

Tikkun

POLITICS+SPIRITUALITY+CULTURE

(tē·kūn) To mend, repair, and transform the world. MARCH/APRIL 2007

**THE GLOBAL
MARSHALL PLAN**
THE STRATEGY
OF GENEROSITY

How to End the War in Iraq



\$5.95 U.S. \$7.95 Canada



**Ken Roth on Human Rights | God and Physics
Spirituality and the Psychedelic Experience
The American Empire and 9/11 | Dying with Dignity**



Hundreds of thousands of Americans demonstrate January 27, 2007 to cut funding for the Iraq War—not only “tens of thousands” reported in the mainstream media



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BY MICHAEL LERNER

HOW TO END THE WAR IN IRAQ

When the politicians keep funding the war, the rest of us need to act powerfully and frame our response in ways that address lingering fears about what happens after we leave.
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BY JAMES BERNARD QUILLIGAN

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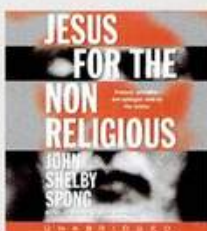
SPECIAL
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Between pages
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JESUS FOR THE NON RELIGIOUS

By John Shelby Spong
Harper San Francisco, 2007

PULLING NO PUNCHES, THE RETIRED Episcopal Bishop of Newark is not afraid to dismiss parts of the Jesus story that he believes would require us to embrace ideas that run counter to science and history. He goes on to uncover the God that can be met through the Jesus story as a boundary breaker, and discusses how those who encountered this God were encouraged to go beyond tribalism and fear to embrace the full humanity he embodied and to discover a new and inclusive kind of life for themselves. Once demystified, Jesus becomes the source for Spong's encounter with a powerful vision of God that could appeal to people of all faiths.



A POWER GOVERNMENTS CANNOT SUPPRESS

By Howard Zinn
City Lights Book, 2007

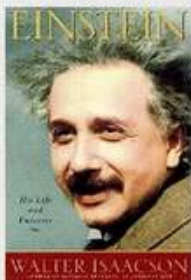
THE DEAN OF RADICAL HISTORIANS, Howard Zinn brings his deep wisdom and humanity to expand beyond his classic *A People's History of the United States* and challenges the perverse misuse of history to blind us to the atrocities being committed in our names. Exposing the exploitation of the Holocaust and the ethical blindness of Elie Wiesel is only one of the provocative dimensions of this exciting and enjoyable set of essays on the unquenchable power of the human spirit.



EINSTEIN

By Walter Isaacson
Simon & Schuster

Albert Einstein was not only one of the greatest scientists of all time, but also one of a far-too-small group of scientists who have insisted on taking responsibility for the social consequences of their scientific work. He sought an empowered world government to control all atomic weapons, fought against the killing of the Rosenbergs, and stood up to the scourge of Cold War McCarthyism. This amazing and brilliant account by Walter Isaacson, CEO of the Aspen Institute, is a must read for anyone with an interest in intellectual history, politics, and the development of science.



THE SACRED ART OF LOVINGKINDNESS

By Rabbi Rami Shapiro
Sky Light Paths Publishing, 2006

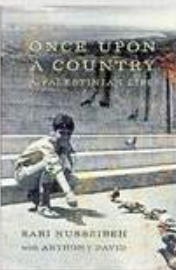
A great teacher of Jewish spirituality now integrates into his teachings the wisdom of Buddhists, Christians, and Sufis as he prepares us to walk a path of kindness. It is a useful accompaniment to the second tenant of the NSP's Spiritual Covenant (Taking Personal Responsibility), and could be used in local NSP chapters as a guide to practice.



ONCE UPON A COUNTRY

By Sari Nusseibeh
Farrar, Straus & Giroux 2007

SARI NUSSEIBEH IS PRESIDENT OF Al-Quds, the only Arab University in Jerusalem, a former chief spokesperson for the PLO, and advocate of a two-state solution. This memoir gives us an intimate sense of the realities of Palestinian leadership under the Occupation. It is a powerful reminder of the humanity and decency of many of those who have provided leadership to a group that was for decades dismissed as a terrorist organization.



WE WALK THE PATH TOGETHER

By Brian J. Pierce
Orbis Press (2005)

IT'S REFRESHING TO NOTE THAT SOME Dominicans have evolved quite a bit from the days when they were persecuting heretics. Take this wonderful book from Dominican friar Brian Pierce who, while serving as Promoter of the Dominican Family in Latin America, has drawn from the spiritual wisdom of medieval Christian mystic Meister Eckhart and Buddhist meditation teacher Thich Nhat Hanh to provide us with a deep introduction to some of the most pressing issues of contemporary spirituality. Bringing Christianity into dialogue with Buddhism in this way provides a new model for inter-faith work, based not on the lowest common denominator leave-your-spiritual-particularism-at-the-door conviviality, but on a deep exposure to the wisdom and challenges that each may provide to the other.



Readers Respond

OBJECTIVE REPORTING

WHILE I WAS CHECKING THE current affairs section at a bookstore in San Diego, I noticed a magazine with the title *Tikkun*.

Being a Palestinian-American who was born in the Old City in Jerusalem, and who belongs to a prominent Palestinian family that used to own most of the land where the settlement of Ma'ale Adumim stands today, I have developed an interest in the Jewish and the Israeli press. After flipping through *Tikkun* and reading some of the articles in the magazine, I was amazed by the objectivity of a Jewish magazine in its coverage of the Middle East conflict. Unlike most American and Israeli mainstream media, there was no demonization of the Palestinian people in *Tikkun*. I commend your magazine for being pro a realistic peace that is based on justice between the Israelis and the Palestinians.

MARWAN ARIKAT
San Diego, CA

IRAN'S NUCLEAR RIGHT

STEVEN ZUNES' CLAIM IN "The Iranian Nuclear

Send letters to managingeditor@tikkun.org or to 2342 Shattuck Ave., #1200, Berkeley, CA 94704. Letters may be shortened for space.

Threat" [*Tikkun*, January/February 2007] that "The United Nations has determined that Iran has forfeited" its nuclear rights under the Non-Proliferation Treaty is not only ridiculous and unfounded, it is precisely the sort of nonsense that is regurgitated by the Neo-Con lackeys. In fact, the United Nations has not claimed that Iran has "forfeited" anything, nor is there any provision in the Non-Proliferation Treaty, in Iran's Safeguards Agreement with the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA), nor in the IAEA's statutes and regulations, which permits any such "forfeiture." Indeed, even the Bush administration has grudgingly admitted that Iran has a right to civilian nuclear technology, and has instead insisted that Iran suspend that right indefinitely.

While it certainly is true that Iran engaged in undeclared nuclear activities, so have several other nations such as Egypt and South Korea, both of which violated their safeguards agreements much more egregiously than Iran – and no one claims that they have forfeited their nuclear rights. Mr. Zunes conveniently forgets to mention that Iran's failures to declare the importation and

processing of uranium and centrifuge components occurred after the U.S. repeatedly prevented Iran from acquiring the technology to which it was entitled, openly and in cooperation with the IAEA, and that despite the necessary secrecy, Iran's decision to enrich uranium was never a secret; Iran had openly announced the discovery of natural uranium in 1983, and had invited IAEA inspectors to view its uranium mines far back in 1992.

CYRUS SAFDARI
(No address given)

MAGGIDIM

I APPRECIATED RAMI Shapiro's article "Our Sto-

ries, Ourselves," promoting the place of the *maggid* (inspirational speaker, storyteller) in Jewish renewal. Rami voiced the need for schools to train *maggidim*. Three years ago, I began a school to train and ordain *maggidim* through a two-year program entitled "The Jewish Spirit Maggid Training Program," and have already ordained seven *maggidim* who are out in the world doing holy work. Unlike Rami, however, I don't see Aggadic Judaism as replacing Halachic Judaism, and I don't expect that *maggidim* will replace rabbis. Rather, I think that they will help rabbis by inspiring con-

[POEM]

The Uniform

The coup did not occur at some o'clock, but as the language underwent estrangement. You couldn't understand unless you knew beforehand, unless you had been trained.

Once you got the hang of it you wore it like a uniform you could not remove at night but slept in, and only dreamed you had a skin that could be pricked.

The language was not altogether foreign, but with German it had this in common, that nouns began to do things on their own. Therefore what you did was not a crime.

- Jon Swan

gregants to become more devout and more committed to their Judaism. The central purpose of the *maggid* is to inspire Jews to get closer to God, whether by storytelling or other means. I look forward to joining with Rami Shapiro and others who are working to revive the holy task of the *maggid*.

MAGGID YITZHAK
BUXBAUM
New York, NY

CARTER'S ARGUMENT

YOUR INTERVIEW WITH former president Jimmy Carter in Jan/Feb 2007, like the book that Carter has written, misses the point. The Israel/Palestinian struggle is primarily a low level war that has been continued and fueled primarily

between fundamentalists and maximalists on both sides. There is an occupation going on by Israel, that is at times brutal, directed at a number of people that have sworn to destroy (if they could) the Jewish infidels.

The problem with and the sloppiness of the apartheid argument in Carter's book is that it does not take into account that this IS a low level war. That is not what was happening in South Africa. Thus, the use of the term apartheid is also deliberately inflammatory and not historically accurate. Ugly things have been done on both sides. War is ugly.

Jimmy Carter, in my view, has done serious damage to his reputation

through the tone and the significant historical inaccuracies and biases of his book by clearly taking the side of one of the combatants in this low level war. This is not the way of the peacemaker. It is the way of a partisan. That is fine. It however, has done nothing to move us forward to a just two state solution. In fact, what Carter has done, in a small way has inflamed the situation and thus moved the situation in the opposite direction from peace.

PROFESSOR MICHAEL GIVEL
Norman, Oklahoma

Editor responds:

PROFESSOR GIVEL BELIEVES that because there is a "low level war" going on that somehow excuses Israeli occupation of the West Bank

and its human rights abuses. The low-level war became a focus of Israeli attention 21 years after the Occupation began, with the first uprising (Intifada) as a classical liberation struggle by an occupied people who had no army and hence could only respond with random acts of resistance and occasional (and from Tikkun's standpoint, morally unacceptable) acts of terror. Carter does not pretend to be neutral; neither do we. We at Tikkun want Israel to get out of the West Bank and to implement the terms of the Geneva Accord (please read my books *Healing Israel/Palestine* and also *The Geneva Accord and Other Strategies for Middle East Peace* to get the details of how that could work. ■

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Current THINKING

Free Associations

Jimmy Carter Bashing

It's not really about Carter. Assaults sunk to a new low this past January, with Abe Foxman, president of the Anti-Defamation League (ADL) calling Carter "a bigot." The aim of the assault was to teach all American politicians a lesson: you cannot criticize Israeli policy without paying a huge political price. In his new book, Carter suggests that Israel's West Bank policies will eventually lead to de facto apartheid. It is a mild charge, according to former Knesset Member Shulamit Aloni who served as Minister of Education for Israel in Ehud Barack's cabinet in the 1990s. Aloni, writing in the Israeli newspaper *Yediot Achronot*, says that Israel has already gotten there, that it is not only an apartheid society in the West Bank, but that some of the ways Israeli Arabs are generally treated is de facto apartheid. This kind of rough-and-tumble dissent that is part of Israeli political discourse has been squashed in the American Jewish community. Now the Israel-

can-do-no-wrong crowd is seeking to impose their orthodoxy, which already intimidates most Congressional Democrats and Republicans alike, on a broader constituency by demeaning Jimmy Carter—the only president who cared enough about Israel to be willing to stand up to its leaders and demand concessions, thus delivering the one peace agreement that has withstood the test of time. Undermining Jimmy Carter, winner of the Nobel Peace Prize and one of the only rational presidents the U.S. has elected in the last forty years, is bad for the U.S., bad for Israel, and bad for the Jews.

At the same time, there is room for criticism of some aspects of Carter's book, even while celebrating its potential impact in opening up areas of discussion of Israeli policy that the Israel-can-do-no-wrong crowd has so successfully crushed or marginalized in American media and politics (not because "the Jews" control the media, but because AIPAC and its allies have mobilized



money and grass-roots organizing so effectively). Carter does not give a fair account of the degree to which Israeli anger at Palestinians originated in the 1930s and 40s when Jews were barred from immigrating to Palestine from a Europe caught up in genocide against the Jewish people. Nor does he adequately think his way into the impact of living amidst Arab states who have never recognized Israel's right to exist, and who have provided a safe haven for Palestinian terrorists—whose psychological impact on Holocaust survivors has resulted in the re-stimulation of their fears of annihilation. Nonethe-

less, Carter's book raises important issues about Israel/Palestine, and could have had much more of an impact had it been more widely embraced by Jews in the peace movement.

Anti-War Marches and Rallies

The hundreds of thousands of people (no, not "tens of thousands" as reported in most mainstream media) who rallied and marched against the war in Iraq on Jan. 27, 2007 were motivated by a strong desire to show that many Americans understand that a toothless resolution against the war provides political cover for spineless Democ-

rats who are afraid to vote to cut the funding that makes the war possible. The United For Peace and Justice (UFPJ) leadership showed great maturity in providing the Network of Spiritual Progressives with a ten minute spot at the beginning to start the rally with a spiritual/religious ceremony that included a celebration of the universe led by Rabbi Michael Lerner (for his full speech, go to www.tikkun.org and click on "Report from the D.C. Jan. 27 Peace Demonstration from Rabbi Michael Lerner" under "Current Thinking").

The UFPJ leadership deserves particular commendation for avoiding the shrill anti-American pseudo-Marxist rhetoric, Israel-bashing, free-floating anger that characterizes many of the demonstrations sponsored by the ANSWER Coalition, and which may mar and undermine the importance and potential value of a scheduled demonstration at the Pentagon on March 17. Those kinds of demonstrations succeed in marginalizing rather than extending the constituency for a peace message, making it easier for political opportunists to distance themselves from the legitimate demands to end the war now. So, we'll sit out ANSWER-led demonstrations and hope that the UFPJ leadership continues to give space to our view that their rallies should go beyond predictable sloganeering and have a serious teach-in content for at least a part of the time. This would enable

demonstrators to learn something new, and provide them with some of the alternative strategies that different groups (including the NSP and *Tikkun*) are putting forward.

Non-violent yet confrontational demonstrations may be appropriate at this moment, given the failure of the democratic process to yield a Congress ready to fight for the will of the people to end the war. It's time to have our rallies include a serious teach-in component, with longer talks that present alternative strategies for how to proceed over the next few years (e.g. our Generosity Strategy), interspersed with short breaks where people are asked to turn to others around them and talk about what they've just heard and their reactions to it (and encouraging people to post the best ideas on a website for those who were there, and for the millions of others who were not able to make the event. That kind of democratic feedback (which we at *Tikkun* are seeking when we encourage you to write letters to the editor or to post responses to our articles) could greatly strengthen our peace movement.

Internalized Homophobia

It's hard not to be conflicted about the dismissal of Ted Haggard as president of the National Association of Evangelicals (NAE) and from his job as pastor of his New Life Church. True, Haggard led a life of deep hypocrisy, demeaning gays, and advancing crusades to

deny them equal rights, while privately struggling with his own homosexuality. His role as a persecutor of homosexuals was always detestable. But he was punished by Evangelicals, not for his hypocrisy, but for his homosexuality. It is precisely the background reality of homophobia that made it necessary for Haggard to hide his identity in the first place, not only from others, but also from himself. Most victims of homophobia do not pick the hurtful path of becoming a persecutor of others—they have the courage to stand up and challenge this social perversion that the 30 million strong NAE promotes. Yet, it's hard not to have compassion for those who, terrified of their own inner conflicts about sexuality, "keep it together" by assaulting others. It's a bad path to follow, of course. So, no compassion for their activity, their teaching of hatred, or their backing of repressive social policies; but lots of compassion for their own inner suffering.

Generosity Sunday

An invitation to you: create a demonstration/teach-in that is based on your own highest vision of what this kind of event should look like. Do it on Generosity Sunday, April 15, 2007—see the editorial in this issue for more ideas about focus. Be sure to spend equal time outreaching to get people involved as you do shaping the event—many people get lost in the fun of the planning of the event and do not spend

the time making sure that there are enough people there to learn from and participate in the event.

