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Master Thesis

Re-evaluating Traditional Belief Systems in Global Diaspora:
New Confucianism and *Ba'alei Teshuvah* Judaism Examined

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ABSTRACT (English)

One of the major defining features of the 21st Century has been resurgence of religions and associated value systems throughout the world. Throughout the 20th century, it was commonly assumed that these modes of existence were on the inevitable trajectory of receding from public and private life. Today, it is quite clear that far from vanishing, these systems are flourishing and garnering tremendous power from individuals. Confucianism and Judaism are but two of a colorful constellation of global belief systems that have witnessed a revival over the past 40 years. Dubbed New Confucianism and Balei Teshuva Judaism respectively, these movements are prompting changes within their host cultures, as well as upon the world at large. This thesis will survey the contemporary developments in the two movements, and compare them within the context of the “de-secularization” thesis. Are these two movements part of the same phenomenon? What similarities and what distinctive features do they possess? Following a historical overview covering Confucianism and Judaism in their traditional pre-modern contexts, their decline amidst the dawning of modernity, and their contemporary resurgences, the following paper will attempt to answer these questions.

ABSTRACT (Deutsch)

Eines der herausragendsten Merkmale des 21. Jahrhunderts ist das weltweite Wiederaufleben von Religionen und die mit ihnen verbundenen Wertesystemen. Im 20. Jahrhundert nahm man an, Religionen würden unweigerlich von der öffentlichen in die private Sphäre der Menschen zurückweichen. Heute ist es klar, dass diese Systeme aufblühen und durch einzelne Menschen ungemein viel Macht erlangen können. Konfuzianismus und Judaismus sind nur zwei von vielen globalen Glaubenssystemen, die in den letzten 40 Jahren einen Aufschwung erlebt hatten. Unter der Bezeichnung Neuer Konfuzianismus bzw. Balei Teshuva Judaismus, fördern diese Bewegungen Veränderungen sowohl innerhalb ihrer Gastkulturen, als auch weltweit. Diese Arbeit will die gegenwärtige Entwicklung dieser beiden Bewegungen untersuchen, und vergleicht sie im Kontext der These der "De-Säkularisierung". Sind diese beiden Bewegungen Teil ein und desselben Phänomens? Welche Ähnlichkeiten und welche Unterschiede weisen sie auf? Nach einem historischen Überblick, der Konfuzianismus und Judaismus in ihren traditionellen vormodernen Kontext behandelt, ihren Abstieg im Zuge der Modernisierung, und ihr gegenwärtiges Wiedererstarken, versucht diese Arbeit die oben formulierten Fragen zu beantworten.

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1. Introduction

The Jewish and Chinese cultures appear worlds (literally) apart, with few interconnections or commonalities between them to serve as a viable basis for comparison. Consider the following: there are over 1.3 billion people in the geo-political designation known as present day China, nearly 20% of the world's population, of which the Han culture is the dominant majority. The Chinese have been rooted in the eastern part of this territory since time immemorial. They always possessed a strong and powerful state based upon their intellectual/cultural heritage grounded in the teachings of Confucius. Aside from a brief interlude during the Yuan dynasty (13th/14th century) driven by the unprecedented imperial conquests of the Mongols, the Han Chinese have always exercised autonomy over their territory. The protracted continuity of the Han cultural lineage makes it perhaps the longest enduring civilization in global history.

The Jewish historical experience is equally unique, though in a diametrically opposed fashion. Currently there are around 14 million Jews in the world, only .25% of the world's population. Historians estimate this ratio has remained constant throughout most of the 4,000 years of Jewish history. During the past two millennia, Jews have lived in exile from their historic homeland in the land of Israel, wandering the four corners of the globe as unwelcome aliens in foreign lands. Even when the Jews did possess a state of their own, their sovereignty was limited as they were subjected to routine conquest and plunder. Such is the case with the Babylonians (6th Century BCE), the Greeks (2nd Century BCE), and the Romans (1st Century CE). Whilst in exile, the Jewish people

became a multicultural body, with Moroccan, Russian, Indian, American, Spanish, German, Iraqi, Uzbek, and countless other national incarnations of Jews.¹

Given the stark disparity between these two cultures, one wonders where to even begin conducting a comparison between such a minuscule and dispersed people as the Jews, and such a gigantic, homogenous population as the Han Chinese. Curiously, however, many parallels can indeed be found just beyond surface level. In her 1995 comparative study, Rene Goldman finds numerous points of similarity between Judaism and Confucianism.² Most saliently, she demonstrates the unmatched devotion to learning in both traditions, and the moral obligation to practically apply that knowledge in daily life. In other words, both belief systems encourage the individual not only to utilize canonical texts in order to cultivate oneself spiritually, but also to directly engage the physical world through ritual and virtuous leadership; Judaism and Confucianism do not foster hermitage, monasticism, or celibacy. Other points of comparison include a ubiquitous focus on the golden rule, an analogous set of filial obligations, and a strikingly similar code of ethics and moral leadership.

Philosophical resemblances are only one part of the story. The dawning of modernity has brought about a historical crisscross between the two belief systems, as the classical demographic and geographical roles each of these cultures have become intertwined. Ironically, for the first time in millennia, Jews have begun settling in their historic homeland of Israel, while populations of Chinese immigrants have spawned throughout the urban centers of the world; politically autonomous Jews in Israel and a global Chinese Diaspora are categorical exceptions to macro-level historical patterns.

¹ Paul Johnson. *History of the Jews*. USA: Harper Perennial, 1988. Pp. 169, 200.

² Rene Goldman. "Moral Leadership in Society: Some Parallels between the Confucian "Noble Man" and the Jewish Zaddik." *Philosophy East and West*, Vol. 45, No 3, July 1995. Pp. 347-349.

Related to these contemporary transformations is the complex dynamic between their respective traditional belief systems and genesis of the modern world. With the 19th century penetration of Western liberal thought into the traditional “habits of the heart” embedded in Occidental Jews and Oriental *zhongguo ren* (Chinese), both cultures developed and later institutionalized remarkably similar iconoclastic approaches to their traditional modes of transcendental conviction. In Western Europe, recently emancipated German Jews pioneered the *haskala*, or Jewish Enlightenment, which swiftly swept across the Ashkenazic Jewish world spreading the three-fold goal of reform, integration, and assimilation.³ In China, the late 19th century humiliations inflicted through waves of Western imperial conquest generated a heady wave of intellectual criticism of Confucianism, eventually culminating in the May 4 movement of 1919 and the near wholesale disregard of the Chinese scholarly tradition.⁴

Despite these revolutionary movements, and defying the sacrosanct wisdom of modernity’s greatest socio-historical commentators, both Confucianism and traditional Judaism have made remarkable comebacks in the recent decades. In the Jewish world, hundreds of thousands of *Ba’alei Teshuvah*, or newly observant Jews, have emerged and are inciting great changes in both the religious and non-religious worlds of global Jewry. For Confucianism, the ancient wisdom the venerated sage has peaked the interest of Westerners and Chinese alike both within and outside Mainland China, and carries with it significant ramifications for both Chinese society and the world at large. Before looking at the similarities and differences between these postmodern resurgences, a brief overview

³ Johnson, Paul. *History of the Jews*. Pp. 300.

⁴ Fu, Zhengyuan. *Autocratic Tradition and Chinese Politics*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993. Pp. 143.

of the basic history and tenets of both belief systems will be necessary as to comprehend contemporary developments.

1.1 Two Meta-Narratives

My use of the term “belief system” as opposed to the religion is deliberate. The categorization of both traditions as “belief systems” avoids the problematic debate among Confucian scholars as to the religious nature of Confucianism. Conversely, few and far between are those who refuse designate Judaism as a religion. It is in many ways the source for our modern concept of religion given that the other two major monotheistic religions of the world emerged from it. A simple recitation of the Judaic biblical narrative is as follows: Abraham, who was born amongst the ancient polytheistic tribes of modern day Iraq, comes to the realization that the universe consists of only one god. Upon developing a relationship with this deity, Abraham relocates to the land of present day Israel, where his decedents dwell until they are enslaved in Egypt three generations later. The axial moment comes when G-d miraculously removes the Israelites from their Egyptian bondage and bestows upon them the *Torah* at Mount Sinai. Also known as the five books of Moses, the *Torah* is the foundation of the Old Testament, which consists of an additional 19 books written by Jewish kings and prophets over the ensuing millennium. There also exists a parallel oral tradition in Judaism known as the *Talmud*, which remained un-codified for nearly 1,500 years. In the third century AD, after the Romans had exiled the Jews into their historical destiny as wanderers among nations, the Jewish sages deemed the oral tradition in grave of danger of being lost. Thus, they subsequently undertook in the laborious process of compiling a codified volume of the Jewish oral law.

Dogmatically speaking, Judaism is full of practical rituals, known as *mitzvot*. To be precise, there are 613 of these dictums, which are divided into positive and negative commandments. Since the destruction of the second temple, it has only been possible to observe 77 negative and 194 positive Biblical commandments. Meanwhile, the Jewish sages enacted a host of Rabbinical ordinances in order to “erect a fence” around the *Torah* thus protecting its integrity. It is each Jew’s duty to constantly perform these commandments, which includes the more well known edicts of observing the Sabbath, honoring one’s mother and father, and adhering to *Kosher* dietary laws, as well as more obscure ones such as shaking four plant species during the festival of *Sukkot*, and the prohibition against cutting down fruit trees. One of the greatest *mitzvot* that can be performed is learning *Torah*, which consists of studying the statutes of Jewish law as derived from *Talmud* and subsidiary texts on Jewish philosophy, mysticism, and self-development. Jews have also established a rigid prayer routine, comprised of morning, afternoon, and evening services. The performance of the *mitzvot*, the study of *Torah*, and daily prayer are the three primary pillars constituting a *Torah-Observant* Jewish lifestyle.⁵

Confucianism, in contrast with Judaism, is not as easily labeled as a religion though it is not uncommon for scholars to do so.⁶ In order to avoid the debate as to the suitability of “religion” as an adequate description of the Confucian tradition, I will instead utilize the less contentious term “belief system.” Whether or not Confucianism is truly a religion, it is apparent that it has historically operated as a close functional equivalent to traditional Western European forms of religion. As Chinese philosophy expert Wm.

⁵ This expose of the Jewish faith is derived from various encounters with prominent Jewish theologians in London, Jerusalem, and Vienna.

⁶ Tucker, Mary Evelyn. “Religious Dimensions of Confucianism.” *Philosophy East and West*, Volume 48, Number 1, January 1998.

Theodore de Bary observed, “If we were to characterize in one word the Chinese way of life for the last two thousand years, the word would be “Confucian.”⁷

Confucius himself was born in 551 BCE at the end of the Spring and Autumn period when China was on the verge of political collapse. Living modestly as a political philosopher, he traveled across China searching for a ruler who would give him a chance to see his theories implemented into action. Failing to garner success as a political advisor, Confucius retreated to the realms of pedagogic inquiry, wherein he developed a devout following of disciples. The primary text of Confucian thought, “The Analects,” was a recorded collection of Confucius’ teachings as assembled posthumously by his top students. According to tradition, Confucius also wrote or edited the other books of “the five classics,” which comprise the philosophical canon of Classical Confucianism, along with the commentaries of later Confucian sages such as *Mencius* and *Xun Zi*.

The next major change in Confucian thought came over 1,000 years later with the introduction of Neo Confucianism.⁸ This transformation was marked by the introduction of metaphysical concepts, as influenced by the emergence of prominent Buddhist and Daoist academies within China, into traditional Confucian thought.⁹ Early Neo-Confucians such as *Zhu Xi* promoted the “investigation of things,” so that one should derive principles about oneself through the observation of natural phenomenon.¹⁰ Later thinkers such as *Wang Yangming* promoted profound internal examination, holding that the fulcrum of worldly experience lay within the mind. Instead of focusing on imminence

⁷ Wm. Theodore de Bary. *Sources of Chinese Tradition: Volume 1*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1960. Pp. 15.

⁸ Vincent Shen. “Introduction and Early Thinkers.” *University of Vienna Lecture Course 180486 VO Chinese Philosophy - Neo-Confucianism, University of Vienna, April 22, 2008*. Extracted April 21, 2008 from <http://link.library.utoronto.ca/easie/course.cfm?courseid=ChinesePhilo2&T=0.517348006515>.

⁹ Ibid.

¹⁰ Ibid.

and transcendence as many Western religions do, Confucianism is geared towards personal cultivation within an anthropocosmic domain of heaven, earth, and human.¹¹ It is one's duty to develop and refine his character traits, so that one should either fully repress one's selfish desires, or utilizes them to accomplish virtuous goals.

The primary distinction between Confucianism and Abrahamic religions is that the former lacks the concept of a divine being who consciously relates to His creation. Confucian philosophers often discuss "The Heavenly Way," the "Heavenly Principle," and "The Great Ultimate" when referring to the cosmological unity and structure of the Universe. Similar though this rhetoric may be to monotheistic motifs of universal oneness, these formulations are based in omnipresent principles, and do not accommodate the sentient divinity of monotheistic traditions. Furthermore, in stark contradiction to monotheistic faiths, Confucianism does not prohibit the worship of multiple gods, the deification of human beings, or the practice of other religions.¹²

In addition to its philosophy, Confucianism is comprised of an intricate system of rituals, or *li*. It is through these symbolic social and private interactions that one can obtain mastery over one's heart, thereby becoming a righteous individual or *junzi*. The most significant of these rituals is filial piety, or veneration of one's ancestors, elders, superiors, and ruler. Throughout history, filial piety has permeated the underlying ethical furniture of Chinese society, upholding both popular and elite social discourse. Various other

¹¹ Mary Evelyn Tucker. "Religious Dimensions of Confucianism." *Philosophy East and West*, Volume 48, Number 1, January 1998. Pp. 5.

¹² Ibid., Pp. 14, 16.

other universal rituals can be seen in Confucian tradition, though regionally specific rites prevail in many places across the Confucian world.¹³

1.2 Methodology and Personal Considerations

This Masters Thesis has been written to fulfill the requirements for candidacy in the 2008 Global History program at the University of Vienna. The course was part of a larger European Union initiative entitled *Erasmus Mundus: Global Studies from a European Perspective*, a two-year program designed to bring foreign scholars to European Universities to study Globalization. Having spent my first year at the London School of Economics, I write this thesis, based out of the University of Vienna, to complete my tenure as an *Erasmus Mundus* scholar.

First and foremost, this is a research paper surveying two particular religious resurgence movements that appear to be part of a larger global process. Most of the study is conducted within the framework of historical research, building off the methods established by various practitioners of global history. As such, I utilized many sources in a variety of geographical locations. The bulk of the research was conducted in Vienna. I made ample use of the academic texts located within the University of Vienna Library, especially its East Asian collection, as well as the Vienna School of Economics library. A substantial amount of textual research was additionally conducted at the Hebrew University Library located in Jerusalem. For electronic resources, access to the *ATHENS* online journal database has proved an indispensable resource for this project, as all journals

¹³ Vincent Shen. "Introduction and Early Thinkers." *University of Vienna Lecture Course 180486 VO Chinese Philosophy - Neo-Confucianism, University of Vienna, April 22, 2008*. Extracted April 21, 2008 from <http://link.library.utoronto.ca/easic/course.cfm?courseid=ChinesePhilo2&T=0.517348006515>.

cited in the paper were accessed through its web portal. The newspapers and magazines cited were sourced directly from the publication's websites. Although unpublished Internet materials are precarious sources, their use was unavoidable due to the contemporary and novel nature of the research at hand. Bearing this in mind, online sources were used sparingly, and with the greatest of scrutiny. This study also integrates a plethora of personal interviews and informal conversations I conducted with experts in the respective fields of Judaism and Confucianism over the past year, in addition to materials derived from a course on Chinese religion, and one on Neo-Confucian philosophy I attended during the 2007/8 academic year at the University of Vienna.

It is at this point that I, as author of this piece of historical scholarship, must confess my unavoidable embeddedness within the discourse of this research. As an avid enthusiast of both Neo-Confucian and Judaic thought, these traditions play an important role, both philosophically and practically, in my life. Raised a secular Jew in America, my personal search for meaning took me East long before my cognizance of the unique wisdom in my own religious tradition. By the age of 19, I had already visited China twice, was practicing the ancient Chinese martial art of *Taiji*, held a consistent meditation routine, and was aiming towards an academic major in Chinese Studies at the University of California at Santa Barbara. My linguistic ability, philosophical grasp, historical knowledge, and even culinary skills in the Chinese culture far surpassed my familiarity with the Jewish tradition.

All of that changed with my introduction to the *Torah-Observant* Jewish world during my first trip to Israel at age 20. This monumental experience enabled me to develop an intimate connection with the beliefs, values, rituals, teachers, and students of the ancient Mosaic tradition. Over the next three years, I gradually garnered a profound apprecia-

tion for *Torah-Observant* (Orthodox) Judaism. I began practicing the *mitzvot*, learning *Torah*, and adhering to a daily prayer routine. As a result of this transformation, I currently identify myself a full-fledged *Ba'alei Teshuvah* and *Torah-Observant Jew*.

Given my personal and academic background, the engagement of this research exercise fulfilled multiple functions in my own life. First, as a practicing Jew who has been greatly inspired by the wisdom of the Chinese civilization, this research paper enables me to juxtapose two movements with which I have been associated, and penetrate their historical roots and sociological depths. I have been well cautioned by my academic mentors as to the methodological hazards inherent in such an intimate undertaking. However, my tireless enthusiasm for the investigation of these phenomena, coupled with an assured guidance from various members of talented and likewise benevolent faculty at the Global History and East Asian Studies departments at the University of Vienna, has made the marriage between the pursuit of genuine personal interest and the spirit of objective scientific exploration a likely possibility, if not a manifest reality.

My second objective in crafting this paper is to shed light upon two rarely discussed facets of a larger religious resurgence movement occurring across the globe. In these developmental years of the 21st century, the media is awash with keen perceptions of the growing presence Islam and Christianity are having in public life. Other commonly observed contemporary religious movements include the rise of Hindu nationalism in South East Asia, the emergence of New Age spirituality among affluent Westerners, and the reassertion of indigenous systems of knowledge and practice in the Americas.¹⁴ According to renowned sociologist of religion Peter Berger, these are all part of an

¹⁴ Micklethwait, John. "Oh Come All Ye Faithful." *Economist*, Vol. 385, Issue 8553, November 3, 2007; Diana Eck. A New Religious America: How a "Christian Country" Has Become the World's Most Religiously Diverse Nation. USA: Harper One, 2002.

overarching trend of “de-secularization” that is bound to grow in relevance and scope in the coming decades.¹⁵ Berger’s thesis, which shall serve as the guiding ‘state of the art’ conceptual thread throughout this paper, will be discussed in detail in chapter 2.

Through examining *Ba’alei Teshuvah* Judaism and New Confucianism via the lens of de-secularization, and comparing and contrasting the movements’ sociological manifestations roughly from 1975 to the present, I hope to gain insight into the universal dimensions of the global religious resurgence movement, and to discern concrete particularities within each of the two respective traditions.

A brief note on methodological hurdles; as stated earlier, I am aware of my sensitive position as both participant and observer of these movements, especially in regards to *Ba’alei Teshuvah* Judaism. Despite this methodological challenge, my involvement with the movement places me in a unique position for the acquisition of primary source materials. In fact, the most significant obstacle I anticipate is reconciling the unavoidable disparity of sources between the two subjects of the study. With *Ba’alei Teshuvah* Judaism, I have both a linguistic and personal advantage as the discourse is conducted in English and I have access to the key institutions and figureheads in the movement. Conversely, with New Confucianism, my Mandarin language skills are not adequate for comprehensive translation, and I lack social affiliation with any actors or institutions of the contemporary New Confucian movement. Nonetheless, I have undertaken this research to the best of my ability, and given my intended goals, I am satisfied with the results I have found.

¹⁵ Peter Berger. The Desecularization of the World. United States: Ethics and Policy Center, 1999. Pp. 4.

1.3 Goals

The primary purpose of this paper is to survey New Confucianism and *Ba'alei Teshuvah* Judaism as specific cases of the global resurgence of traditional belief systems, and conduct a rough comparison between the two movements. It is imperative for me to highlight the above qualifier “rough” and proclaim my modest ambitions for the comparison. This study does not purport to advance a precise comparative study between the two movements, or even assume that such juxtaposition is even feasible in the context of rigorous social science. The objects of comparison are so disparate that isolating meaningful variables for precise analysis may be an unachievable objective. The inchoate spatial domains, obtusely dissimilar demographic scales, and fundamental distinctions in the nature and practice of these two movements all present formidable challenges for the would-be practitioner of comparative history. In any event, the required methodological tools for undertaking such an ambitious project are outside my capabilities as a researcher. Still, through recognizing my limitations and setting modest goals for the research, my hopes are that this study will prove informative and enlightening. In addition to the comparative nature of the paper, the proposed connections to larger system patterns render it an appropriate execution of global history.

Chapter two will frame this global context, examining a few selected theories related to the re-evaluation of traditional belief systems, including Berger’s de-secularization thesis. Chapter three will present the historical backdrop for both New Confucianism and *Ba'alei Teshuvah* Judaism, demonstrating the function of both belief systems in the pre-modern world. Chapter four will follow, surveying New Confucianism and its existence in the ideological, economic, political, and popular realms of China and the outside

world. A parallel survey of *Ba'alei Teshuvah* Judaism will comprise Chapter five, focusing on institutions, geography, key individuals, and culture. The comparative aspect of the paper will be conducted in Chapter six. The movements will be scrutinized in the light of their shared identity as fellow constituents in a greater force of global sociology: the religious resurgence movement. Two questions will serve as the basis for detecting similarities and differences between the two movements: first, What are the implications between these movements and the world at large, and second, what are the implications of these movements within the belief system itself. The paper will finish with some concluding thoughts in Chapter 7.

