Goals

Participants will
★ explore different preferences toward particular or universal obligations
★ internalize the tensions between these competing values
★ acquire a rich lexicon regarding particular vs. universal obligations
★ identify their personal orientation to the particular vs. universal

Introduction:

Another way of looking at our spheres of association and obligation is on a particular to universal spectrum.

**The Particular end refers to** the inner circles of our concentric circles – the people and things closest to us and most similar to us. Critics may refer to the particular side as “parochial,” while advocates might call it “patriotic.” People with strong particular obligations prioritize their responsibilities to those like or near them.

**The Universal end refers to** the more distant circles of our concentric circles – people we may not know, or those far away physically, or those who are unlike us. People with strong universal obligations view themselves as responsible toward those they do not know, and regard their sense of responsibility to those who are distant as strong as their...
Particular vs. Universal

responsibility to their loves ones. In a sense, universalists take those in the outer circles and draw them inward, making them closer and more relevant. In this session, we will explore both of these perspectives.

Instructions:

Divide participants into groups of 2 or 3, as "chavrutot/chaburot." Give each pair a set of texts (below) and a "life-sized" questionnaire scale from 1–7 that should look like this (with each number about the size of a standard printed page):

![Scale Image](image)

Instruct the chavrutot to read and engage with the texts.

1. Afterwards, participants should place the texts along the scale, according to where on the particular to universal spectrum they think it belongs. Beneath each text, participants should write several key words or concepts that arose from the text. For example, underneath the Martha Nussbaum text, one might write “humanity,” “accident of birth,” “citizen of the world, and so on.
2. Then, participants should locate themselves along the spectrum. If they struggle with this, ask "which text did you most identify with? Which text most resonated with you?"

Call the pairs together and have them report on how they ordered the texts. Aim for a group consensus on the text order. We recommend making an extra set of texts, laminating the Particular<-->Universal scale, and attaching a Velcro strip to each piece. As the group works through the order, you can move the texts around easily.

Write the core concepts and terminology on the board, and refer to them throughout the discussion.

Some Discussion Points:

- What tensions arose for you? What pulled you in either direction?
- What and who in your life makes you feel particular? Universal?
- Do you consider "the Jewish People“ particular or universal?
- Is "the Jewish People" local or global?
  This is an opportunity to talk about Jewish Peoplehood: the connection of Jewish People all over the world. In one sense, the Jewish People is by definition a particular affiliation. Yet, the Jewish People have lasted thousands of years across thousands of cities. In this way, the Jewish People is particular, yet global. Jewish Peoplehood creates an international awareness, and engenders an increased sense of responsibility for others, most of whom are distant strangers, yet with whom you share a bond.
- If the world were made of absolutes, we would be forced to choose one or the other: do we want to devote our lives to our unique particular affiliations, or to the universal human causes? Luckily, life is not black and white, and we don’t have to choose one or the other. You can support more than one philanthropic cause, volunteer at multiple organizations, and travel to a variety of places.

At the end of the discussion, ask participants to map where Project TEN falls of the Particular <--> Universal scale. Then show them the Mission Statement of Project TEN and ask whether they feel they placed Project TEN accurately, or would they like to move it.
“When anyone asked him where he came from, he said,
“I am a citizen of the world.”
כאשר בואו אומרים问他 בואו את בא, הוא ממהר:"אני אזרח העולם".

*Life of Diogenes the Cynic*, Diogenes Laertius

Diogenes the Cynic (c.412 B.C.E.–323 B.C.E.) was a philosopher in Ancient Greece.

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For Love of Country
Martha Nussbaum

“The stoics stress that to be a citizen of the world one does not need to give up local identifications, which can be a source of great richness in life. They suggest that we think of ourselves not as devoid of local affiliations, but as surrounded by a series of concentric circles. The first one encircles the self, the next takes the immediate family, then follows the extended family, then, in order, neighbors or local groups, fellow city-dwellers, and fellow countrymen – and we can easily add to this list groupings based on ethnic, linguistic, historical, professional, gender, or sexual identities. Outside all these circles is the largest one, humanity as a whole. Our task as citizens of the world will be to “draw the circles somehow toward the center” (Stoic philosopher Hierocles, 1st–2nd CE), making all human beings more like our fellow city-dwellers, and so on. We need not give up our special affections and identifications, whether ethnic or gender-based or religious. We need not think of them as superficial, and we may think of our identity as constituted partly by them. We may and should devote special attention to them in education. But we should also work to make all human beings part of our community of dialogue and concern, base our political deliberations on that interlocking commonality, and give the circle that defines our humanity special attention and respect.”