If you can't do that, then do a mini-teach-in at your own home, using the material about The Global Marshall Plan, which you may request from Nichola Torbett at nichola@tikkun.org. Please share with us what worked and what didn't.

A Step Toward Environmental Sanity

NSP's Spiritual Covenant begins to address our responsibilities in protecting the environment, but we invite more specific ideas from people who are willing to challenge the accepted (and too often quite limited) programs offered by the greater environmental community. Here is one such idea from Charles Kominoff and Daniel Rosenblum: charge businesses and individuals a price to emit carbon dioxide.

While some large corporations and several major environmental organizations prefer a "cap-and-trade" approach, a carbon tax is easier to understand and build support for (the same issue of why a single-payer medical system is not only better and cheaper, but ultimately more politically viable), can be implemented without a great risk of manipulation by special interests, will lend predictability to energy prices, and the funds generated from the tax can be returned to the public through progressive tax-shifting. For full details, check out www.carbonbontax.org. ■

How to End the War in Iraq

BY MICHAEL LERNER

IT'S NOT EXACTLY ROCKET SCIENCE. FORMER SENATOR George McGovern and noted foreign policy analyst William R. Polk have published a detailed exit plan in their book, *Out of Iraq: A Practical Plan for Withdrawal Now*. Congresswomen Lynne Woolsey, Barbara Lee, Maxine Waters, and a dozen other Democrats introduced the plan in Congress. Jim McGovern (D-Mass) and Jerold Nadler (D-New York) have also proposed detailed plans.

The central question is how to build the political will. Passing non-binding resolutions while continuing to fund the war is not acceptable. It's a transparent dodge of the moral issues at hand. If, as many Democrats and Republicans both argue, going to war with Iraq was a mistake, then passing empty resolutions while continuing to approve the allocation of tens of billions of dollars to fund the war, only reinforces the popular view that liberals have no back bone, and hence can't be trusted to stand up for what they believe in, and hence can't be trusted with the defense of the United States. The people in Congress who oppose the war on moral grounds would be far more likely to build a popular base for their position if they acted in a principled way, did everything in their power to block funding for the war (including a Senate filibuster), and voted consistently against anything short of legislation providing for the safe withdrawal of U.S. troops.

It is important to note that many who feel ambivalent about withdrawing troops do so not because they support President Bush, but because they feel that given the fact that we created the mess in Iraq and unleashed a brutal civil war between Sunnis and Shiites, it would be immoral to abandon the people of Iraq to this bloodshed that will likely escalate once the U.S. leaves. Their moral sensibilities should be honored, but their conclusions are misdirected. The continuing presence of U.S. forces and corporate power enflames those across the civil war divide, as well as the greater Islamic community in the region, and a withdrawal of both of these elements is a necessary (though not sufficient) condition for bringing the Iraqi communities together (through a



democratically elected and internationally supervised and protected plebiscite) to decide their future, either as a single country that fairly allocates resources and provides safety for each community, or three separate and autonomous countries that may or may not choose to work in confederation on economic and political issues. The withdrawal of our forces should be coordinated with an international force (to provide interim safety for both Sunni and Shiite civilians) that would replace our troops once we've made it clear that we are totally withdrawing.

So why hasn't the anti-war message been strong enough to force liberal Democrats to act consistently and powerfully by voting against funding for the war? Why do they continue to ignore the possibility that their own constituencies will become so frustrated by this lack of conviction that they will be forced to run anti-war candidacies against them in the 2008 primaries? Because in order for them to face this reality, their own base needs to believe and articulate that this war is wrong not only from the standpoint of the best interests of U.S. troops or the U.S. budget, but also that it is morally wrong and a fundamental offense. Now, the truth is that many Americans do already feel that way—but they rarely hear that being articulated either by the liberals they've elected to Congress or by the anti-war movement itself.

For that very reason, we believe that the way to end the war is to provide a spiritual/religious/ethical path that highlights the moral issues and that clearly shows that we are not seeking to disengage the U.S. from the world, but to engage it in a very different way.

The center of that is the Strategy of Generosity as opposed to the Strategy of Domination. We believe that the only way to end the war is to provide a fundamentally new paradigm for thinking about politics, both domestic and international. It is only when we convince a significant number of Americans about this new paradigm that the withdrawal from Iraq will be seen not as a defeat for the U.S., but as a move to have the U.S. play an entirely different and positive role in the world. We reject the view held by some left-wing circles that the U.S. is so tainted by its imperial past and present that the only good thing it could do is stay out of the world entirely. That underestimates the goodness of many Americans and writes off a society that has much to offer the world if it could overcome the influence of corporate capital and its desire to dominate the world, and instead insist that corporations act in concert with the highest ethical and spiritual instincts of the American people.

To generate that consciousness, the wise and influential progressive Evangelical minister Tony Campolo, president of Evangelical Association for the Promotion of Education, has joined us in developing an advertisement and a campaign to promote a spiritual vision of how to get out of Iraq. While the ad emerged from religious leaders, we are hoping that *you*, our readers, will also sign it, since its contents can just as easily be endorsed by anyone who has an ethical consciousness,

whether or not they believe in God or identify with any religion. Its basic message: the U.S. must apologize and repent for the violence, killings, and destruction we've unleashed in Iraq, replace its troops with an international force from the Arab League (a proposal that is feasible and fair—read Milton Viorst's op-ed in the January 30 *New York Times*), and must not only provide massive reparations for Iraq but also must launch a Global Marshall Plan. Its religious "framing" is meant to break through to people who have never heard the "Get out of Iraq Now" message posed within a fundamentally ethical and spiritual context. We hope that you will donate to make it possible for this message to be run as a full-page ad in the *NY Times*, *Washington Post*, and other major publications media in prominent Red States.

To view the ad—you'll need to enlarge it as it will be twice the size of what you'll see on-line—go to www.tikkun.org/iraq-peace, where you can sign it and contribute on line, or email us at magazine@tikkun.org, or send a check to Peace Ad, 2342 Shattuck Ave. Suite 1200, Berkeley, CA 94704 (please note: checks must be made out to Tikkun). Of course, you may also call us at (510) 644-1200. Most important: make copies of it and show it to everyone you know, and invite them to sign it and contribute. Without the funding it will never see the light of day.

Beyond the ad, we've decided to do an annual day of education around the Strategy of Generosity. This year, we've picked Sunday, April 15—and we are calling it Generosity Sunday. While people are rushing to finish their IRS tax returns, we'll be having teach-ins, demonstrations, and in some towns simply leafleting people as they rush to the post office to mail in their returns. Our message: instead of having your taxes used for war and an imperialistic foreign policy, you and the U.S. would be safer if that money were used to fund the Global Marshall Plan and other strategies that reflect our commitment to caring for the well-being of others. Of course, the underlying message is this: our well-being depends on the well-being of everyone else on the planet, and on the well-being of the planet itself. It is this idea that is core to the notion that the Strategy of Generosity is the only rational, practical, and realistic way to carry on foreign policy. So when people tell you it's "utopian," you can respond by telling them that the military and, "get the jump on others before they get the jump on you" approach to world or even domestic problems is as outdated as the gas guzzlers of the 1990s, and it is they who are out of touch with reality, no matter how much they get to legitimate their worldview by controlling the media and the political process in the U.S. You can help by organizing an event as small as a house party in your own living room or as big as a city-wide teach-in or demonstration in support of the Strategy of Generosity. For information on how to get involved, please visit www.spiritualprogressives.org, and click on the "get involved" link. For more information, please contact Nichola Torbett at Nichola@tikkun.org. Please read this ad and the strategy that it represents not as a re-

placement for the call for immediate withdrawal of troops, but as the necessary precondition for getting that call to be taken seriously enough so that those of any party who do not support the war are implored to defend the ethical and spiritual position that has allowed them to continue funding the war.

Since a fundamental part of our strategy is the Global Marshall Plan, we invite you to read the accompanying article by James Bernard Quilligan. It gives you a full and complex understanding of the original Marshall Plan and previous thinking on how to end global poverty, and why we now think it important to advocate not only for the smaller steps proposed by the One Campaign and the Millennium Goals, but also for this wider and more ambitious program. Once again, we have found that it is more practical to be

more utopian—that when people can see the larger perspective and the direction in which we are really going, they are more likely to jump on board than when you present limited solutions that have no real possibility of fundamentally eliminating poverty, inadequate education, and inadequate health care around the world. But on Generosity Sunday, we encourage a wide variety of different perspectives on how to solve these problems in the discussions and teach-ins that we hope will be sponsored by churches, synagogues, mosques, ashrams, community civic, professional, and union groups. We have no doubt that getting the Generosity Strategy widely accepted may take several years—but it is immediately obvious and powerful to so many who hear it that it is likely to take off into popular discussion once we get the first few million people on board with it.

Mobilizing for a Global Marshall Plan: Toward a Transformational Foreign Policy

JAMES BERNARD QUILLIGAN

THE IDEA OF A “NEW MARSHALL PLAN” TO benefit developing nations has been inspiring people around the world since United States Secretary of State George C. Marshall spearheaded a major American relief and reconstruction program for Europe following the Second World War. The goal then was the emergency stabilization and reconstruction of sixteen nations in Western Europe, which were ravaged by poverty, disease, hunger, unemployment, and political chaos in the aftermath of combat. The U.S. was motivated to assist them for humanitarian reasons, as well as to reestablish the region as a strong trading partner and a buffer against the expansion of Soviet Communism.

From 1947 to 1951, the U.S. extended as much as 2 percent of its annual GDP in material and financial assistance in this unprecedented development relief effort.

Some people at the time also began to envision the possibility of a similar program in developing nations. Looking beyond Europe, President Harry Truman promised a new dispensation of American foreign assistance for the poor countries of Africa, Asia, and Central and South America, “a bold new program for making the benefits of our scientific advances and industrial progress available for the improvement and growth of underdeveloped areas.” The concept also became popular in several European nations (Germany, France, Luxembourg, Belgium, the Netherlands, and Great Britain, in particular), which were especially grateful for America’s

largesse and realized the logic of doing something similar to fight poverty in the world’s poorest nations.

A global action plan to fight poverty had long been a symbol of hope for those living in the crowded slums of poor townships and the tiny dirt farms of the world’s remote and impoverished places, far from the hulking urban centers. This dream took on greater currency when the Brandt Commission’s 1980 report on global development, “North-South: A Program for Survival” was hailed in the international community and the press as a new “Global Marshall Plan.” Since then, the theory of a global plan to benefit impoverished nations has been deconstructed, reformulated, and endlessly discussed by academics, policy analysts, parliamentarians, development specialists, environmentalists, and more than a few global leaders.

Over the past fifty years, the phrase has become a metaphor used in many different contexts and with a variety of meanings. Usually it refers to an intensive development program involving financial support and technical assistance on a large scale for a specific impoverished geographical region or a complex global problem. Most often, the goal of a proposed “Marshall Plan” is to fight poverty and underdevelopment through a massive infusion of aid and resources. The assumption is that helping local people meet their basic needs and build capacity will produce a transformational stimulus, producing self-generated and independent economic development; in turn, economic growth in developing nations would increase trade, create new jobs, and boost the economies of developed nations.

The scope of new Marshall Plan proposals has also been broadened to include many other areas related to poverty, such as finance and the environment. A deep search of the term in the Google listings shows at least sixty different proposals calling for a Global Marshall Plan (GMP). There are probably dozens more. Some of these are mere announcements, declarations of good intentions, and wish lists, while others are formal, detailed proposals. We may classify them into four different types. Most uses of the term GMP refer to particular development goals for specific issues. Some GMPs are region-specific proposals, targeted for a particular geographic area. A third type—interdependent proposals—focus on linkages among various issues pertaining to developing nations as a class (rather than a specific issue or region). A final type of GMP includes structural proposals, which address systemic changes in the international economic system to promote long-term development.

While there is not sufficient space here to review all of these plans, we may offer a few observations. What is common to most GMPs is an implicit recognition that nation-state structures are inadequate in meeting systemic international problems; that increased global interdependence requires that global issues be linked together strategically and discussed by a broad array of international representatives at a new level of international political discussion; that these representatives should launch an immediate global action program commensurate with the dimensions of the issue or problem designated; and that substantial amounts of money must be raised to meet these goals. From an intra-cultural perspective, the very existence of all these different GMPs is evidence of a profound plea for global order surfacing from every corner of the Earth.

The variety and persistence of proposals for a GMP are symptomatic of a planet singularly becoming conscious of its problems and contradictions, as experts from countless fields of inquiry and service call for a new framework of economic governance. Whether the particular focus is on poverty, development, environment, human security, social equity, cultural diversity, or human rights, virtually all of these GMPs suggest a need for global economic justice and a committed long-range effort to end poverty, ensure sustainable development, establish global governance, and create enduring prosperity. And this, in turn, implies a restructuring of the global economic and political order, which cannot be achieved within the scope of current Bretton Woods, World Trade Organization, and United Nations rules, policies, and institutions.

Structural Proposals

WE SHALL CONSIDER FOUR of the most significant structural proposals. The first is not actually a GMP at all, but provides an important context by which the other structural GMPs may be evaluated. In 1944, John Maynard Keynes, representing the British government in negotiations leading to the international monetary conference in Bretton Woods, New Hampshire, persuaded the United States to approve a new global

mechanism for providing credit to the world's trade deficit nations. This mechanism subsequently became the International Monetary Fund. But the U.S. refused Keynes' second main proposal at Bretton Woods, which would have established a global trade currency, requiring all nations to attain a zero trade balance by the end of each year. Under this arrangement, said Keynes, if nations holding a trade surplus did not bring their trade surplus down to zero in that time period, they would be charged interest. Then, either the forfeited surplus or the interest charges would be recycled into a global reserve fund, from which each trade deficit nation would have a ready source of credit to draw upon, thereby bringing its own trade balance up to zero. Developed nations would balance their trade budgets, allowing developing nations access to credit—a simple plan that could have provided an automatic means of financing for international security and development in the postwar economy.

In rejecting this proposal, the U.S. assured Keynes that the poor areas of the world would develop rapidly and that the international economic and political balance would easily be restored in the postwar period if a few countries were to provide capital and technical knowledge on a discretionary basis. The U.S. maintained that foreign aid would supplement the new loans for credit payments adjustments and development issued by the new IMF and its sister institution, the World Bank, and that these sources of development finance would supplement the free market in ending poverty through the primary economic engines of trade and finance.

If the market itself failed to end poverty, the U.S. argued, each rich nation would then decide how, when, and where to share its resources with the poor nations of the world. So the sharing of resources was to be voluntary, not binding. Nor would there be a particular safety net in the postwar world trade regime—no special support for commodity prices, no guarantee of social or labor rights, no environmental action standards, and no obligation on the part of rich nations to buy the exports of poor nations. Yet something else was missing. Despite America's best expectations for foreign aid and the role of the IMF in extending credit to supplement laissez-faire trade and investment for development, the new international regime lacked an adequate early warning system and rapid means of intervention in the face of economic emergencies in poor nations. Without an effective structural link between development and global economic policy, there was no trigger to indicate when trade and finance had failed to curb poverty, and how foreign aid and the Bretton Woods institutions would compensate for the shortfall. It was catch as catch can.

We are now well aware that the Bretton Woods economic regime had—and still has—a fatal flaw. With the distribution of world resources left to their discretion, the world's developed nations have been unwilling to connect human and social development to trade, finance, and monetary policy, and the world is forced to rely on foreign aid to fill the resulting vacuum of structural support for development. More recently,

the absence of dedicated international funds has meant that governments and markets are now called upon to address global environmental problems as well, a task for which they are largely unsuited and ill-prepared.

Consider the results of sixty years of the Bretton Woods and laissez-faire trade systems, which were supposed to promote development and alleviate poverty on the theory that “a rising tide lifts all boats.” World hunger and malnutrition per capita have remained near the same level—affecting over a third of the total global population. 1.3 billion people live on less than one dollar a day, 3 billion have no access to sanitation, and 2 billion have no access to electricity. Raw material prices continue to undermine the price of manufactured exports for developing nations, and agricultural subsidies and lower barriers to agricultural imports undermine the ability of farmers from poor nations to compete on world markets. World finance is still unregulated and volatile. Monetary policy continues to be dominated by the currency prerogatives of a single nation. Unregulated production and consumption have resulted in excessive pollution and global climate change. World energy policy

development relief program must be supported by structural reforms in global trade, finance and monetary policy to reverse export-led development and world trade disparities that undermine human and social development.