2. Global Insight into Religious Resurgence

The cases of New Confucianism and *Ba'alei Teshuvah* Judaism play into a larger global discourse on the re-examination of traditional belief systems and religion in late modernity. To be sure, the resurgence of these institutions came as a great surprise to many. Conventional wisdom held that between the extensive dispersal of Darwin's theory of evolution, the culling out of 'backwards superstition' through modern science and media, and the integration of the world into a global capitalist economy, religions and similar axial belief systems were headed for extinction. In the early nineties, Francis Fukuyama famously argued for "The End of History" as liberal democracy was destined to triumph over the political, cultural, and religious barriers that had previously cut deep divisions within human populations.¹⁶ Indeed as late as 1999, *The Economist* newspaper controversially featured G-d on the obituary page of its millennium issue.¹⁷

However, writing in 2008, it appears that these predictions were premature. The resurgence of global religion has been one of the dominant themes of the first decade of the twentieth century. In America, the continued proliferation of Evangelical Christianity among its citizens has been paralleled with the faith-based politics of its president, George W. Bush. The devastating attacks of September 11 launched the Western media into a nearly theatrical obsession with Islamic fundamentalism. In Nigeria, Korea, India, Turkey, and Mexico, to name only a few, headlines sprawl with testaments to the growing significance of religion in contemporary society. *The Economist*, for its part, retracted G-d's

¹⁶ Francis Fukuyama. *The End of History and The Last Man*. USA: Harper Perennial, 1992.

¹⁷ *Economist*. "God." *Economist, Millennium Issue, December 23, 1999*. Extracted July 29, 2008 from http://www.economist.com/diversions/millennium/displayStory.cfm?Story_ID=347578.

obituary in November 2007, conceding, “God is definitely not dead, but He now comes in many more varieties.”¹⁸

Throughout nearly all the world’s cultures, individuals who had previously lived secular or non-affiliated lives are now returning to the faiths that had once dominated both public and private life prior the dawning of modernity. This trend is a direct repudiation of modernization theory, which held that as societies became more affluent and technologically advanced, religions would soon fade into the backdrop of history. As Tu Weiming, a Harvard academic referred to as the ‘American Confucius’ writes, “The assumption that modernity entails the passage of traditional society is no longer tenable in light of this dialectical interaction between global consciousness and local awareness.”¹⁹

The purpose of this chapter is to provide a wider frame of reference for understanding contemporary developments in New Confucianism and *Balei Teshuvah* Judaism. One must bear in mind the interrelated nature of these two movements, that they are not isolated developments, but rather part of a larger global trend. There are many theoretical frameworks within which one could place these resurgences, though certainly none will be wholly sufficient. Confucianism and Judaism remain unfathomable in their historical and social depth, as their ideological force has nearly constituted the very fabric of time itself for two of the world’s most ancient and noteworthy cultural groups. Notwithstanding, the most acute formulation available for comprehending these developments in their totality is Peter Berger’s “de-secularization” thesis.²⁰ This theory, rooted in the sociology of religion, comes the closest to tying a conjectural thread through

¹⁸ Micklethwait, John. “Oh Come All Ye Faithful.” *Economist*, Vol. 385, Issue 8553, November 3, 2007. Pp. 6.

¹⁹ Tu Weiming “Confucian Revival in Industrial East Asia.” In Marty and Appleby, Fundamentalisms Observed. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1991. Pp. 744.

²⁰ Berger, Peter. The Desecularization of the World. Pp. 4.

New Confucianism and Ba'alei Teshuva Judaism, as well as the affiliated developments in the world's other major traditional belief systems. A second theoretical understanding that will prove useful is the economically rooted term "late capitalism," popularized by Marxist historians and sociologists. While "late capitalism" theorists generally do not directly engage religious resurgence movements, they do provide a pertinent world historical framework accounting for their existence.²¹

2.1 De-secularization

Peter Berger, a highly esteemed sociologist of religion at Boston University, is the foremost expert on the recent trend of the global resurgence of traditional belief systems. Indeed, his 2003 edited volume The Desecularization of the World is the state of the art of the field. In his introductory chapter, Berger demolishes the secularization thesis that he himself helped advance in the 1960s. In its stead, Berger's new 'de-secularization' demonstrates how the widely anticipated trend of global secularization has actually become reversed in recent decades. Religion has not just been struggling to survive amidst an overwhelming tide of modernity; it has been flourishing. He notes that experiments with quasi-secularized religion have largely failed, while "religious movements with beliefs and practices dripping with reactionary supernaturalism have widely succeeded."²² In Judaism, Hinduism, Buddhism, Shintoism, Islam, and Sikhism, Orthodox and conservative forms of worship are the fastest growing group.

Berger proposes two possible causes behind recent resurgences of traditional belief systems. First, he posits that modernity tends to "undermine taken for granted certain-

²¹ Paul Mattick. "Ernest Mandel's Late Capitalism." 1972. Extracted July 23, 2008 from <http://www.marxists.org/archive/mattick-paul/1972/mandel.htm>.

²² Berger, Peter. The Desecularization of the World. Pp. 4.

ties” that most people lived by in the pre-modern era.²³ This in turn prompts a great deal of discomfort among world citizens, many of which seek out traditional belief systems in order to remedy this modern crisis of uncertainty. Another possible reason behind the resurgence is the fact that secular culture primarily dwells within the domain of elite sections of society. The masses who feel economically, socially, or politically disenfranchised then use religion as a vehicle to express their discontent. However, whether either of these causes are indeed in effect, Berger is persistent in his observation that a secular approach to life is a far greater anomaly in the realm of human experience than a return to traditional belief systems: “The university of Chicago is a much more interesting topic for the sociology of religion than the Islamic schools of Qom.”²⁴ Berger sees no reason to believe that the 21st century will be any less religious than previous ones and cautions any scholars who would neglect the influence of religion in their analysis of world affairs.

2.2 Skepticism of Late Capitalism

The term “late capitalism” is accredited to Marxist economist Ernst Mandel who foresaw the shifting economic and social patterns driven by the world economy. However, the term has also been used to describe the current phase of global history among wealthy nations. Mandel was primarily interested in the economic transformations spurred by varying patterns of consumption, which were in turn based on the capitalist logic that sought to commodify nearly every facet of human life.²⁵ A key point of late capitalism is that having provided for the primary needs of citizens in wealthy capitalist

²³ Ibid., Pp. 11.

²⁴ Ibid., Pp. 12.

²⁵ Mattick, Paul. “Ernest Mandel’s Late Capitalism.”

societies, the forces of capitalism must generate further needs in order to sustain its *raison d'être* as the guiding force of societal progress.

It is on this previous point, related to the problem of over-consumption, that social critics such as Benjamin Barber have seized upon. Barber, a political scientist by training, argues (2008) that the logic underlying unbridled late capitalism is to infantilize adults ('kidults,' 'rejuveniles,' 'adultescents') and turn children into grown-ups replete with consumer tastes and habits.²⁶ It is through this convoluted dynamic that capitalism sustains itself, generating an endless profusion of false needs among the affluent, while the poverty stricken masses still struggle to secure the basic necessities of life. Barber's exhaustive survey of American movies, sports, search engine entrees, etc., as well as his research into contemporary marketing strategies geared towards children, confirms his trepidation about the effects of late capitalism.

Another noted symptom of late capitalism is the destruction of communities, driven by the perpetual realization of a sacred ideal amongst late capitalist societies: individualism. The individualist ethos, which took the place of organized religion and other forms of traditional social organization, has many sociologists concerned about the long-term impacts on social and psychological wellbeing. The authoritative scholar Bryan Wilson ended his 1982 monograph Religion in Sociological Perspective with the question, "Without trust, without mutuality, with only reduced and fragile possibilities for enduring relationships, how will those minimal requirements of even the most rational system be met?"²⁷

²⁶ Benjamin Barber. Consumed: How Markets Corrupt Children, Infantilize Adults, and Swallow Citizens Whole. USA: W.W. Norton, 2007.

²⁷ Bryan D. Wilson. Religion in Sociological Perspective. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1982. Pp. 180.

The public domain naturally extends into the private, and this growing social and ontological alienation has been known to cause great psychological difficulties for individuals. Anti-depressants have recently become the most prescribed class of drug in America, surpassing medications to treat physical conditions such as high blood pressure, cholesterol, and asthma. Prominent physicians such as Dr. Ronald Dworkin, who wrote Artificial Unhappiness: The Dark Side of the New Happy Class (2007), have reacted, arguing that there are fundamental issues underlying widespread unhappiness that need to be addressed with more than pills.²⁸

There are many other symptoms and likewise solutions to the problems generated by late capitalism. What is important to bear in mind is that profound social transformations are taking place at this stage of world history. The New Confucian and *Balei Teshuva* movements should be seen, at least in part, as a reaction to the growing uncertainties and weariness generated by late capitalism. As William McNeil, a seminal scholar in global history, observed:

Even in affluent communities most persons do face hardship and disappointment of one sort or another in the course of their lives and then need comfort and support of a kind that cold reason and individualistic pursuit of happiness cannot provide... the need for comfort and support is correspondingly acute and ever present."²⁹

Humans have of course, always faced the challenges of suffering and unhappiness. However in pre-modern times, beleaguered individuals could refer to the traditional belief systems that served as comforting vessels for their woes and sorrows. As will be

²⁸ Ronald Dworkin, Artificial Unhappiness: The Dark Side of the New Happy. USA: Basic Books, 2006.

²⁹ William McNeil. "Epilogue: Fundamentalism and the World of the 1990s." In Martin E. Marty and R. Scott Appleby, Fundamentalisms and Society: Reclaiming the Sciences, the Family, and Education. Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 1993. Pp. 12.

shown in the next chapter, Confucianism and Judaism in particular both played overwhelmingly dominant roles in pre-modern Jewish and Confucian society. An understanding of the historical dynamics of these two traditions, coupled with an awareness of global framework constructed in this chapter, should provide the reader with sufficient adjunct material as to fully grasp the contemporary survey of New Confucianism and *Balei Teshuvah* Judaism to follow.

3. Historical Development

It is essential to establish a reasonable degree of historical knowledge about Confucianism and Judaism prior to the modern processes of retreat and resurgence, in order to ensure that our comparison proves historically coherent. As mentioned earlier, the two systems have produced greatly divergent modes of expression within their host societies. Yet, many similarities can be observed, especially regarding the high social value placed on fluency of classic texts. A short history of Confucianism in China and Judaism throughout the Diaspora through the 19th century will follow.

3.1 Confucianism

Confucianism has been the operational mode of autocratic state governance in China since the early Han dynasty (206 BCE-220 CE).³⁰ The authority of the Emperor rested upon the principle “Mandate of Heaven,” in which a ruler is endowed with absolute sovereignty over his territorial domain in exchange for his practice of virtuous leadership. Confucius’ delineation of rites and obligations of rulers to their subjects, as well as the writings of future commentators thereupon, directed the Emperor’s code of conduct. A ruler was deemed fit for absolute rule as long as he adhered to these virtues. Should he stray from his Confucian obligations, the mandate of heaven would depart from his domain, rendering his government illegitimate and subject to political decline and revolt. In a macro-historical sense, this ebbing and flowing of dynastic power, ranging from meticulous political cohesion to disastrous anarchic turmoil, can be seen in throughout

³⁰ Zhengyuan Fu. *Autocratic Tradition and Chinese Politics*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993. Pp. 70.

the lineage Chinese dynasties beginning with the Han in 200 BCE, and ending with the Qing in 1912 AD.

The establishment of the Qing Dynasty in 1644 saw the restoration of strong autocratic measures and political amity from the extended decline of the previous Ming dynasty (1368-1644).³¹ As aliens to the Han ethno-cultural system, the ruling Manchus quickly adopted the most potent strain of power available to an autocrat seeking to extend his power over China proper: the ideological power of the Confucian civil service examination system. The Qing re-instituted the exams, which had been ingrained into the social fabric of Chinese society for millennia, in 1646.³² The highly regarded examinations were extremely competitive; the true cultural significance of these exams is in all likelihood unintelligible to the Western mind. The 1-2% of test takers who managed to pass the lowest level *shengyuan* exam were shuttled off to a provincial test taking center, where they would be locked in individual cells for up to three days at a time for a mere 5% chance at passing the *juren* exam. One can therefore understand how the immense social status gained by obtaining the highest-level *jìnshi* degree, which the emperor himself often evaluated, compensated for the meager pay afforded to the scholar bureaucrats of the Qing state. Indeed, earning an advanced degree did not necessarily equate to acquiring an official position, though it did denote entrance into the merit based Chinese gentry³³. Thus, the examination system enabled the Qing to successfully exercise autocratic authority on the basis of state controlled neo-Confucian ideology. As Emperor Yongzheng (1678-1735) frankly asserted,

³¹ Ibid.

³² Jonathan Spence. The Search for Modern China. New York: W. W. Norton & Company, 2001. Pp. 40.

³³ S.E. Finer. "China: The Golden Century of the Ch'ing, 1680-1780." in S.E. Finer, The History of Government, Vol.III. USA: Oxford University, 1999. Pp. 1145-6.

If the ruler did not know how to venerate Confucius, how would he be able to build the supreme authority at the top... the people only know that the teachings of Confucius explicate normative order, differentiate human relationships, rectify human minds, and correct social custom. Do they also know... the one who ultimately benefits the most is the ruler himself?³⁴

In addition to the civil service examinations, the institutions of popular education further supported the ideological proliferation of Confucianism. Beijing provided a director of education to every province in order to ensure a standardized curriculum in both public and private schools, consisting of reading and writing skills, as well as the study of the Confucian Four Books and Five Classics.³⁵ In the words of one Chinese historian, the education system “instilled in the minds of the students official Confucian values of submissiveness and loyalty to the rulers, and turned them into docile subjects of the state. The results were impressive.”³⁶

The early successes of the Qing dynasty were later met with bitter disappointment, as the Qing failed to repel the invasive foreign forces of the mid 19th Century. Following a sequence of humiliating defeats to the British navy in the Opium Wars (1839-1843; 1856-1860), a badly bruised China was exposed to the provoking innovations of the Western European industrial revolution.³⁷ A crisis of inferiority spread throughout Chinese society, and gradually led to a heightened criticism of the Confucian tradition that was purportedly responsible for China’s geopolitical inertia.

³⁴ Zhengyuan Fu. *Autocratic Tradition and Chinese Politics*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993. Pp. 1.

³⁵ Finer. “China: The Golden Century of the Ch’ing, 1680-1780.” Pp. 1144.

³⁶ Fu. *Autocratic Tradition and Chinese Politics*. Pp. 100-1.

³⁷ Ibid., Pp. 145-150..

Throughout Chinese history, Confucianism could hardly be distinguished from the operational statecraft, governing apparatuses, and popular ideology of the Chinese state. However, with the fall of the Qing monarchy in 1912, Confucianism lost its secure institutional base, and was subject to systematic attacks by Chinese intellectuals, culminating with the “New Culture Movement” of 1915-1921.³⁸ The sources of this ideological assault were manifold, but the primary impetus can from revolutionary Marxists. The Marxists viewed Confucianism as an antiquated mode of popular suppression, akin to the feudal system in Europe, which needed to be overthrown to realize the ultimate goal of proletarian revolution. Thus, Chinese scholars perpetrated the overthrow of Confucianism, relegating this millennia old institution to an outdated historical facet of Chinese culture.³⁹

The situation, in actuality, was not as dire for the fate of Confucianism as it has sometimes been portrayed. Chinese intellectuals had not completely disregarded Confucianism, but were merely dealing with a protracted form of cognitive dissonance formed by the Chinese search for meaning within modernity. Due to intellectual suppression within the monolithic Chinese Maoist state, evidence of Confucian tendencies during Mao’s reign must be sought with fine-toothed scholarly comb. However, the “anti-modernists” of the 1930s and the authors of the 1958 document “A Manifesto to the World on Chinese Culture” can be viewed as an early incarnation of the “New-Confucians” that would come to prominence in the late 1970s and early 1980s.⁴⁰

³⁸ Ibid.

³⁹ Arif Dirlik. “Confucius in the Borderlands: Global Capitalism and the Reinvention of Confucianism.” *Boundary 2*, Vol. 22, No. 3., Autumn, 1995. Pp. 229-273.

⁴⁰ John Makeham. “The Retrospective Creation.” In John Makeham, New Confucianism. USA: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003. Pp. 43.

3.2 Judaism

With the siege of Titus' Roman legions into the heart of Jerusalem in 70 CE, the destruction of the Jew' precious second temple was complete. Thereupon, the Jewish people were sent into their second period of exile in 500 years. In the immediate centuries following the destruction, the heart of Jewish life was centered in *babel*, the Babylonian territories located in present day Iraq, with prominent Jewish communities also emerging in France, Germany, and Spain. It was during this time that the *Talmud*, or Jewish oral law, was codified, thus establishing the primary legal text for the continuance of Jewish practice throughout the generations. Many facets of the *Talmud's* codification ensured that the tacit transmission from *Rebbe* (teacher) to *Talmid* (disciple) remained indispensable. For example, the *Talmud* was written in hybrid of Ancient Hebrew and Aramaic, the Semitic language spoken by the Jewish sages in Babylon, which requires an advanced knowledge of convoluted vocabulary and syntax patterns. Furthermore, the *Talmud's* cryptic dialectic lacks punctuation and capital letters, thus presenting a difficult challenge for those wishing to decipher where a question stops and an answer begins.

With the spread of Islam in the 8th century, the Jewish world expanded into Northern Africa as well as Moor controlled Spain. It was during this process that the two primary distinctions of Jewish cultural affiliation emerged: Sephardi and Ashkenazi. Sephardic Jews are those whose ancestral heritage can be traced back to Arab lands in Spain, North Africa, or the Middle East.⁴¹ The Ashkenazi world is comprised of Jews of Russo-European heritage. Throughout the pre-modern era, Ashkenazi Jews generally lived in

⁴¹ The Sephardi/Ashkenazi dichotomy is not wholly sufficient, as Middle Eastern Jews are more accurately labeled *Mizrahi*. However, it is common for Mizrahi to be simply referred to as Sephardi due to a congruence of customs.

isolation from their host cultures, except for monetary relationships pertaining to the Jews' well-known role as moneylenders. In contrast, Sephardic Jews often participated in local political and social institutions, and generally lived in amity with their surrounding societies.

Whether Sephardi or Ashkenazi, Jewish life throughout the globe was unquestionably dominated by the precepts of the *Torah*, as orally transmitted from teacher to disciple. Lacking autonomous control over political and legal institutions within their territories, Judaism survived through the unceasing symbolic praxis of the dictates of Jewish law. For pre-modern Jews, non-observance or assimilation was simply not an option. A Jew who ceased to practice the ancient Mosaic Law or questioned the divinity of these time-honored beliefs was surely outcast from his community. As for the prospects of a Jew being accepted into the non-Jewish world, pre-modern burghers, peasants, aristocrats, and monarchs were united in their pronouncedly anti-Semitic sentiments, enacting edicts preventing the possibility of the integration of Jews into their society.⁴²

Thus, for the pre-modern Jew, the greatest possibility for achieving a successful life was to devote their life to the study of the *Torah*. The *Torah* scholar, or *Talmid Hacham*, was universally respected, commanding both social and financial patronage. Even those Jews who reaped fortunes as merchants and traders still devoted much of their life to their *Torah* learning, and trained their children to be scholars. The *Torah*'s indivisibility from Jewish life spanned every possible distinction, be it geography, ethnicity, time, gender, class, or age.

The fundamental discontinuity in the Jewish people's historical experience as a necessarily religious 'people of the book' came during the 1800s with the advent of the *Haskala*,

⁴² Paul Johnson. History of the Jews. USA: Harper Perennial, 1988. Pp. 206.

or Jewish Enlightenment.⁴³ Central to this theological shift was the imposition of Napoleonic decrees throughout Western Europe, which declared all men free citizens of the state, regardless of their ethnic or religious affiliation. It is noteworthy that one of the great Jewish leaders of the time, the *Ba'alei Tanya* of Russia, supported the Czar in his battles against Napoleon. Even though the Russian monarchy had been brutally oppressive to the Jews, the *Ba'alei Tanya* reasoned that physical impoverishment under Czarist Russia was preferable to the spiritual destitution that would come on the heels of Jewish emancipation and the inculcation of liberal values into the Jewish populace.

The great Jewish sage's premonition turned out to be well founded. When Western European Jews gained citizenship in the early 1800s, they left the *shtetl* (Jewish townships) in droves. Longing to assimilate into local culture, they often resorted to extreme measures in order to prove their loyalty. Many Jews baptized themselves and their children to gain a ticket into European culture. Jews also were among the pioneers of the waves of nationalism that swept through mid 19th century Western Europe. They endeavored to be more German than the Germans, and more Italian than the Italians, all the while seeking to distance themselves from the traditions that had bound them together for centuries.

For those who wished to maintain a cultural affiliation amidst their shift into modern society, several institutions were established as to bridge a fading Jewish heritage with an enthused motion towards secular society. The Reform movement, founded by iconoclastic German Jews in the 19th century, was one such institution. Adherents of Reform Judaism rejected the divinity of the *Torah*, thus rendering its purportedly timeless dictates irrelevant to modern Jews. The Reform ideology swept across Western Europe, and

⁴³ Ibid., Pp. 300.

found a welcoming home amongst America's growing community of Jewish immigrants. At the end of the 19th century, the Conservative movement emerged in reaction to the liberal exigencies of Reform Judaism. While still rejecting the fundamental basis of *Torah-Observant* Judaism, Conservative Jews sought to advance a more traditional and authentic form of Judaism than the Reformers. Reform and Conservative Judaism overwhelmingly became the dominant modes of practice for American Jews in the 20th century, which became the main center of Jewry outside Israel following the massacre of six million European Jews in the Holocaust. Currently, they account for over 60% of American Jewry, with another 20% remaining unaffiliated; the *Torah-Observant* community represents only 10% of American Jewry.⁴⁴

The people who lived in the Confucianism and Judaic worlds during the pre-modern era indisputably lived quite different lives. An astute Qing official who worked his way into the highest echelons of the imperial bureaucracy, exercising political power over provinces the size of European countries, has very little in common with an impoverished Rabbi presiding as spiritual leader over his small polish *shtetl* (township). The only thing connecting these vastly different life experiences is their devotion to learning and the unceasing practice of virtue. As will be shown in the next chapter, the New Confucian movement of today retains this focus on scholarship. Moreover, academics and philosophers were the prime instigators of its unanticipated revival.