To count people as moral equals is to treat nationality, ethnicity, religion, class, race, and gender as “morally irrelevant”... the accident of being born a Sri Lankan, or a Jew, or a female, or an African-American,
In order to see people as morally equal, we must view them as citizens of the world, as part of humanity, and not as citizens of a particular nation or culture. This means viewing them as belonging to concentric circles, with membership in each circle being determined by a commonality, rather than by accident of birth. We must not view someone as a poor person, just an accident of birth. It is not and should not be taken to be a determinant of moral worth.

Martha Nussbaum (b. 1947) is an American philosopher and professor at University of Chicago. Her published works focus on issues of social justice, and her approach to Judaism develops these areas as well.

Core Concepts:
citizen of the world, humanity, concentric circles, commonality accident of birth, moral equals / morally irrelevant
In this excerpt, Ze’ev Maghen finds himself at LAX Los Angeles airport, where he encounters a group of Israeli Hare Krishnas. While they are attempting to missionize to him, he attempts to start a dialogue, but finds they are not open to listening. His 48 page article is his “response” to them. We have chosen excerpts for you.

The Hare Krishna argument for universalism:

So there I was at LAX on a balmy Friday morning, sitting in this nondescript bar nursing a black-and-white shake, and waiting for my ride. Out of the corner of my eye, I absent-mindedly surveyed the vigorous maneuverings of a small but dedicated cadre of neophyte Hare Krishnas, who had deployed themselves in full court press formation across the central concourse of the airport. These mantra-chanting devotees of the swami whose-name-I-never-could-pronounce—festooned in full-fledged religious regalia—were scurrying up and down the thoroughfare like human pingpong balls...

...They [Israeli Hare Krishnas] all looked at me sadly, with genuine pity, the way one might look at an animal caught in a trap or at someone who had just been diagnosed with a terminal illness. “No, no. You don’t understand,” purred Shira, her tone managing to be both soothing and patronizing at the same time. “This isn’t a contest! We’re not choosing one book over another, or one religion over another, we’re not expressing a preference for one culture, one nation, or one ethnic or social group over another. That would mean creating hierarchical relationships between human beings. That would mean erecting false barriers between people, barriers which have been responsible for so much misery and bloodshed throughout history, barriers which have prevented human beings from reaching their true potential and destiny, from achieving inner peace—and world peace.

You and I, and everyone else in this airport, and everything that lives and breathes in every corner of this planet of ours, we are all of us part of a great and wonderful unity, we are all brothers and sisters, we are all linked by the same network of indissoluble bonds—we just don’t know it yet. Krishna consciousness is about spreading that knowledge.”

Zoinks! What do you get when you combine a young socialist ideologue educated in the best Israeli schools with a hefty dose of ancient Sanskrit esotericism plus a dash of the Diggers? I tried to imagine
Shira haranguing conscripts in boot camp. That must have been some show.

“Look around you, habibi,” Doron chimed in, seemingly on cue. “The world is constantly imploding, getting smaller all the time. The distances between societies are diminishing everywhere, and the borders that divide us from one another are being erased, like a thousand Berlin Walls tumbling down. The world is progressing, moving forward, toward oneness, toward mutual tolerance and understanding, away from the petty, archaic differences that have forever pitted us against each other. As the Lord says” (and here, astonished to the point of giddiness that he had actually gotten far enough with someone to be able to quote scripture, he flipped open his large-print, polychrome edition of the Rig-Veda to a pre-marked page, and reverently recited a passage highlighted in red): “Let your hearts be as one heart, let the minds of all be as one mind, so that through the spirit of oneness you may heal the sickness of a divided community.”…

…Shira placed a hand on my shoulder (you can reach my shoulder) and spoke to me softly. “Don’t you see? All that His Divine Grace Swami Prah... is saying comes down to this: We must strive with all our inner strength to love all people equally…

Ze’ev Maghen is the Chair of the Department of Middle Eastern History at Bar Ilan University. His academic research focuses on contemporary Iran, Islam, as well as its encounter with Judaism. Dr. Maghen is known for his outspoken advocacy of Jewish identity and Zionism.