Reminiscent of Keynes’ original proposal at Bretton Woods for the automatic recycling of credit, Brandt called for a world development fund; automatic transfers of technology, information, and other resources from developed to developing nations; a world reserve currency; increased liquidity and borrowing capacity for developing nations; and broad new regulation of global exchange rates and interest rates, international currency and investment markets, commodity prices, foreign assistance flows, and national current account imbalances. Although the Brandt Plan enjoyed considerable popularity for a few years, especially in developing countries, world leaders responded coolly. As decision-makers turned to supply-side economic policies, the dialogue between rich and poor countries for a global action plan to fight poverty collapsed, also quashing further attempts to forge a systemic connection between human and social development and trade,

THE U.S. EXTENDED AS MUCH AS 2% OF ITS ANNUAL GDP IN THE FIRST MARSHALL PLAN TO REBUILD WESTERN EUROPE IN 1947-1952. IT WAS A HUGE SUCCESS

is tied to the marketplace rather than to the environment, and ecological reforms continue to be decoupled from structural economic issues. Bilateral aid is sporadic, subject to manipulation by its donors, and to corruption by its recipients. The twenty-two richest nations give .47 percent of their GDP to foreign aid, or about \$92 billion, when at least double that amount is needed to address development issues in poor nations. In the meantime, the world’s non-government organizations continue to insist that rich nations show good faith and live up to the longstanding .7 percent GDP target for foreign assistance, though that has never been the real issue. For if the international economic system itself were restructured to redistribute its resources more equitably—if there were direct, automatic means of financing development, as Keynes had originally suggested—there would be no need for foreign aid in the first place.

A second structural proposal was developed in response to the problems that were mounting as the Bretton Woods economic system began to malfunction in the 1970s. Former West German Chancellor Willy Brandt convened an international development panel to analyze poverty and development in the context of the global economy. In its 1980 report, the Brandt Commission proposed an emergency relief program for all developing nations, including food, aid, housing, health care, disease prevention and education, with development assistance reaching .7 percent of GDP by 1985 and increasing to 1 percent GDP by 2000. Brandt insisted that this global

finance, and monetary policy in high-level government discussions and legislation.

Until recently, no major proposal had treated the concept of a GMP in a structural fashion since the Brandt Report. But in 2003, Professor Franz Josef Radermacher, along with several colleagues and organizations, published “Global Marshall Plan: A Planetary Contract,” which synthesizes many of the crucial reforms put forward during the past several decades. Radermacher’s Global Marshall Plan Initiative calls for a new institutional design that integrates the existing global regimes, coherently linking the economic practices of the IMF, World Bank, and World Trade Organization with the norms of many UN agencies. According to the report, this would form a coherent system of global governance to ensure that social, cultural, ethical and environmental standards are included in global economic decision-making. The Radermacher plan includes the following goals:

Implementing the globally agreed upon UN Millennium Goals (for 2015) by reaching the .7 GDP threshold for official development assistance from developed nations as soon as possible;

- Increasing global financing for development by \$100 billion per year to achieve the Millennium Goals and enhance worldwide development;
- Raising an additional \$100 billion per year through alternative sources of development finance, generated mainly through global transaction fees;
- Establishing a worldwide Eco-Social Market Economy with an improved

global policy framework through the interlinking of established rules and agreed upon guidelines for economic, environmental, social, cultural, and ethical issues (using WTO, ILO, UNEP, and UNESCO standards); and,

• Adopting new forms of funds appropriations directed to the grassroots level, while at the same time fighting corruption.

Of its many important features, perhaps the most significant is that the Global Marshall Plan Initiative calls for new sources of automatic global funding, similar to the earlier proposals of Keynes in 1944 and Brandt in 1980. Just as Keynes had suggested a new international economic framework for providing credit to the world's indebted nations to reduce poverty and ensure social stability while creating international economic demand and high levels of employment, the Global Marshall Plan Initiative endorses alternate sources for development finance, including the International Financing Facility (described below), an expansion of Special Drawing Rights through the International Monetary Fund, a "Tobin Tax" on international financial transactions, and a "Terra Tax" on world trade through the World Trade Organization.

Just as Brandt had proposed a comprehensive international development program for developing countries to eliminate poverty, promote social equity, provide stable supplies of energy, create new markets, and increase global demand and employment, the Global Marshall Plan Initiative is calling for a comprehensive development program for poor nations that ensures social equity, ecological sustainability, and stimulates economic growth. The parallels of the Global Marshall Plan Initiative with Brandt's earlier plan do not end there. Just as the Brandt Report became the basis for the G7 Summit in Ottawa in 1981, the Global Marshall Plan Initiative will soon put global poverty reduction and development back on the G8 agenda. The German government under Chancellor Angela Merkel is adopting portions of the Global Marshall Plan Initiative as the basis for discussion at the 2007 G8 Summit in Heiligendamm, Germany, June 6-8.

The final structural proposal for a GMP is actually a work in progress at the British Treasury under the direction of Gordon Brown. Since becoming UK Chancellor of the Exchequer in 1997, Brown has been campaigning for increased aid and debt relief for developing nations. The 2003 International Financing Facility (IFF), Brown's plan to raise new funds for human and social development as an alternative to foreign aid, is in its early stages of operation. On the basis of long-term pledges by governments of developed nations, the IFF con-

verts these promises of future aid into interest-bearing bonds and sells them to investors. Money from the sale of these securities is then funneled immediately to where it can make the most difference by delivering clean water, school facilities, and health programs. Brown wants the IFF to generate \$50 billion annually, which would enable the world to double its amount of annual spending on development to more than \$100 billion—the cost of meeting the UN Millennium Development Goals for hunger, disease, and poverty by 2015. To support this goal, Brown has also called on the world's wealthier nations to remove export subsidies and trade-distorting support for agriculture in order to improve the access of goods from poor nations to the markets of rich nations. Brown has also been quietly working on several other measures. If he is elected Prime Minister of Great Britain in 2007 as expected, we may see a broad push for a GMP by Britain during the next several years. Because he has the direct attention of the G8, his plan is likely to receive much attention from the international community and the media.

A precursor to Brown's expected push for a new GMP was the carefully planned Commission for Africa report, a major study of development relief in Africa which he helped organize for the 2005 G8 Summit. Brown has also been vocal about the economic link between environmental and development

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issues. He was the driving force behind the British Government's 2006 Stern Review, which warned against the serious long-term economic risks of climate change and called for one percent of global GDP to be invested each year to mitigate the effects of climate change. It was the first major governmental report to draw a structural link between the environment and trade and finance.

Launching the Global Marshall Plan

AFTER SIXTY YEARS OF trial and error in international development, development finance, international trade, and global macroeconomic policy, we are now far better able to see how interdependence must be translated into international policy. As Keynes's, Brandt, Radermacher, and Brown have foreseen, human and social development must be formally linked with restructuring the global economy. For international development to truly work, global trade, finance, and monetary standards, as well as environmental, social, and cultural standards must provide the supporting context. But even the Brandt, Radermacher, and Brown proposals stop short of Keynes' plan (rejected at the Bretton Woods conference) for a self-adjusting economy in which trade surpluses are not squandered but recycled automatically, providing credit and relief for human and social development. We must reset the bar to that level. Sustainable development must become the underpinning of the new economic system, thoroughly integrated into that global framework through trade reciprocity, market pricing and investment, and currency valuation. The world has embarked irrevocably on the process of global economic integration, and neither the Bretton Woods policies, the laissez-faire trade regime, or limited structural reforms are adequate to manage it.

Let's introduce a new proposal here. Let's envision the process of creating a Global Marshall Plan that would place sustainable development at the structural heart of the international economy. This Global Marshall Plan involves two broad areas—an emergency program for the world's poorest nations and the environment, and a plan for restructuring the international economy, its policies, and institutions. The emergency program is an intermediate action program spanning twenty years (2010-2030). The plan for restructuring the international economy would be developed in conjunction with the emergency program, but is much longer-term (2016-?). Structural conditions must be developed that will support and sustain development and environmental action into the future. Clearly, as the past sixty years of foreign aid has demonstrated, a short-term emergency relief program that is not tied to long-range reforms for economic restructuring is doomed to fail.

Stage One: Emergency Program

THERE MUST BE A SERIES of international meetings of high-level representatives from developed and developing nations to discuss, plan, and launch a major international relief program for developing nations and a program to slow the effects

of climate change and protect the environment. Given popular and international support, this panel of high international stature would have the political sway to accomplish these measures multilaterally through the world's specialized organizations and agencies. Beside launching the emergency program, these meetings would also prepare the international community for longer-term changes, laying the groundwork for binding decisions on international monetary, financial, and trade policy by those working on restructuring the international economy.

The basis of the emergency relief effort would be the United Nations Millennium Development Goals (MDGs), but should not be limited to this platform. Since many significant development and environmental problems are not addressed in the MDGs, and since these goals do not pertain beyond 2015, they provide the minimum conditions for a sustained relief effort on a massive scale. This is not to dismiss the importance of the MDGs—they remain the essential basis for international discussion, since virtually every country in the world has endorsed them and thousands of international agencies are moving diligently to meet them. The UN MDGs are geared to eradicate extreme poverty and hunger; achieve universal primary education; promote gender equality and empower women; reduce child mortality; improve maternal health; combat HIV/AIDS, malaria and other diseases; ensure environmental sustainability; and develop a global partnership for development.

Stage Two: Restructuring the International Economy

REPRESENTATIVES FROM ALL NATIONS, rich and poor, would meet for a series of discussions on international trade, financial, and monetary policy. This process must ensure the equitable participation of the international community in the negotiation and planning of a new international trade, financial, and monetary system. The UN General Assembly, its agencies, and numerous guests would host a multilateral referendum for all sectors of society, including representatives of governments, major corporations, private capital banks, central banks, the World Bank, the IMF, the World Trade Organization, and other international institutions, as well as representative input from non-governmental organizations, civic, and regional groups from across the world. In parallel, a larger global referendum should be organized by global civil society, which would work alongside the UN General Assembly. Over a period of time, all of these representatives would negotiate measures for restructuring the international economy and develop an agenda for broad-based, fully representative management of the international economic system. Given the progressive success of the emergency program, the planners of this new framework for economic governance will have an easier time generating the confidence of the international community in integrating sustainable development into the structure of the world trade, finance, and monetary system.

Funding the Global Marshall Plan

IS THE OFFICIAL DEVELOPMENT Assistance (ODA) standard of .7 percent GDP an arbitrary figure? Agency after agency has reaffirmed this standard for foreign aid since the 1960s, reflecting the fact that actual development costs have risen in proportion with world GDP during the past forty years. Yet only Denmark, Luxembourg, Norway, and the Netherlands have ever met this benchmark for ODA. This makes us question whether it is realistic to think that the world will ever meet this ODA standard. The hidden factor here is the world's continued reliance on discretionary foreign assistance to fund development. As noted earlier, short of creating an automatic or structural means of redistribution under the Bretton Woods agreement and postwar world trade system, the world adopted a laissez-faire arrangement for the voluntary distribution of resources—now a bilateral relic in an increasingly integrated multilateral economy.

The world community is quickly realizing the necessity of creating an international budget, and not just for poverty and development. The need for new spending on the environment and international peacekeeping is pushing us rapidly to consider innovative global funding sources. The .7 percent standard for ODA assumes that only foreign aid is available for development finance, but what if other sources of funding were available?

Many innovative means of international funding have been discussed, although none has been formally adopted (except for the International Financing Facility, which, with its reliance on capital markets, is not truly an alternative means of development financing. Sources of development funding such as remittances, leveraged philanthropy, and development bonds, while important, are not really "alternatives" since they are still market dependent). Global governance will eventually bring an end to discretionary sources of foreign assistance as the international community itself—not nation-states or markets—engages in the automatic creation and recycling of funds. Future financing for international projects must be generated through the only means of funding available to the international community that can be insulated from governments and markets—global commons transactions.

But these novel sources of development finance are not going to replace foreign aid immediately. As we negotiate the creation of a new monetary system, the development of alternative sources of finance is obviously going to require a new level of international commitment and new international economic policies and institutions, which will take a period of time to develop. While this is being constructed, a major increase in foreign aid will be needed to meet the world's ongoing poverty crises and to ensure that the bridge to this new economic system is safely crossed. Foreign assistance for development and increased government spending on the environment will thus be used as the economic leverage to bring the alternative sources online. Then, as these new sources gradually gear up, foreign aid should be geared down. If we

begin to create these new sources of development financing in parallel with one last big push in foreign aid over the next twenty years, by 2030, when those new funding sources are fully functioning, we will have a self-sustaining budget for global development and the environment fully integrated into the international system.

The sooner we see this light at the end of the tunnel—the inevitability of global governance, sustainability, and co-management of the global economy—the more quickly we will be prepared to dramatically increase foreign aid to help generate that new global system. This major increase in foreign aid to create a GMP will produce an economic stimulus in developing nations, leading to stable, self-sustaining development and generating new demand for the goods and services of the donor nations. With the structural changes in the global economy and the new sources of development finance supporting the GMP, we will not just double, but triple and quadruple the present levels of foreign assistance to get this job done.

To that end, we propose an increase to 1.5-2 percent GDP of global foreign aid annually over a twenty-year period. Based on the present world GDP of \$40 trillion, raising 1.5-2 percent GDP in international foreign aid on a yearly basis would result in \$600 to \$800 billion in revenue to meet global needs. This will fund the Global Marshall Plan, enabling the world to meet the UN Millennium Development Goals for food, education, healthcare, AIDS and disease prevention, women's rights, and environmental programs to fund additional development goals for water, sanitation, habitat, and civic infrastructure, and to establish the basis for new global rules and institutions in world trade, finance, and monetary policy.

Foreign Policy for a Global Marshall Plan

WE CALL ON THE UNITED STATES Congress to support measures for the creation of a Global Marshall Plan. We ask Congress to consult as appropriate with NGOs, the G8, the G20, the G77, the IMF, the World Bank, the World Trade Organization, the United Nations and its agencies and other international agencies to draft and pass legislation in support of:

- Canceling the debt owed by the world's sixty poorest nations;
- Meeting the Millennium Development Goals by 2015, which includes eradicating extreme poverty and hunger, achieving universal primary education, promoting gender equality and empowering women, reducing child mortality, improving maternal health, combating HIV/AIDS, malaria and other diseases, ensuring environmental sustainability, and developing a global partnership for development;
- Increasing foreign aid to 1.5-2 percent GDP;
- Creating alternative sources of development financing for global programs and institutions for human and social development and the environment through incremental fees on global commons transactions;
- Creating a Global Development and Environment Fund to administer the account of the Global Marshall Plan and disburse resources on a consistent and equitable basis;
- Incorporating the economic, social, cultural, and environmental standards of the International Labor Organization (ILO), the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO), and the United Nations Environment Program (UNEP) at the World Trade Organization (WTO), the International Monetary Fund

(IMF), and the World Bank;

- Reforming the voting processes of the IMF, World Bank, and the United Nations;
- Reforming the World Trade Organization, or creating a new world trade system, to ensure a more proportionate representation of developing nations in trade discussions, broader access to global trade markets, protective rules for vulnerable economies, the termination of trade subsidies and tariffs, and a more equitable settlement of trade disputes;
- Amending the UN Charter to expand the present UN Security Council to include other major world powers and abolish the current use of the veto power;
- Amending the UN Charter to establish a more powerful UN Economic Council, along with a new Social Council, to replace the current Economic and Social Council
- Administering global commons transaction fees and creating new oversight of the World Trade Organization, the IMF, and World Bank through the new Economic Council of the UN General Assembly;
- Creating a World Governance Council, a high-level advisory body that would report to the UN General Assembly's Economic Council, heads of state, finance ministers, and monitor the operations of international institutions, the IMF and World Bank, the Global Development and Environment Fund, energy resource distribution, environmental protection, and the negotiating framework for trade and other talks between developed and developing nations;
- Establishing technology sharing agreements for the benefit of developing nations;
- Developing a Global Ethics Policy, ensuring consistent labor laws, the security of workers, the end of discriminatory practices, and the transparency of international banks and corporations;
- Eliminating corruption through new international legal and economic mechanisms;
- Setting global pollution standards and developing new international machinery to ensure their enforcement;
- Creating a Global Energy Agency with a global energy policy to smooth the transition from a fossil-fuel economy to a sustainable energy economy and provide for equitable energy redistribution;
- Ensuring that the external costs of poverty and the environment are stabilized through an adjustment of the world monetary system, as well as their internalization into the global economy through market prices;
- Readjusting the international reserve currency system and revaluing international currencies (whether through IMF Special Drawing Rights; a G4 currency based on euros, yen, yuan and dollars; or a basket of select global resources, including gold and other non-renewable resources);
- Developing a new self-adjusting global balance of payments mechanism, allowing nations to cooperate through a system of fair trade exchange;
- Harmonizing the work of international agencies; and,
- Allowing non-governmental organizations fair representation in the decision-making of global governance and the determination of future policies, in particular, through popular mobilization and support for a World Parliament as a third house of the United Nations.

