EXPANDED ISSUE

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"Ten days that shook the world" is the way Oregon-born radical and journalist John Reed famously described the Russian Revolution of 1917. Some events and movements shake the world and seem to tear it apart; others pass from the scene at the speed of light. How do we explain the difference? This issue of *Sh'ma* is pegged to commemorate the 25th anniversary of the massive D.C. rally that propelled the Soviet Jewry movement into its final triumphant years. With that movement, arguably the most powerful of all social movements to shake the Jewish world in the last few decades, and its significant impact in mind (it resulted in 2 million people leaving the FSU), we tour a wide range of activist initiatives that have arisen and, in some instances, disappeared rapidly, such as Tel Aviv's tent city of the summer of 2011. We examine what happens to a movement, such as "Save Darfur," that experiences fatigue and loses momentum — even when the issues that launched it persist. We take a look at these and other movements to learn what they teach us about social organization, about change, and about their impact on contemporary Judaism. What are the movements of change that continue to capture the minds and attract the hearts of Jews?

We open the issue with an exploration of the power of song, and of how and why it is that the tunes of Woody Guthrie, Shlomo Carlebach, or, more recently, the enigmatic musician Jeff Magnum, can fuel generations; we also examine why a movement often depends on song — an anthem ("We Shall Overcome," for one example) — for its existence.

Some of us are movement activists; others fight change. Still others take note of or foster change quietly. This issue offers a glimpse at what we might learn about these options.

—Susan Berrin, Editor-in-Chief

Sideways and Upward

LILI BEN AMI

Instead of the oft-heard question, "Where did the energy of last summer's tent protest go?" one should be asking, "Where did the energy of last summer come from?"

The Israeli tent protest movement of the summer of 2011 was a thrilling and exceptional historical phenomenon. For the past decade, I have been active in social issues in Israel. I led (volunteer) struggles for workers' rights, for improving the status of women, and for strengthening the educational system. I coordinated hundreds of conferences, demonstrations, and petitions and founded and directed two social organizations and four nonprofit institutions. But it was only in front of an audience of tens of thousands, after only two days of organizing, that I stood amazed at the awakening of the nation. Finally, I saw the mass exit from a state of apathy, and the coalescing of groups that took to the streets to set up tents. The message was an appeal to the government: "Enough Erosion of the Middle Class" and "The Nation Demands Social Justice."

For the entire summer, it was clear to me that this phenomenon was temporary and rare, and at any moment the tents might fold up and disappear. But the protest was authentic and heartfelt, even if it was chaotic and disorganized and it sometimes offered unclear messages.

The protest translated economic issues, such as the inability to purchase an apartment, into an accessible social agenda.

After a month or so, we were able to articulate an agenda and formulate reasonable demands based on research data, statistics, and

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the experiences of academics, professionals, and practitioners. Though today questions are being raised about the extent of the protest's success — and though the government never answered all of the demands and has, to the contrary, placed difficult levies on the middle class, such as raising the value added tax (VAT) and the price of gas — we should not ignore the fact that certain historic decisions have been made. For example, the government has promised a longer school day that will help working families and provided a budget to cover these costs.

Beyond the response of the government, the protest altered the lives of thousands of people. Changes can be seen and heard on the street and among the decision makers. The social voice floated in from the activist field and spread sideways and upward. This is why it is not surprising to see that the movement has projected itself onto the turbulent Israeli electoral system. As expected, many of today's politicians are trying to gain political power from the social protest. For example, in the election campaign for chairman of the centrist Kadima party last spring, Shaul Mofaz promised to lead the next summer's tent protests. The language of the protest and its slogan (*ha'am doresh tzedek chevrati*, people demand social justice) have entered into the parties' platforms, and the demands of the protest — such as lower prices for apartments and other family needs — are being addressed. The Labor Party, under the leadership of Shelly Yachimovich, has been strengthened because it demands that social-economic issues will be at the center of the discourse in addition to security issues. Likud Party member and Minister of Communication Moshe Kahkon's recent decision to break the monopoly on cell phone service and decrease cell phone prices, which benefits all families, garnered attention because of the recent discourse. And at least three new parties, with roots in the protest movement, are vying for seats in the next Knesset: *Mifleget Ha'am*, The People's Party, *Eretz Hadasha*, A New Land, and *Or*, Light.

In addition to other young tent activists, I am entering the political fold and running as a Labor Party candidate in the upcoming election. I am 33 years old, a teacher, and a mother of two young children. For the past decade, my activism has focused on educational reform and gender issues. Several significant successes since my years as a student have taught me that change is possible. Last summer's protest showed Israelis that the time is right to advance an agenda of change, not only among a grassroots group of activists, but also among the epicenter of the Israeli government.

During the protest, we successfully changed the discourse to focus on welfare, education, medicine, and social justice. This is the real accomplishment of the tent protest: The protest translated economic issues, such as the inability to purchase an apartment, into an accessible social agenda. We demonstrated enormous political power and found that change is possible. As Mahatma Gandhi said: "Be the change you want to see in the world."

What Do You Want to Hear?

EITAN KENSKY

On October 6, 2011, Jeff Mangum, the musician behind the legendary indie rock band Neutral Milk Hotel, played a surprise concert for the Occupy Wall Street protesters in New York's Zuccotti Park. Until earlier that year, Mangum was modern rock's most famous recluse. He practically disappeared in the years following his band's second album, "In the Aeroplane Over the Sea." He made few public appearances and granted fewer interviews, and the long articles that were written about him during this time, the ones that actually had something to say about Jeff Mangum, seem to have disappeared from the Internet entirely. It is possible I imagined them.

But even before he disappeared, there was a mystique around Mangum and his music. His cryptic and grotesque lyrics are haunted by desires that cannot fully be explained. The songs are also haunted, almost literally, by Anne Frank. Mangum read *The Diary of a Young Girl* shortly after the release of his band's first album and he found himself devastated by Anne's story and tormented by nightmares. The album is filled with facts about her life, but it's also exceedingly difficult to know where the facts end and his machinations begin. While the lyrics can be impenetrable, the emotions never are. Mangum exhausted himself in the performance; nothing was omitted. The album