Core Concepts:
- hierarchical relationships between human beings
- world peace
- unity
- bonds
- oneness
- divided community
- loving all people equally

The International Society for Krishna Consciousness was founded in 1966, in New York City. Its teachings are rooted in Hinduism, and its members are known for their public, energetic preaching.
חלק מאחדות אחת גדולה ונפלאה, כולנו אחים ואחיות, כולנו קשורים וצרורים באותה רשת של חוליות איתנות - רק שאנחנו עוד לא מודעים לכך. 'התודעה הקרישנאית' היא הכלי להפיץ את המודעות הזאת".

יא אללה! מה מקבלים כשמערבבים אידיאולוגיתצעירה שהתחנכה בבתי הספר הטובים ביותרבארץ, עם מנה מכובדת של אזוטריות סנסקריט קדימה וקורטוב של דן בן-אמוץ? ניסיתי לדמיין את שירה כמ"כית המעבירה שיעורי מוטיבציהבבה"ד. זה בטח היה מחזה מרהיב.

"תتلك מסביבך, חביבי", השתלב דורון בשיחה, כאילו על פי תיאום מראש. "העולם מתכווץבקצב מסחרר, הנהי קטן יותר עם כל יום שעובר. המרחקים בין החברות השונות מצטמקים בכל אתרואתר, והגבולות שמפרידים בין קהילות ואומותנמחקים, כמו אלפי חומות ברלין מתמוטטות. העולם מתקדם, צועד אל העתיד, אל האחדות,אל סובלנות והבנה הדדית, ומתרחק מן ההבדלים הקטנוניים המיושנים שתמיד שיסו אותנו זה בזהבעוינות מיותרת. כפי שאמר האל הקדוש (וכאן, מוכה תימהון עד לסחרחורת מן },{致力于创造一个共同的未来,一个包容和平等的世界。כל הלבבות לב אחד, וכל התודעה תודעה אחת, כדי שבאמצעות רוח האחדות תזכולרפא את המחלה של אנושות מפולגת"...

שירה שמה יד על הכתף שלי (לכתף שלי ניתןלה geli), ריכבה את קולותיה שמעתי באוזניי:"אתה לא מבין עדיין? כל מה שמנסה לומר הוד מעלה סואמי פּרא..., הוא בסך הכל שאנו רק להשתדל בכל כוחנו הפנימי לאהוב את כל בני אדם سواء..."
Part of Maghen’s response to Hare Krishnas: on Jesus and Rabbi Akiva

...They asked Jesus and Rabbi Akiva—on different occasions (they lived almost a hundred years apart)—what their favorite verse was in the entire Bible. And wouldn’t you know it, both of them picked the exact same one: V’ahavta l’rei’acha kamocha (“Love your neighbor as yourself,” Leviticus 19:18).

Now there is a fairly famous anecdote in the Talmud (Baba Metzia 62b) which describes the following situation: You and this other chap are out for a stroll in the desert. While you are both busy admiring the various lizard species and rock formations in your vicinity, he suddenly exclaims: “#@$$%&! I forgot my friggin’ canteen!”

You quickly assess your options. There is only enough water in your canteen for one human being to make it back to civilization alive (and no, you do not have your cellphone). So you could split the water—and you’d both perish. You could give your flask altruistically to your fellow traveler, and die a hideous death under the merciless, take-no-prisoners, desert sun. Or you could keep the canteen for yourself, and abandon him to the same fate (this is a slightly tougher decision than what shoes to wear to work in the morning). What do you do?...

...Ben-Petura—Jesus advises you as follows: Share the water, and die together, because you are no better than your friend. Rabbi Akiva rules differently: You take the flask.

Now this is fascinating because, if you will recall, both Jesus and Akiva chose “Love your neighbor as yourself” as their all-time favorite Tora verse. Well, what in the name of Jehosaphat is going on here? I understand Jesus’ position: It is entirely consistent with genuinely loving your neighbor as much as you love yourself, which certainly appears to be exactly what the biblical commandment requires. Jesus’ verdict makes perfect sense in this light.

But Rabbi Akiva? What was he thinking? Did he forget that he had once put the same verse way up high on a pedestal as “the premier principle of the Tora”? His judgment—keep the canteen, share none of its contents, leave your buddy to expire miserably in the desert like a dog—seems to contradict everything that that hallowed Pentateuchal principle of mutual, equal love demands...