⁴⁴ United Jewish Communities. "National Jewish Population Survey 2000-01." Pp. viii. Extracted July 21, 2008 from <http://www.ujc.org/page.aspx?id=33650>.

4. The New Confucian Revival

The New Confucian revival of the past 30 years has been quite a diverse process. It is driven by a variety of actors, in a host of different countries and with a plethora of different motives all of whom have taken interest in Confucianism and promoted its public consciousness, study, or practice over the past three decades. Confucianism has historically found its home in China proper, namely in philosophical treatises of its revered literati, the authoritarian mechanics of its intricate bureaucracy, and in the daily rites of its ethnically Han populace; to a slightly less degree, societies throughout East Asia have integrated Confucianism into their social, political, and ideological frameworks.⁴⁵ Conversely, New Confucianism can be found in a far greater number of spatial and operative of realms. As is the case with many post-modern discourses, one can speak of several “Confucianisms” each with its points of commonality, distinction, and contradiction.⁴⁶

In terms of aiming towards a categorical understanding of the New Confucian movement, one could choose from among the numerous formulations advanced by scholars from a range of disciplines. To be sure, very few studies have in fact approached the Confucian revival as a whole, most opting instead for particular investigations into relevant fields of inquiry. However, as the varied realms of contemporary Confucianism are indubitably intertwined, and the ambitions of this paper are to understand the move-

⁴⁵ Tu Weiming. Confucian Traditions in East Asian Modernity. USA: American Academy of Arts and Sciences, 1996.

⁴⁶ It is important to point out that Confucianism is a Western construct. Traditionally, it has been known in East Asian societies as “the scholarly tradition” or the “Confucian tradition.” Lionel Jensen. Manufacturing Confucianism: Chinese Traditions & Universal Civilization. USA: Duke University Press, 1997.

ment in its totality, it will prove beneficial to examine the movement holistically thus attempting to distinguish key generative factors of the movement's continued expansion.

The ensuing chapter will be divided into four sections, based on the four primary realms in which the resurgence of Confucianism can be observed: Confucian scholarship, Confucian economics, political Confucianism, and popular Confucianism. A description of contemporary Confucian scholarship will be addressed first for two reasons. First, the philosophical/scholarly realm is the most dominant facet of New Confucianism. As many scholars are wont to point out, intellectuals are by far New Confucianism's most enthusiastic cohort. Secondly, the necessity for appreciating the movement's embeddedness in time requires some form of chronological sequencing, and the development of the ideological realm of New Confucianism is best poised to help foster an initial grasp of the movement's temporal breadth.

The economic dimensions of New Confucianism will follow, with look into the "East Asian" path of growth, whose popularity in the 80s and 90s generated much dialogue about Confucianism as cultural determinant of economic success. The third section will explore the political dimensions of Confucianism, beginning with the early developments in Singapore during the 1980s. Then it will look at political developments in the Chinese Diaspora, and finally examine the current partiality for Confucian rhetoric among the Hu-Wen regime in Mainland China. The last section of the chapter will cover the popular dimensions of Confucianism primarily focusing on Mainland China. Although this realm has historically been the weakest of the four, recent developments demonstrate its great potential as a future torchbearer of 21st century Confucianism.

A final consideration on the topic of space: as previously mentioned, the New Confucian movement has proved quite colorful in its geographical expression. The three

spheres of influence, or “symbolic universes” can be identified: 1) Mainland China 2) The Chinese Diaspora, and 3) Western scholars, businessmen, journalists, politicians, and others who seek to understand Confucianism and formulate conceptions of it for their respective audiences.⁴⁷ It is beyond the scope of this paper to fully identify and probe the intricacies of these realms. However, spatial considerations will be integrated into the current formulation as concretely as possible. As a general rule, it appears that the third symbolic universe, located in the west, acted as the core driving force for the reinvention of Confucianism in the 1980s. However, this trend appears to be shifting, as the significance of Confucianism in Mainland China continues to expand. The impending prospects for a marked reassertion of nationalism in Mainland China further signal a shift in Confucianism’s chief geographical domain, though this topic will be discussed at length in Chapter Six.

4.1 Confucian Scholarship

The coming of the 1980s marked the resurgence of Confucianism as a relevant world philosophy, as “overnight, what had hitherto been viewed as an obstinate obstacle to Chinese modernity was transformed into a dynamic force of modernity for others to emulate.”⁴⁸ This revival manifested itself in a variety of ways, such as the proliferation of voluminous literature, a series of international academic conferences, and multi-governmental recognition of Confucianism’s desirable characteristics. The main question addressed during the 1980s was roughly “What is the relationship between Confucianism

⁴⁷ Based on a formulation by Tu Weiming in, Tu Weiming. “Cultural China: the Periphery as the Center.” *Dædalus*, Fall 2005..

⁴⁸ Dirlik, Arif. “Confucius in the Borderlands: Global Capitalism and the Reinvention of Confucianism.” Pp. 236.

and the successful modernization of noncommunist East Asian societies over the last three decades?”⁴⁹

The movement was initially based on the desks of merely a handful of academics dispersed throughout the semi-peripheral regions of the Chinese Diaspora (i.e. Singapore, Hong Kong, Taiwan) as well as the United States. It seems that a just few pioneering Confucian scholars eventually paved the way for a full renaissance of Confucian culture, whose global implications are just beginning to be felt. During the 1990s, it became fashionable to re-contextualize the New Confucianism of the 1980s as part of a New Confucian continuity stretching back to reactions against the May 4th movement of 1919, and culminating with the 1958 “Declaration on Behalf of the Chinese Culture Respectfully Announced to the People of the World.” However, as John Makeham has recently argued, the mid 20th century remnants of the Confucian scholarly tradition had not “attained a degree of integration or coalescence sufficient for it to be recognized and promoted as a distinct philosophical movement” and it was not until the late 1970s and 1980s that a genuine New Confucianism emerged on the scene.⁵⁰

Among the several original proponents of New Confucianism, one name stands above all as the primary beacon for the (continued) expansion of Confucianism: Tu Weiming. Born in Mainland China, Tu has conducted his professional career from the prestigious campuses of America’s Ivy Leagues since his 1968 Harvard dissertation on the 16th Century Neo-Confucian scholar Wang Yangming. Following brief tenures at Berkeley and Princeton, Tu settled in at Harvard’s East Asian studies department in 1982, where he remains today as the head of the Harvard-Yenching institute.

⁴⁹ Ibid., Pp. 242.

⁵⁰ John Makeham. “The Retrospective Creation.” In John Makeham, New Confucianism. USA: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003. Pp. 43.

In 1982, the Singapore government made the symbolic decision to develop a Confucian ethics course, and invited Tu to help draft the syllabus. This was part of a larger campaign promoting Confucian values throughout Singapore's society (more on this below). During his three-week stay in Singapore, Tu was invited to speak with prominent politicians, academics, and media personalities, and was warmly received throughout the country.⁵¹

Occasionally referred to as "The American Confucius" Tu has managed to combine his brilliant skills in mainstream Sinological scholarship with his forte for promoting his eclectic Confucian philosophy on a global scale. He often has described himself as a humanistic socialist who follows the *religion* of Confucianism.⁵² Ever critical of the antiquated politicized form of Confucianism (i.e. the autocratic state administered Confucianism of the dynastic era) which has propagated a host of offensive moral transgressions such as authoritarian repression and the diminution of women, Tu portrays his conception of Confucianism as unique among other world belief systems in its universal humanism. He believes that we are witnessing a "third epoch" of Confucianism, one that has distanced itself from its historical attachment to China proper, and thus can be exported to improve the global condition in conjunction with modern capitalism.⁵³ It is not only compatible with liberal values, but may prove the best conduit for the advancement of these values.

⁵¹ Eddie C.Y. Kuo. "Confucianism as Political Discourse in Singapore." In Tu Weiming, Confucian Traditions in East Asian Modernity. USA: American Academy of Arts and Sciences, 1996. Pp. 298.

⁵² Dirlik, Arif. "Confucius in the Borderlands: Global Capitalism and the Reinvention of Confucianism." Pp. 255; Tu Weiming. Confucian Ethics Today: The Singapore Challenge. Singapore: Federal Publications, 1984. Pp. 3.

⁵³ Dirlik, Arif. "Confucius in the Borderlands: Global Capitalism and the Reinvention of Confucianism." Pp. 255.

While Tu was lecturing across China in the early 1980s, he was instrumental in organizing the 1987 Conference on Confucian Studies, a first of its kind event located in Confucius' hometown of *Qu Fu*. Scholars from over 12 countries participated in this unprecedented international event celebrating the living memory of the beloved Sage.⁵⁴ Two years later, another conference was organized in *Qu Fu* to celebrate Confucius' 2,540th birthday.⁵⁵

The 1990s marked the continuance of the Confucian academic discourse, as well as its expansion into the broader context of Globalization. One eminent node in this transformation was the 1991 Confucian-Christian conference in Berkeley, California. It was at this gathering that the term "Boston Confucian" was coined, referring to the assembly of New England scholars including Robert Neville, Chung Chai-sik, John Berthrong, and Tu Weiming. The demarcation of "Boston Confucianism" represented the induction of a universalist thrust into the discourse of the Confucian revival, which continues to dominate to this day.⁵⁶

The Boston Confucians, and their affiliated colleagues outside prestigious New England campuses, promoted a unique strain of the Neo-Confucian doctrine focusing on concepts such as *ren* (humaneness) and *fen* (sharing). Their universalist emphasis proved compatible with the progressive, liberal values firmly imbued into the culture of professional academics. Through detaching Confucianism from its historical embeddedness in the Chinese bureaucratic system of governance, Boston Confucians posited that Confucianism is not only compatible with liberal values such as human rights, ecological

⁵⁴ Teh Yao Wu. "Confucianism and China's Policy of Reform." In Silke Krieger and Rolf Trauzettel, *Confucianism and the Modernization of China*. Mainz: Hase & Koehler Verlag, 1991. Pp. 311.

⁵⁵ Tianchen Li. "New Trends in the Studies on Confucius and Confucianism." *Culture Mandala: The Bulletin of the Centre for East-West Cultural and Economic Studies* 3, 2, 1999. Pp. 44.

⁵⁶ Robert Neville. *Boston Confucianism*. Albany, NY: State University of New York Press, 2000. Pp. xxi.

sustainability, and gender equality but is also capable of developing these values. Part reactionary/ part endogenously generated, all three of the above discourses have been central to New Confucianism, and have helped disperse its message to a wider academic audience.

In 1998, Wm. Theodore de Bary and Tu Weiming published an edited volume entitled Confucianism Human Rights. Given that East Asia's rise to industrial prominence was largely a result of the substantial comparative advantage brought forth by its abundant labor supply, it is not surprising that the editors felt compelled to develop a collection on Confucianism's view of the highly politicized human rights dialogue. It was Wm. Theodore de Bary who first prompted the project, when at the 1994 Beijing symposium on Confucianism, de Bary directly addressed Chinese Party officials in a characteristically Confucian fashion, harkening upon the timeless wisdom of the Confucian sage Mencius as moral impetus for his ambitious project:

Mencius said he did not like to appear argumentative, but his moral concerns compelled him to speak to difficult pressing issues. Thus Mencius had much to say about education, human welfare, economic and social justice, the legitimacy or nonlegitimacy of profit seeking, political remonstrance, etc. So too in our own case, these pressing, shared concerns might warrant a series of conferences focusing on such current issues as human rights, in a spirit of mutual respect and on the basis of shared multicultural concerns.”⁵⁷

The proposal was a success. Over the next three years, several conferences were organized dedicated to exploring relevant topics such as the Confucian concept of the self in

⁵⁷ Tu Weiming and Wm. Theodore de Bary. “Preface” in Tu Weiming and Wm. Theodore de Bary, Confucianism and Human Rights. USA: Columbia University Press, 1998. Pp. x.

relation to society, rights in Confucian tradition, and a reappraisal of May 4th movement critiques on Confucianism.

The vast majority of the papers in Tu and de Bary's Confucianism and Human Rights stem from these conferences. The 17 entries featured in this volume by no means amount to a definitive depiction of human rights in the Confucian tradition; in fact, many authors argue in direct contradiction with each other. However, de Bary notes seven points amounting to "a rough consensus" about Confucianism and its complicated relationship with the Western notion of Human Rights. 1) Confucian discourse has historically dealt with the same issues as the Western Human Rights discourse, though in different language. 2) "Human rights" is a relatively recent development in the west, though it has a polymorphous historical lineage, and is still in the process of transformation. 3) Confucian values are engaged in a similar historical process as that of Western values. 4) Western notions of human rights focus on individual autonomy, while Confucian conceptions emphasize social and communitarian obligations, though this contrast need not be "overdrawn at the expense of shared concerns and understandings."⁵⁸ 5) Confucian Human Rights are embedded within ritual aspects of the tradition. 6) The anti-Confucian sentiment kindled at the beginning of the 20th century greatly complicates hopes for a reconciliation between Confucian and Western Human Rights values. 7) Issues of Civil Society and ecologic sustainability must be urgently addressed in regards to an East Asian/Confucian human rights regime.

The environmental point was dealt with in detail in the 1998 publication of Confucianism and Ecology, edited by Mary Evelyn Tucker and John Berthrong. The

⁵⁸ Wm. Theodore de Bary. "Introduction." In Wm. Theodore de Bary and Tu Weiming, Confucianism and Human Rights. USA: Columbia University Press, 1998. Pp. 24.

compilation was part of a larger project developed by the Harvard Divinity School on the study of World Religions and Ecology. Much like the Human Rights project, the introduction of Confucianism into this global discourse signifies the burgeoning role Confucianism is playing in global affairs. As the editors observe in their introduction,

Confucianism has significant intellectual and spiritual resources to offer in the emerging discussion regarding attitudes towards nature, the role of the human, and environmental ethics. Its dynamic, organic worldview, its vitalist understanding of ch'i (material force), its respect for the vast continuity of life, its sense of compassion for suffering, its desire to establish the grounds for just and sustainable societies, its emphasis on holistic, moral education, and its appreciation for the Embeddedness of life in interconnected concentric circles are only some examples of the rich resources of the Confucian tradition in relation to ecological issues.⁵⁹

Throughout this volume, a robust critique of Western ecological conceptions of the natural world can be observed, thus distinguishing it from the Confucian discourse on Human Rights. Tu Weiming's opening article entitled "Beyond the Enlightenment Mentality," sets the pace as he juxtaposes the philosophical and moral virtues of the "anthropocosmic" and harmonious Confucian ethos, with the anthropocentric, "unbound Prometheus" mentality of the Western world.⁶⁰ Mary Evelyn Tucker follows suit in "The Philosophy of Ch'i as an Ecological Cosmology", decrying the Western notion of

⁵⁹ Mary Evelyn Tucker and John Berthrong. "Introduction: Setting the Context." In Mary Evelyn Tucker and John Berthrong, Confucianism and Ecology: The Interrelation of Heaven, Earth, and Humans. USA: Harvard University Press, 1998. Pp. XXV.

⁶⁰ Tu Weiming. "Beyond the Enlightenment Mentality." In Mary Evelyn Tucker and John Berthrong, Confucianism and Ecology: The Interrelation of Heaven, Earth, and Humans. USA: Harvard University Press, 1998. Pp. 4, 17.

“resources” to be used for exploitation, as opposed to the Confucian vision of *qi* as “the source” of all life.⁶¹

In addition to critiques centered on divergent conceptions of the natural world, several authors also discuss the implications of a diminishing value on community in the Western world. Calling for a reinvigorated orientation of modern man’s interaction with society and the cosmos, Boston University theologian Robert Neville Cummings remarks that, “unlike Western and South Asian motifs for the self, which distinguishes it sharply from society, the East Asian stress on learned ritual makes the self extraordinarily social.” As the global ecologic crisis continues to exacerbate, Confucian inspired ecological visions are bound to become more prominent and accepted in China and throughout the world.

A final global discourse that has been integrated into contemporary renderings of Confucianism is that of feminism. The feminist critique of the role of women in traditional Confucian culture has been well popularized over the years. On the surface, the ancient patriarchal philosophy that promoted such antiquated and demeaning rituals as female foot-binding seems antithetical to the modern, liberal ethos held by most today’s erudite citizens, let alone feminist academics. However, increasing numbers of feminist scholars are taking on the challenge of reconciling the issue of women’s rights within the Confucian tradition. Li-Hsiang Lisa Rosenlee’s 2006 book Confucianism and Women carries out precisely that task. She concludes that a feminist Confucian is not an oxymoron, to the contrary, “it is also possible to take Confucian relational, virtue-based personhood as a viable goal for women’s liberation.”⁶² Contrasting the masculine-

⁶¹Mary Evelyn Tucker. “The Philosophy of Ch’i as an Ecological Cosmology.” In Mary Evelyn Tucker and John Berthrong, Confucianism and Ecology: The Interrelation of Heaven, Earth, and Humans. USA: Harvard University Press, 1998. Pp. 189.

⁶² Li-Hsiang Lisa Rosenlee. Confucianism and Women. New York: State University Press of New York, 2006. Pp. 160.

dominant and feminine-passive dualism of the Western paradigm, Li-Hsiang argues that the Chinese mutually dependent *ying/yang* dichotomy shows “an irreducible complementarity” in Confucian gender relations.⁶³

Additionally, in an essay entitled “Gender in the Analects and the Mencius,” Sin Yee Chan finds that liberal feminism and Confucianism share a similar treatment of gender, though differ on justifications for their practice. In liberal feminism, gender equality is validated because of the intrinsic values of individualism, equality, and free choice. In Confucianism, the ideal *junzi* (righteous/ humane person) and the importance of family provide the incentive for an individual to strive for the most efficient gender relations as possible as to bring moral success to the family unit.⁶⁴

The aforementioned academic publications are by no means an exhaustive survey of inroads Confucianism has made into mainstream global discourse in the previous few decades; however, it does represent the mounting intellectual capital Confucianism is garnering in these realms. Furthermore, it is clear that Confucian scholars are active, passionate, and in all probability successful in their mission of bringing Confucianism to a wider global audience.

4.2 Confucian Economics

During the post World War II era of worldwide economic modernization, four polities in particular emerged as highly successful winners in the great race of capitalist development: Singapore, Taiwan, South Korea, and Hong Kong. As American systems theorist Herman Khan first observed in his “World Economic Development: 1979 and

⁶³ Ibid., Pp. 6.

⁶⁴ Sin Yee Chan. “Gender in the Analects and the Mencius,” In Daniel Bell, Confucian Political Ethics. USA: Princeton University Press, 2008.

Beyond,” the one thread tying each of these states together was their shared Confucian heritage. By many accounts, it was this seminal paper that released the flood gates for the critical reexamination of East Asian cultural characteristics (read: Confucianism) in promoting healthy and sustained economic growth. South Korea and Taiwan, Khan’s so-called “heroes of development,” not only displayed impressive per capita growth, but also tended to distribute the wealth in an egalitarian manner. He attributed these successes to Confucian tendencies in fostering a well-educated, responsible workforce loyal to the institutions they serve.⁶⁵ Khan’s work would not only provide the basis for future investigations into the mechanisms of East Asian capitalism, but would also spurn an incoming wave of scholarship on East Asia coming from “the borderlands.”

The next decisive book in stimulating widespread interest in East Asian economics was organizational theorist Gordon Redding’s 1990 work The Spirit of Chinese Capitalism, which is still perhaps the most thorough piece of research on the cultural characteristics of Chinese societies promoting economic growth. Redding’s research demonstrated the flaws in Max Weber’s century old sociological conception of Confucianism as antagonistic to capitalism, as he qualitatively established the economic utility of the Confucian system of values that Weber had so forcefully condemned to the dustbin of pre-modernity.

Drawing inspiration from Weber’s early twentieth century models of Protestantism’s interaction with the development of capitalism, Redding approached Confucianism as a religion consisting of an underlying system of values that lends stability and order to society to Chinese societies: ‘Filial piety, human-heartedness, paternalism, reasonableness,

⁶⁵ Dirlik, Arif. “Confucius in the Borderlands: Global Capitalism and the Reinvention of Confucianism.” Pp. 244.

compromise, propriety, are, in the Chinese context, religious principles.⁶⁶ The implications of these principles, which in some ways are similar and in other ways wholly divergent from parallel Western values, are far reaching.

Redding proposed that religious facets of Confucianism largely determine the operational consciousness of Chinese businessmen. His three-pronged analysis consisted of a) social structures b) rules guiding relationships and c) rules guiding action.⁶⁷ Within social structures, Redding showed how the family serves as the ‘survival unit’ for the individual constituting the core of his identity. It is from this essential grouping that Chinese develop the socialization patterns that are replicated throughout society. For example, Filial piety is the key concept for understanding the rules governing most vertical relationships in Confucian cultures. It imbues actors in the society with a specific set of obligations and the expectation to unwaveringly perform them.

In the realm of horizontal relationships, Redding proposes that ‘collectivization’ and ‘face’ are the governing principles. Collectivization places the individual within an integrated societal web, where social needs are prioritized over individual desires. The concept of “face” serves as a robust social enforcement mechanism ensuring personal integrity.⁶⁸

As for the rules governing actions, Redding shows the prominence of an earnest work ethic in Confucian cultures, which can be observed in empirical work patterns as much as in historical stereotypes. A further principle is the money mindedness that characterizes members of Chinese societies. From a young age, Chinese children are instructed to value money, encouraged to eagerly pursue it, and to act frugally upon its

⁶⁶ Gordon Redding. The Spirit of Chinese Capitalism. Berlin: Walter de Gruyter Inc, 1993. Pp. 239.

⁶⁷ Ibid., Pp. 42, 43.