A Transformational Foreign Policy

WHY DOES THE PHRASE "Global Marshall Plan" carry such deep resonance? For one thing, it reminds people of "marshaling a difficult task"—mobilizing the will and strength to complete a big project. But the word "Marshall" also reminds us that we are in the same monetary system that we were in during the late 1940s, still searching for the same kinds of solutions to global poverty that George Marshall was in his day. The word brings us full circle, back to the

source—the Marshall Plan! Few phrases are laden with as much political irony and poetic justice, illuminating again the system errors that haunt us, the opportunities missed, the human pain and social distress needlessly suffered, yet hinting to possibilities to come, that challenge us still to live up to the ideals of progressive internationalism, renewing us in our determination, our love of humanity, and our keen sense of a hopeful future for the Earth, while sharply reminding us that the transitional period which began after the Second World War is coming to a close. As we near the end of one monetary system and the start of another one, we have learned many lessons—many of them, certainly, the hard way. We know that the tragic flaw in the Bretton Woods system urgently needs to be addressed. This requires action, but it also brings us to pause with awe, in reverence and gratitude, before the wonders of global creation and the magnitude of this great adjustment before us.

We know that during the next few decades, the world will undergo a political and economic transformation unlike anything that has come before. We are already witnessing the beginnings of this journey from a loose collection of nation-states into a global confederation for sustainable development and governance, where nations will find it necessary to give up some degree of sovereignty so that international norms are secured and that development, justice and peace may be ensured for the good of all. We believe that the world needs a common political action program infused with spiritual compassion and understanding, not just a new liberal metaphor for sweeping changes. We see the launching of a Global Marshall Plan as something far more extensive, far more in touch with the aspirations of those walking the planet who truly identify themselves as global citizens. The GMP we envision is a conscious structural bridge from the present competitive, fragmented world regime into a more cooperative international community that deals with the problems of development and environment through its own internal operating system, a new framework of governance that is responsive to, and responsible for, the global commons and the global public trust. We are calling for a Global Marshall Plan, which, symbolically and practically, marks the beginning of a new era of global governance, economic restructuring, and environmental sustainability at the global level.

Rally for Generosity

WE ALSO BELIEVE THAT the people of America deeply want to hear the message of a Global Marshall Plan that speaks directly to them and through them, to inspire and guide them, and lead them back to the founding dream and spiritual hope of this great progressive experiment that is the United States. It is not our intent to spread an ideology. Let others say that America is the hope of the world; we say that the world itself is our hope. The greatness of America shines through her independence, but greater still is the brilliance

This version of the global marshall plan purposed by tikkun's network of spiritual progressives is meant to be accompanied by restructuring the international economy and generosity strategy for u.s. foreign policy.

that radiates through her interdependence. That is why America shall yet raise the torch of the Global Marshall Plan and light the way once again for the world through a resounding demonstration of compassion and justice pouring forth from the hearts of her people, addressing the problems of malnutrition, poor water, lack of health care and education, and chronic unemployment in our nation and in the poorest regions of the world. We recognize that generosity does not always bring an end to conflict and war. We have already seen how blind generosity can lead to corruption and conflict, until generosity loses its meaning and becomes simply another cynical expression of self-interest and political necessity, an excuse for hypocrisy and a balm for the conscience, a synonym for political weakness and wretched annoyance. But we have also seen that a world without generosity and sharing is a world without hope of peace.

It takes bravery and determination to march for economic justice, daring and sheer resolve to walk through this jarring commercial wilderness, knowing that we are not whole until the world is whole, carrying a message of hope that all of the world's dizzying problems are of one piece. It takes wisdom and modesty to talk to strangers, to comfort the homeless and soothe the bereft, extending our hands to those who would share in our bounty. It takes vision to see the destination ahead, when the world itself is one country of sharing and cooperation, but it is reaffirming to us, again and again and again, that our love and generosity can never be lost, but only replenished by digging deeper and giving more. We seek to re-ignite the compassion of America for the world, tapping into the streaming spirit of love and generosity that has always flowed through the soul of the American people, a light which has far too long been repressed. Invoking the spirit of the Marshall Plan draws deeply upon those sources of inspiration and creativity that flowed through the hearts of our forbearers in liberty. The highest moments, for many of us, have come while bearing witness to our spiritual faith and universal values through direct action in the places where we live and work, and politic. We remain engaged in these local and national arenas, but we now also recognize that the progressive revolution is global, that the deepest currents of truth arise through our bonds with people across the world, and that together, with courage, generosity and vision, consciously and strategically interconnected, we must work for a transformational foreign policy to end world poverty.

A year before his death, Martin Luther King, Jr., set forth

his final and perhaps supreme goal: "The wealthy nations of the world must promptly initiate a massive, sustained Marshall Plan for Asia, Africa and South America. If they would allocate just 2 percent of their gross national product annually for a period of ten or twenty years for the development of the underdeveloped nations, mankind would go a long way toward conquering the ancient enemy, poverty" [for] "money devoid of genuine empathy is like salt devoid of savor, good for nothing except to be trodden under foot of men." Four decades later, we accept the challenge of Dr. King. We call on the world to embark on a Global Marshall Plan. We call on all nations to increase their foreign aid to 1.5-2 percent GDP each year for twenty years, enabling the world to meet the UN Millennium Development Goals for food, education, healthcare, AIDS and disease prevention, women's rights, and environmental programs, to fund additional development goals for water, sanitation, habitat, and civic infrastructure, and to establish the basis for new global rules and institutions in world trade, finance and monetary policy. We invite government leaders, parliamentarians, international agencies, the various Global Marshall Plan sponsors, non-governmental organization, civil society and the public to join us to discuss the global economic and environmental issues that will lead to a comprehensive Global Marshall Plan. Gather with those who share your dream for a better world. Come meet with us and rally for generosity. The Marshall Plan for war-torn Europe was one of America's highest moments, but greater moments lay ahead. ■

What you can do in the next 12 months:

- Organize and attend the Generosity Sunday rallies on April 15 across the United States;
- Join the Network of Spiritual Progressives and build alliances for a Global Marshall Plan, www.spiritualprogressives.org
- Petition your congressional representatives to support the Global Marshall Plan Initiative proposals discussed at the G8 Summit in Germany, June 6-8;
- Petition heads of state and the United Nations to develop a new global action plan for development and the environment; and,
- Dialogue with your friends, associates, and specialists from a broad array of global interest and spiritual traditions and together build a Network for a Global Marshall Plan. Contact jonathan@spiritualprogressives.org

James Bernard Quilligan is the managing director of Centre for Global Negotiations and the U.S. coordinator of the Global Marshall Plan Initiative.

Surging While Changing Strategy

BY GEORGE VRADENBURG

IRAQ IS A MESS. CONGRESS AND THE ADMINISTRATION assumed that "success" in Iraq and the conditions for the exit of American troops would be clear: overthrow Saddam Hussein, eliminate Iraq's WMD stockpile, and incubate a democratic government capable of managing its internal and external security.

Achieving success is proving a much more complicated, ambiguous, and lengthy ordeal than originally thought. Unexpected levels of sectarian violence, and increasing U.S. and Iraqi casualties are obscuring the path to a stable democratic outcome, and thus to success as initially conceived, notwithstanding the ousting of Hussein from power and promising Iraqi national elections.

The situation in Iraq could further deteriorate if the U.S. were to withdraw precipitously. The Shia-dominated government, working with the Mahdi Army, could seek genocidal revenge on the Sunnis, producing an untold amount of death and suffering. A full-fledged sectarian war in Iraq could draw in Iran on the side of the Shia and Egypt, with Saudi Arabia and Jordan on the side of the Sunnis, creating a regional sectarian war. Iraq could become either a failed or dismembered state where terrorist training camps would refresh Al Qaeda's ability to hit the U.S.

The conditions for how and when the U.S. leaves Iraq need to be redefined, and we must find an exit plan that will not prove catastrophic for the Iraqis, the Middle East or the U.S. Commitment to success in the terms originally conceived no longer makes sense. Setting new objectives and a new strategy for Iraq is imperative.

Committing more troops to Iraq—the "surge" plan—is simply a tactic within an existing strategy. An up-or-down vote on this tactic says nothing about a longer-term strategy that assumes continued instability in Iraq, nor does it determine how best to redeploy U.S. troops, initially from "harm's way" and ultimately from Iraq, in a manner that would diminish the likelihood of catastrophic consequences.

Rather, a surge should be viewed as a transition to a new strategy for phased withdrawal of U.S. troops from Iraq. In this context, increasing troops levels may be an appropriate strategy. An increase in American and Iraqi troops in Baghdad, charged

jointly with suppressing Shia as well as Sunni violence, offers a greater chance of avoiding chaotic scenarios than immediate redeployment of troops would. Some argue that this plan provides a disincentive to the Iraqi government to take charge of their own future, but all evidence suggests that the Iraqi government, acting alone, would simply oust the Sunni population from Baghdad and potentially "cleanse" them from Iraqi society, perhaps with the assistance of Iran.

A surge, however, even if successful in its modest aims, is not going to end sectarian conflict. One has to work on the assumption that the levels of violence that we have been seeing will continue for some time. So, the next step in a new strategy for phased withdrawal might encompass a pullback of American troops from Baghdad to the relatively secure Kurdish areas in the North, and to the more peaceful Shia areas in the South, and in Kuwait. If deployed to these areas, troops would be able to: (a) contain potential genocidal levels of violence (b) act as a buffer against major incursions by other state actors seeking territorial acquisition or the protection of members of their religious community, and (c) take action against terrorist training camps that may emerge. And, in those more peaceful areas, U.S. armed forces would be able to focus on reconstruction, demonstrating the value of peace over violence.

This redeployment would be a step toward the ultimate withdrawal of our forces once some semblance of stability is achieved. If U.S. troops are pulled out and a catastrophic result occurs, they will be inevitably pulled back into combat. So, as a matter of our own prudential interest, a lengthy, hopefully pacific, presence in Iraq will be needed.

Beyond Iraq, this nation needs to reorient its engagement in the world in a manner that relies less on military might as the path to democratic reforms, which are essential to the elimination of poverty, illiteracy, and disease. A more balanced approach to combatting the dangers of terrorism and to expanding the benefits of world prosperity is in order. That will no doubt only come about with a significant change in the White House. ■

George Vrandenburg is co-publisher of Tikkun.

A New Era With New Opportunities

BY MITCHELL PLITNICK

THERE IS A NEW WIND BLOWING IN THE ARENA of Middle East peacemaking. Times are changing, and new opportunities, as well as new perils, are presenting themselves.

It is not apparent that the Democratic victory this past November will make a significant difference in U.S. Mideast policy. Historically, Democrats have not been significantly different from Republicans in their inability to bring about change in the Israel-Palestine conflict. But this election, like none other, had Middle East policy at its heart, and the voters spoke out for change. It is up to us to capitalize on that result.

In 2006, AIPAC pushed a bill that would have restricted the president and the state department from easing the draconian measures they have brought down on the Palestinians since the election of the Hamas government. The bill passed, but in a form that was severely watered down from what AIPAC had originally put forth and, even then, the president's signature was accompanied by a declaration that the bill was viewed as non-binding and advisory. For all practical purposes, the bill that passed was completely meaningless. That is a significant victory.

Despite unleashing massive force in both the Gaza Strip and southern Lebanon, Israel proved unable to crush Palestinian resistance or Hezbollah. Nor was it successful in retrieving its missing soldiers or stopping missiles from harming its citizens. American Jews are now looking much more critically at the Israel's myopic reliance on force to solve its problems.

Syria made it clear that it was willing to enter into peace talks with Israel without preconditions. The United States forbade Israel from even examining Syrian President Bashar Assad's offer. More and more Israelis are beginning to question how good a friend the U.S. can be if it is preventing peace talks.

Israel is suffering by far the greatest crisis of leadership in its history. Kadima's Olmert, and Labor's leader, Defense Minister Amir Peretz, have proven completely incompetent. Neither have many dedicated supporters from any part of the

Israeli political spectrum. The only reason the government hasn't fallen yet is that the Israeli political scene is so fractured that no one seems able to form an alternative political program.

Meanwhile, Israeli citizens are drifting to a very dark place. Not long ago, Meir Kahane was banned from Israeli politics because of his racism. Today, the equally racist Avigdor Lieberman is Minister of Strategic Affairs and the Deputy Prime Minister—just a few isolated voices in the Knesset are raising even a peep of protest. Recent polls show that a majority of Jewish Israelis regard Arab Israelis as a security threat, and 40 percent support measures encouraging Arab citizens of Israel to leave.

These are serious problems, and they're not the only ones. The increasing tensions with Iran, the rising influence of Hezbollah, and the growing perception in the Arab world that Israel is not willing to consider peaceful solutions (mirrored, of course, by the reverse feeling among Israelis) are ominous.

Yet, the growing awareness among American Jews is that our leadership is not representing our true views, and that something must be done here if there is to be progress in the Middle East. So do the recent election, AIPAC's continuing scandals, and the growth of Jewish peace movements. The question for us is whether or not we will be willing to put aside our differences and work together to promote peace and to create a serious lobbying force to push that agenda.

The threat to Palestinians has never been greater. The threat to Israelis is growing almost as quickly. There is now a broad spectrum of Jewish peace groups in the U.S. Among them, there are many groups that agree that it is absolutely necessary for the U.S. to create a new policy that actively pushes both Israel and the Palestinians to a solution both can live with. These groups need to come together on their common ground, rather than let their differences keep them apart. If we pursue a policy that is in the interests of both peoples, there is promise of a better future for all. ■

Mitchell Plitnick is the director of educational policy for Jewish Voice for Peace.

New Voices

Selections from forthcoming books, articles, and talks

LIVING OUT THE GREAT COMMISSION

Excerpted from Letters to a Young Evangelical, by Tony Campolo (December 2006). Reprinted with the permission of Basic Books

W E EVANGELICALS HAVE A LONG HISTORY OF effective charity work in the Third World, but there is a growing sense among socially progressive Evangelicals that something must be done to change the social system itself. This awareness, in most cases, is driving such Evangelicals to become increasingly sympathetic with those indigenous people in the Third World who challenge the legitimacy of not only their own government and business leaders, but also America's policies in the Third World. Increasingly, U.S. Evangelicals return from mission trips asking whether our government in Washington has established trade agreements that serve our nation's commercial interests to the detriment of developing nations such as Haiti.

I am one of those questioning Evangelicals. I think it is our Christian responsibility to ask if the U.S. government has lent support to violent, dictatorial regimes simply because those regimes are friendly to our multinational corporations. It doesn't take too much investigating to discover that our country maintains the school of the Americas, which knowingly trains military officers from Third World countries that too often suppress, with violence, dissident voices in their homelands. Missionary work usually starts as acts of charity, but the more you learn about how political and economic institutions oppress and exploit the poor, the more you realize that charity is not enough. Justice is also needed.

Many socially progressive young Evangelicals in today's world sadly recognize that the church has, time and time again over its history, sided with

oppressors—and that, far too often, it still does. They know about the 1960s, when many white church leaders, particularly in the South, stood in opposition to Martin Luther King Jr. and the goals of the civil-rights movement. They've groaned in disdain to tales of leading religious leaders who sought to religiously legitimate the Vietnam War. More recently, they've been dismayed to witness TV preachers giving their blessings to the war in Iraq and supporting a government that establishes secret prisons where people are tortured. These young Evangelicals often express disgust at "Christian" radio shows that nurture homophobia by equating homosexuality with pedophilia and encouraging Christians to crusade for the denial of basic civil rights to gays and lesbians. Those with ecological concerns recognize that, in their efforts to save the environment, their primary opponents are often Evangelical Christians. They wince as Evangelical preachers, writers, and radio commentators label Christian environmentalists as nothing more than a bunch of "New Agers."