...Christianity is a thoroughly universalist—and at the same time a thoroughly individualist—religious creed, and Jesus of Nazareth was without a doubt the foremost prophet of universal love (although nowhere near the only one)...

...Rabbi Akiva—and most of Judaism along with him—views the matter a bit differently. The kind of love (romantic or otherwise) that he unabashedly recognizes and
unreservedly encourages, is one-hundred-percent biased, hopelessly unequal, deeply discriminatory, and incorrigibly preferential distinguishing love: The kind of love that plays favorites, that chooses sides, that confers specialness. As a Jewish luminary, Rabbi Akiva only understood that type of love that blossoms from the ubiquitous Hebrew root “k-d-sh,” which is probably most accurately rendered into English as “to declare special, to set apart as unique.”...

...human beings will ever and anon, at all places and all times, prefer hanging out in the company of some people over hanging out in the company of others. They will always form special groups, little groups and big groups, groups to which they feel a special connection, a special sense of belonging. They will always relate emotionally to these groups in the manner of concentric circles, loving the nearer rings more than they love the farther ones. They will always seek to perpetuate these familial, sociocultural and possibly political entities for as long as they can. And they will always distinguish between their own special circles, and those that are special not to them—but to others...

...Genuine and galvanizing empathy for “the other” is acquired most effectively and lastingly through a process which involves, first and foremost, immersion in love of self, then of family, then of friends, then of community ... and so on. It is via emotional analogy to these types of strong-bond affections that one becomes capable of executing a sort of “love leap,” a hyper-space transference of the strength and immediacy of the feelings one retains for his favorite people, smack onto those who have no direct claim on such sentiments.

If you don’t love your own best of all, we said, you really have no idea what genuine love is. If you have no idea what genuine love is, your chances of learning to love people in Indonesia or Syria or Tajikestan or Wyoming, your chances of learning to feel for people in faraway places or contexts (or on the other side of a tense border, or in the opposite camp of a kulturkampf ), are pretty slim indeed.

Here, then, is (my guess at) Rabbi Akiva’s exegesis of the much-touted verse: “Love your neighbor as yourself.” In his eyes, it doesn’t signify “Love your neighbor as much as you love yourself”; Rabbi Akiva doesn’t believe in such artificial love, we know that from the flask story. To him it reads (and the Hebrew happens to support this, even though Akiva was not generally the type who cared): “Love your neighbor in the same fashion as you love yourself.” Use the feelings you have toward yourself as a guide for how to feel about him. You will never love him as much as you love yourself—you should never love him as much as you love yourself—but you will learn to love him at all, in the first place, solely through your overwhelmingly powerful love of yourself and your own. It is to this process and no other that the Tora refers when it urges—in over twenty different versions of the same statement—“Love the stranger: For you were strangers in the land of Egypt.” (Deuteronomy 10:19)...
Particular vs. Universal

 laat iemand gebruiken - base gedachte

Shalom, hoe gaat het erbij? - base gedachte

Particular vs. Universal

Particular vs. Universal

Particular vs. Universal

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Core Concepts:
universal love, distinguishing love, specialness, set apart, emotional analogy, love of yourself and your own

...Amphithite and the Getsh Youth Movement.

Particular vs. Universal

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Judaism has a unique dual structure of ethics. On the one hand there is the covenant of Noah, which binds all humanity on the basis of seven fundamental commands...on the other is the Abrahamic and later Sinai covenant that binds Jews by a more detailed and demanding system of commands. Judaism is constituted by this basic tension between the universal and the particular. Its way of life is intensely particular, yet its God and ultimate gaze are universal, concerned with all humankind, indeed all creation.

Rabbi Jonathan Sacks (b. 1948) is the previous Chief Rabbi of the United Hebrew Congregations of the Commonwealth (United Kingdom). He has published widely on topics of Judaism's encounter with the modern world. In 2005, he was knighted by Queen Elizabeth II.