⁶⁸ Ibid., Pp. 64.

acquisition. Finally, the Chinese exercise a pointed pragmatism in their daily actions, characterized by a very present and immediate cognitive perception, as well as a ritualized consistency in their behavior with members in their immediate social networks.⁶⁹

When introduced to the world of business, Confucian cultural characteristics express themselves in a unique and advantageous dynamic. Through Redding's research of 72 Chinese family enterprises, he discovered many specific organizational attributes contributing to the success of the company. One such attribute is the strength of vertical cooperation within Chinese businesses. Workers usually identify with the goals of the company leader, diligently comply with his vision, and invest in long lasting relationships with the company.⁷⁰ Another attribute is the efficiency of horizontal cooperation, where high levels of trust are generated within the organization and between organizations, thus leading to cost efficient transactions. These networks usually maintain a high degree of reliability, while at the same time remaining flexible to shifting market needs.⁷¹ A further attribute is the degree of efficiency with which control is exercised throughout the firm. Cumbersome bureaucratic enforcement mechanisms are often done away with due to the reliability of key managers who have a great degree of personal investment and loyalty to the firm.⁷² The efficient decision making structure of these businesses ensures that they have a speedy reaction time to impending difficulties, and give them an advantage over other firms.⁷³

Redding's research prompted many economists to redirect their inquiries into cultural considerations underlying economic processes. However, this process was not

⁶⁹ Ibid., Pp. 68-71.

⁷⁰ Ibid., Pp. 208-9.

⁷¹ Ibid., Pp. 213-14.

⁷² Ibid., Pp. 218.

⁷³ Ibid., Pp. 222.

limited only to the Western “symbolic universe.” Many East Asian commentators also participated in this Weberian mutiny, none more renowned than former Singaporean Prime Minister Lee Kuan Yew. Yew oversaw Singapore’s transition from a postcolonial third world nation, to a trade and financial behemoth with a larger economy than its former colonizer, Great Britain. Throughout this process, he was a prolific proponent of Confucian-based Asian values. In a 1994 interview published in *Foreign Affairs*, Yew strongly derided structural aspects of Western Society, such as the sacrosanct notions of individualism that end up proving destructive to societies. He highlighted the success of his country, and its connections with Confucian values, boasting,

We used the family to push economic growth, factoring the ambitions of a person and his family into our planning... The government can create a setting in which people can live happily and succeed and express themselves, but finally it is what people do with their lives that determines economic success or failure. Again, we were fortunate we had this cultural backdrop, the belief in thrift, hard work, filial piety, and loyalty in the extended family, and, most of all, the respect for scholarship and learning.⁷⁴

Many within the Confucian sphere of influence shared Yew’s beliefs, and Singapore, along with South Korea, Taiwan, and Hong Kong, were held as successful models of alternative paths to development based on their common cultural characteristics.

The Asian Financial Crisis of 1998 shattered the enthusiasm of many supporters, as the region’s financial and monetary collapse sent shock waves through the global economy. A full analysis of the crisis’ effect on Confucian Economics is outside the scope of this article. However, it will suffice to say that although people are more skeptical about

⁷⁴ Fareed Zakaria. “Culture Is Destiny: A Conversation with Lee Kuan Yew.” *Foreign Affairs*, 73/2 March/April 1994. Pp. 114.

the Asian Values thesis, it continues to play an important role in developmental economics, organizational theory, and many other areas of economic thought.

4.3 Political Confucianism

As noted earlier, Confucianism's historical home has been within the framework of an autocratic system of centralized governance, supported by a meritocratic bureaucracy. This model was the case for most East Asia territories prior to the geopolitical disruptions of the late 19th century. By the middle of the 20th century, Confucianism had completely disappeared from political discourse, as all the governments in its former territorial bastions had not only disengaged Confucianism, but in many cases actively vilified it. Singapore was one of the first countries to reverse this trend, when in the late 1970s, the Yew government called for a systematic overhaul of its education system. As one of the four East Asian Tiger economies, Singapore was at the time in need of a bit of "soul-searching and reflection" as economic prosperity had brought with it a crisis of individual and social morality.⁷⁵ The government thereupon decided it would integrate moral education into its school curriculum. As ethnic Chinese constituted a vast majority of Singapore's population, it made sense that Confucian ethics were included as a dominant component in a mandatory class on religious knowledge.

From these humble beginnings in the Singapore's education system, Confucianism turned into a full-fledged societal campaign. As previously mentioned, Tu Weiming and seven other foreign scholars were invited to Singapore for a series high-profile meetings, events, and forums which were thoroughly covered in the media. The surrounding fanfare made it clear that the government was interested in much more than a

⁷⁵ Kuo. "Confucianism as Political Discourse in Singapore." Pp. 298.

change of school curriculum. As Deputy Prime Minister Goh Keng See stated, “Confucianism in Singapore will not be merely for the classroom. It will be reinterpreted as a personal code of conduct for modern Singapore and promoted in the form of public debate and discussion in the media.”⁷⁶ In the ensuing decade, numerous institutions were established as to sustain the momentum generated in 1982, including the *Confucian Journal*, the Confucian Ethics Project Team, and the Institute of East Asian Philosophy. In the early 1990s, the government gradually began to shift its focus elsewhere, and Confucianism took a back seat to other relevant issues facing the country. However, the Confucian impact on education and public dialogue still remains to this day.

The momentous developments in Singapore, though relatively short-lived, were strong enough to send ripples across the world. In neighboring Indonesia, Confucianism started to play a more prominent role in the private life of its estimated 1.5 million Chinese citizens. In 1995, the government was faced with a legal quandary when a Confucian wedding was denied legitimacy by the Civil Registration office in 1995. The case gained widespread media attention, as the dejected couple rallied thousands of fellow Confucians to petition the government to accept their marriage. The governments continued refusal sparked further cultural unrest, leading to a reactionary resurgence of Chinese culture.⁷⁷ Popular protests continued over the ensuing years, as the government faced the difficult challenge of addressing the dramatic reappearance of an unrecognized belief system. Finally, in 1999 the president of Indonesia both accepted and honored the existence of Confucianism in Indonesia; the next year, the Supreme Court ruled that

⁷⁶ Ibid., 299.

⁷⁷ Andrew J Abalihin. “A Sixth Religion? Confucianism and the Negotiation of the Indonesian-Chinese Identity Under the Panacasila State.” In Willford Andrem and George Kenneth, *Spirited Politics: Religion and Public Life in Contemporary Southeast Asia*. Ithica: Cornell Southeast Asia Program Publications, 2005. Pp. 138.

Confucian marriages were legal thus solidifying a political victory for the country's growing Confucian population.

In China, Confucian thought had historically dominated the political affairs of the country, but following the fall of the Qing dynasty at the beginning of the 20th century, Confucianism was subjugated to the sidelines of Maoist Chinese political discourse. The first symbolic acknowledgement of Confucianism's virtues on behalf of the Chinese government came in 1984 with the establishment of the Confucian Foundation. The construction of the new institute, with its headquarters in Beijing and a branch office in the renovated Confucian temple at *Qu Fu* in Shandong Province, marked an explicit divergence from the Party's prolonged suppression of Confucianism which had culminated in the Cultural Revolution of the late 1960s.⁷⁸ Follow the *wenhua re* (culture fad) of the mid 1980s, Confucianism garnered momentous popularity among a few key Chinese bureaucrats. In 1986, the Community Party identified New Confucianism as a vital research project, subsequently allocating funds to support over 50 academics in their studies into the Confucian scholarly tradition.⁷⁹

In present day China, Confucian ideas have become very fashionable in political discourse. The most vivid indicator of this political resurgence has been Chinese president Hu Jintao's platform, which consists of two manifestly Confucian concepts: *Hexie Shehui* (Harmonious Society), and *Heping Jueqi* (China's Peaceful Rise). The first concept, Harmonious Society, was introduced by Hu Jintao and the central committee of the Communist Part of China in 2004, and aims to promote, "democracy, the rule of law,

⁷⁸ Tu Wei Ming and Wm Theodore de Bary. "Preface" in Tu Wei Ming and Wm Theodore de Bary, Confucianism and Human Rights. USA: Columbia University Press, 1998. Pp. x.

⁷⁹ Makeham. "The Retrospective Creation." Pp. 34.

equality, justice, sincerity, amity, and vitality.”⁸⁰ Harkening to familiar Confucian concepts, Hu promised to develop a healthy society based upon “harmony, honesty, and loyalty.”⁸¹ Since its introduction, harmonious society has been touted as the underlying principle guiding China’s rapid economic development. It is also used as a catch phrase in nearly all possible political circumstances, including the planning of the 2008 Beijing Olympics.

This rhetoric is mirrored in the realm of international relations where the term “peaceful rise” has been in great use over the past several years. According the Chinese government’s website “It is China’s policy to never seek hegemony. We desire a harmonious world. China’s development contributes to world peace and stability.”⁸² At forums across the world, Chinese diplomats continue to insist that their foreign policy motives are solely to promote, “world peace, stability, and prosperity” and realize a grander social harmony in the world.⁸³

Another indicator of the Chinese government’s willing embrace of Confucianism has is their “Confucius Institute” program. Since 2004, the government has established over 145 institutes in 52 countries in order to promote various facets of the Chinese civilization, such as language, business, Sinology, and cultural events.⁸⁴ Overall, the Chinese government is expected to dedicate \$10 billion to the project, and continues to

⁸⁰ Baogang Guo. “China’s Peaceful Development, Regime Stability, and Political Legitimacy” in Sujian Guo, *“China’s ‘Peaceful Rise’ in the 21st Century”* USA: Ashgate, 2006. Pp. 55.

⁸¹ Daniel Bell. “Preface” in Daniel Bell, *Confucian Political Ethics*. USA: Princeton University Press, 2008. Pp. x.

⁸² China Daily. “The world warms to China’s peaceful rise.” *China Daily*, January 25, 2008. Extracted May 7, 2008 from http://www.china.org.cn/international/opinion/2008-01/25/content_1240789.htm.

⁸³ Xinhua. “Peaceful Chinese development conducive to world peace, development, military scholar.” *Xinhua*, December 29, 2005. Extracted May 7, 2008 from http://english.people.com.cn/200512/29/eng20051229_231460.html.

⁸⁴ Maureen Fan. “Confucius Making a Comeback In Money-Driven Modern China.” *Washington Post Foreign Service*, Tuesday, July 24, 2007. Pp. A01.

expand its scope and influence.⁸⁵ The rapid establishment of Confucius institutes across the world has drawn many skeptics, including the Canadian Security Intelligence Service (CSIS). A CSIS report released in 2007 claims that the Confucius Institutes are a political ploy aimed at developing China's soft power: "In other words, China wants the world to have positive feelings towards China and things Chinese."⁸⁶ The Chinese government denies any malicious intentions, and contends that its institutes are dedicated to "promoting friendly relationship with other countries and enhancing the understanding of the Chinese language and culture among world Chinese learners as well as providing good learning conditions for them."⁸⁷

One could conjecture several reasons behind the Chinese government's pursuit of a Confucian agenda. Primarily, Confucianism helps to secure the authority of the Chinese ruling party through advocating politicized filial piety and preservation of the status quo. Take for example, Party official Li Changchun's statement to the seventh council of the All China Association of Journalists in 2006, "News organizations should foster a sound ideological and public opinion environment for building a harmonious socialist society."⁸⁸ Or president Hu Jintao's statements to group of Literary and Art Circles in 2006, "The promotion of prosperity of a socialist advanced culture and building cultural harmony is the solemn mission of Chinese artists and writers."⁸⁹ For the

⁸⁵ Asia News. "Hong Kong to celebrate Confucius in lieu of a holiday at Easter." *Asia News*, April 23, 2007. Extracted May 7, 2008 from <http://www.asianews.it/index.php?l=en&art=9071&size=A>.

⁸⁶ Canadian Security Intelligence Service. "CSIS say: Confucius part of Chinese bid to win over western hearts" *The Monitor*, May 28, 2007. Extracted on May 15, 2008 from <http://www.themonitor.ca/article-cp69319033-CSIS-say-Confucius-part-of-Chinese-bid-to-win-over-western-hearts.html>.

⁸⁷ Hanban. "Introduction to the Confucius Institute Project." Extracted May 15, 2008 from <http://english.hanban.edu.cn/market/HanBanE/412360.htm>.

⁸⁸ Xinhua. "Chinese press called on to help foster harmonious society." *Xinhua*, October 24, 2006. Extracted May 7, 2008 from http://news.xinhuanet.com/english/2006-10/24/content_5252336.htm.

⁸⁹ Xinhua. "Hu urges artists, writers to contribute to cultural harmony." *Xinhua*, November 10, 2006. Extracted May 7, 2008 from http://news.xinhuanet.com/english/2006-11/10/content_5315296.htm.

Communist Party of China, advancing Confucian ideals of political governance doubtlessly proves beneficial in curbing popular dissent and strengthening political authority.

Furthermore, the party uses Confucianism as an ideological basis for sustaining its domestic legitimacy. Since the de facto failure of Marxism, China has found itself in an ideological void uncharacteristic of the historical experience of the Chinese body politic. Deng Xiaoping's aphorism of "it doesn't matter whether the cat is black or white as long as it catches mice" is less relevant in today's paradoxical and conflicting Chinese society than it was 25 years ago during China's years of widespread economic destitution.

In the international realm, Confucian rhetoric has been strategically embedded into China's foreign policy doctrines in order to reassure a skeptical world about China's goodwill and political pacifism.⁹⁰ Though "peaceful rise" and affiliated Confucian ideas have limited capacity in mollifying the world's apprehension about the rapid expansion of China's military, economic, and geopolitical influence, Party officials nonetheless exercise nearly every chance they can to demonstrate their sincerity in advancing the cause of international peace and social harmony. Given the recent proliferation of Confucian ideas in contemporary Chinese political discourse, it is no wonder that Chinese political expert Daniel Bell recently remarked, "It is not entirely fanciful to surmise that the Chinese communist party will be relabeled the "Chinese Confucian Party" in the next couple of decades."⁹¹

⁹⁰Qing Cao. "Confucian Vision of a New World Order?: Culturalist Discourse, Foreign Policy and the Press in Contemporary China." *International Communication Gazette*, 69, 5; 2007. Pp. 446.

⁹¹ Bell. "Preface." Pp. x.

4.4 Popular Confucianism

As has been demonstrated thus far, the Confucian revival has primarily taken the guise of an elitist movement, centered in the realms of professional literati, economists, and politicians outside China, and among Communist Party leaders inside China. However, in recent years, the movement appears to be appealing with rising frequency among more popular strata of Chinese society. Yan (2001) shows the growing acceptance of Confucianism among members of the bourgeois business community.⁹² As Mainland China readily adapts to the profound transformations brought on by economic globalization, so-called “Confucian Merchants,” (those who seek to harmonize their successes in the cutthroat world of global commerce with a deep seated desire for moral and cultural integrity) are becoming an increasingly visible facet of China’s economic elite. Confucian Merchants pursue fluency in Chinese classics, maintain close relationships with influential political leaders, and attempt to exemplify the Confucian way of life through their daily actions. Yan points to the economic utility and gains in social capital reaped by engaging in ritual Confucian interaction as a prime motivating force behind this brand of New Confucian.

Confucianism has been making notable appearance in popular media as well. In 2006, a professor from Beijing University named Yu Dan was selected to host a state run television series on *The Analects*, the primary text of Classical Confucianism. The show gained widespread acclaim, eventually leading Yu to publish a book, which sold 4.2

⁹² Yunxiang Yan. “Managed Globalization: State Power and Cultural Transition in China.” In Peter Berger and Samuel Huntington, Many Globalizations: Cultural Diversity in the Contemporary World. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001. Pp. 22-24.

million legal copies in addition to an estimated 6 million pirated copies.⁹³ This more than doubled the previous best seller, Harry Potter and the Sorcerers' Stone. Yu's unorthodox, contemporary approach to Confucianism has garnered many critics, though she remains immensely popular among Chinese.

Confucianism also seems to have recently taken hold in the educational system in Mainland China. The past decade has witnessed the emergence of many Confucian day schools in Chinese urban centers. Ren Xiolin, the founder of the Young Pioneers Schools in Zhengyuan, describes his thoughts as to the factors behind the resurgence of Confucian education: "With the fast economic growth, many people have become selfish and have no morality... This has created a need for Confucianism... The change is overwhelming and many Chinese can't get used to it. It's created a clash of values."⁹⁴ In several cities, school curriculum now includes the practice, "where children bow to statues of Confucius and memorize ancient texts about benevolence and obedience under the tutelage of teachers wearing Han-dynasty-style robes."⁹⁵

This trend has not been limited to lower education. On college campuses as well, interest in Confucianism has been mounting since the early nineties.⁹⁶ The Communist Party recently raised the number of University courses on Confucian culture, and in 2005, *Renmin* University in Beijing opened up its new College of National Studies, erecting a statue of Confucius in front and offering the "Study of Ancient Chinese

⁹³ Maureen Fan. "Confucius Making a Comeback In Money-Driven Modern China." *Washington Post Foreign Service*, Tuesday, July 24, 2007. Pp. A01.

⁹⁴ Maureen Fan. "Confucius Making a Comeback In Money-Driven Modern China." *Washington Post Foreign Service*, Tuesday, July 24, 2007. Pp. A01.

⁹⁵ Sheila Melvin. "Modern Gloss on China's Golden Age." *New York Times Online, Arts*; September 3, 2007. Extracted May 15, 2006 from <http://www.nytimes.com/2007/09/03/arts/03stud.html?fta=y>.

⁹⁶ Seong Hwan Cha. "Modern Chinese Confucianism: The Contemporary Neo-Confucian Movement and its Cultural Significance." *Social Compass*, 50, 4, 2003. Pp. 483.

Civilization” as new major.⁹⁷ In 2006, a Confucian Education Festival was inaugurated in Confucius’ birthplace of *Qu Fu*. The one-month event assembled students from across China, South Korea, Japan, Southeast Asia, and Western Countries to engage in study of classic Confucian texts, calligraphy, painting, seal cutting, marital arts, culinary arts, and traditional Chinese medicine.⁹⁸

The increasing extravagance of another event in *Qu Fu*, the annual Confucius Festival, is further proof of the ancient sage’s growing relevance in China’s cultural sphere. The modest initial gathering in 1984 on Confucius’ birthday, monumental in its symbolic significance, pales in comparison to the elaborate showcases now taking place in the sage’s hometown of *Qu Fu*. The 2007 conference entitled "Approaching Confucius, Happily Meeting the Olympic Games, Sharing the Same Roots, and Jointly Constructing Harmony" was unprecedented in its size and scope. For the first time, high-level provincial officials played host to the festival. The 8-day event featured a milieu of cultural, business, scientific, academic, and economic tracks. Of particular interest was the event’s focus on developing Confucianism’s cultural capital vis-à-vis overseas Chinese. According to the Vice-Governor of Shandong province, the 2007 festival was directed towards,

Carrying forward the fine traditional Chinese culture and attracting overseas Chinese all over the world to participate... this year’s Confucius Cultural Festival will further enhance the sense of cultural identity and national self-confidence of the Chinese all over the world, better serve the cultural strategy of the state, and promote the construction of a harmonious society and a harmonious world, through carrying out a series of activities of approaching Confucius---the gathering of overseas Chinese at Confucius’ hometown, the Confucius cultural exchange week between the two sides of the Taiwan Straits, the memo-

⁹⁷ Melvin. “Modern Gloss on China’s Golden Age.”

⁹⁸ Xinhua. “*Qufu* to Hold 1st Festival on Confucianism Study.” *April 12, 2006*.

<http://english.hanban.edu.cn/english/culture/165383.htm> Extracted May 15, 2007.

rial ceremony for Confucius by Overseas Chinese.⁹⁹

Though the social realm has historically been the least developed sphere of the Confucian revival, the recent developments in the business world, the educational system, the media, and at the annual Confucius festival demonstrate the potential of Confucianism to gain prominence in the lives of ordinary Chinese domestically and abroad. In chapter 6, it will be argued that this popular form of Confucianism will continue to expand in the coming decades. Coupled with a growing nationalist sentiment in China, Confucianism has the potential to wield tremendous ideological influence in the 21st century, as academics, economists, politicians, and ordinary citizens enthusiastically investigate the depths of the Confucian scholarly tradition in their post-modern quest for meaning, money, and power, or a harmonious synthesis of the three.

Though the other object of this study, *Balei Teshuvah* Judaism, also shares in the prospects of garnering a great deal of ideological power in the coming decades, its actual expressions in daily life are quite distinct. The following chapter will overview the nature and history of this movement, no doubt revealing both similarities and differences to the facets of New Confucian covered in this chapter.

⁹⁹ Shandong on Internet. "The press conference on the 2007 China (*Qufu*) International Confucius Cultural Festival." *August 23, 2007*. Extracted May 15, 2008 from <http://www2.china-sd.com/zt/2007/20070823/index.htm>.

5. *The Ba'alei Teshuvah* Movement

By most accounts, the *Ba'alei Teshuvah* movement emerged from the “American youth culture of the late sixties and seventies,” i.e. upper middle class Jews searching for meaning in a time of social turmoil.¹⁰⁰ Facing a post-modern spiritual crisis, many Jews sought refuge in the counterculture revolution of the times facilitated by drugs, sex, and rock and roll, while others went to the East in pursuit of the exotic teachings of the Indian subcontinent. The budding State of Israel’s unexpected, indeed near miraculous, military victory over its Arab neighbors in the Six-Day war of 1967 directly catalyzed a renewed interest in Jewish wisdom, thus restoring a long lost Judaic mystique among many of America’s Jewish youth.

Slowly, the *Torah-Observant* world adapted to the growing needs of this group of young Jews with a thirst for knowledge of their roots. Institutions were erected, leaders were trained, and seminal literature was written and distributed. What started as a trivial movement in 1960s America, has flourished into a powerful social force that is transforming both the extensive landscape of the Jewish world, and by association the non-Jewish world as well.

Ba'alei Teshuvah is not a new concept in Judaism. Literally translated as “masters of repentance,” it has always been incumbent upon every Jew to attempt to rectify previous errors and strive towards a greater level of divine and humanitarian service. However, prior to the Jewish enlightenment of the 19th century, nearly every Jew already lived

¹⁰⁰ Herbert Danzger. Returning to Tradition: The Contemporary Revival of Orthodox Judaism. New York: Yale University Press, 1989. Pp. 3.

within the framework of Mosaic Law, and thus the *Teshuvah* process did not typically require a drastic change of life practice.