Unfortunately, many of these questioning Evangelicals have ended up rejecting the church. A young former Evangelical Christian I know, who has committed her life to social-justice causes, believes that when it comes to the sicknesses of the world, religion is not the cure. Instead, she says, it's often a perpetrator of the disease. She echoes those who call religion "the opiate of the people" and views religion as an instrument that powerful people use to dupe oppressed people into believing that the prevailing unjust social arrangements are ordained by God. Now alienated from the church, she is especially upset when Evangelical leaders suggest that, if people rebel against what she believes are obscenely unfair social institutions, they are actually rebelling against God. She is fed up with Bible-pounding preachers who press this point by reading to their people Romans 13:1-2, which says:

Let every soul be subject unto the higher powers. For there is no power but of God: the powers that be are ordained of God. Whosoever therefore resisteth the power, resisteth the ordinance of God: and they that resist shall receive themselves damnation.

This young, idealistic activist is well aware that whenever ruling authorities are challenged and revolution is in the air, conservative church leaders are apt to remind people of Paul's teachings in these verses. Consequently, she does not find it surprising that just about every revolution, including the American Revolution, was condemned by most leaders of "established" churches as being contrary to the will of God. She sides with leftist radicals who note that the highest church officials in Latin America have often stood side by side on palace balconies with totalitarian tyrants, offering religious legitimation to their unjust rule.

This dedicated young woman did not learn that the Bible is *not* about legitimating oppressive regimes. It is really the story of a liberating God. From the book of Exodus, which tells of the deliverance of the Jews from enslavement, to Jesus's identification with the poor and oppressed, the Bible is an account of a God who calls for justice and equality. I hope that you come to see the God revealed in the Bible this way. The God of Scripture wills the creation of a new social order in which poverty, economic injustice, environmental degradation, and the many fears that plague most peoples of the earth are no more.

I hope it's not too late to convince young people like my socially concerned friend that there are many Evangelical churches that can provide encouragement and support for their hopes for a more just society. Many of our churches have shaken off the Fundamentalist anti-social Gospel mentality and are intensely involved in promoting progressive social change. Increasingly, Evangelicals are learning to be social activists.

Much of what we are learning about social activism is being taught to us by people in the Third World. In Latin America, there are Catholic Christians who are finding the authority to challenge unjust regimes as they read the Bible in spiritually charged groups known as base communities. These small gatherings of Christians, brought together and nurtured by priests and nuns while studying the Bible, have found the inspiration and courage to challenge the injustices that plague their lives and communities. For years, many U.S. Evangelicals were reluctant to lend any credence to the insights coming out of base communities, not only because they had Marxist overtones, but

also because of an Evangelical antipathy to anything Roman Catholic. But that is changing both because there is a growing Evangelical movement within Catholicism and because many Evangelicals, in their efforts to develop disciplines that will deepen their prayer life, are learning much from the insights of Catholic mystics such as Ignatius of Loyola and Francis of Assisi. Given this growing rapprochement between Catholics and Evangelicals, it is not surprising that progressives in our camp are willing to give consideration to the truths emerging out of Catholic base communities.

AMERICAN MUSLIMS, IN ALL THEIR COMPLEXITY

Adapted from American Islam: The Struggle for the Soul of a Religion, by Paul M. Barrett. Published on Jan. 2, 2007, by Farrar, Straus and Giroux. Copyright © 2007 by Paul M. Barrett

A VISITOR TO THE HOME OF MUSTAFA AND Sadaf Saied is promptly recruited by young daughters Zaineb, Sameeha, and Mariam, to read a colorful Disney book about the Little Mermaid. The children, who attend public school in their hometown of Orlando, Fla., wear jazzy American clothes. Sadaf, the girls' mother, is in the kitchen preparing an aromatic feast of broiled salmon and chicken curry. She wears the Islamic hijab, or female head covering, and a concealing ankle-length turquoise wrap. Her husband, Mustafa, holds forth in the living room on how his knowledge of sports helps break the ice with customers of the family engineering business. He's dressed in denim jeans and a University of Tennessee football jersey.

Mustafa and Sadaf, who are in their early thirties, seem at ease as Americans, without having cut themselves off from their Muslim faith. He came to the United States from India in 1990 to attend college and then decided to stay. She is the American-born child of Pakistani immigrants. The couple has decorated their living room wall with a large, framed rendition of Quranic verse in ornate Arabic calligraphy. Sadaf prays five times a day; her husband, less often. He takes the children trick-or-treating on Halloween, and they join school friends in celebrating Christmas. On Sundays, the girls attend Islamic religious classes, but Mustafa has declared that the minute he hears anything about "infidels," he will keep them home. "I will stop it, cold turkey," he says. "I just want them to have a normal American life."

American Muslims are no more monolithic than American Jews or Christians. We would all do well to learn more about our Muslim neighbors.

What, for Muslims, is a normal American life? That's a question many Muslims in this country are seeking to answer. Given the times, it's something that all thoughtful Americans ought to ponder. I had the question in mind when I set out after the attacks of September 11, 2001, to learn about Muslim life in the U.S. My interviews took me from university campuses to maximum-security prisons, from elite corporate offices in midtown Manhattan to the fruit groves of northern California. The stories I gathered are contained in my new book, *American Islam: The Struggle for the Soul of a Religion*.

One of my central findings is that even after 9/11, assimilation remains a major theme in the lives of most American Muslims. Surveys show that as a group, they are more prosperous and better educated than other Americans. Increasingly, they are involved in local and national politics. Given a chance to explain why they have come here, immigrant Muslims typically stress economic and educational opportunity. In many ways, Muslims are a case study of American society's ability to integrate immigrants.

But there are sub-themes to the tale that are less reassuring. As a student at the University of Tennessee in the 1990s, Mustafa Saeid was drawn into a radical Islamic group that endorses suicide bombing and preaches hatred of non-Muslims, especially Jews. For a time, he reveled in this extremism. By his own account, Saeid's recruitment by the Muslim Brotherhood—in Knoxville, Tennessee, of all places—offers an illustration of the tension and flux within American Islam. Muslims in the U.S. represent an intricate mixture of creeds and cultures: immigrant and native-born, devout and secular, moderate and radical.

Saeid's excursion to the ideological fringe and then back again offers one view of the unease and conflict that mingle with the sunnier aspects of American Islam. The life and career of Osama Siblani, a Lebanese-immigrant publisher of a bilingual English-Ara-

bic newspaper in Dearborn, Michigan, provide a different but equally instructive perspective. Siblani belongs to the heavily assimilated elite in Dearborn, the unofficial capital of Arab America. He lives in a comfortable home and drives a large black Mercedes. A courtly registered Republican, he helped organize Arab-American support for George W. Bush in 2000. But the president's "war on terror" left Siblani feeling that his adopted country has turned against Muslims. He passionately opposed the war in Iraq and has even expressed sympathy for the home-grown Iraqi elements of the anti-American insurgency.

The complexity of Islam in the U.S. only deepens when African Americans and their painful history are added to the picture. A cleric named Siraj Wahhaj leads a predominantly black mosque in the Bedford-Stuyvesant section of Brooklyn, where he is hailed as an anti-drug activist and preacher of personal responsibility. Wahhaj's spiritual migration has taken him from the Baptist church of his youth, where he was known as Jeffrey Kearsse, through the racially separatist Nation of Islam, where he was known as Jeffrey 12X, to an understanding of the religion influenced by Sunni authorities in the Middle East. Today he represents two crucial components of African-American Islam: a constructive do-for-self philosophy and a conspiratorial antagonism toward government and the white establishment. He refuses to condemn Osama bin Laden for the attacks on Washington and New York. Does Wahhaj embody black Islam's arrival and acceptance in mainstream

America, or its lingering attachment to radicalism—or, somehow, both?

My point here is that American Muslims are no more monolithic than American Christians or Jews. We would all do well to learn more about our Muslim neighbors, in all their particularity and intricacy. Much of what this inquiry reveals is reassuring, though sadly, some examples are troubling. ■

NEW VOICES contains selections from forthcoming books, articles, and talks that raise significant spiritual, religious, or social theory issues that connect to the *Tikkun* project of healing and transformation of the world. Authors or publishers who seek to have work included in this section must send us the material for consideration at least three months prior to the cover date of the issue of *Tikkun* in which they'd like to be included, and this date must be prior to the actual publication of the book. Email submissions to rabbilerner@tikkun.org.

Politics & Society

The American



History shows that
America's leaders
have arranged "false-
flag operations" as
pretexts for war.

The American Empire

IN HIS 2002 BOOK *American Empire*, Andrew Bacevich pointed out that it had long been a "cherished American tradition [that] the United States is not and cannot be an empire." The words "American empire" were "fighting words," so that uttering them was an almost sure sign that the speaker was a left-wing critic of America's foreign policy. As Bacevich also pointed out, however, this had all recently changed, so that even right-wing commentators were freely acknowledging the existence of the American empire. As columnist Charles Krauthammer put it in 2002: "People are coming out of the closet on the word 'empire.'"

Given this consensus about the *reality* of the American empire, the only remaining issue concerned its *nature*. This empire was generally portrayed as benign. Robert Kagan spoke of "The Benevolent Empire." Dinesh D'Souza, after writing that "America has become an empire," added happily that it is "the most magnanimous imperial power ever."

Commentators from the Left, however, presented a radically different view. A 2003 book by Noam Chomsky was subtitled *America's Quest for Global Dominance*. Richard Falk wrote of the Bush administration's "global domination project," which posed the threat of "global fascism." Chalmers Johnson, once a conservative who believed in an American foreign policy aimed at promoting freedom and democracy, described the United States as "a military juggernaut intent on world domination." Bacevich, although still a conservative, had come to accept the Left's assessment of this empire. He ridiculed the claim that "the promotion of peace, democracy, and human rights and the punishment of evil-doers—not the pursuit of self-interest—[has] defined the essence of American diplomacy." Pointing out that the aim of the U.S. military has been "to achieve something approaching omnipotence," Bacevich mocked

Pearl Harbor, which summarized much of the evidence that had been discovered by previous researchers—evidence, I concluded, that provided a “strong *prima facie* case for official complicity.” The evidence can be couched in terms of the following six questions.

I. How Could Hijacked Airlines Have Struck the WTC and the Pentagon?

IF STANDARD OPERATING PROCEDURES of the FAA and the U.S. military had been carried out on 9/11, American Airlines Flight 11 and United Airlines Flight 175 would have been intercepted before they reached Manhattan, and Flight 77 would have been intercepted long before it could have reached the Pentagon. Such interceptions are routine, and are carried out about 100 times a year. A month after 9/11, the *Calgary Herald* reported that in the year 2000, the North American Aerospace Defense Command (NORAD) had scrambled fighters 129 times. Just a few days after 9/11, Major Mike Snyder, a NORAD spokesperson, told the *Boston Globe* that, “[NORAD’s] fighters routinely intercept aircraft.” Why did such interceptions not occur on 9/11? We have never been given a plausible explanation. Indeed, we have received three mutually inconsistent stories.

In the first few days, military officials said that no fighter jets were dispatched until after the 9/11 strike on the Pentagon at 9:38 AM, even though signs that Flight 11 was in trouble had been observed at 8:15 that same morning. That would mean that although interceptions usually occur within 15 minutes, in this case over 80 minutes elapsed before any fighters were even airborne. This suggested that a “stand-down” order had been issued.

Within a few days, a second story was put out, according to which NORAD *had* ordered fighters aloft, but they did not arrive in time, because FAA notification had unaccountably come very late. Critics showed, however, that even if the FAA notifications had come as late as NORAD’s timeline indicated, there was sufficient time for interceptions. This second story did not, therefore, remove the suspicion that a stand-down order had been given.

The 9/11 Commission Report, issued in 2004, gave a third account, according to which, contrary to NORAD’s timeline of September 18, 2001, the FAA did not notify NORAD about Flights 175, 77, and 93 until after they had crashed.

In August 2006, Michael Bronner, who was an associate producer for the film *United 93*, published an essay, “9/11 Live: The NORAD Tapes,” which popularized the 9/11 Commission’s description of events and emphasized tapes from 9/11 supplied by NORAD, on which it is based. This new story was further publicized by the simultaneous publication of *Without Precedent* by Thomas Kean and Lee Hamilton, the chair and vice chair, respectively, of the 9/11 Commission. This book caused a minor sensation by suggesting that the account given by the military between 2001 and 2004—which only partly absolved itself from responsibility for failing to prevent the attacks—had been a lie. The new story puts all the blame on the FAA, except for a little confusion on the military’s part, thereby lessening the grounds for suspicion that the military had been given a stand-down order. This new story, in spite of its proposal that the military told a lie, has been widely accepted.

However, as I show in my most recent book, *Debunking 9/11 Debunking*, this new story, besides contradicting many well-documented reports, is inherently implausible, claiming that military leaders lied in a way that made them look worse than does the truth. This new story does not, accordingly, remove grounds for suspicion that a stand-down order had been issued.

II. Why Did the Twin Towers and Building 7 of the World Trade Center Collapse?

THE BUSH ADMINISTRATION HAS also failed to provide a credible explanation for the

destruction of the World Trade Center buildings. According to the official explanation, the Twin Towers (WTC 1 and 2) collapsed due to the impact of the airplanes and the heat of the ensuing fires. But this explanation faces several formidable problems.

First, building 7 of the WTC also collapsed, and in roughly the same way. This similarity implies that all three buildings collapsed from the same causes. However, unlike buildings 1 and 2, WTC 7 was not hit by an airplane.

Second, the fires in all of these buildings were not as big, hot, or long lasting as previous fires in steel-frame high-rises, which did *not* induce collapse. For example, in 1991, a fire in Philadelphia burned for eighteen hours; in 2004, a fire in Caracas burned for seventeen hours. But neither fire produced even a partial collapse. The WTC's north and south towers burned only 102 and 56 minutes, respectively, before they collapsed. According to some witnesses and all the photographic evidence, moreover, WTC 7 had fires on only a few floors.

Third, complete collapses of steel-frame high-rise buildings have never been brought about by fire plus externally caused structural damage. Such collapses have only been caused by explosives used in controlled demolitions.

Fourth, the collapse of these three buildings manifested many standard features of the kind of controlled demolition known as implosion, such as: sudden onset; straight-down collapse; collapse at virtually free-fall speed (indicating that the lower floors were offering no resistance); total collapse (indicating that the massive steel columns in the core of each building had been broken into many pieces); the production of molten metal; and the occurrence of multiple explosions. Although none of these six features can be explained by the official story, let us focus on only the last two.

Many people have been led to believe, by misleading TV documentaries, the Twin Towers collapsed because their steel frames melted. But steel does not begin to melt

until it reaches 2800°F, and open fires based on hydrocarbons such as kerosene—which is what jet fuel is—cannot get much hotter than 1700°F, even with an ideal mixture of fuel and oxygen, which seldom occurs in building fires. Nevertheless, reports revealed that when some of the steel beams were lifted from the rubble, they were dripping molten metal. That would not have been surprising if the buildings' steel columns had been sliced by the use of high-temperature explosives, such as thermite, thermate, or RDX, which are regularly used to cut steel.

Dozens of people, including journalists, police officers, WTC employees, emergency medical workers, and firefighters reported hearing explosions in the Twin Towers. Some of them explicitly stated that the collapses appeared to be instances of controlled demolition. A fire captain said, "I hear an explosion and I look up. It is as if the building is

being imploded, from the top floor down, one after another, *boom, boom, boom.*" A paramedic noted, "[I]t was [like a] professional demolition where they set the charges on certain floors and then you hear 'Pop, pop, pop, pop, pop.'" Another firefighter said, "It seemed like on television [when] they blow up these buildings. It seemed like it was going all the way around like a belt, all these explosions."

Steven Jones, a physicist and former professor at Brigham Young University, has asserted that to believe the official account of the events of 9/11 is to believe that some of the basic laws of physics were violated.