At a time when Jewish communal institutions are failing to attend to the needs of Jews at home and abroad, the hot trend in Jewish philanthropic and organizational circles, incredibly, is to channel ever more of their resources to nonsectarian causes. Preachers in every corner of the Jewish community are intent on urging the faithful to drop their parochial concerns for the welfare of fellow Jews and instead think globally. How can Jews worry about their own, they ask, when so many unfortunates in

To Heal a Fractured World: The Ethics of Responsibility
Rabbi Jonathan Sacks, 2005, To Heal a Fractured World: The Ethics of Responsibility

לאותיקה היהודית יש מבנה ייחודי, כפול. מזרז את קירת חיים, וזו הקשורה לאטרוסטוט כלולה על בסיס של שבע מצוות יסודיות. מדד אחר נמצאות ברית אברכים הלוחמים על פרט כדי להקשות חירום את היהודים במערכת מצוות מפורשות الحقوق והبعثת ניו. את זה מתכתי ביו הראובני בז' פורטיקוליר - המלך אנטיש הלאומית - או היה המורים את היהודים. דר רחיב היהודית פורטיקוליר זה, למושל את היהודים,وكו הא نطסי.אילם - הם

בגיני לאטרוסטוט כלולה.بوיקסעלברה כלולה.

To help everyone except their own
Jack Wertheimer, The Peoplehood Papers, 6, p. 13–14
Africa, Latin America, and parts of Asia are suffering even worse afflictions?... One could ask, of course, why this effort to repair the world cannot also extend to aiding fellow Jews? Proponents of Jewish service learning express great confidence in the sufficiency of resources in the Jewish community to address all needs—a demonstrably incorrect assessment, as we have seen. Alternatively, they will say that young Jews do not want to be bothered with their fellow Jews. If we are to attract anyone outside the committed core, they argue, programs must direct young Jews to nonsectarian causes, bearing out the truth of Cynthia Ozick’s dead-on observation that “universalism is the parochialism of the Jews.” And so, based on these rationalizations, an entire set of organizations under Jewish auspices now seeks to rally Jews to help everyone except their own co-religionists.

Jack Wertheimer is a professor of American Jewish History at the Jewish Theological Seminary of America. He has written numerous books and articles on topics of modern Jewish history, education, and “life.”

Core Concepts:
nonsectarian, parochial concerns, think globally, repair the world, fellow Jews, “universalism is the parochialism of the Jews”
The Power of the Particular

They say you’ve never really seen a Bruce Springsteen concert until you’ve seen one in Europe, so some friends and I threw financial sanity to the winds and went to follow him around Spain and France. In Madrid, for example, we were rewarded with a show that lasted 3 hours and 48 minutes, possibly the longest Springsteen concert on record and one of the best. But what really fascinated me were the crowds.

Springsteen crowds in the U.S. are hitting their AARP years, or deep into them. In Europe, the fans are much younger. The passion among the American devotees is frenzied, bordering on cultish. The intensity of the European audiences is two standard deviations higher. The Europeans produce an outpouring of noise and movement that sometimes overshadows what’s happening onstage.

Here were audiences in the middle of the Iberian Peninsula singing word for word about Highway 9 or Greasy Lake or some other exotic locale on the Jersey Shore. They held up signs requesting songs from the deepest and most distinctly American recesses of Springsteen’s repertoire.

The oddest moment came midconcert when I looked across the football stadium and saw 56,000 enraptured Spaniards, pumping their fists in the air in fervent unison and bellowing at the top of their lungs, “I was born in the U.S.A! I was born in the U.S.A!”

Did it occur to them at that moment that, in fact, they were not born in the U.S.A.? How was it that so many people in such a faraway place can be so personally committed to the deindustrializing landscape from New Jersey to Nebraska, the world Springsteen sings about? How is it they can be so enraptured at the mere mention of the Meadowlands or the Stone Pony, an Asbury Park, N.J., nightclub?

My best theory is this: When we are children, we invent these detailed imaginary worlds that the child psychologists call “paracosms.” These landscapes, sometimes complete with imaginary beasts, heroes and laws, help us orient ourselves in reality. They are structured mental communities that help us understand the wider world.

We carry this need for paracosms into adulthood. It’s a paradox that the artists who have the widest global purchase are also the ones who have created the most local and distinctive story landscapes. Millions of people around the world are ferociously attached to Tupac Shakur’s version of Compton or J.K. Rowling’s version of a British boarding school or Downton Abbey’s or Brideshead Revisited’s version of an Edwardian estate.

Millions of people know the contours of these remote landscapes, their typical
characters, story lines, corruptions and challenges. If you build a passionate and highly localized moral landscape, people will come.

Over the years, Springsteen built his own paracosm, with its own collection of tramps, factory closings, tortured Catholic overtones and moments of rapturous escape. This construction project took an act of commitment.