Juxtapose that with the current situation, where a patchwork of different Jews with a variety of cultural identifications, be it Marxist, hippy, bisexual, Buddhist, or celebrity, have made the choice to live their lives according to the often restrictive dictates of the “Orthodox” Jewish tradition. This includes adhering to the dietary laws of *kashrus* (only eating in *Kosher* restaurants or private kitchens), the tactile restrictions of *shomer negia* (touching, including handshakes, between men and women is only permitted between married couples), as well as the meticulous observance of the *Shabbat* and *chaggim* (the prohibition of work on the Sabbath and festivals includes driving, turning on and off lights, carrying items, cooking, etc.) In sum, being a contemporary *Ba’alei Teshuvah* no easy task.

In fact, there is no true end point in making *Teshuvah*, as one always has further areas to improve upon. *Kiruv* workers, those whose professional careers are dedicated to bringing non-religious Jews closer to Judaism, uniformly highlight the developmental nature of the *Teshuvah* process to their would be *Ba’alei Teshuvah*. However, aside from this consensus, many of the organizations and individuals involved in *kiruv* differ in their methodology on how to inculcate unaffiliated Jews with the long lost knowledge of *Torah* and foster their development into practicing *Torah-Observant* Jews. Much of it depends upon the *hashgafa*, or philosophy, of the different actors and institutions, though substantial amount relates to geographical circumstances or age differentials.

The three *kiruv* institutions surveyed in this paper are *Aish*, *Ohr Someyach*, and *Lubavitch*. All three organizations operate *yeshivot*, or men’s religious seminaries, in Jerusalem that are specifically designed for *Ba’alei Teshuvah*. Aside from *Lubavitch*, whose global head-

quarters are located in the Crown Heights section of Brooklyn, New York, the *yeshivot* serve as the central node in an international network of outreach institutions, programming, and trained professionals.

In the *Torah-Observant* world, the *Yeshiva* has long served as the central institution for advanced *Talmudic* study. They are attended by unmarried Jewish men (married men who wish to continue their studies attend a similar institutional called a *kolel*), and have highly rigorous learning routines. *Yeshiva* students are generally financially supported by members of the community, whom gain spiritual merit through their patronage of *Torah* study. A typical Yeshiva day starts around 7:30 am, with an hour of morning prayer before breakfast, followed by 4 hours of learning, afternoon prayers succeeded by a 2 hour lunch break, another 4 hours of learning prior to evening prayers and dinner, and a final 3 hours of learning to complete the day at around 11 pm. *Ba'alei Teshuvah yeshivot* have largely adhered to this model, though they have replaced Hebrew or Yiddish with English as the language of instruction, and have greatly simplified the course content to fit their fundamentally inexperienced student body.

In the following chapter, I will attempt to relate the current *Ba'alei Teshuvah* scene, focusing on institutions, geography, prominent figures, and arts and culture. As will be demonstrated, the *Ba'alei Teshuvah* movement is primarily a social phenomenon, and thus the arenas of economy, politics, and academia, which were used to survey the New Confucian movement, are not relevant here. A note about sources: it is curious that the 1980s and early 1990s witnessed a profusion of academic literature about *Ba'alei Teshuvah*: Aviad's (1983) pioneering Return to Judaism investigated the Israeli *Ba'alei Teshuvah* scene, Danzger's (1989) Returning to Tradition the *Ba'alei Teshuvah* movement in America, and Kaufman's (1991) Rachel's Daughters assumed a gendered approach,

researching newly religiously observant women. However, in recent years, there has been a conspicuous lack of research on the *Ba'alei Teshuvah* phenomenon, all the more confounding due to the movement's significant expansion in the past 15 years. Most of the research in this section is sourced directly from the varied pieces of academic literature on the movement. However, I have also made use of my inside knowledge, derived from 2 years of direct experience and countless conversations with prominent figures in the movement, in order to both guide as well as fill gaps in the research.

5.1 Organizations

5.1.1 Chabad Lubavitch

One of the most influential forces in the *Ba'alei Teshuvah* movement has been *Chabad/Lubavitch*. *Chabad* is a sect of Chassidic Judaism which was founded in late 18th century Russia. At present day, the black-coat black-hatted *Chabbadniks* are well known for their extensive presence in exotic locations throughout the world in addition their open armed hospitality to non-religious Jews. They are well connected in the non-Jewish world, solidifying strong relationships with prominent actors (including Jon Voight and Woopie Goldberg) and politicians (The Bushs and the Clintons). Since the 6th *Lubavitcher* Rebbe moved his Chassidic court from Nazi occupied Warsaw to the heavily Jewish Crown Heights section of Brooklyn in 1940, *Chabad* has been a major force in not only American Jewish life, but global Jewry as well. Their international presence is astounding; its \$1 billion annual operating budget supports 3,300 institutions in 70 countries.¹⁰¹ This includes over 4,000 *shluchim*, or personal emissaries of the late spiritual leader of the

¹⁰¹ Carolyn Drake. "A Faith Grows in Brooklyn." *National Geographic*, February 2006. Extracted June 6, 2008 from <http://ngm.nationalgeographic.com/ngm/0602/feature4/index.html>.

Lubavitch movement, the 7th Rebbe Menachem Mendel Shneerson (known to his follows simply as *The Rebbe*), who have been dispatched to various locations across the world to serve as beacons of the *Rebbe's* teachings.

Upon his arrival in New York, the 6th *Lubavitcher Rebbe* foresaw the rapidly dwindling spiritual state of America's Jews, which compelled him to send out his first *shluchim*. When the 6th Rebbe died in 1951, only a handful of *shluchim* existed, filling posts in California, Tennessee, Pennsylvania, and New England. That drastically changed with the 7th *Rebbe* assumed his post, and decided to focus his efforts on expanding *Chabad's* geographical presence. The *Rebbe* quickly enlarged his domestic influence, before embarking on his campaign to fill the globe with *Chabbadniks*. The central institution in this global network is the *Chabad House*, which is operated by a *shliach* and his family. The house typically serves a variety of functions, including a synagogue, a learning center, and a communal dining hall, in addition to the "private" home of the *Lubavitch shluchim*. In fact, as Sue Fishkoff documented in her 2003 study The Rebbe's Army, there is virtually no private space for a *Chabad shliach*, as the *Rebbe* declared that all *Chabad Houses* are to remain in operation 24/7.¹⁰² The houses are usually occupied with visitors, the great majority non-observant Jews, from the early morning to the wee hours of night. *Chabad* families who are stationed on University campuses typically serve a spectrum functions for their student clientele, including "surrogate parent, teacher, best friend, camp counselor, career advisor, spiritual guide, psychiatrist, on-call chef, and of course, rabbi".¹⁰³ A Friday night Shabbat meal hosting 15 students is considered small in the *Lubavitch* world,

¹⁰² Sue Fishkoff. The Rebbe's Army. New York: Schocken Books, 2003. Pp. 92.

¹⁰³ Ibid.

as some campus *shluchim* regularly provide the traditional 4-course meal to over 100 students.

A handful of international *shliuchim*, such as those living in Nepal, India, and Thailand, are confronted with the demanding task of providing meals for crowds of over 2,000 during large functions such as the Jewish holiday of Passover.¹⁰⁴ The vast majority of their guests are secular Israelis, who typically spend a year abroad in search of pleasure, parties, and (non-Jewish) spirituality after their 3-year stint in the Israeli Defense Forces. Greatly complicating the *Shliach's* task is the requirement that the meal be in accordance with the Jewish dietary laws of *Kashrus*, meaning that all the food except for fruits and vegetables must be flown in from Israel. Fortunately, during these high volume events, *shluchim* are usually assisted by young *Lubavitchers* in training, typically aged 16-19, who fly in to join the local *shliach* for a tumultuous week of outreach experience. Perhaps even more so than on University campuses, the topics of conversation at these meals often delve into the hedonistic travel experiences of their guests, exposing the young *Lubavitchers* at an early age to the drugs, sex, and parties that occur outside their “Ultra-Orthodox” upbringing.

To the *shluchim*, the risks of raising a family amidst the raging epicenter of an American party school, or the sex-shop lined roads of Bangkok, Thailand, are outweighed by the benefits of being soldiers in a spiritual war still led by their long departed general, the *Rebbe*. Fishkoff explains how deeply rooted this concept is in *Chabad* philosophy:

The *Lubavitcher* Rebbe set the tone early on for all this army talk, stating on numerous occasions that *Chabad*- indeed, all of Orthodox Judaism,- is engaged in a “spiritual war” with the forces of secularism,

¹⁰⁴ Ibid., Pp. 210.

atheism, materialism, and all other “isms” that draw young Jews away from tradition... the language, of course, is used metaphorically... the only weapons used in the battle for Jewish souls are persuasion and attractive programming. And the enemy is internal: the *yetzer ha’ra* or “evil inclination” inside every human being that turns him or her away from doing good deeds.¹⁰⁵

One of the most striking fronts in their war is that of Soviet Jewry. *Chabad* has a long history in the territory, often stirring up trouble for its Russian/Soviet leaders. The first *Lubavitcher Rebbe* was imprisoned twice in the early 19th century on trumped up charges of treason. Stalin’s police imprisoned and sentenced the 6th *Rebbe* to death for his early outreach work in the USSR, though eventually ceded to international pressure for his release to the cheers of heads of state and *Chassidim* alike. From his headquarters in Crown Heights, the most recent *Rebbe* was heavily involved in attempting to revitalize Soviet Jewry. For years he provided Jews with false documents in order to escape the onerous religious oppression of the hammer and sickle. For those who were condemned to remain in the USSR, *Lubavitcher Chassidim* coordinated clandestine campaigns to provide books, ritual articles, *Kosher* food, and Rabbis to isolated Jewish communities who continued to secretly practice their religion in a country with the world’s third largest Jewish population.¹⁰⁶ The Soviet Union was but one battleground in a larger spiritual war *Lubavitch* has waged in 70 different countries.

Since the *Rebbe* passed away in 1994, *Chabad* has yet to find a spiritual leader to take his place. Many feared that the organization would falter without its beloved general. However, his departed presence still continues to inspire a new generation of *shluchim*, as *Chabad’s* activities continue to expand across the world.

¹⁰⁵ Ibid., Pp. 240.

¹⁰⁶ Federation of Jewish Communities. “History.” Extracted June 10, 2008 from <http://www.fjc.ru/AboutUs/default.asp?AID=80122>.

5.1.2 Aish HaTorah

Situated atop the rear façade of the Western Wall plaza in the Old City of Jerusalem (the holiest site in Judaism) is the international headquarters of *Aish HaTorah*. *Aish*, as it has come to be known, is one of the prime movers in the *Ba'alei Teshuvah* world. It operates 27 full time branches spread across five continents.¹⁰⁷ *Aish's* diverse programming, which reaches 100,000 individuals annually, consists of full time Jewish learning institutions, to vibrant Internet community, “speed dating” events for Jewish singles, a plethora of seminars, and substantial media publications. Their Internet portal *Aish.com* is the most visited Jewish site on the web, receiving 2.5 million hits per month.¹⁰⁸

In 1974 Rabbi Noah Weinberg, who had recently broken away from Ohr Somayach, founded *Aish HaTorah* with the purpose of bringing unaffiliated Jews closer to Judaism. His vision was to create a “revolutionary” organization in order to foster young Jewish leadership who could answer the question “Why be Jewish” to the growing numbers of assimilated Jews in America and abroad. This differed from *Ohr Somayach's* focus on socializing *Ba'alei Teshuvah* into the long established mode of Yeshiva study, and cultivating traditional *Torah* scholars. *Aish* started out as a small *Yeshiva*, running both outreach and advanced training programs from its building in the Old City of Jerusalem. Many of its students were, and continue to be, “drop ins” or Jews traveling in Israel who happen to stumble upon *Aish* and its generous accommodations of free food, housing, and classes. That is just fine by the organizations leadership, who relishes in the opportunity to confront unaffiliated Jews with penetrating philosophical questions about the meaning of life and their Jewish identity: “Rabbi Weinberg’s approach is confrontational, demand-

¹⁰⁷ Aish. “Aish International.” Extracted June 11, 2008 from <http://www.aish.com/aishint/branch/>.

¹⁰⁸ Ibid.

ing to know what the person understands of his Jewishness and why he hasn't bothered to explore it more deeply."¹⁰⁹

At present day, *Aish* headquarters in Jerusalem offers programs on a host of different levels. Hundreds if not thousands of Jews, most with little or no knowledge of Judaism, annually attend their introductory Essentials program. The classes mostly focus on introducing Jewish philosophy to the skeptic or non-believer, covering subjects such as the existence of G-d, free will, pleasure, science, etc. The faculty is comprised of Rabbis who hold respectable secular credentials, and have been trained in the art of *kiruv*, or bringing Jews closer to Judaism. For example, Dr. Gerald Schroeder holds a double PhD in Earth and Planetary Sciences and Nuclear Physics from MIT where he served as a professor for seven years; he was also a principal consultant to the US Atomic Energy Commission.¹¹⁰ His classes at *Aish* advance a unique thesis on the reconciliation between science and *Torah*, with focus on evolution and the big bang. Another faculty member, Yom Tov Glaser, appeals to a different cohort of students; Rabbi Glaser graduated from the University of California at Santa Barbara, and was a professional surfer on the world circuit before becoming religious through *Aish* in the early 1990s. Glaser, a professional musician/Rabbi who still enjoys surfing, rock climbing, and mountain biking, teaches classes on Jewish mysticism and psychology. The diversity in the *Aish* faculty is reflected in their student body, which ranges from sharply dressed law and finance professionals, to dreadlocked backpacking bohemians.

Since its inception, *Aish* has blossomed into a multifaceted international organization, with an impressive annual budget and fundraising network, including many

¹⁰⁹ Danzger, Herbert. Returning to Tradition: The Contemporary Revival of Orthodox Judaism. Pp. 114.

¹¹⁰ Aish. "Essentials Faculty." Extracted June 12, 2008 from <http://www.aish.com/essentials/faculty.asp>.

prominent non-Jews such as Tom Cruise, Ronald Regan, the Walt Disney Corp., and many others. Their success in raising funds enables them to continue to expand their geographical influence, as well as provide scholarships for students to come learn in Jerusalem. *Aish*'s proactive methodology can at times raise controversy. In some circles, the word *Aish* carries with it a connotation of brainwashing, and friends and family warn potential participants to remain suspicious of their activities. Local Jewish newspapers across the world are dotted with testimonies from distressed parents, who disclose that their children have been possessed by a sinister cult of Orthodox Jews.¹¹¹ Alex Tapper, in his 2002 paper "The Cult of *Aish HaTorah*" argues that *Aish* can indeed be categorized as a New Religious Movement, or cult, as it shares the following characteristics with similar movements:

A charismatic leader, submission to authority, a rigid ideology, including a fundamentalist approach to theology, a promotion of apocalyptic beliefs, a communal lifestyle, isolation for one's family; hate and/or fear of outsiders; active missionary work, including attempts to convert outsiders to its way of religious life; and an excessive focus on fundraising.¹¹²

A full critique of Tapper's analysis is outside the scope of the paper. However, it suffices to say that Tapper misses the crucial point of the historical context and continuity of *Torah-Observant* praxis over time. Though *Aish HaTorah*'s devices of outreach may display similarities to New Religious Movements, the fundamental difference is that a) *Aish* only

¹¹¹ Miriam Shaviv. "Outreach groups 'target JFS pupils.'" *The Jewish Chronicle* May 3, 2007. Extracted June 17, 2008 from <http://www.thejc.com/home.aspx?AId=52153&ATypeId=1&search=true2&srchstr=JLE&srchtxt=1&srchhead=1&srchauthor=1&srchsandp=1&scsrch=0>.

¹¹² Aaron Joshua Tapper. "The Cult of Aish Hatorah: Ba'alei Teshuvah and the New Religious Movement Phenomenon." *The Jewish Journal of Sociology*. Vol. 44. Nos. 1 and 2, 2002. Pp. 11.

targets Jews, and b) their aims are to restore these individuals to a three millennia old way of life universally practiced by their ancestors two centuries prior, not indoctrinate them into a dubiously foreign system of worship. However, Tapper's point of *Aish HaTorah's* often aggressive and discomfoting marketing strategy is accurate, as indicated by the vocal resistance to the organization's activities in the UK, America, and Israel.

Despite its detractors, *Aish* has garnered a great deal of support across the world from the thousands whose lives have been positively affected by their efforts. When organization founder Noach Weinberg was diagnosed with cancer in early 2008, *Aish* gathered over 60,000 signatures of support from those who had been inspired by *Aish* or "Reb Noach" within a span of three months.¹¹³ Their programming continues to expand, including the anticipated 2009 induction of their 6-story "World Center" multimedia and educational building, which will greatly enlarge their already dominating presence at the back of the Western Wall plaza.

5.1.3 Ohr Someyach

Located in the religious Jerusalem district of Maalot Dafna, Ohr Someyach is the longest standing *Ba'alei Teshuvah* institution in the world. Founded in 1972 by American Rabbis Mendel Weinbach and Nota Shiller (along with *Aish's* founder Noach Weinberg), it is renown for its rigorous, traditional Lithuanian style of Jewish learning. Focusing on facilitating a *Ba'alei Teshuvah's* full transition from secular Jew to an integrated member of the *Torah-Observant* community, it differs from other organizations such as *Aish* and *Chabad*, who are generally more concerned with reaching as many Jews as possible in

¹¹³ Aish. "Healing Rabbi Weinerg." Extracted June 13, 2008 from http://www.aish.com/spirituality/growth/Healing_Rabbi_Weinberg.asp.

order to mitigate assimilation. Their student body ranges from young students fresh out of high school, to elderly gentleman interesting in exploring their Jewish roots. Its main campus in Israel offers at least six different programs of study, ranging from beginners courses to rabbinic training programs. *Ohr Someyach* is an accredited institution of higher learning, and students may transfer credits accumulated during their tenure in *Yeshiva* to their host universities abroad.¹¹⁴

The organization's international wing, The Jewish Learning Exchange (JLE), has 12 branches spread across the US, Canada, UK, South Africa, and Australia. As with other *Ba'alei Teshuvah* institutions, the centers offer regular classes, workshops, individual tutoring, holiday hospitality, and social events. The international JLEs mainly cater to Jews with little or no affiliation, and thus the atmospheres are much more casual than the central campus in Jerusalem. At a JLE event in London or Johannesburg, for example, one may attend co-ed classes, movies, coffee lounges, and retreats. However, staff members encourage their participants to enroll in one of their regular group trips to Israel, which are intended to give them a greater introduction to *Torah-Observant* lifestyles. The trips feature a healthy dose of Jewish learning, with the women spending time in an affiliated female seminary, and men spending time at the *Ohr Someyach* campus. However, the organizers attempt to strike a balance between the religious and the secular, offering co-ed extracurricular activities such as horseback riding on the beach, quad biking along the Golan Heights, and talks with Israeli parliament members.

On the other end of the spectrum, *Ohr Someyach* runs a successful rabbinic training program called Ohr Lagola. In addition to equipping students with the standard profi-

¹¹⁴ Ohr Someyach. "General Information about Ohr Someyach." Extracted June 13, 2008 from <http://ohr.edu/yhiy/article.php/2207>.

ciency in Jewish legal and philosophical texts, the program focuses on training its students to be effective outreach workers. The majority of graduates go on to take positions in the field, becoming *kiruv* workers on college campuses or Jewish institutions across the world.

5.2 Geography

The *Ba'alei Teshuvah* movement exists in wide breadth of spatial realms. In fact, nearly every country with a significant Jewish population has been affected by this movement, which cuts against the centuries old tide of secularization in the Jewish world. Though there are a few examples of endogenously generated forces promoting *Ba'alei Teshuvah* Judaism in various countries, most have been directly or indirectly impacted by organizations in the United States or Israel. Four specific regions have been selected in order to explore the particularities of the global *Ba'alei Teshuvah* movement: Israel, Russia, South Africa, and America. These four countries were chosen both due to the robust nature of their respective movements, as well as their diversity. The length restrictions of this paper allow only for a surface glance at the complex manifestation of *Ba'alei Teshuvah* Judaism in each country; no doubt, a doctoral thesis could easily be written focusing on just any one of these particular geographical frames. However, for the purposes of this paper, a brief survey of significant institutions and particular manifestations in each of the four countries will suffice to broaden the reader's horizon of the global breadth of *Ba'alei Teshuvah* Judaism.

5.2.1 Israel

The *Ba'alei Teshuvah* movement in Israel has gained significant ground since its modest origins in the 1970s. In a multifarious and tension driven society of conflicting

identities, secular Israeli's who have made the choice to become religious, also known as *Hozerim B'Teshuvah* are usually very adamant about their defining themselves as having lived non-religious lives before their transformation. The *Ba'alei Teshuvah* phenomenon in Israel "should be regarded as a personal and collective renewal movement" as previously unaffiliated Jews from across the spectrum of ethnicities have begun "accepting the assumption that being Jewish means a close continuity with historical Judaism."¹¹⁵ Israeli *Ba'alei Teshuvah* differ greatly from their Diaspora cousins in that Israelis generally possess a greater degree of Jewish knowledge, have previously been exposed to *Torah-Observant* Judaism, and speak fluent Hebrew. Thus, Israeli's have an easier time integrating into the existing *Yeshiva* system, though several *yeshivot* have been established catering to Israel *Ba'alei Teshuvah*.

One novelty of the *Ba'alei Teshuvah* movement in Israel is the fact that it takes place within the context of a Jewish society, making it the only country where the *Ba'alei Teshuvah* phenomenon has made it to the forefront of public discourse. The media particularly enjoys covering this topic, and often portrays it in a positive light.¹¹⁶ Israeli are all too familiar with cliché success story of the returnee who used to be "secular/antireligious/Marxist/criminal/suicidal, and now, following the return, is devout/happy/productive/ a rabbi."¹¹⁷

Of additional significance are high profile Israeli returnees, specifically those who served in elite combat units in the Israeli Defense Forces, along with famous artists, musicians, actors, comedians, and intellectuals. Through highlighting the crisis of mod-

¹¹⁵ Benjamin Beit-Hallahmi. "Back to the Fold: The Return to Judaism." In Zvi Sobel and Benjamin Beit-Hallahmi, *Tradition, Innovation, Conflict: Jewishness and Judaism in Contemporary Israel*. Albany: State University of New York Press, 1991. Pp. 156.