It is not surprising that when a controlled demolition expert in Holland was shown videos of the collapse of WTC 7, without being told what the building was, he said, "They have simply blown away columns. . . . A team of experts did this. . . . This is controlled demolition." Concurring with this view, two emeritus professors of structural analysis and construction at Zurich's prestigious ETH Institute of Technology say that WTC 7



was “with the highest probability brought down by explosives.”

The 9/11 Commission Report failed to respond to such challenges. The Commission, in fact, simply assumed the truth of the official story. All evidence pointing to government complicity was either distorted or completely ignored. Indeed, after FEMA, the first agency given the task of explaining the collapse of the WTC, said that its best explanation for the collapse of WTC 7 had “only a low probability of occurrence,” the 9/11 Commission simply failed to mention this collapse in its 571-page report.

The Commission’s approach was not surprising given the fact that its executive director was Philip Zelikow, who was virtually a member of the Bush administration: He had worked with Condoleezza Rice in the National Security Council during the first Bush presidency; during the Clinton years, Zelikow and Rice co-authored a book; Rice then, as National Security Advisor for the second President Bush, asked Zelikow help make the transition to the new National Security Council, after which he was appointed to the President’s Foreign Intelligence Advisory Board; Rice later commissioned Zelikow to be the primary author of the 2002 National Security Strategy of the United States of America, which used 9/11 to justify a new doctrine of preemptive-preventive warfare. The idea that the 9/11 Commission was independent and impartial is, therefore, ludicrous.

The other most important investigation of 9/11, the supposedly definitive report on the destruction of the World Trade Center, suffered from the same problem. It was carried out by the National Institute for Standards and Technology (NIST), which is an agency of the U.S. Commerce Department and hence of the Bush administration. NIST’s explanation of the collapse of the Twin Towers—at the time of this writing, it still had not published a report on WTC 7—itself collapses when scrutinized from a scientific point of view, as I show in *Debunking 9/11 Debunking*.

III. Could the Official Account of the Plane Crash on the Pentagon Possibly Be True?

ACCORDING TO THE OFFICIAL REPORT, the Pentagon was struck by American Airlines Flight 77 under the control of Al-Qaeda hijacker Hani Hanjour. This account is challenged by many facts.

First, it was alleged that Flight 77, after making a U-turn in the Midwest, flew back to Washington undetected for forty minutes, even though it was then known that hijacked airliners were being used as weapons, and despite the fact that the U.S. military has the best radar systems in the world.

Second, in order to hit Wedge 1 of the Pentagon, the aircraft had to execute an amazing downward spiral, and yet Hanjour was known as a terrible pilot who could barely fly a single-engine airplane. Russ Wittenberg, a retired pilot who flew large commercial airliners for thirty-five years after serving in Vietnam as a fighter pilot, has said that it would have been impossible for Flight 77 to have “descended 7,000 feet in two minutes, all the while performing a steep 270-degree banked turn before crashing into the Pentagon’s first floor wall without touching the lawn.” It would, he added, have been “totally impossible for an amateur who couldn’t even fly a Cessna to maneuver the jetliner in such a highly professional manner.”

Third, terrorists brilliant enough to outfox the U.S. military’s defense system would not have struck Wedge 1. This part of the building had been reinforced, so the strike caused less damage than would have a strike anywhere else; it was still being renovated, so relatively few people were there; and the secretary of defense and all the top brass, whom terrorists would presumably have wanted to kill, were on the opposite side of the Pentagon.

Fourth, there is considerable evidence that the aircraft that struck the Pentagon was

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Exposing the falsity
of the official account
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reversing the present
policies of the US
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not even a Boeing 757. Unlike the strikes on the Twin Towers, the Pentagon strike did not create a detectable seismic signal. Also, according to photographs and eyewitnesses, the kind of damage and debris that would have been produced by the impact of a Boeing 757 was not evident in the aftermath of the strike on the Pentagon.

Karen Kwiatkowski, one of the eyewitnesses who was then an Air Force Lieutenant Colonel employed at the Pentagon, writes of “a strange lack of visible debris on the Pentagon lawn, where I stood only moments after the impact.” Another eyewitness was CNN’s Jamie McIntyre, who said during a live report from the Pentagon on 9/11, “The only pieces left that you can see are small enough that you pick up in your hand.”

With regard to the damage, retired pilot Ralph Omholt, discussing the photographic evidence, writes: “There is no hole big enough to swallow a 757. . . . There is no viable evidence of burning jet fuel. . . . The expected ‘crash’ damage doesn’t exist. . . . Even the Pentagon lawn was undamaged! The geometry of the day certifies the ‘official’ account as a blatant lie.”

A fifth reason to be dubious of the official story is that, as with the attack on the World Trade Center, evidence was quickly destroyed. Shortly after the strike, officials picked up debris in front of the impact site and carried it off. Shortly thereafter the entire lawn was covered with dirt and gravel, so that any remaining forensic evidence was literally covered up.

FBI agents, moreover, immediately confiscated videos from security cameras on nearby buildings. After long refusing to release any of the footage, the Justice Department in May 2006 finally released film purporting to show a Boeing 757 striking the Pentagon. But it did not. Even Bill O’Reilly of Fox News had to say, “I can’t see a plane there.” If there were footage that validated the official story, would we not have seen them as often as we have seen the strikes on the World Trade Center?

These problematic issues, besides conflicting with the official account, collectively indicate that the strike on the Pentagon was orchestrated by forces within our own government.

In the light of these challenges to the official account, we can reflect on President Bush’s advice not to tolerate “outrageous conspiracy theories about the attacks of 11 September.” This is excellent advice. But it deflects attention from the fact that the truly outrageous conspiracy theory is the official theory, according to which a group of Muslim terrorists conspired to defeat not only the most sophisticated defense system in history, but also some basic laws of physics. The problems in the official account, however, do not end there.

IV. Why Did the President and His Secret Service Agents Remain at the School After the Attacks?

UPON HEARING THAT a plane had struck one of the Twin Towers, President Bush reportedly believed that it was an accident. It was not terribly strange, therefore, that he decided to go ahead with the photo-op at the school in Sarasota. Word of the second strike, however, should have indicated to his Secret Service agents—assuming that these strikes were unexpected—that the country was undergoing an unprecedented terrorist attack. And yet he was allowed to remain at the school for another half hour.

This behavior was very strange. The president’s location had been highly publicized. If the attacks were indeed unexpected, the Secret Service, having no idea how many planes had been hijacked, would have suspected that the president himself was one of the targets. After all, what could be more satisfying to foreign terrorists aiming to attack high-value targets than to kill the president? Surely the Secret Service would have suspected a hijacked airliner might have been bearing down on the school at that very minute, ready to crash into it, killing Bush and everyone else there—including the Secret Service agents themselves. It is, in any case, standard procedure for the Secret

Service to rush the president to a safe location whenever there is any sign that he may be in danger. And yet these agents, after allowing the president to remain in the classroom another ten minutes, permitted him to deliver his regularly scheduled TV address, thereby announcing to the world that he was still at the Sarasota school.

This behavior would be explainable only if the head of the Secret Service detail knew that the targets did not include Bush. And how could this have been known unless the attacks were being carried out by people within our own government? The 9/11 Commission, far from asking these questions, said only: "The Secret Service told us they . . . did not think it imperative for [the president] to run out the door." A serious inquiry into this matter, therefore, remains to be made.

V. Why Did the 9/11 Commission Lie about Vice President Cheney's Activities?

ONE SIGN OF THE COMPLICITY of Vice President Cheney is the fact that the 9/11 Commission evidently felt a need to lie about the time of two of his activities on the day of the attacks: his entry into the Presidential Emergency Operations Center (PEOC) under the White House and authorization to shoot down any hijacked airliners.

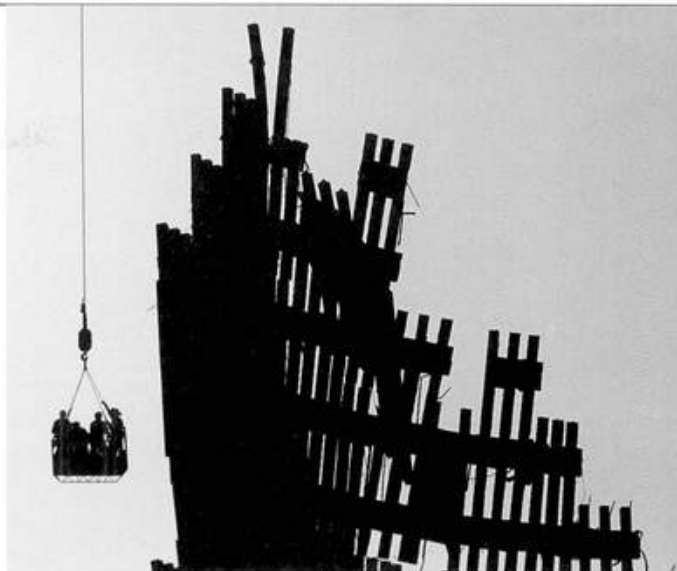
It had been widely reported that Vice President Cheney had gone down to the PEOC shortly after the second strike on the WTC, hence about 9:15 a.m. The most compelling witness was Secretary of Transportation Norman Mineta, who testified to the 9/11 Commission that when he entered the PEOC at 9:20, Cheney was already there. *The 9/11 Commission Report*, however, claimed that Cheney did not enter the PEOC until "shortly before 10:00, perhaps at 9:58." Mineta's testimony was simply omitted from the final report of the Zelikow-led 9/11 Commission. Why would the Commission go to such lengths—telling an obvious lie and omitting publicly available evidence—to conceal the true time of Cheney's entry into the PEOC?

One possible reason would involve the testimony of Mineta, who explained that, "during the time that the airplane was coming in to the Pentagon, there was a young man who would come in and say to the Vice President, 'the plane is 50 miles out, the plane is 30 miles out.'" And when it got down to "the plane is 10 miles out," the young man also said to the Vice President, "Do the orders still stand?" And the Vice President . . . said, "Of course the orders still stand. Have you heard anything to the contrary?"

Mineta reported that this conversation occurred at about 9:25 or 9:26 a.m. Former Secretary of Defense Donald Rumsfeld's spokesman, in explaining why the Pentagon was not evacuated before it was struck, claimed that "[t]he Pentagon was simply not aware that this aircraft was coming our way." The 9/11 Commission supported this claim, alleging that there was no warning about an unidentified aircraft heading toward Washington until 9:36 a.m. and hence only "one or two minutes" before the Pentagon was struck at 9:38 a.m. Mineta's account, however, says that Cheney knew about an approaching aircraft more than ten minutes earlier. There would have been over twelve minutes for the Pentagon to be evacuated; 125 lives could have been saved.

Mineta's account also implies that Cheney had issued stand-down orders. Mineta himself did not make this allegation, saying instead that he assumed "the orders" were to have the plane shot down. But that interpretation does not fit what actually happened—the aircraft was *not* shot down. It would also make the story unintelligible: the young man's question whether the orders still stood would not make sense unless they were orders to do something unexpected—*not* to shoot the aircraft down. By omitting Mineta's testimony and stating that Cheney did not enter the PEOC until almost 10:00 a.m., the 9/11 Commission implied that Cheney could not have given a stand-down order to allow an aircraft to strike the Pentagon.

The full brazenness of the Commission's lie is illustrated by the fact that it contradicts



What needs to be recognized is that this project of global domination is propelled by fanaticism based on a deeply perverted value system.

Cheney's own account, which can still be read on the White House Website. Speaking on NBC's "Meet the Press" five days after 9/11, Cheney said: "[A]fter I talked to the president . . . I went down into . . . the Presidential Emergency Operations Center. . . [W]hen I arrived there within a short order, we had word the Pentagon's been hit." So he got there, as Mineta said, some time *before* the Pentagon was struck, not twenty minutes afterwards.

The lie about Cheney's entry into the PEOC was also important to the controversy over whether the U.S. military shot down Flight 93. The 9/11 Commission, simply ignoring a vast amount of evidence that the plane had been shot down, supported the official claim that it was not by contending that Cheney, not having arrived at the PEOC until almost 10:00, did not issue the shoot down order until after 10:10—which would have been seven or more minutes *after* Flight 93 had crashed (at 10:03). But in addition to the evidence that Cheney had been in the PEOC since about 9:15, we also have evidence—including statements from Richard Clarke, who was a National Security Council advisor at the time, and Colonel Robert Marr, the head of NORAD's northeast sector (NEADS)—that Cheney's shoot-down order was issued *well before* 10:00 a.m.

The 9/11 Commission's obvious lies about Cheney's activities give reason to suspect that, under the leadership of Philip Zelikow, it was trying to conceal Cheney's responsibility for the Pentagon strike and the downing of Flight 93.

VI. Did the Bush Administration Have Motives for Orchestrating the 9/11 Attacks?

WHEN PROSECUTING ATTORNEYS SEEK to prove the culpability of a defendant, they have to show "means, motive, and opportunity." It is clear that the Bush administration had the means and the opportunity to orchestrate the events of 9/11. Of the several motives high officials in the administration would have had, I will mention three:

1) *Afghanistan*: Zbigniew Brzezinski's 1997 book, *The Grand Chessboard*, said that establishing military bases in Central Asia would be crucial for maintaining "American primacy," partly because of the huge oil reserves around the Caspian Sea. But American democracy, he added, "is inimical to imperial mobilization," which requires "economic self-denial (that is, defense spending) and . . . human sacrifice (casualties even among professional soldiers)." Explaining that the public had "supported America's engagement in World War II largely because of the shock effect of the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor," Brzezinski suggested that Americans would support the needed military operations in Central Asia only "in the circumstance of a truly massive and widely perceived direct external threat."

Support for these operations was generated by the 9/11 attacks plus the claim by the Bush-Cheney administration that these attacks had been planned in Afghanistan by Osama bin Laden. But the administration refused to provide any proof for this claim, and even the FBI admits that it is not based on any "hard evidence."

A more specific motivation was provided by the "pipeline war." The Bush administration supported UNOCAL's plan to build an oil-and-gas pipeline through Afghanistan, but the Taliban, being unable to provide sufficient security, had become regarded as an obstacle. In a July 2001 meeting in Berlin, representatives of the administration, trying to get the Taliban to share power with other factions, reportedly said, "Either you accept our offer of a carpet of gold, or we bury you under a carpet of bombs." When the Taliban refused, the Americans reportedly said that "military action against Afghanistan would go ahead . . . before the snows started falling in Afghanistan, by the middle of October at the latest." The attack began on October 7.

2) *Iraq*: Key members of the Bush-Cheney administration had in the late 1990s been active members of the Project for the New American Century (*continued on page 69*)



Beyond Tolerance

by Todd L. Pittinsky,
Laura M. Bacon,
and Loren Gary

ADDRESSING THE STATE OF CIVIL RIGHTS IN 1963, Rabbi Abraham Joshua Heschel wrote “the hour calls for moral grandeur and spiritual audacity.” And indeed, when the civil rights activists of that era sang “We Shall Overcome,” it was clear that they believed it. More than forty years later, the qualities Heschel highlighted are in short supply: when the same anthem is sung at the conclusion of Martin Luther King, Jr. Day celebrations, all too often there is a perfunctory air about the proceedings. It is as though the civic and business leaders in attendance are under no illusion that the old magic can be conjured up again. Hope is indeed absent, and so too is a clear-eyed assessment of how to address differences of ethnicity, race, and class.

Ironically, the fight against prejudice is insufficient, simultaneously in its immodesty and in its realism. Insufficiently immodest in the sense that efforts promoting tolerance do not go far enough in combating prejudice. And insufficiently realistic because research has shown that the categorical thinking upon which prejudice relies is hard-wired into the brain. Despite attempts to stifle, hide, or change group identity, social boundaries and distinctions inevitably creep back in. Efforts to reduce prejudicial thinking by ridding ourselves of difference can thus have only limited success.

The modern interpretation of tikkun olam, repairing the world, fuses hardheaded pragmatism with grand moral visioning. We believe the fight against prejudice must do likewise. We must acknowledge that some differences are too powerful to erase; at the same time, we must seek to promote not merely tolerance, but a genuine liking of the other. Our term for such positive feelings toward members of another group is *allophilia*—literally, “love or liking of the other.” Feelings of *allophilia* can exist toward members of a different gender, race, sexual orientation, religion, ethnicity, class, or nationality—or, for that matter, a different school, team, or even company.