The most interesting moment of Springsteen’s career came after the success of “Born to Run.” It would have been natural to build on that album’s success, to repeat its lush, wall-of-sound style, to build outward from his New Jersey base and broaden his appeal. Instead, Springsteen went deeper into his roots and created “Darkness on the Edge of Town,” which is more localized, more lonely and more spare.

That must have seemed like a commercially insane decision at the time. But a more easily accessible Springsteen, removed from his soul roots, his childhood obsessions and the oft-repeated idiom of cars and highways, would have been diluted. Instead, he processed new issues in the language of his old tradition, and now you’ve got young adults filling stadiums, knowing every word to songs written 20 years before they were born, about places they’ll never see.

It makes you appreciate the tremendous power of particularity. If your identity is formed by hard boundaries, if you come from a specific place, if you embody a distinct musical tradition, if your concerns are expressed through a specific paracosm, you are going to have more depth and definition than you are if you grew up in the far-flung networks of pluralism and eclecticism, surfing from one spot to the next, sampling one style then the next, your identity formed by soft boundaries, or none at all.

(Maybe this is why younger rock bands can’t fill stadiums year after year, while the more geographically defined older bands like U2, Springsteen and the Beach Boys can.)

The whole experience makes me want to pull aside politicians and business leaders and maybe everyone else and offer some pious advice: Don’t try to be everyman. Don’t pretend you’re a member of every community you visit. Don’t try to be citizens of some artificial globalized community. Go deeper into your own tradition. Call more upon the geography of your own past. Be distinct and credible. People will come.

Core Concepts:
paracosm, local, particularity, identity, hard/soft boundaries, geography
Particular vs. Universal

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In the same time, this decision was certainly seen as a commercial vision. But Springsteen is available, remote from his roots in soul, his obsessions of childhood and metaphors of cars and fast roads, was losing its meaning. Instead, he dealt with new subjects in the language of the old tradition, and now young people fill stadiums, and know the words of songs written twenty years before he was born, about places that will never be seen.

This is a profound respect for its particularity. If your identity is shaped by hard boundaries, if you are very much in a certain place, if you embody a music tradition, if you express your concerns and anxieties through a certain world of imagination, in all probability you will appear more profound and well-defined than those who grow in networks of pluralism and eclecticness, gliding from one model to another, and with soft or loose boundaries, define their identity.

All the experience made me want to approach politicians and business leaders and perhaps the rest of the world and offer advice: do not try to be all. Do not stand as you are and become a member of a community you visit. Do not try to be citizens of a virtual global community. Get your traditions deeper. Look at your geography. Be distinctive and believable. People will come.

All the language is not to dress in the same pattern of pluralism.

And the presence of foreigners in your language: all the countries of the world.

I would like to see this pattern of pluralism continue.
Particular vs. Universal

David Brooks, June 25, 2012, the New York Times

In America, for a long time, if you were a kid, you could build a world. You could make up your own universe with paracosms (the world that children call ‘a world of their own’). You could put in the paracosms of the mountains, the animals, the heroes and the villains, the plots and the conflicts and the heroes and the villains. All the worlds of fantasy that would be the foundation for the whole.

Beyond childhood, the need for the imagined worlds continues with us. Millions of people worldwide are closely related to the fantasy of hiphop of Tupac Shakur and the fantasy of J.K. Rowling’s Harry Potter.

Millions of people know the landscapes of those far-off places, the typical characters, the outlines, the conflicts and the challenges. If you build a moral, passionate, particular world, people will come to it.

The most interesting moment in Springsteen’s career was Born to Run, after the success of the album. It was natural to build on the success of the album, and to return to the rich sound style, and extend his success even more from his home in New Jersey. Instead, Springsteen deepened his roots, Darkness on the Edge of Town and created the particular, isolated and more.}

The key to the particularism or the universalism is youth. The youth of America is on the verge of retirement, or has already retired a few years ago. The youth of Europe, a lot younger. The youth of America is in a kind of panic, on the edge. The Europeans produce a wave of noise and movement that sometimes overpowers the stage.

The audience throughout the Iberian Peninsula spoke word for word to the favorites of the boss. They held up signs on which they asked for songs, the most American of the Springsteen repertoire.

The most unique moment throughout the performance was 56,000, when I surveyed the stadium and saw the Spaniards in full swing, raising flags in the air and shouting, I was born in the U.S.A. I was born in the U.S.A.