¹¹⁶ Ibid., Pp. 157.

¹¹⁷ Ibid.

ernity and the failure secularism, these cases have had a large impact on the Israeli populace through constant media attention and public dialogue. The cultural theatrics of a long cherished secular celebrity suddenly making a public appearance wearing a long black coat, black hat, and a beard “represent significant cultural victories for Judaism within the Israeli society.”¹¹⁸

A peculiar phenomenon among Israelis is the process of finding their Judaism while overseas. After a mandatory three years (two for women) in the Israeli Defense Forces, most Israelis load up their backpacks to set out on extended journeys across the world. India is the primary destination for most young travelers, as it is estimated over 50,000 Israelis can be traveling through India at a given time; in some areas, Israelis constitute 90% of the tourist population.¹¹⁹ Their intentions are manifold, ranging from the simple desire to find solace from the stress-laden society back home, to seeking out hedonistic adventures in exotic places. A fair amount of Israelis voyage to India in order to uncover the spiritual mysteries of the world, choosing to spend their time in an Indian *Ashram* (the Hindu equivalent of a Yeshiva) studying with the yogis.

As a result, at least three Jewish outreach groups have set up outposts in India, in order to entice Israelis to discover the spiritual beauty of their own religious tradition. *Chabad* operates three centers in India, as well as their location in Nepal where, as previously mentioned, their Passover *Seder* can attract as many as 2,000 guests. Another organization also operates three centers in India, as well as one back in Israel for ‘alumni’ of their activities in India. International outreach for Israeli backpackers is largely

¹¹⁸ Ibid, Pp. 159.

¹¹⁹ Aryeh Dayan. “A Bad Trip in India.” *Haaretz*, July 4, 2004. Extracted June 18, 2008 from <http://www.haaretz.com/hasen/pages/ShArt.jhtml?itemNo=412551&contrassID=1&subContrassID=1&sbSubContrassID=0&listSrc=Y>.

successful, as many Israelis attend religious events that they or their families would never consider attending back in Israel. The phenomenon of Israeli's making *Teshuvah* abroad is not limited to exotic lands such as Thailand and India. Many young Israelis pursue jobs in Europe's security sector, most often serving Jewish communities and their events. It is not uncommon for a secular Israeli security worker to return to Israel inspired by his experience working abroad, and become a *Ba'al Teshuvah*.

5.2.2 Russia/ USSR

The *Ba'alei Teshuvah* movement in the USSR roughly correlates to the genesis of the movement in the United States during the late 1960s. Due to the tight restrictions on religious observance, Soviet Jews of the time had to organize their efforts underground. By the seventies, a handful of these clandestine communities emerged, with most of the activity centered in St. Petersburg (Leningrad), and Moscow.¹²⁰ Many of these Jews risked their livelihoods in desperate attempts to emigrate to Israel, thus spurning the *refusnik* movement of the 70s and 80s. *Refusniks*, or those whose public petitions for emigration out of Russia were denied, challenged Soviet religious oppression by organizing Jewish holiday and ritual services as well as *Torah* classes with the assistance of foreign Jewish organizations. In the waning years of Soviet power, the *Refusniks* grew larger and became bolder in their observance.

Upon the fall of Communism and the dawning of the Russian republic, nearly 500,000 Jews left the former USSR, with the majority ending up in Israel and the United States. The 1.5 million Jews who were left had virtually had no knowledge of Judaism, as

¹²⁰ Ner Le'Elef, "The Story of Former Soviet Jewry and Their Rebirth." Ner Le'Elef Online Booklet, June 9, 2007. Extracted June 15, 2008 from <http://www.nerleclef.com/booklets.htm>. Pp. 29-35.

72 years of communist rule had left Russia's Jewish community all but decimated. Many Jews did not even know they were Jewish, as their parents had chosen to conceal their children's religious identity. *Chabad*, who was active in providing needed resources to Jewish communities during communism, swept into the former Soviet territories, establishing shluchim in 8 different cities by the time the *Rebbe* had passed away 1994.¹²¹

Upon his death, *Chabad* rapidly expanded their network, erecting community centers, day schools, religious seminaries, and synagogues throughout the former Soviet Union.

Chabad pioneered the creation of the Federation of Jewish Communities of Russia (FJCR) in 1998, which currently serves as the central coordinating institution of Russian Jewry.

The head *Chabad shliach* of Moscow serves as the organization's Chief Rabbi, which is active in over 200 Russian cities. *Chabad's* milieu of Jewish programming is estimated to reach 200,000 Russian Jews annually, supported by their budget of \$70 million per annum.¹²² Large public spectacles, such as *Chabad's* 7-story, \$15 million community center in Moscow, are designed to attract unaffiliated Jews and counter assimilation rates reaching as high as 90% in larger cities.¹²³ Many other organizations are active in Russia, though none has been as influential as *Chabad*. The long history of *Lubavitch* activism in the USSR, coupled with its dominance over the current flourishing of Jewish religion and culture in Russia, makes it nearly impossible to quantify the effect *Chabad* has had in bringing Russian Jews closer to Judaism.

¹²¹ Fishkoff, Sue. *The Rebbe's Army*. Pp. 31.

¹²² Ner Le'Elef, "The Story of Former Soviet Jewry and Their Rebirth." *Ner Le'Elef Online Booklet*, June 9, 2007. Extracted June 15, 2008 from <http://www.nerlelelef.com/booklets.htm>. Pp. 29-35, 89-91.

¹²³ Esther Hecht. "The Jewish Traveler: Moscow." *Hadassah Magazine*, Vol. 82 No.2, October 2001. Extracted June 15, 2008 from http://www.hadassah.org/news/content/per_hadassah/archive/2001/oct01/traveler.htm.

5.2.3 America

With nearly 6 million Jews, the United States is home to half of the world's Jewish population. As mentioned above, the social turmoil of the 1960s was largely responsible for kindling the *Ba'alei Teshuvah* movement, as America's religious Jews responded to the needs of the growing population of unaffiliated Jews on an esoteric search for spirituality. *Ohr Someyach* and *Aish HaTorah* were both founded by American Rabbis, and *Chabad* has operated out of Brooklyn since the 1940s. All three organizations are rapidly expanding their presence in America: *Ohr Someyach* runs centers in three cities, *Aish* has 15 American branches, and *Chabad* is active in all but two American states.

In New York, the center of American Jewish life, institutions run for or by *Ba'alei Teshuvah* have become a rapidly growing sector of the polymorphous New York Jewish community. They seem to penetrate even the most exclusive circles of City life. For example, *Aish HaTorah's* New York branch features the Executive Learning Program, whereby *Aish* Rabbis routinely tour around a handful of New York's most prestigious financial institutions, medical clinics, and businesses to meet with successful non-observant Jewish professionals. The Rabbis organize *Torah* learning sessions or field general philosophical inquiries from their clients. The program appears to be a success from both sides. Executives value the precious time they are able spend away from their hectic business schedules, engaging the difficult questions of life with a Rabbi. For *Aish*, the program fulfills their mission of spreading *Torah* in the world, in addition to serving as a lucrative source of fundraising. According to a reporter from the *New Yorker* magazine,

in-house office visits yield *Aish HaTorah* an average voluntary donation of \$10,000 per visit.¹²⁴

Aish is just but one of many organizations conducting *kiruv* work in the US. JAM (Jewish Awareness Movement) and Meor operate out of several US campuses. Their model is similar to a Chabad house, with a Rabbi and his family living amidst a university community. Common activities include mentoring, providing free Shabbat Dinners, regular classes, and subsidized trips to Israel. Word of mouth is the preferred marketing tool for these Rabbis though they have many other methods at their disposal. For example, all campus Rabbis are connected to social networking sights such as Facebook, where they can advertise their events and maintain contact with students. Other methods include ‘tabling,’ where like many other interest organizations, a Rabbi will set up an information table on campus to conduct outreach. Occasionally, Rabbis will walk up to students who they presume to be Jewish and engage them in a conversation. Their success is varied and depends on the given location as much as the Rabbi’s personality. However, judging by the fact that more campus operations are emerging every year, and already established operations rarely if ever are rescinded, campus outreach in American can be considered a largely successful venture.

Youth movements have also been quite influential in prompting American *Ba’alei Teshuvah*. Gearing towards high school aged Jews, the National Congregations of Synagogue Youth (NCSY) was founded in 1954 as a subsidiary of the American Orthodox Union. Since its inception, the NCSY has been active in providing Jewish teenagers “with an opportunity to build a strong connection to their Jewish roots through inspira-

¹²⁴Lizzie Widdicombe. “Dial A Rabbi.” *New Yorker Magazine*, December 27, 2007. Extracted July 22, 2008 from http://www.newyorker.com/talk/2007/12/17/071217ta_talk_widdicombe.

tion and leadership skills.”¹²⁵ The organization primarily focuses on hosting summer camps or periodic events for young Jews. It also produces a great deal of literature as to give unaffiliated Jews an introduction to *Torah* Judaism, and offers organized trips to Israel and other places of Jewish interest. The group is active in 39 states throughout America, as well as in Chile, Canada, the Ukraine, and Israel.

5.2.4 South Africa

South Africa boasts one of the most successful cases of the global *Ba’alei Teshuvah* movement. Though South Africa’s homogenous Lithuanian community had always been more traditional than its American or British counterparts, only a small minority of South African Jews practiced *Torah-Observant* lifestyles until recent years. In the 1950’s, the activities of the *Bnei Akiva* organization were the first to stimulate the long road back to religious Judaism for South Africa’s Jews. *Bnei Akiva*, a worldwide youth movement still active today, established South Africa’s first *Yeshiva* in Johannesburg in 1954.¹²⁶ Offering religious learning in the morning and secular studies in the afternoon, the *Yeshiva*’s model would be replicated by the many *Torah* institutions to emerge in South Africa in the years to come. Around the same time it also established a network of Jewish summer camps across the country that still serve as a central platform in South Africa’s Jewish outreach.

With *Chabad*’s 1972 entry into South Africa and the establishment of a *Chabad* House in Johannesburg, South Africa’s community experienced a “tremendous growth”

¹²⁵ NCSY. “About NCSY” Extracted June 25, 2008 from <http://www.ncsy.org/ncsy/about>.

¹²⁶ Kelly Modlin. “A History of the Bnei Akiva Youth Movement in South Africa.” *Southern Africa Jewish Genealogy*. Extracted July 19, 2008 from <http://www.jewishgen.org/SAfrica/youth-movements/history/modlink/index.htm>.

of *Ba'alei Teshuvah* Judaism.¹²⁷ The country now boasts dozens of *Torah-Observant* synagogues, and a variety of programming including youth groups, retreats, and adult education programs.

South Africa is considered the only country where *Ba'alei Teshuvah Judaism* has completely transformed an entire society. A key institution in this Jewish renaissance has been *Ohr Someyach* who having opened its doors in 1987, has since developed vibrant following of young Jews in the north Johannesburg. Hundreds of Jews pour into its doors each week for a packed program of lectures, social events, and dinners. It has recently opened centers in Cape Town as well as Sandton, and continues to spread its presence around the country with its popular seminars and organized trips. *Aish HaTorah* has followed suit, along with several other organizations aimed at promoting *Torah-Observant* Judaism to students and young professionals.

The success of these organizations, as well as the sizeable emigration rates of secular South Africans, has created a pronouncedly religious Jewish society in South Africa. In a recent study on the future of South African Jewry, the authors concluded that secular and less observant Jews had “not much of a future” in the country while Orthodox Jews had “much more of a future.”¹²⁸

5.3 Influential Individuals

Aside from the individuals who pioneered the three institutions mentioned above, there exists a handful of influential Jewish educators who have profoundly impacted the

¹²⁷ Milton Shain. “South African Jewry: Emigrating? At Risk? Or Restructuring the Jewish Future?” In Sol Encel and Leslie Stein, Continuity, Commitment, and Survival: Jewish Communities in the Diaspora. USA: Praeger Publishers, 2003. Pp. 113.

¹²⁸ Shale Horowitz and Dr. Rabbi Dana Evan Kaplan. “The Jewish Exodus From South Africa.” *International Migration Vol. 39, No. 3. 2001*. Pp. 22.

Ba'alei Teshuvah world. In particular, three have made extraordinarily unique contributions to the *kiruv* world: Rabbis Shlomo Carlebach, Aryeh Kaplan, and Akiva Tatz. Each of these educators utilized greatly different tools in their outreach work, perhaps signaling the changing times as much as their differing personalities.

Carlebach, a member of the 1st generation of *kiruv* efforts in the late 1960s and 1970s, was a charismatic musician who used his gift of song to spread the word of *Torah* across America, and later the rest of the world. “Reb Shlomo,” as he came to be known, came from a prominent Chassidic family, and was educated at some of the best institutions of *Torah* learning in the United States. After brief span as an outreach worker for *Chabad*, Carlebach identified the need to relate to Jews of the late 1960s in a manner that was more compatible with their alternative lifestyles. In 1968, Reb Shlomo opened up The House of Love and Prayer in the Haight Ashbury district of San Francisco, considered the epicenter of sixties counterculture.¹²⁹ His *Torah* teachings were accompanied by drawn out interludes of communal singing, clapping, and dancing. Carlebach quickly developed a devoted following, and began to spread his musical teachings across the United States and eventually the world. A distinctive “Carlebach” style Judaism emerged on the scene, and continues to flourish many years after his 1994 death. Though his radical methodology drew apprehension from the conventional mainstays of *Torah* Judaism, Carlebach is nonetheless accepted as a one of a kind visionary who brought thousands of Jews closer to their tradition.¹³⁰

¹²⁹ Yaakov Ariel. “Hasidism in the Age of Aquarius: The House of Love and Prayer in San Francisco, 1967–1977.” *Religion and American Culture, Summer 2003, Vol. 13, No. 2*. Pp. 139.

¹³⁰ Ari L. Goldman. “No Headline [Obituary for Rabbi Shlomo Carlebach].” *The New York Times*, October 22, 1994. Extracted June 15, 2008 from <http://query.nytimes.com/gst/fullpage.html?res=9402E6DB163FF931A15753C1A962958260&scp=2&sq=carlebach+rabbi+shlomo&st=nyt>.

Representing the second generation of *kiruv* was Aryeh Kaplan, who showed a rare genius as both a Rabbi and a physicist. He was a prolific writer who provided unaffiliated Jews with accessible introductions to the Jewish mystical tradition in the 1970s and early 1980s. In a span of only 11 years before his tragic death at age 48, Kaplan managed to produce nearly 50 books “celebrated for their erudition, completeness and clarity.”¹³¹ Kaplan’s true innovation was his masterful diffusion the esoteric principles of the Jewish mystical tradition, which were previously reserved for advanced Kabbalistic scholars. Included in this literary corpus are three books on Jewish meditation, another three on the mystical meaning behind seemingly mundane Jewish rituals, and several works on man’s relationship with G-d. His approach built upon the previous work of Shlomo Carlebach, as he attempted to infuse a renewed heartfelt spirituality into a generation of Jews who had become disillusioned with the monotonous Judaism of their upbringing. His unprecedented ability to transfer the many of the loftiest concepts of Judaism into brief, clear, and concise English language books makes his publications still a favored introductory point for today’s *kiruv* professionals.

Currently, the most influential *kiruv* personality is arguable Dr. Rabbi Akiva Tatz. A medical doctor by training, his heady lectures continue to inspire thousands of Jews across the world. Rabbi Tatz is a *Ba’alei Teshuvah* himself, having been raised in a “traditional” family in South Africa. After his return to *Torah-Observant* Judaism, he spent many years learning with some of the most renowned scholars in the *Torah* world before assuming a teaching position at the *Ohr Someyach Yeshiva* in the early 1990s. In recent years, he has been based out of the Jewish Learning Exchange in London, where his weekly

¹³¹ Mesorah Publications. “A Tribute to Aryeh Kaplan.” In The Aryeh Kaplan Reader. New York: Mesorah Publications Ltd, 1983. Pp. 15.

lectures attract hundreds of young Jews eager to listen to his skilled oration of the some of the most difficult topics in Judaism.

Rabbi Tatz has taken advantage of the World Wide Web utilizing it as a medium to provide access to his over 100 free downloadable classes in Jewish philosophy including titles such as “Predestination & Free Will,” “Miracle, Proofs & Human Knowledge,” and “Balance, Harmony & The Source of Paradox.”¹³² Like his predecessors, Rabbi Tatz utilizes the deeper realms of the Jewish tradition to transfer inspirational *Torah* messages to his largely lay audience. He also lectures on medical ethics, covering topics such as euthanasia, transplants, and risky surgical procedures. A high point in his career came in 2005, when Rabbi Tatz published a correspondence between himself and Jewish Zen priest living in Chicago. Entitled Letters to a Buddhist Jew, the book drew widespread attention as Rabbi Tatz utilized Zen mystical principles as a platform to elucidate similar as well as divergent principles in Jewish practice and metaphysics. The book’s significance is underscored by the fact that it has been estimated up to 30% of today’s American Buddhists were born into Jewish families.¹³³

5.4 Culture

Many *Ba’alei Teshuvah* come into the fold of religious Judaism carrying skills from their previous lives that are unheard of within the religious world. Specifically, artists, musicians, and writers often find somewhat of a cultural void within the traditional *Torah-Observant* community, and have difficulty integrating their talents into their new society.

¹³² Simpletoremember.com. “Free Mp3 Audio Library- Dr. Rabbi Akiva Tatz.” Extracted June 15, 2008 from http://www.simpletoremember.com/audio/Rabbi_Akiva_Tatz.html.

¹³³ KRON-TV “BUJU.” September 10, 1998. Extracted June 15, 2008 from <http://www.acfnewsresource.org/religion/jubu.html>.

Therefore, in addition of catering their “secular” skills to a religious audience, many people transform the content of their work as to represent their spiritual transformations, and continue to market it to a non-religious audience. Several notable cases of these *Ba’alei Teshuvah* artists have been observed in the past few years.

The American reggae/hip hop artist Matisyahu has been the most successful of this camp. Born Mathew Miller, Matisyahu was raised as an unaffiliated Jew in White Plains, New York.¹³⁴ Like many young American Jews, he rebelled as a teenager, and by the age 14, he had grown dreadlocks and was hanging out with an alternative crowd, experimenting with drugs and garnering a love of Reggae and rock music, among others. Eventually, he dropped out of high school to follow the psychedelic rock group Phish in their tour across America. In his later teen years, Mathew began the gradual process of religious transformation, as he became increasingly interested in *Torah-Observant* Judaism following a trip to Israel. Thus, the Orthodox Jewish rapper Matisyahu (Hebrew for Mathew) was born.

Matisyahu began to garner popular success in 2005. His song “King Without a Crown” came in at #7 in US Modern Rock charts, and was an international hit. Like his other songs, “King Without a Crown” features markedly religious lyrics delivered by Matisyahu in lively hip-hop fashion over the pulsating Reggae beat of his three-piece band:

“Strip away the layers and reveal your soul/ You gotta give yourself up and then you become whole/
You're a slave to yourself and you don't even know/ You want to live the fast life but your brain moves
slow/ If you're trying to stay high you're bound to stay low/ You want G-d but you couldn't deflate your

¹³⁴ Starpulse.com. “Matisyahu Biography.” Extracted June 24, 2008 from <http://www.starpulse.com/Music/Matisyahu/Biography/>.

ego/ If you're already there then there's nowhere to go/ If you're cup's already full then its bound to overflow”¹³⁵

His second album *Youth* (2006) continued the success of his previous work, peaking at #4 in the overall US Billboard chart. Matisyahu continues to perform across the world, meticulously adhering Jewish Law while on tour. For example, he does not play shows on Friday night in observance of the Sabbath. Also, he organizes public prayer services prior to and following his performances, occasionally hosting dinners and providing *Kosher* food to his observant attendees.

Another interesting case of a religious Jewish hip-hop artists is that of Yitzhak Jordan. Unlike Matisyahu, Yitzie was not born Jewish. His Puerto Rican mother and African American father raised him in Baltimore, Maryland, which was also home to a vibrant Jewish community. As a young boy, he became fascinated with the Jewish culture, eventually moving to Brooklyn and converting in 2000. His first stop as a newly religious Jew was the *Ohr Someyach* Yeshiva, where he first began experimenting with hip-hop while learning *Talmud* with his study partner David Singer, who unlike Yitzie, was fully immersed in the hip hop culture. The pair developed a unique relationship, which would catalyze their later success as musicians:

“To help study the *Talmud*, the two would turn the esoteric text into rhymes as a mnemonic to remember the complex Aramaic text. As Singer drummed on the table, Y-Love, sitting opposite him, would read the *Talmud* to the rhythm. During lunch break, they would freestyle their own rhymes.”¹³⁶

¹³⁵ Metrolyrics. “Matisyahu- King Without a Crown. Extracted June 24, 2008 from <http://www.metrolyrics.com/king-without-a-crown-lyrics-matisyahu.html>.

¹³⁶ Tripp Mickle and Abe Lebovic. “A Hip-hop Hasid.” *NYC24* 2006, *Issue 4*. Extracted June 19, 2008 from <http://www.nyc24.org/2006/issue4/story03/index.html>.

