shrink your head, try saving money by shrinking your overhead instead. One of the leading causes of Cash Flow Deficiency is a related affliction, Deficit Inattention Disorder, characterized by the belief, "I must have money in my account, because look, I still have some blank checks in my checkbook." Deficit Inattention Disorder sufferers cannot resist a good buy. A good buy here, and a good buy there ... and pretty soon, it's goodbye money.

Regarding your episodes of anger, it is perfectly natural for those with Deficit Inattention Disorder and Cash Flow Deficiency to see red. So, you have asked for my advice—a sure sign of someone in trouble—and I will give it. Sell or give away anything you don't want, don't love, or don't need. Stay liquid. For the one undeniable truth in these paradoxical economic times is, the more liquid you are, the more solid you will feel.

Dear Swami:

I'm a bit confused. Sometimes I think you are being wise, other times it seems like you're being a wise guy. Are you a real swami? And what is a "swami," anyway?

Alice Klarr
Greeley, Colorado

Dear Alice:

First of all, let's handle the question of my being a real swami. This morning, I pinched myself and sure enough—I am real! Next question, what is a swami? A swami is one who has mastered himself or herself. Naturally, that means I am highly qualified as a swami. After all, who could possibly be a better me than I could? I was literally made for the job! And when it comes to being YOUR self, so were you. After all, each of us is totally unique, just like everybody else. As far as I'm concerned, Oscar Wilde said it best: "Be yourself. Everyone else is taken."

Dear Swami:

I've been hearing a lot about magnetic healing lately. Have you ever tried it, and do you think it works?

Candace B. Wright
Huntsville, Alabama

Dear Candace:

Does it work? Are you kidding? It sure does! I had a magnetic healing session about a month ago, and I was stuck to my refrigerator for three days. ■

Swami Beyondananda is the comic alter ego of Steve Bhaerman and can be found online at www.wakeuplaughing.com.

Tikkun RECOMMENDS

A HEART AFIRE: STORIES AND TEACHINGS OF THE EARLY HASIDIC MASTERS

Zalman Schachter-Shalomi
and Netanel Miles-Yepez
The Jewish Publication Society, 2009



ZALMAN SCHACHTER-SHALOMI IS THE MOST significant disciple of the Lubavitcher Rebbe Menachem Mendel Schneerson and the spiritual leader of the Jewish Renewal Movement. Together with comparative religion scholar Netanel Miles-Yepez, Schachter-Shalomi has prepared for us and for future generations a collection of stories and teachings of the early Hasidic masters that opens to us the wisdom of this most important spiritual/mystical movement in Jewish thought. Drawing upon his own powerful learning in the Chabad movement and from contemporary academic knowledge, Schachter-Shalomi provides the kind of commentary that is at once intellectually solid and spiritually deep. It's a sophisticated introduction to Hasidic thought.

THE VANISHING FACE OF GAIA

James Lovelock
Basic Books, 2009

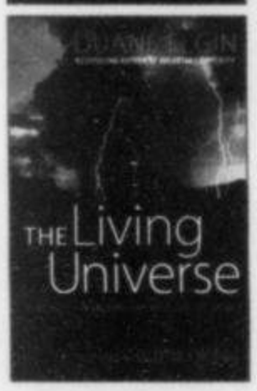
THE LIVING UNIVERSE

Duane Elgin
Barrett-Koehler Publishers, 2009

SUN OF GOD

Gregory Sams
Red Wheel/Weiser, 2009







HOW MANY TIMES DO WE HAVE TO HEAR THAT the universe is alive, that consciousness pervades all being? Unless we change the way we live, treat the planet and the larger universe with the care they deserve, and let go of our narrow selfishness and materialism, we are likely to see the destruction of life on earth. How many times do we have to hear this? Answer: as many times as we need to until we as individuals and as a culture recognize the urgent nature of the crisis facing our planet. The environmental crisis may soon undermine human life on earth! Each of these three books takes a stab at getting us to take the message seriously, and together they add up to required reading for those of us who hope to heal and transform the world.

RED DIAPER BABY: A REVOLUTIONARY COMEDY

Josh Kornbluth
DVD from Quixotic Projects, 2009

A JIHAD FOR LOVE

Parvez Sharma
DVD from Halal Films, 2007



VIDEO IS EMERGING AS AN IMPORTANT FORCE in the work of *tikkun*-ing the world, and these two DVDs are powerful examples of what can be captured in this medium. Yet they couldn't be more different from each other. *Red Diaper Baby* (available at joshkornbluth.com) is Josh Kornbluth's hilarious rendition of his own process of freeing himself from the pathologies of his communist parents. It is obsessed with sex, politics, and neuroses. You can't help but love Kornbluth by the time it is over, and you can't help but learn a lot about growing up in America in the 1960s. *A Jihad for Love* provides a window into the problems faced by gay and lesbian Muslims who do not want to abandon their religion and cannot abandon their own homosexuality. It is at once shocking, deeply revelatory of the homophobic distortions that poison all the Abrahamic religions, and humanly engaging. It was filmed in twelve countries and nine languages, and it gives an insightful and compassionate look into the reality of contemporary Islam.



THE BIRTHRIGHT LOTTERY

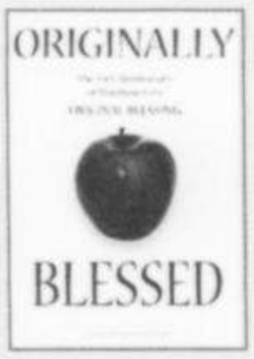
Ayelet Shachar
Harvard University Press, 2009



OK, YOU WERE LUCKY ENOUGH TO BE BORN IN ONE of the wealthier countries of the world. But what makes you entitled to enjoy the benefits of this accident of birth while others in poorer countries are starving to death through no fault of their own? Ayelet Shachar, a professor of law at the University of Toronto, argues that the privileges of hereditary entitlement to citizenship may be legitimate, but so too are the claims to citizenship of those born elsewhere who have developed bonds of community involvement. Birthright citizenship is a special kind of inherited property, and a society has a right to impose restrictions and qualifications on what rights flow from the chance occurrence of "being born here." This book is an important jumping-off point not only for the immigrant rights movement, but also for all of us who would like to see the eventual dismantling of restriction on immigration, or even of all national boundaries.

ORIGINALLY BLESSED

Edited by Matthew Henry
Creation Spirituality Communities, 2008
www.originallyblessed.org



CHRISTIAN THEOLOGIANS WERE BURDENED BY the pessimistic readings on human reality that seemed to flow from the notion of "original sin" until Matthew Fox (at that time a Dominican Catholic priest) wrote his powerful *Original Blessing* in 1983, a liberation theology classic that helped refocus Christian attention on all that is beautiful and that elicits joy and pleasure in the world. His reward? Cardinal Ratzinger (now the current Pope) silenced him and he eventually was thrown from his denomination and from the Catholic Church. On the occasion of the twenty-fifth anniversary of its publication, Matthew Henry has assembled a stimulating set of essays that further develop many of the themes in Fox's original classic. Among the authors: Riane Eisler on "Sacred Pleasure," Andrew Harvey on "Trust Even Your Heartbreak," Bruce Chilton on "Rabbi Jesus, the Cosmic Christ," Jeremy Taylor on "Aesthetics—Yes! Asceticism—No!" and Caroline Myss on "The Soul Serves God."

Tikkun Goes Blog ... Join Us!

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