Because events, movements, and the acts of leaders are always a jumble of competing forces and mixed motives, it is difficult to point to an unadulterated example of *allophilia*. Nevertheless, it is possible to point to certain aspects of an individual’s thinking or behavior as illustrative of the concept. Take, for example, the story of the Aramean commander Naaman in II Kings. Suffering from leprosy, Naaman is persuaded by a young Israelite girl whom he has captured to seek help in Israel. There he receives advice from the prophet Elisha. Initially, his skepticism about dealing with different countrymen makes Naaman hesitant to follow Elisha’s advice, but when he finally does he is cured of his leprosy. As Naaman returns home to Aram, his newfound affection for the Israelites is symbolized by the fact that he literally takes a piece of Israel with him—two mule-loads of earth.

An individual’s liking of those who are part of a group perceived as different from their own is the heart of *allophilia*. As the opportunities for conflict multiply with the increasing global interconnectedness of individuals, leaders must move beyond mere tolerance-promotion if they hope to combat the prejudice that is the fuel for many of these conflicts. *Allophilia* can help them do just that.

Superordinate identities, Suboptimal results

TOLERANCE-PROMOTION EFFORTS FREQUENTLY include expanding a community’s sense of self-understanding to include people who were previously seen as outsiders. Such re-categorization can occur through the emphasis of similarities or through the de-emphasis of differences between those in the ingroup and those in the outgroup. This is often accomplished through the creation of a superordinate identity—an overarching category into which differences between ingroup and outgroup are subsumed. For example, in the decades after the U.S. Civil War, Americans sought not only to smooth over lingering differences in regional identity between northerners and southerners, but also to assimilate new European immigrants by promoting the story of the Pilgrims and the first Thanksgiving as a founding myth uniting everyone as Americans.

It is very difficult, however, to create a superordinate identity cohesive enough to prevent splintering. Once a superordinate identity begins to lose its hold over people, there is often not enough residual liking between those in the ingroups and those in the outgroups to keep differences from festering into conflict. Furthermore, these social differences between the groups can be exploited in order to subvert the most ardent efforts at recategorization. This was at least part of the story behind the collapse of the Soviet Union and Yugoslavia into their constituent ethnic groups. In another case, the salience of group identification certainly emerged in the genocide in Rwanda, where rival leaders were able to undo the superordinate national identity—600 years of intermarriage and shared commerce, language, and culture between Tutsis and Hutus—by

exaggerating differences in the two group's physical features.

Simply put, the attempt to make the "other" vanish into "us" is an elusive hope. Some differences between people are not simply matters of perception; rather, they are real and enduring and therefore cannot be eliminated or ignored. But even if they could be, in many instances it would not be desirable to overlook differences between individuals and groups. After all, a central tenet of multiculturalism is that there is strength in difference.

A More Accurate Predictor of Intergroup Cooperation

OUR RESEARCH—INVOLVING MULTIPLE studies and thousands of participants of a wide range of ages, on several continents—shows that allophilia comprises five specific and measurable components: affection, engagement, kinship, comfort, and enthusiasm. Using these factors, we developed a scale that can be used to measure positive intergroup attitudes and predict positive intergroup behaviors—i.e., intergroup cooperation—more precisely than racism and prejudice scales.

One strength of our scale is that in our studies of liking, people seem to report their genuine feelings, rather than what they felt expected to report. Because of the implicit pressures on research participants to not appear biased, self-report measures of negative prejudice are often inaccurate in assessing who is prejudiced. Imagine giving out a survey in which you ask people to report if they are prejudiced or not. Of course everyone will respond, "I'm not prejudiced." As a result, social scientists have come up with increasingly sophisticated research methods to measure the prejudices held by those in an ingroup towards those in an outgroup. Not so with our surveys. Because there are not strong social norms around the *liking* of other groups, the people we interviewed did not feel pressure to answer one way or another—this made it straightforward for us to determine who was or was not feeling allophilia for another group.

Allophilia is by no means the same thing as a positive universal orientation. It is not the result of generally happy, nice, generous people saying they love everyone. Rather, allophilia can be traced to a verifiable liking of a very specific outgroup by an ingroup. This liking does not necessarily generalize to all outgroups. Recent work by University of Michigan psychologist Margaret Shih supports our findings. In Shih's studies, participants who displayed a higher liking for Asian Americans, and who were subsequently more willing to help them when they dropped their keys, did not transfer these same attitudes or behaviors to non-Asian American outgroups.

So what are the consequences of allophilia? Our research indicates that allophilia is a precursor to helping behavior. In one of our studies, for example, Caucasian participants who felt allophilia toward African Americans were more likely to make charitable donations to scholarship funds for African American students. A subsequent study measuring positive attitudes toward Latinos replicated and extended these findings; here allophilia was able to predict—above and beyond four prejudice and racism measures—Caucasians' willingness to contribute to organizations that supported Latino college students, and to support policies intended to benefit Latinos.

Keys to Promoting Allophilia

SOME OF THE STEPS that a leader can take to promote strong identification and cohesion within a group can exacerbate conflicts between groups. Some leaders exploit the tensions that this can create by purposefully building strong ingroup identities through the promotion of intergroup conflict. Other leaders, resisting the temptation to exploit

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Initiatives that promote affection, engagement, kinship, and comfort toward outgroups are far more than entertaining pastimes—they become vital means of repairing the world.

or create intergroup hostility as a means to secure their hold on power, have instead actively displayed or encouraged allophilia. Such leaders define their sphere of concern more broadly than their own perceived ingroup.

While an important aspect of building positive relationships between disparate groups, acts of allophilia should not be viewed as the exclusive endeavor of national and international leaders. From an interpersonal, educational, and policy perspective, techniques used to enhance allophilia hold great promise for improving intergroup relations at the grassroots level. The role of community leaders is crucial.

For example, teachers who successfully instill in their students a sense of curiosity for other groups help foster allophilia. Communities can accomplish this by promoting cross-cultural arts initiatives and multicultural celebrations. The NIR School of the Heart in Israel, founded by Dr. Judith Richter, is a good example of a grassroots effort that has, as a side effect, enhanced allophilia. Her program includes young people from groups often at odds (if not war). Israeli, Palestinian, Jordanian, Moroccan, and Egyptian high school students are brought together to pursue their passion for the medical sciences in general and the cardiovascular system in particular. In the process, these young people are exposed to others who are culturally very different, but with whom they share similar passions. The enthusiasm is contagious, and the school creates many friendships across group lines.

While cross-cultural, inter-religious, and multiethnic initiatives and programs such as these are hardly new, the concept of allophilia helps cast their significance in higher relief. The best of the programs not only seek to reduce prejudice to reach tolerance, but strive further to increase liking. The relative ease of measuring allophilia makes assessing the effectiveness of allophilia-enhancement efforts more straightforward. In effect, by illuminating pathways that help foster intergroup liking, our research seeks to help communities and leaders to make choices that may be able not only to reduce conflict, but to increase cooperation as well.

Allophilia's Five Factors in Action

EXAMINING INDIVIDUAL HISTORICAL CASES is a tricky business. The nuances of any one individual's thoughts, innermost feelings, and even their behavior are difficult to discern from a distance. No one leadership act will exemplify all five factors of allophilia, nor will leaders taking these actions feel allophilia at every moment. Our analysis focuses on the acts rather than on the actors—specifically, the ways these acts either modeled or more directly promoted allophilia.

AFFECTION. In the late 1980s, when people were tremendously fearful of direct social contact with those with HIV, widely circulated images showed Britain's Princess Diana hugging HIV-infected children from developing countries. For Western audiences, these children constituted the "other;" they were stigmatized by this still-mysterious disease and separated from the princess by economic class, ethnicity, and geography. Although her hugs were simple gestures, they communicated something far more powerful than mere tolerance of the "other."

ENGAGEMENT. Nelson Mandela never wavered in his vision of a multiethnic South African society. Indeed, he went so far as to learn the language and history of the "other"—Afrikaans—in order to promote his vision. As one of Mandela's prison mates told *Frontline*, "Nelson was very serious about his Afrikaans, and not just the language, but he was very serious about learning to understand the Afrikaner—his mind and how he thought...He had absolutely no qualms about greeting people in Afrikaans, and about trying his Afrikaans out on the warders." No qualms indeed: at the 1995 Rugby World Cup finals, Mandela cheered for South Africa's national team—previously regarded as a powerful symbol of "white"

nationalism—and even sported the captain's jersey.

KINSHIP. The deep religious and moral appreciation that Martin Luther King, Jr. developed for Judaism and the Jewish people serves as an example of this sense of belonging that one can come to feel toward an outgroup. "Jesus was a Jew," King wrote, and, "it is impossible to understand Jesus outside the race in which he was born." This belief that Christianity and Judaism shared a common source of ethical inspiration was a radical notion for a Christian minister to hold at that time. But King went even further. He used Moses and the Hebrew prophets as models for the civil rights struggle more than he used Jesus, and regularly made connections between the suffering of the children of Israel and plight of African Americans under Jim Crow laws. The kinship bond King felt with the Jewish people prompted him to step in as an advocate "at critical moments in the life of the American Jewish community, of Israel, and of the plight of Soviet Jews," writes Marc Schneier in *Shared Dreams*. King also referred to Abraham Joshua Heschel, who walked beside him in the protest march at Selma, as "my rabbi." Indeed, King had been scheduled to attend a *Seder*, the ritual Passover meal, at Heschel's home several days after he was assassinated.

COMFORT. Bill Clinton had "a comfort level with African Americans that seem[ed] to be almost unnatural," notes DeWayne Wickham, author of *Bill Clinton and Black America*. When Clinton was governor of Arkansas, he invited local African American leaders to his home for impromptu gatherings, and later, as President of the United States, he reached out to this community in an unprecedented way. Almost every leader interviewed for Wickham's book notes Clinton's comfort level with African Americans, citing his move to Harlem, his love of "soul food," his attendance at African American churches, his knowing all three verses of "Lift Every Voice and Sing," and his scores of close African American friends, colleagues, and appointees. Michael Frisby, Senior Vice President of Porter Novelli, said "The thing I will never forget is that Clinton was so comfortable talking to me. There was no uneasiness at all." Hugh Price, president of the National Urban League observed, "There was a comfort level in his dealings with African Americans, in his interfacing with African-Americans, going to the churches, connecting, preaching, and baring his soul with us." Attorney Johnnie Cochran commented, "Bill Clinton is probably the most comfortable Caucasian around black people that most of us have ever seen. He feels totally comfortable around black people." And Toni Morrison famously called Clinton the first black president of the United States.

ENTHUSIASM. World-renowned cellist and UN Peace Ambassador Yo-Yo Ma's passion for bridging different cultures and musical traditions sets him apart from most other classical musicians who typically do not venture beyond the Western musical canon. By contrast, Ma has collaborated with musicians, artists, filmmakers, and choreographers from around the world—from the Kalahari bush to Brazil. The Silk Road project, a collaboration highlighting the music and culture from the ancient network of trade routes that connected Asia to Europe, "owes a great deal to Yo-Yo Ma's vision, creativity, boundless energy and infectious enthusiasm... for the creative expression of peoples embodied in the rich diversity of their cultures," says the Aga Khan.

When carried out with intentionality, initiatives that promote affection, engagement, kinship, enthusiasm, and comfort toward "the other" are far more than entertaining pastimes—they become vital means of repairing the world. ■

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Dying in the Spirit

A Progressive View of Decision-Making at Life's End

BY BARBARA COOMBS LEE

A NNA'S FAMILY, AND HER PRECIOUS PRAYER SHAWL, was by her side when she died peacefully after a grueling battle with lung cancer.

Women from her church knit Anna's shawl in the last months of her life. With each stitch, they honored a woman whose good, long life was buttressed by a strong belief in God. They finished each row with a prayer for her.

Anna believed in a loving and compassionate God who was with her in life and in death. "My God will understand why I want to hasten my death," Anna wrote before she died.

The deity Anna worshipped neither judged nor condemned her choice. Anna died in a shawl of prayers especially suited to her, and within a religious practice rooted in her personal, individual relationship with divine spirit.

Religion and dying are at a crossroads in American society. One path treats life as more sacred than human dignity and choice, and prolongs it by all medical means. Another treats death as inevitable, and responsibility for one's life and death as a sacred duty. The difference often corresponds to whether one envisions God primarily as the source of law, or primarily the source of love. How did we get here and where might we go?

A death like Anna's is unusual in modern America. Since the mid-twentieth-century, techno-medical enterprises have increasingly masked death behind machines and hospital curtains. Technology's power to keep us alive through almost all illness has devalued death and robbed it of its defining role in our lives. If American culture suffers wounds of greed, abuse of power and excessive materialism, might one aspect of the psychic and spiritual wound be denial of and alienation from death? Losing touch with life's precious, transient nature can mean losing touch with its meaning as well.

Our society values rugged individualism and accomplishment, and extends those virtues even to the beating out of death. As noted in Sandol Stoddard's *The Hospice Movement*, historian Arnold Toynbee observed that, "death is considered un-American, an affront to every citizen's right to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness."

Prevailing religious doctrine often portrays an externalized and authoritarian God as sole arbiter of how and when we die. Images of a jealous and powerful deity using

ILLUSTRATION BY JON KRALISE

death as the ultimate avenging act support rigid notions of good and evil. In this narrative, any human hand in death is immoral. Yet, in truth, twenty-first-century technology and life sustaining treatments so pervade medicine that death rarely comes at all without being specifically invited. The questions today are, "who may decide to invite death; when, and under what circumstances?"

Emerging answers to these questions define a progressive spiritual attitude toward death, clearly distinguished from conservative religious doctrine. Current ethical constructs governing end-of-life choices reflect ancient Catholic theology. In the fifth century, St. Augustine argued that the commandment "Thou shalt not kill" applied to any act that hastened death. In the Middle Ages St. Thomas Aquinas reinforced this view and extended it to causing one's own death: "Whoever takes his own life sins against God.... For it belongs to God alone to pronounce sentence of death and life."

The Church allowed exceptions to its absolute prohibition against taking life by making "intention" paramount and formulating a doctrine of double effect. The doctrine absolves a person from responsibility for a death if the actor intended some other, acceptable outcome, such as relief of suffering. Under the doctrine, hospice and other palliative care professionals mercifully deliver the large doses of opiates dying patients often require for relief of pain and other symptoms. They do this even though the drugs are likely to hasten death.

The doctrine also covers a technique called terminal sedation: rendering the patient unconscious and withholding water and nutrients. Death inevitably follows. A similar mental dissociation of one's act from its consequence covers the withdrawal of ventilators, dialysis, and other life sustaining therapies. Under accepted rationale, the doctor acts to relieve the patient of the burden of the medical intervention and does not intend the patient's death even when it follows with 100 percent certainty.

The double-effect doctrine and other dissociations of act from outcome allowed, and still allow, physicians to believe they do not cause death when they withdraw life support or administer drugs that provide comfort—even as they unintentionally but inevitably end life. This works to the advantage of dying patients, and I'm grateful that double effect and dissociation constructs enable much of the best end-of-life care delivered in this nation.

But it disturbs me that the doctrine dodges responsibility for a certain and foreseeable consequence of one's actions. Also, the double-effect paradigm inevitably reinforces the canons that death is evil and intending death is always immoral. Yet many who experience severe ongoing pain and loss of function in their terminal illnesses do not consider death an evil; they ultimately come to welcome it. Progressive Christians affirm love, not life as the ultimate Christian value. Progressives of many faith traditions find little difficulty imagining actions that, taken carefully and prayerfully, might extinguish life in the service of love. Finally, the double-effect construct ignores the ancient wisdom of the divine feminine, Hindu, and other religious traditions that assign one aspect of divine power to creation, one to protection, and one to destruction.

Accordingly, I suggest it is better to acknowledge palliative care, terminal sedation, and withdrawal of life-sustaining therapies as intentional acts guided by a moral compass of compassion and respect for personhood and autonomy. We intend to be compassionate to others' suffering and honor their wishes because the alternative—abandoning a dying person to agony—is neither loving nor respectful.