The two returned to New York in 2001, and began to make names for themselves as Jewish rappers. Yitzie, who took on the name Y-Love, quickly gained a following for his novel linguistic approach to hip-hop, integrating English, Hebrew, Arabic, Aramaic, Yiddish, and Latin into his value-laden lyrical flow.¹³⁷ In 2008, Y-Love released his first studio album, “This Is Babylon.” Between his international touring schedule, Y-Love maintains a popular blog, and also operates a non-profit organization called Clicks For Hope, which is dedicated to helping downtrodden victims of domestic violence.¹³⁸ He is also active in Jewish outreach, and hopes to witness flourish of *Torah* culture: “I want to see an army of Haredi (religious) artists coming strong. I want to see Yarmulkes sold on the Home Shopping Network. I want to see Judaism blowing up.”¹³⁹

In addition to the music world, newly religious Jews are also making their way into the writing culture. Jewish-American literature, which had previously been dominated by secular themes, is now seeing a resurgence of religious content. As recent as 2006, an expert in the field pronounced a trend towards “unprecedented attention to religion (especially orthodox Jewish life).”¹⁴⁰ Much of this is driven by newly religious writers such as John Clayton, referred to in one literary review as “American Jewish literature’s great *Ba’al Teshuvah*.”¹⁴¹

This trend is not limited the world of literature. Several plays have recently been written, produced, starred in, or have based on *Ba’alei Teshuvah*. Julius Novick, a profes-

¹³⁷ Joseph Leichman. “Y-not? Black Jewish singer has cross-cultural appeal.” *New Jersey Jewish Standard*, February 22, 2007. Extracted June 19, 2008 from <http://www.jstandard.com/articles/2300/1/Y-not%3F--Black-Jewish-singer-has-cross-cultural-appeal>.

¹³⁸ Pleasehelpnow.org. “Pleasehelpnow.org: Version 1.0- A Sight Dedicated To Changing Lives.” Extracted June 19, 2008 from <http://www.pleasehelpnow.org/>.

¹³⁹ Mickle, Tripp and Lebovic, Abe. “A Hip-hop Hasid.”

¹⁴⁰ Naomi Sokoloff. “Introduction: American Jewish Writing Today.” *AJS Review*, 30, (2006). Pp. 227.

¹⁴¹ Joshua Cohen. “New Time Religion.” *The Jewish Daily Forward*, Wed, Oct 10, 2007. Extracted June 19, 2008 from <http://www.forward.com/articles/11771/>.

sor of Drama at State University NY, predicts that, “In the twenty-first century, I expect we’ll be seeing plays about the *Ba’alei Teshuvah*, the children of those comfortable middle-class people, rebelling against the way of life won by previous rebellions, and returning to Orthodoxy.”¹⁴² In 2005, renowned British playwright Mike Leigh released “Two Thousand Years,” a play about a *Ba’alei Teshuvah* and his relationship with his secular family.¹⁴³ In a career spanning 40 years, comprised of an equal number of plays and films, Leigh had previously never drawn on his ancestral tradition for inspiration in his work. Another first came for the directors of “The Quarrel” who had to accommodate the religious needs of their *Ba’alei Teshuvah* lead actor Reuven Russell, who could not work on Friday or Saturday nights.¹⁴⁴

Religious Jewish culture, led by *Ba’alei Teshuvah* Jews, is expanding in every direction. In Toronto, a *Ba’alei Teshuvah* television producer has created a religious television program for *Chabad*. Prominent art galleries in London have displayed the Jewish themed works of *Ba’alei Teshuvah* artists. Recently, a jazz club in Vienna featured a religiously inspired Jewish jazz trio, led by an Israeli *Ba’alei Teshuvah*. The religious Jewish resurgence will undoubtedly continue to spread its influence into wider culture domains in the years to come.

As was established in chapter four, New Confucianism parallels *Ba’alei Teshuvah* Judaism in its recent expansion into the realms of popular music, arts, and literature. Though neither revival began in these cultural zones, it is of this authors opinion that

¹⁴² Julius Novick. “Great blossoming of American Jewish playwriting.” *All About Jewish Theatre*, 2008. Extracted June 24, 2008 from http://www.jewish-theatre.com/visitor/article_display.aspx?articleID=2873.

¹⁴³ Michael Billington. “Two Thousand Years.” *The Guardian, Arts, Theater*, September 16, 2005. Extracted June 24, 2008 from <http://arts.guardian.co.uk/reviews/story/0,,1571654,00.html>.

¹⁴⁴ Alvin Klien. “Acting on Beliefs, On and Off the Stage.” *New York Times, Theater*, February 14, 1999. Extracted July 23, 2008 from <http://query.nytimes.com/gst/fullpage.html?res=9407EED61F3BF937A25751C0A96F958260>.

these areas of enriched artistic texture will rise to the foreground, propelling their social legitimacy in each respective society to yet unrealized heights. This phenomenon along with other similarities shared between the two movements, as well as the differences dividing them, will be the subject of chapter 6.

6. Analysis

Having surveyed both New Confucianism and *Ba'alei Teshuvah* Judaism, it is imperative to draw some comparative insight between the two movements, as to reveal threads of congruence and distinction. The purpose of this exercise is two fold; the proposed contradistinction will both develop a honed appreciation for each of the movement's particularities, as well as aim towards acquiring an enhanced grasp of the global resurgence of traditional belief systems in general. Before proceeding, it is essential to reiterate the modest ambitions of this chapter. A scrupulous comparative study will not be advanced, as the methodological tools required for such an exacting task are, admittedly, beyond the abilities of the author. Furthermore, one may argue that the objects of comparison are so unavoidably dissimilar, that attempting a meaningful systematic assessment of the two movements is a near unattainable objective; the disparities in geographical location, population size, and axiology between *Ba'alei Teshuvah* Judaism and New Confucianism may be too dissimilar as to isolate crosscurrent variables for proper scientific analysis. Rather, as expounded upon in the introduction, this study seeks to illuminate a growing and important phenomenon occurring throughout the world through the lenses of two unique case studies, and glean further insight through their juxtaposition.

In the interest of formulating an entry point for meaningful comparison, two questions will be posed, each entreating the similarities and distinctions between *Ba'alei Teshuvah* Judaism and New Confucianism: a) What effect do each of these movements have on the world at large and b) What effect do each of these movements have within

the traditions themselves. The questions will be primarily addressed utilizing information previously referenced in the above chapters. However, new sources will occasionally be introduced in order to further sustain the arguments.

6.1 Global Implications

The two movements surveyed in this paper will both indubitably impact the larger societal context within which they are framed. In a globalized world, characterized by an unprecedented degree of interconnections and interdependencies, developments in one part of the world can quickly impact others. If *Ba'alei Teshuvah* Judaism and Neo Confucianism are to be taken as cohesive social forces, each existing as a whole entity within itself, then a crossover between their actors, institutions, and spheres of influence and overlapping social structures is unavoidable. In several instances, the global implications and impacts of *Ba'alei Teshuvah* Judaism and New Confucianism are parallel, though there are many distinctions to be drawn as well.

6.1.1 Global Similarities

A strong example of their universal likeness is their corroboration of Peter Berger's de-secularization thesis. Both *Ba'alei Teshuvah* Judaism and New Confucianism share in their contribution to the socio-religious trend of the global resurgence of traditional belief systems. This corroborates the amended model of modernization theory, which holds that following a period of pronounced secularization, the widespread skepticism and epistemological uncertainties of the postmodern world will lead to a revival of traditional modes of knowledge such as traditional religions and belief systems. The cases

of Judaism and Confucianism are consistent with this revised version of modernization theory outlined by Berger.

This most recent phase of world history, known by an assortment of monikers such as late capitalism and post-modernity, is merely the most recent leg in humanities long, drawn-out course of historical development. Indeed, as civilizational participants, Confucianism and Judaism have run a remarkably parallel course throughout this process, at least over the past 2,500 years. At this juncture, it is worthwhile to refer to well-established models of historical periodization advanced by the upstanding theorists of Global History. Many formulas have been advanced, though few contain the cogency of an orthodox rendering of modernization theory consisting of the axial, pre-modern, early modern, modern, and the late-modern phases.

It was German theorist Karl Jaspers who in 1953, first coined the term Axial Age, defined as axiological breakthroughs throughout world cultures in a transcendental search for morality. The transmission of Mosaic Law at Mount Sinai, as well as the teachings of Confucius at Shandong, both correlate with this period; Jaspers also identified the rational philosophy of the Greeks as well as Buddhism and Jainism from the Indus river valley as fellow constituents in this monumental epoch of world history.¹⁴⁵

Following the Axial dawn of worldwide transcendental revelation, the pre-modern era witnessed the enshrinement of canonical literature, as well as the exposition of advanced philosophical treatises throughout the world's belief systems. The shrewd Jewish sage Maimonides and "the great synthesizer" of Neo-Confucianism Zhu Xi were contemporaries in parallel golden ages of pre-modern thought during the 12th century.

¹⁴⁵ William A. Green. "Periodizing World History." *History and Theory*, Vol. 34, No. 2, Theme Issue 34: *World Historians and Their Critics*, May, 1995. Pp. 105.

Prior to the early modern era of the 16-18th centuries, the vulnerability of Axial age epistemologies had not been exposed. However, the budding proto-capitalist and proto-industrial systems of Western Europe, which subsequently extended their influence across the globe, marked the epochal transitions into early modernity. In China, the incursion of seafaring Jesuit missionaries threatened the purity of the Confucian scholarly tradition. In Western Europe, Baruch Spinoza's early Biblical criticism in the eclectic intellectual circles of a cosmopolitan Amsterdam caused a great stir among religious communities, while the deteriorating political economy of Eastern Europe contributed to a devastating series of false messianic expectations which were to shake the foundations of Jewish faith.¹⁴⁶

The nineteenth century birthed a common antagonist for the traditional belief systems, as the rushing tide of modernity and its empirical demystification of the world progressively suffocated the ideological strongholds of traditional society. As recounted in chapter three, Chinese iconoclasts charged Confucianism with stunting the development of the East Asian civilization, while freshly emancipated German Jewish scholars succeeded in perpetuating a revolution against the staunch authority of the Rabbinical tradition. By the beginning of the twentieth century, modernization was in full swing with no signs of slowing down. Even following the devastation of two world wars, academics and religious leaders alike celebrated or lamented the sustained destruction of the "sacred canopy" erected by traditional belief systems. As we witness the resurgence of the ideological capital held by Confucianism and Judaism, it is clear we are entering a new stage of global history.

¹⁴⁶ Johnson Paul. History of the Jews. Pp. 289.

6.1.2 Global Differences

6.1.2.1 Confucianism

There are a couple points of distinction to make in the dynamic between these resurgence movements and the global society that contains them. As the social framework underlying the New Confucian movement is no less than a civilization with over a billion people, it undoubtedly has the potential to produce great changes in the world. Two processes, not necessarily mutually exclusive, can be observed marking the relationship between transformations in the Chinese Diaspora and the rest of the world. The first is the collaborative dynamic between rising Chinese nationalism and the Neo-Confucian movement. The second is the integration of the Chinese/Confucian ethos into global discourses including community, human rights, ecology, and feminism. Both of these processes are bound to become more prevalent as current trends intensify and China solidifies its standing as a world superpower.

It is a great dispute among Confucian scholars whether or not Confucianism and nationalism are mutually exclusive ideological constructs, or are indeed partners in cultivating an ethos of Chinese particularity. This clash is deeply rooted in Confucian philosophy, stemming from the dialectical encounter of the universal (i.e. *ren*) and the particular (i.e. *li*). The first school of thought argues that Confucianism's open-minded universalism (*tianxia zhuyi*) is the central thrust of the philosophy. Such values as humaneness, sharing, and an anthropocosmic world-view stand against the tide of nationalist fervor, in that they connote, "the utopian ethical vision of world harmony ... not a

narrowly ethnic sense of solidarity or a feeling of civic solidarity.”¹⁴⁷ Confucianism has always manifested beyond nationalism, and has never erected borders for itself. For contemporary Sinologists in this camp, nationalism, when it does appear, is but an immature phase of the Chinese body politic and citizenry. It cannot possibly garner legitimate respect from communist party members, as it is antithetical to their goal of modernization.¹⁴⁸

However, many scholars hold that Confucianism is perhaps a most conducive vehicle for advancing nationalism in contemporary China. Confucianism as such provides immense cultural capital for the growing number of Chinese bureaucrats seeking to establish a powerful national identity for the burgeoning post-Mao Chinese state. It has been pointed out that Confucian “all under heaven” universalism has quickly transformed into a “closed political community.”¹⁴⁹ As the historical successor to the previous Confucian-based Chinese dynasties, the current regime feels it can leverage the cultural power of Confucianism to consolidate and uphold its political stature as a nation-state. The recent proliferation of Confucius Institutes across the world attests to this validity of this assertion.

In present day China, it appears that this top down nationalism corresponds to an equally strong popular nationalism. Several events in the recent past confirm this hypothesis. For example, the 1999 bombing of the Chinese embassy in Belgrade by NATO forces provoked widespread anger across China, especially in the universities. In a similar vein, the 2001 “Hainan Incident,” marked by the collision of a US spy plane and Chinese fighter jets in disputed airspace, elicited a similar response from zealous

¹⁴⁷ Thomas A. Metzger and Ramon H. Myers. “Chinese Nationalism and American Policy.” *Orbis* 42, 1. Winter 1998. Pp. 33.

¹⁴⁸ Ibid.

¹⁴⁹ Peter Hays Gries. China’s New Nationalism. London: University of California Press, 2004. Pp. 8.

fighter jets in disputed airspace, elicited a similar response from zealous Chinese nationals. The recent Olympic torch protests in London, Paris, and San Francisco were paralleled by reactionary pro-China demonstrations by furious Chinese nationalists abroad and within China.

Even more significant is the dramatic display of virtual nationalism on the Internet. Chinese “Cyber Nationalism” has become a grassroots movement in itself, and is ever expanding in China’s rapidly maturing Internet sphere.¹⁵⁰ Given the periodic eruptions of nationalistic fervor and the sustained cyber-nationalist sentiment, it is no wonder that Chinese nationalism has become quite a popular topic in top academic journals and other publications in the past decade.¹⁵¹

It is difficult to locate an explicit correlation between the rising national sentiment in China and the New Confucian resurgence. However, it is clear that these two phenomena are related, and often overlap. Moreover, it is likely that they will leverage off each other in the decades to come. The relationship between Confucianism and the national state is in its infantile stages. As the public space for Confucian ideas continues to expand on the mainland, it will become a powerful source of cultural pride for a China that is just starting to piece together its identity after moving beyond the protracted failures of Maoism. Any future confrontation with Western powers is likely to exacerbate this trend. In order to counter perceived threats of Western influence, the long established philosophical resources of ancient China will easily fill the vacuum left by Western ideas. left by will drawn to the surface in order to counter perceived threats of Western

¹⁵⁰ Xu Wu, *Chinese Cyber Nationalism: Evolution, Characteristics, and Implications*. Lanham: Lexington Books, 2007.

¹⁵¹ Ibid.; Christopher Hughes, “Nationalism in Chinese cyberspace.” *Cambridge Review of International Affairs*, Volume 13, Issue 2 Spring 2000. Pp. 195-209.

influence. Confucianism is an inexhaustible source of political, economic, social, familial, and individual wisdom for the Chinese, and perhaps even more a beacon of national pride. In the final analysis, contrary to the arguments of some scholars, Confucianism and nationalism are compatible. As a senior historian at the Beijing Academy for Social Sciences recently argued, Confucianism promotes a pronouncedly Sinocentric cultural nationalism, reflecting the cultural superiority of China; it even borders on outright “fierce racism.”¹⁵²

For those who view the increase of Chinese nationalism as a negative development in global politics, there is reason for hope. The rise of Confucianism can also be viewed as a positive occurrence, generating global integration and tolerant pluralism. After all, one of the major themes of Confucianism is the promotion of a Harmonious Society. Instead of acting as a divider among national lines, Confucianism can contribute the establishment of a multicultural mosaic of diverse world wisdoms working together to solve the world’s problems as a cohesive global community. This vision, as advocated by the Boston Confucians, is also likely to materialize in the coming years. Confucianism is already contributing to the global discourses mentioned in Chapter 4, such as Human Rights, Environmentalism, and Feminism. A recent compilation entitled Confucian Political Ethics is a suitable resource for those engaging in construction notions of global governance: “Most of these essays are written with a Western audience in mind and the contributors argue that certain Confucian values can and should be taken seriously in Western societies.”¹⁵³

Confucian inspired nationalism and Confucian universalism, by this author’s

¹⁵² Ibid.

¹⁵³ Daniel Bell. “Preface.” In Daniel Bell. Confucian Political Ethics. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2008. Pp. xii.

account, are two parallel processes that are both gaining prominence global politics. Though somewhat contradictory, there exists ample space for the unfurling of both tendencies. It is impossible to predict if these ideological forces will end up in direct confrontation, or will continue to expand in their respective spheres. The existence of both contradictory tendencies does signal a shift within Confucianism itself, which will be elaborated further in the next section.

6.1.2.2 Judaism

The global implications of the *Ba'alei Teshuvah* movement are greatly different from Neo Confucianism. This is to be expected due to the great demographic disparity between the Chinese and Jewish populations. Nonetheless, Jews tend to play a disproportionate role for their size in major urban centers across Europe and America and transformations within Judaism are bound to be perceived by the non-Jewish world, if not impact it directly. One evident feature of the *Ba'alei Teshuvah* movement is the potential for generating cultural clashes between newly religious Jews and the secular world. Religious Judaism is full of many restrictions, which could possibly prove offensive to those outside of the fold. For example, the laws of *shomer negia* mandate that a man or a woman may not touch members of the opposite sex, barring family members or spouses. This is likely to cause some social discomfort in the workplace or other areas of society. Similarly, *Kosher* dietary restrictions relegate an observant Jew's eating habits to *Kosher* certified restaurants, or the private kitchens of observant Jews. As eating is cultural a ritual of great significance, tensions can be anticipated between Jews keeping *Kosher* and their non-Jewish or non-religious Jewish acquaintances. Similarly, the laws of *Shabbat* prevent Jews from engaging in any activities from Friday night to Saturday night. This

makes it almost impossible for professional Jews to attend conferences and other events that coincide with the Jewish holy day.

It is unclear what effect the *Ba'alei Teshuvah* movement is having on Jewish national sentiment in regards to Israel. This is rooted in a deep dispute within religious Judaism about the nature of the state of Israel. All religious Jews believe that there will eventually come a day when G-d will redeem the Jewish people and return them to their rightful homeland in the land of Israel. However, their relationship with the current nation-state is far more ambiguous. The original Zionists who worked towards establishing a State of Israel in the late 19th century and early/mid 20th were uniformly anti-religious. They sought to create a secular state where Jews could live in freedom from oppression, and viewed religious Jews as another obstacle holding back their progressive achievements.¹⁵⁴ Accordingly, the secular democracy of current day Israel is categorically dissimilar from the Davidic theocracy that ruled over Israel 2,000 years prior, thus stirring doubts of legitimacy from pious Jews.

Some sizeable groups such as the *Satmar Chassidim* assume a very negative stance of the state of Israel. On the extreme fringe of this camp is a group called *Neturei Karta*, who are, “opposed the establishment of and retain all opposition to the existence of the so-called ‘State of Israel!’”¹⁵⁵ They have controversially attended holocaust denying conferences in Iran to voice their anti-Zionist solidarity with Iranian President Ahmadinejad, who himself has made unnerving statements about the state of Israel being “wiped off the map.” The majority of anti-Zionists are moderate, merely practicing a passive disassociation from the state as much as possible.

¹⁵⁴ Johnson, Paul. *History of the Jews*. USA: Harper Perennial, 1988. Pp. 396.

¹⁵⁵ Neturei Karta. “What is the Neturei Karta?” *Neturei Karta Online*. Extracted July 29, 2008 from <http://www.nkusa.org/AboutUs/index.cfm>.

Of course, religious Zionism is also a prevalent force in the Jewish world. They assume the view that even though the secular state is antithetical to the notion of true *Torah* governance, it is a positive stepping-stone to the realization of messianic hopes of the Jewish redemption. They view settling the land of Israel as a *mitzvah* and are adamant about erecting Jewish outposts in the disputed territories of the West Bank. The religious Zionists have their extremists as well, among some of whom have committed gruesome terror attacks against Arab citizens. However, like anti-Zionists, most are moderate and relegate their activities to Israel advocacy and benign displays of nation sentiment.

Kiruv organizations themselves generally remain a-political, though a few have noticeable tendencies to either side. As a rule of thumb, they refrain from political activities because their focus is on teaching Jews about Judaism, and encouraging them to practice the *mitzvot*. Sir Dr. Chief Rabbi Jonathan Sacks, a distinguished British public figure, commented that one of the distinguishing features of the *Ba'alei Teshuvah* movement is its a-political nature. Many religious resurgence movements are often politically intertwined, thus fostering the intolerant brands of fundamentalism that have led to great amounts of bloodshed; Judaism does not have this problem.¹⁵⁶ The ambiguous relationship of religious Jews to the state of Israel greatly lessens the potential for *Balei Teshuva* Judaism to spurn nationalist sentiment..

6.2 Internal Implications

Any contemporary resurgence movement of a traditional belief system is bound to bring changes to the system itself. After all, axial systems of knowledge were designed with inherent flexibility mechanisms as to withstand the tides of historical change.

¹⁵⁶ Based on a personal interview in June, 2008.

Innovations in technology, geopolitical transformations, and shifting social patterns are just but a few of the catalysts that have historically prompted system change. Since the heralding of modernity, we have witnessed an unprecedented speed and intensity of these societal transformations. It is thus no surprise that *Ba'alei Teshuvah* Judaism and New Confucianism, both productions of the modernization process, are heralding great changes within Judaism and Confucianism itself. Though many of these changes are system specific, a few commonalities can be observed.

6.2.1 Internal Similarities

Both movements are transforming old traditions through the introduction of modern/secular cultural symbols and values. An example is a renewed focus on environmental themes, paralleling the global anxiety over climate change and related ecological threats. Though both Confucianism and Judaism have a history of preserving and protecting the natural world, the resurgence movements have brought these issues to the forefront. We have already overviewed the developments of ecological New Confucianism in chapter four, centered on Tucker and Berthrong's (1998) compendium. Within Judaism, organizations such as *Canfei Nesharim* have emerged in order help facilitate a heightened environmental consciousness among religious Jews. Founded in 2003, *Canfei Nesharim* is

“dedicated to building a better world for our children, by learning and acting on the wisdom of our Jewish tradition to protect the environment. Our goal is to empower our community to take actions which will make a difference in addressing the environmental challenges we face today.”¹⁵⁷

¹⁵⁷ Canfei Nesharim. “Who We Are.” Extracted July 21, 2008 from http://www.canfeinesharim.org/who_we_are/.

Like the vast majority of other environmental organizations in the *Torah-Observant* world, their leadership is overwhelmingly comprised by *Ba'alei Teshuvah* Jews.

Additionally, both New Confucianism and *Ba'alei Teshuvah* Judaism appear to be taking ample advantage of Internet resources. Nowhere is this more pronounced than in the blogosphere. A Blog, short for web log, is a decentralized medium of online publication, which seems to be ubiquitously used among the world's diverse social groups. Several New Confucian blogs dot the English language realms of the Internet. One can read about Post-modern Confucianism in Sam Cranes' blog entitled "The Useless Tree: Ancient Chinese Thought in Modern American Life," or about Confucian features of American Culture in Robert Canright's "New Confucian" blog.¹⁵⁸ Both Cranes and Canright are Americans belonging to the third symbolic universe of New Confucianism. Undoubtedly, one would expect to find a vast array of New Confucian material in Chinese language blogs as well.

A host of blogs has also appeared in the *Torah-Observant* world, where most authors tend to be *Ba'alei Teshuvah*. The Internet is a complex and difficult subject among religious Jews. Many Rabbis have enacted bans on Internet access in the homes of their congregation, due to the fears that instantaneous access to the endless virtual vaults of risqué material is too perilous a temptation for religious Jews to confront. As a result, many Jews who are religious from birth restrict their online access to strictly professional matters, while *Ba'alei Teshuvahs* are more likely to actively engage the Internet in a leisurely fashion. Thus newly religious Jews dominate the religious blogosphere, though lifelong religious Jews have been slowly following suit. Most blogs focus on religious ideas

¹⁵⁸ Sam Cranes. "The Useless Tree: Ancient Chinese Thought in Modern American Life." Extracted July 21, 2008 from <http://www.uselesstree.typepad.com/>; Robert Canright. "The New Confucian." Extracted July 21, 2008 from <http://newconfucian.blogspot.com/>.

or challenges confronting the religious world, though a substantial number pertain to music, culture, human rights, fashion, etc.¹⁵⁹

6.2.2 Internal Differences

6.2.2.1 Confucianism

The most profound transformation occurring in this “third epoch” of Confucianism is the variety of guises the philosophy has assumed. If there ever was a cohesive stream of Confucianism thought, it now surely appears to be fracturing. The ancient philosophy has seen such a wide variety of applications in the recent decades that New Confucianism must be viewed as a pluralistic movement, if not several distinct movements in themselves. For example, the global consultancy firms who might refer to Leung’s (2006) study on Asian Values in the *Journal of International Management* have vastly different motives for investigating Confucianism than progressive proponents of a worldwide harmonious society whom might refer to Mencius’ favored “well-field” system of communal property rights as an ideal model.¹⁶⁰ In a similar fashion, Chinese nationalist ideologues who would promote Confucianism as the vanguard of an increasingly assertive national culture appear to be in direct contradiction with the goals of Tu Weiming and his “Dialogue Among Civilizations” project.¹⁶¹ From a monolithic state-centered perspective of Chinese history, these splinter Confucianisms appear as a novel feature of modernity.

¹⁵⁹ See for example, Beyond Teshuva. “Beyond BT Blog.” Extracted July 29, 2008 from <http://www.beyondbt.com/>, or Rabbi Yonah. “Blogshul.” Extracted July 29, 2008 from <http://rabbiyonah.wordpress.com/>;

¹⁶⁰ Kwok Leung. “The rise of East Asia: Implications for research on cultural variations and globalization.” *Journal of International Management*, Volume 12, Issue 2, June 2006. Pp. 235-241.

¹⁶¹ Tu Weiming. “Activities and Services - Tu Weiming.” Extracted July 29, 2008 from <http://tuweiming.com/activities.html>.

However, as De Bary observes, Confucianism during the Ming dynasty was not homogeneous and can be categorized into three different types: official state orthodoxy, philosophical orthodoxy, and individuals outside the official political or pedagogical orthodoxy who promoted a more liberal brand of Confucianism.¹⁶² Though de Bary's Ming era Confucian pluralism is not without its detractors, it does merit eliciting caution in declaring the colorful New Confucianism of present day as unprecedented phenomenon in Confucian history. Nonetheless, even de Bary would acknowledge the uniqueness of contemporary Confucianism and its particularly heterodox manifestations.

6.2.2.2 Judaism

It is of significance that the development of *Ba'alei Teshuvah* Judaism coincides with a rapidly shifting demographic trend in the Jewish world. In America, Jews as an ethnic/religious group have one of the lowest birthrates in the country, as the most recent authoritative survey concluded, "Jewish women have somewhat lower fertility rates than all U.S. women."¹⁶³ The average fertility rate for all Americans is 2.1, which is just sufficient to sustain a population.¹⁶⁴ According to the 2000 NJP survey, secular Jews had a fertility rate of 1.29, Reform Jews 1.36, and Conservative 1.74; these four groups constitute around 90% of American Jewry. This is coupled with intermarriage rates as

¹⁶² Wm. Theodore De Bary. "Introduction." In Wm. Theodore De Bary and Irene Bloom, Principle and Practicality. New York: Columbia University Press, 1979. Pp. 16,17.

¹⁶³ United Jewish Communities. "National Jewish Population Survey 2000-01." Pp. viii. Extracted July 21, 2008 from <http://www.ujc.org/page.aspx?id=33650>.

¹⁶⁴ CIA. "United States." *CIA World Fact Book*. Extracted July 21, 2008 from <https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/geos/us.html>.

high as 47%, and widespread apathy that often leads to a complete disassociation from Jewish identity.¹⁶⁵

However, the demographics of the American Orthodox community, only 10% of country's Jews, is a different story altogether. Centrist Orthodox Jews have a fertility rate of 3.39 while Ultra Orthodox and Chassidic Jews boast a massive rate of 6.72. Many non-*Torah-Observant* Jewish scholars lament the fact that if current rates continue, Orthodox Jews will be the only group of Jews left in America four or five generations down the line. Whether or not the actual demographic transition will be that severe, it is apparent that rapid changes are occurring in the American Jewish population. This pattern is reflected across the world.¹⁶⁶ In England, the general population's fertility rate is 1.8, while among Jews as a whole it is 1.65. Yet the English Orthodoxy have registered similar patterns to their religious kinsmen in America, resulting in a situation where three out of every four Jewish babies now belong to an "Ultra-Orthodox" family.¹⁶⁷

In addition to contributing to the shifting Jewish demographic, *Balei Teshuva* Judaism is bringing many changes to the Jewish world, most of which were covered in the comparison with Confucianism. In sum it can be surmised that *Balei Teshuvah* bring with them many secular symbols and values that are in turn re-emphasized within the Judaic tradition. What differentiates the particular implications of *Ba'alei Teshuvah* Judaism from New Confucianism is the notion of continuity. As suggested above, contemporary Confucianism has broken into several distinct spheres, most of which have not previously existed within the tradition. While *Balei Teshuvah* Jews may contribute to a moderate

¹⁶⁵ Alan Dershowitz. *The Vanishing American Jew: In Search of Jewish Identity for the Next Century*. USA: Little, Brown, and Company, 1997. Pp. 26.

¹⁶⁶ Daniel J. Elazer. "How Strong is Orthodox Judaism -- Really? The Demographics of Jewish Religious Identification." Extracted July 29, 2008 from <http://www.jcpa.org/dje/articles2/demographics.htm>.

¹⁶⁷ Robert Pigott. "Jewish population on the increase." *BBC News, Wednesday, 21 May 2008*. Extracted July 21, 2008 from http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/uk_news/7411877.stm.

shifting of emphasis, they are first and foremost joining a stream of Judaism that has not been broken for thousands of years. Mainstream Torah Judaism has not altered any of its laws as a result of the influx of *Balei Teshuva* Jews. The rituals, prayer, and learning remain undisturbed.

On the other hand, a weighty result of the modernization process has been the split between Orthodox, Conservative, and Reform, the latter two of whom have changed the ancient law as to fit the comforts and conventions of modern society. However, these movements are not the focus of the paper, as they are not considered *Torah-Observant* as such, arguing that while the *Torah* may be a great source of wisdom for the Jews, it is not an eternal document whose laws must be upheld in the present generation.¹⁶⁸ *Balei Teshuvah* Jews may aid in bringing the *Torah-Observant* world into the spheres of the Internet, activism, and modern science, but they are not fundamentally altering the nature of the belief system itself.

¹⁶⁸ The Central Conference of American Rabbis. "The Guiding Principles of Reform Judaism." Extracted July 29, 2008 from http://ccarnet.org/Articles/index.cfm?id=40&pge_prg_id=3032&pge_id=1656; Johnson, Paul. *History of the Jews*. Pp. 369.

7. Conclusion

7.1 Summary of Findings

Historians are generally hesitant about advancing their views of the future. For an art predicated upon analysis of the past, history and its proponents understandably shirk away from such speculative exercises as predicting yet untold developments in world history. However, that widespread remoteness that has spread throughout the academic world has its drawbacks too, and in many ways it is in the duty of the scholar to formulate pertinent conceptions about the impending course of events.

This paper has overviewed the recent and unexpected phenomenon of the resurgence of traditional belief systems throughout the world. It could be argued that the two objects of study represent the polar extremes of this vast global movement- Confucianism being a “religion” in its broadest sense and encompassing a sizable portion of the planet’s population, and Judaism as a religion awash with explicit rituals and practiced by a mere sliver of the world’s inhabitants. Both systems defied common logic in their astonishing revivals over the past 30-40 years. It is no doubt impossible to say what the next few decades to bring, though it is this authors opinion that these trends will continue to expand.

One of the most instructive findings of this survey is that New Confucianism and *Balei Teshuvah* Judaism are both observably witnessing somewhat of a popular culture renaissance. Confucian scholarship is making its way to the masses through innovative T.V. programs, books, and festivals; it would not be surprising to witness the profusion of music laced with Confucian themes in the coming years, if it does not already exist. The

growing national sentiment among China's youth suggests that China's indigenous philosophy will become increasingly appealing to the coming generation of post-Mao Chinese citizens.¹⁶⁹ With regards to the Jewish world, the *Balei Teshuvah* movement is prompting Jews from all across the spectrum to reassess their identity, as more and more returnees to Judaism are making their presence felt in the realms of music, performing arts, and literature. Almost every young Jewish student or parent has heard of the strange phenomenon of a secular Jew taking on the peculiar yet estimable yoke of a *Torah-Observant* lifestyle.

Simultaneously, these two movements are both intriguingly puzzling and somewhat expected. Amidst growing affluence and associated freedoms, it seems counterintuitive that young people would willingly place themselves within a system that their parents and grandparents fought so hard to liberate themselves from. Conversely, these traditional belief systems boast thousands of years of time-tested achievement in sustaining their respective population's identity, and it is arrogant to view the modernization process as totally distinct from these enduring modes of history.

The reemergence of traditional belief systems, of course, seems to be a ubiquitous phenomenon among the world's various pre-modern systems of axial thought, not just in Confucianism and Judaism. Societies across the world are faced with the prospects of the rising role of religion in their public and private spheres. However, questions still remain about these developments. To date, no one has undertaken an exhaustive study of these movements as a totality. Peter Berger's de-secularization thesis, presented in chapter two,

¹⁶⁹ Evan Onos. "Angry Youth: The new generation's Neocon Nationalists." *The New Yorker*, July 30, 2008. Extracted July 29, 2008 from http://www.newyorker.com/reporting/2008/07/28/080728fa_fact_osnos?printable=true.

stands as a plausible yet uncorroborated argument.¹⁷⁰ Theorists who have postulated on the woes of late capitalism have not concretely shown a correlation to the return of traditional belief systems. Far more global historical research, of both the comparative and connective varieties, will be need in order to sustain de-secularization as a viable account of the recent developments among the world's belief systems.

It is hoped that this paper is one step towards that goal. The historical framework presented in chapter three has equipped the reader with sufficient knowledge of the temporal context of the two movements. Chapter four's description of the operation of New Confucianism in its ideological, economic, political, and popular forms, and chapter five's expose on *Balei Teshuvah* Judaism in its institutional, geographical, leadership, and cultural forms, has permitted an adequate grasp of at least two of the movements comprising the global religious resurgence. The comparative exercise in chapter 6, insightful though lacking in scientific precision, has shed light into the commonalities and distinctions between New Confucianism and *Balei Teshuvah* Judaism, and their interaction with the larger world and within their own societies.

7.2 Further thoughts

Though this thesis has presented a considerable amount of research on these topics, viewing them through the esteemed frames of different theoretical lenses and making great use of the available academic resources, this survey is far from complete. There are many reasons why this is so, though none more poignant than the sheer acknowledgement of its one-dimensional methodological perspective. Attempting to explain these

¹⁷⁰ Berger, Peter. The Desecularization of the World. Pp. 4.

profound and delicate transformations using the tools of Western science can only take one so far. It would be a great disservice to these venerated creeds merely to catalogue their recent revivals using available Western methods, without at least mentioning how they are viewed within the systems themselves. For within Judaism and Confucianism, these contemporary developments bear with them weighty philosophical implications.

Through the eyes of a Confucian, the protracted period of iconoclastic rejection and disinterest of the ancient scholarly tradition is viewed as part of a grander cosmic dialectic. New shoots of enthusiasm were bound to emerge from the rubble of May 19th, as every polarity in the world, be it biological, political, or ideological, will eventually recede and succumb to the sublime harmony balancing the interaction between heaven, man, and the earth. As the great Neo-Confucian scholar Zhou Dunyi writes,

The Great Ultimate through movement generates *yang*. When its activity reaches its limits, it becomes tranquil. Through the tranquility the Great Ultimate generates *yin*. When tranquility reaches its limit, activity begins again. So movement and tranquility alternate and become the root of each other, giving rise to the distinction of *yin* and *yang*, and the two modes are thus established.¹⁷¹

The Jewish religion possesses has an even more explicit account for *Balei Teshuvah* Judaism in its ancient texts. The prophet Amos (8:11-12) predicted the one-day, Jews will live affluent lives lacking in spirituality, as they will not have, “a hunger for bread nor a thirst for water but to hear the word of Hashem.” The prophet then goes on to predict that Jews will repent and return to observance of the *Torah*. Similarly, Ezekiel (20:32-37) foresaw the Jewish exile and eventual return to religion, proclaiming,

¹⁷¹ Vincent Shen. “Introduction and Early Thinkers.” *University of Vienna Lecture Course 180486 VO Chinese Philosophy - Neo-Confucianism, University of Vienna, April 22, 2008*. Extracted April 21, 2008 from <http://link.library.utoronto.ca/easic/course.cfm?courseid=ChinesePhilo2&T=0.517348006515>.

I shall take you out from the nations and gather you from the lands in which you were scattered... and bring you into the covenant... For on My holy mountain, on the mountain of the height of Israel, says the Lord G-d, there shall all of the whole House of Israel serve Me.

Whether one chooses to view these perplexing occurrences as inevitable transformations guided by metaphysical forces, or as deterministic phenomenon related to global changes in the world's political economy and social structures, there is a universal lesson that we can all glean from the contemporary revival of the world's traditional belief systems. In an era of unprecedented interdependency and global integration, humans must accept the precipitous fact that we all share in a common society and collective experience of humanity. For those drawing upon axial age wisdoms as transcendental fortitude in this increasingly materialistic world, they must bear in mind the intrinsic value of multiculturalism, and respect the decision of those who chose to embrace the secular scientism held true by many of today's citizens. The same holds true for non-believers and proponents of a rationalist ethos, who must remember that their worldview is a belief system in itself, not an impartial platform upon which to condescend those who seek truth from traditional modes of conviction.

The conceptual nexus with which to bridge these converse life approaches is tolerance. One of the many wonderful attributes of tolerance is that far from compromising one's principles, it in fact necessitates that one be confident in his or her personal beliefs; only after one assumes a particular worldview does the act of tolerating another's become possible. There are an infinite number of ways of approaching the world, and it is a great fallacy to view these philosophical divergences as a tragic facet of the human civilization.

Conversely, the existence of a multitude of diverse cultures can empower us in our individual pursuits of personal and social betterment, as we learn how to best weave our own distinct and colorful threads into the great quilt of humanity that underlies our increasingly global village.

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9. Author's CV

Yaakov Lehman

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Beit Shemesh, Israel

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EDUCATION:

- 09/07- 07/08 *The University of Vienna* *Vienna, AU*
- Degree: Masters of Arts in Global Studies (Emphasis China)
 - 2nd Year of European Union “Erasmus Mundus Global Studies Scholarship” receiving full tuition and €1,600 monthly stipend (http://www.uni-leipzig.de/zhs/erasmus_mundus/)
 - Continued Mandarin Chinese Study
 - Dissertation working title: The Return of Moses and Confucius: A Comparative Study of Balei Teshuva Judaism and the Contemporary Confucian Revival

09/06 – 09/07

9.1.1 London School of Economics London, UK

Degree: Masters of Science in Global History (Merit)

First year of Erasmus Mundus Scholarship

Continuing Mandarin language study (4th year)

Dissertation: “Sephardic Success in the Streets of Shanghai: A Social Capital Analysis of Baghdadi Jews in 19th and 20th Century China”

9.1.2

09/03 – 08/06

9.1.3 University of California (3.6 GPA) Santa Barbara, CA

Degree: Bachelor of Arts in Global Studies with Honors

Global Studies GPA: 3.9

Advanced Level Mandarin Chinese (3 years)

University Service Award (June, 2006) for outstanding service within the university community

EMPLOYMENT:

09/07-Present

Founder Moishe House Vienna

The Forest Foundation- Santa Barbara, CA

- Resident and founder of The Moishe House Vienna, a Jewish communal space created to develop Jewish interacting among young people in Vienna.
http://www.theforestfoundation.net/moishe_display.asp

03/06 – 06/06

9.1.4 Program Director The Forest Foundation – Santa Barbara, CA

- Non-profit organization (www.theforestfoundation.net) supporting youth leadership within various communities
- Leadership training provided through professional seminars, weekly peer “think tank,” and meetings facilitated by foundation staff
- Received directorship for my “Chilla Vista” Project (*see* Extracurricular/Volunteer Activities, below)

9.1.5

06/05 – 06/06

9.1.6 External Coordinator UCSB Student Health - Isla Vista, CA

- Co-coordinator of UCSB-certified peer drug counselor internship, Students Teaching Alcohol and other Drug Responsibilities (STAR)
- Interact with students and faculty, organize campaigns and projects, and conduct presentations throughout the university community
- Develop outreach and awareness presentations for “STAR” program to UCSB students regarding stress, drug and alcohol abuse
- Design agenda and facilitate meetings for academically accredited internship
- Liaison between representatives of concerned interest groups, such as residence halls, athletic teams, the Greek system, student health services, and law enforcement

EXTRACURRICULAR / VOLUNTEER ACTIVITIES:

6/03 - Present

*Founder, Director of Operations**DAJUS TORAH*

- Organization I founded when I was 18 based on DAJUS principles
- DAJUS: Diversity – Awareness - Justice – Understanding – Sustainability
- Mission is to “change the definition of cool,” by utilizing cultural mediums such as large events, music, and art to promote the humanist principles
- DAJUS TORAH formed in 2007 to promote the above values within the Torah framework

06/07

*Organizer**The Moishe Mobile*

- 8 young activists set out in the Moishe Mobile to learn, educate, and inspire those they meet on their journey across America. Their “Moishe mobile” refers to their green bus run entirely on vegetable oil, with solar panels mounted on the roof powering their electronic equipment. <http://www.moishemobile.org/>

02/07 - Present

*Newsletter Editor**Canfei Nesharim*

- Canfei Nesharim is a non-profit organization dedicated to promoting the value

of environmentalism from the prospective of Jewish tradition and Halacha, and educating and inspiring the Orthodox Jewish community to live more environmentally sustainable lives.

- <http://www.canfeinesharim.org/>
- Request and edit articles for the monthly newsletter, compile and format aspects of newsletter, write occasionally for newsletter.

1/07 – 3/07

9.1.6.1 Leadership Training Genesis

- Received competitive scholarship for ten-week Jewish leadership training program with the Jewish Learning Exchange
<http://www.jle.org.uk/showevent.php?id=237>
- Program features leadership, education, advocacy, and development components

11/05 – Present

Founder, Director of Operations

ChillaVista

Multi-faceted organization of with academic and programming components I founded based upon my DAJUS philosophy

Academic. Led two 4-unit upper division group studies classes (Winter 06, Spring 06) in Sociology Department to research and design a festival. Two of my students from the Winter 06 class formed their own classes in Spring 06 in Chicano Studies and Communications Departments

Event (06/04/06): Developed and organized a zero-waste community event using one hundred percent (100%) renewable energy (biodiesel and solar). The festival featured the community's first organic farmers' market, Peer Health Education workshops, a film festival, two music venues, a children's corner with games and education, Latino cultural presentations, a festival currency used for encouraging positive contributions to the event, forty educational outreach booths, a sustainable fashion show, and more

Event (12/02/06). While I was in London, the ChillaVista group planned a festival called "Live Consciously: Celebrating DAJUS Within the Community"

09/05 – 06/06

Vice Chairperson

Isla Vista Community Relations Committee

- "IVCRC" supports events or projects designed to improve community relations and the quality of life in Isla Vista
- Record meeting minutes, maintain budget items of UCSB's largest budget appropriation group, plan and execute projects, other leadership duties

04/05 – 01/06

MCG Liaison

California Student Sustainability Coalition

- "CSSC" formulates policy proposals for the UC Regents regarding sustainable transportation, socially and environmentally equitable purchasing practices, organic foods, educational programs, solar energy, sustainable building models, and other environmental initiatives

- Main Communication Group liaison for effective and proactive statewide coordination

06/05 – 06/06

Co-Chair

Education for the Sustainable Living Program

- “ESLP” sponsors group studies projects under the broad topic of sustainability (environmental and social)
- Contact international experts and organize these lectures, with topics such as organic foods, biodiesel and other alternative fuels, Permaculture, and socially responsible business models for weekly lecture series during spring quarter