In law and everyday morality, if I foresee the consequence of my action, I must shoulder responsibility for it. If I know a death will result, I cannot evade responsibility by claiming I did not intend that consequence; I cannot sidestep accountability by insisting that "while I expected two outcomes (pain relief and death), I intended only one." Spiritual maturity and authenticity compels us to accept the burden of responsibility and measure up to its rigorous demands. Only compelling circumstances can justify bringing about the death of a patient: that person's grievous suffering, her firm desire to end it, a loving family's desperate pleas, and the imminence of an expected death. It is

This year legislatures in Vermont, California, Arizona, and Hawaii are considering bills fashioned after Oregon's thirteen-year-old Death with Dignity Act. In 1994 that law decriminalized aid in dying for terminally ill, mentally ill adults. Many elected officials passionately believe dying patients deserve the comfort of knowing that legal aid in dying is available to them if suffering becomes intolerable. Given the power of conservative religious forces, these bills face overwhelming odds, yet progressive lawmakers keep the debate alive and increase pressure for reform.

Come Death

Walk toward me in your
flower-printed silk and fine
mossy velvet or in your
impeccably tailored black
suit. come in all your perfec-
tion extending your hand
and saying your name draw
me toward you as my close
friends do hold me elegantly
still\in dance position then
waltz me away glancing
over your shoulder once
and with the smallest
gesture let them know
how much I like to dance

Norma Ruiz Davis
Compassion and Choices client

not wrong to conceive such a patient as possessing the authority to make this ultimate decision and deserving the respect of others. Intellectual honesty prepares the way for ethical decision-making.

My preferred ethical guidelines would apply these principles equally and openly to palliative care, terminal sedation, withdrawal of life support, and aid in dying. The two crucial ethical questions would be:

- **Is the proposed action wholly in service of love and compassion?**
- **Does the proposed action follow the wishes of the patient and affirm her in herent worth and dignity?**

If patient, family, doctors, and others agree the answers are an unequivocal “yes,” the action is both moral and ethical in my book, even if death is an intended consequence. Sound public policy would apply additional constraints in the form of eligibility guidelines and procedural safeguards, and these would elaborate and refine the basic ethics analysis.

Revisiting early Christian thought, it’s important that some biblical scholars cite the Commandment in the original Aramaic as “Thou shalt not murder,” which is not so broad as to render all intentional act to end human life immoral. The Bible does not condemn the wounded King Saul for begging his armor bearer to strike him dead nor for falling on his sword when the servant refused.

Within the United States, only in Oregon may patients legally request a medication to ingest if and when they reach the point where death is preferable to current suffering.

Those who make application for the means to choose death as a peaceful end to a terminal illness teach us about hope and humanity. Their experience confirms research indicating that people tolerate more pain, and rate it less severe, when they feel in control. Whether or not patients take their life-ending medication, having a choice greatly enhances the quality of their remaining days.

This happened to my friend Penny Schleuter, who cherished liberty, dignity, mercy, justice, and responsibility. Penny chose to use Oregon’s aid in dying law at the end of a long battle with ovarian cancer. She grieved the loss of this life, but bravely and surely engaged in the process of her transition. Penny approached her death from cancer like the last act of a play, central to her life’s meaning. It was fitting and consistent with her life as an independent woman and a teacher. How she died was not just a random detail at the end.

Most of those who gain access to Oregon’s law describe themselves as religious or spiritual. Of the 116 clients of the Oregon chapter of Compassion & Choices—a non-profit organization working to improve care and expand choice at the end of life—ninety-five of them who died peacefully from a variety of causes in 2005, called themselves religious or spiritual. Char Andrews, who helped Oregon defend its law at the U.S. Supreme Court, told reporters, “I think it’s more spiritual to die before I’m comatose, with my family and loved ones at my bedside.”

An Episcopal priest with stage-four cancer says religion greatly influences his choice, and he finds no conflict between his church and his desire to end his life if his suffering became a needless cruelty. “I worship the God who is the lover of souls and hates God’s and humanity’s enemies—suffering and death—and only wills the best for me.”

If a progressive religious view became dominant, it might replace the intense fear of death with reverence for the natural, sacred cycles of living and dying. Death might be allowed into our collective and individual consciousness, helping restore cultural awareness of our shared humanity and our connection with all living things. It might help heal the cultural wounds that perpetuate violence, greed, and cynicism. ■

Barbara Coombs Lee is president of Compassion & Choices, a national non-profit organization working to improve care and expand choice at the end of life. Compassion & Choices is the oldest, largest and most comprehensive choice-in-dying organization in the United States.

Making Abortion Rare

BY NINA KOHL



I HAD AN ABORTION WHEN I WAS NINETEEN YEARS OLD. I learned that abortion isn't just about a woman's body; it's about a woman's body, mind, heart, and soul. It's about the growing life inside her, and it's about the partner with whom that life was conceived. It's about her family and her friends, her employer or her school. It's about a woman and her community.

Making abortion rare will require a new ethic of both individual, personal responsibility, and collective, public responsibility. It will mean improving a woman's access to the two things that can help her avoid an abortion: prevention resources and parenting support. Prevention resources include things like contraception and effective pregnancy prevention education. Parenting support includes things such as affordable child-care, health care, educational opportunities, and jobs with a living wage.

Pro-life Republicans have stood in the way of providing women both prevention resources and parenting support—the very things a woman needs to avoid an abortion. The Republican plan seems to be this: deprive women of everything needed to prevent an abortion, and then criminalize the abortion procedure. It's a bad strategy for protecting the unborn, but it's a brilliant tactic for punishing women.

Pro-life Republicans continue to stay the course in a war to make abortion illegal. Rather than engage the more pragmatic, common goal of making abortion rare, pro-life Republicans determinedly focus on the more divisive, ideological goal of making it illegal. These are two very different goals, since, if abortion rates worldwide are any indication, making abortion illegal doesn't make it rare.

Data on the frequency of abortions around the world shows that there is no correlation

The emergence of
pro-life Democrats
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about making
abortion rare.

between the legality of abortion and its frequency. The abortion rate has been very high in Eastern Europe and low in Western Europe, though broadly legal in both areas. Levels of abortion are far lower in Western Europe, where the procedure is legal, than they are in Latin America, where it is highly restricted and where many women are imprisoned for having abortions. The abortion rate is lowest in the Netherlands, where abortion is legal.

Abortions are low in countries where women have the prevention resources and parenting support they need to help them avoid abortions, and the abortion rate is high in countries where women don't have access to those resources and supports.

In the United States, poor women are three to four times more likely to have an abortion than women who are better off, and the rates of abortion for low-income women continue to rise substantially. Increasingly, women who have abortions are unmarried, non-white mothers who already have at least one child. Fifty-one percent of children living in poverty live in households headed by a single parent. Making abortion illegal would mean a return to a two-tier system in which women that are better off would have access to safer abortions than their poor counterparts.

In the 2006 mid-term elections, Americans made it clear that they want to keep abortion legal. They voted down several state ballot measures that would have eliminated or curtailed abortion rights, and sent more than twenty pro-choice Democrats to Congress. But, the emergence of pro-life Democrats in this election—we sent seven to Congress—is an indication that Americans want to see someone get serious about making abortions rare. “Safe, legal, and rare,” was Bill Clinton’s formulation and it seems to come as close as anything to describing what the moderate majority of Americans support.

Until recently, it’s been easy to forget that the majority of Americans are not extremist ideologues on abortion. Most are practical, compassionate people who have daughters, sisters, mothers and wives, and can put themselves in the shoes of a woman facing a crisis pregnancy. They want to keep abortion legal, but, they resent the cold, clinical attitude that the Democratic Party has taken in the past toward abortion and they insist on “big tent” respect for people who oppose abortion.

If the Democrats’ “big tent” accomplished nothing else, it gave voters in the 2006 mid-term elections, who were frustrated over the war and corruption, the chance to vote for change without feeling they were betraying their conscience on abortion. It helped Democrats take back Congress, which in turn, has given hope to people who are serious about getting results in lowering the abortion rate.

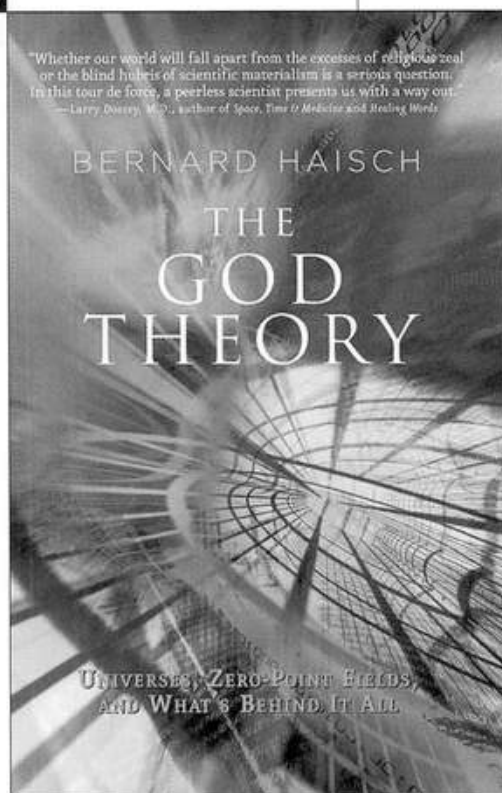
Abortion isn’t a solution to the problem of unplanned pregnancy and to pretend that it is really sells women short. Abortion is a symptom of society’s ills, and a combination of personal and public responsibility is the cure for what ails us. As Rabbi Hillel asked, “If I am not for myself, who will be for me? But, if I am only for myself, what am I? If not now, when?”

Fortunately, for women and for the unborn, there is an alternative to “staying the course.” Democrats have dropped their dogmatic abortion ideology in favor of “big tent” pragmatism. Now, pro-choice and pro-life Democrats are working together on a number of new initiatives that attempt to meet women’s needs for resources and support. Some of these Democratic initiatives focus on contraception and pregnancy prevention education, such as the Prevention First Act, co-sponsored by pro-life Senate Democratic Leader Harry Reid and pro-choice Senator Hilary Clinton. Other initiatives focus on parenting support efforts, such as the Pregnant Women Support Act, sponsored by pro-life Congressman Lincoln Davis of Tennessee.

The most promising bill is a comprehensive one that aims to provide both prevention resources and parenting support. Called the Reducing the Need for Abortion and Supporting Parents Act, this bill was sponsored by pro-life Congressman Tim Ryan, with pro-choice Congresswoman Rosa DeLauro as a leading co-sponsor. (continued on page 69)

An interview with
Bernard Haisch,
author of
The God Theory

God and Physics



TIKKUN: What is the central theory of your book, *The God Theory*?

BERNARD HAISCH: You can be a science-oriented person, perfectly comfortable with the Big Bang origin of the universe 13.7 billion years ago, a 4.6 billion year old earth, Darwinian evolution, and still believe that there is room for a God behind it all, and that there is no contradiction. Once you go past the Big Bang and ask yourself what might be the ultimate origin of things, you have a choice. You can choose to assume that there pre-exists quantum fields or inflation fields or quantum fluctuations, and out of those the universe was born. But then there has to pre-exist some form of law or tendency, because if nothing at all existed, nothing at all would happen. So you still have to assume there is something there, some sort of laws of nature pre-exist. Well, then you ask, where did those come from? Or, you can assume that behind it all there is intelligence. That intelligence could be assumed to have a purpose in doing this.

In the last twenty years there have been a number of discoveries about the fundamental properties of the universe. If some of these fundamental constants had been much different, we wouldn't be here.

First there is the ratio of gravitational to electrical force. If that ratio were much different, there wouldn't be planets and stars that were the right size to have evolved on the same kind of timescale to produce a favorable environment for life.

Then we have the strength of nuclear force. If the nuclear force were maybe 10 percent stronger than what it is, all of the hydrogen at the beginning of the universe would have been used up in the heavy elements and you wouldn't have the basic ingredients of stars anymore. If the nuclear force were much weaker, you wouldn't have thermonuclear reactions in stars because you wouldn't be able to have the chain that powers hydrogen into helium, which is what powers stars; therefore, we wouldn't have planets, and we wouldn't have life.

There's the strength of the dark energy that is accelerating the universe. It was only discovered in 1998 that the universe is actually accelerating. Now if that dark energy, whatever it is, were twice as strong or ten times as strong as it is, the universe would be blowing apart, and, again, we wouldn't have the conditions necessary for life. Similarly, if the amount of dark matter were much greater than it is, you wouldn't get a compact universe that would evolve through its lifetime in thousands or millions of years.

There's the cosmic microwave background. A few weeks ago a Nobel Prize was given to scientists who measured this in detail fifteen years ago. They found tiny fluctuations from point to point in the sky, which could be traced back to the beginning of the universe. If these fluctuations were much greater, you would probably have regions of density in the universe where you would have black holes instead of galaxies. So, again, the amount of dark matter has to be within a certain range, and, more importantly, if you run this back in time, how critically this has to be a certain value gets much, much more tightly constrained by about a factor of a billion times a million.

Then, there are a couple of peculiarities about some chemical elements. Life is composed of carbon primarily. Carbon is manufactured in the cores of very hot stars and what you end up with is a reaction that leads to helium, and then a reaction that leads to beryllium formation, and helium plus beryllium combine to form carbon and stars. Beryllium is quite unstable; it doesn't last very long, so the helium plus beryllium reaction has to take place very quickly if you are going to get carbon. Well it turns out the carbon forms very nicely because there is an energy resonance that lets that reaction take place very fast before the beryllium decays again.

And the last thing is the peculiar property of water. Most liquids become denser as they freeze; however, water becomes less dense when it freezes, which means ice floats. That's important for our climate because if ice sank to the bottom of the ocean then you'd get an accumulation of ice on top of ice and pretty soon the ocean would freeze over.

So, all these things could have been totally different—there's nothing in the laws of physics that says that these things have to be this way. So this then raises the question, why is our universe "special"? Now of course the scientists hate that. They don't want to see anything special in the universe because that might imply that there is intelligence behind it. So the explanation is: "well ok, if our universe looks special, that's an accident." It means that there are lots and lots of other universes, maybe an infinite number of other universes that are totally different from ours and that we're just not in those universes because we couldn't be—ours only looks special because we're in it and couldn't be somewhere else.

You can accept that as an explanation. However, I'm saying that it's equally defensible to assume that ours is special because there is thought that went into it. I'm just pointing out that there are two equally likely possibilities at this point in time. One does not lean over another by virtue of any kind of evidence. Except, perhaps, if you take the evidence of intelligence from mystics and people who have had prayerful or spontaneous experiences, who have experienced it with their consciousness. Now of course scientists will say, "That evidence doesn't count, we don't believe that kind of evidence because we can't measure it with our telescopes or microscopes." So I say, fine, you want to discount that evidence, there is still a zero on both sides; therefore, believe whichever side you want.

TIKKUN: Now, let's go into this intelligence for a second. There's another position that I've heard articulated that says that intelligence and consciousness are what they call an "emergent." That is to say they weren't there in previous stages in the development of the universe, but that they come into existence under conditions A, B, and C. The emergence didn't pre-exist then, it just happens when a certain number of factors come together. For instance, having a body with a certain kind of nervous system—at a certain level of complexity of that nervous system, consciousness emerges, and at a further level of complexity of that nervous system, self-consciousness emerges. And we can see that in the child developing, so why can't we see that in the species developing? A child seems to be conscious but not self-conscious for a period of maybe a year or so and then we see it changing in the level as certain stimuli hit it and it is nurtured by other beings. So, couldn't it just be that consciousness of the universe that people have experienced that you are talking about, namely mystical experience, be *real*, but be a product of a certain stage of development of the universe rather than a pre-existing aspect of the universe?

BH: Well, that is the way scientists think about it. They assume that when things get assembled in the proper level of complexity, something else can seemingly appear, but the key word here is *seemingly* because there is no such thing as real consciousness in that view because real consciousness is a kind of epiphenomena. You are still stuck with atoms and molecules; there's nothing really new, it's just a new arrangement of the same old stuff—that's the thinking in science. Again, I can't argue that that is irrational, it's perfectly rational, but I think it's *also* rational to assume that there is some other thing called consciousness that may have been the root of it all, rather than epiphenomena that arises when things get seemingly complex enough. It is rational and logical to assume that the universe is more like a great thought than like a great machine.

One of the things that I argue in my book *The God Theory* is that we human beings do know on a deep level that our consciousness is sort of a primary thing.

You might be able to persuade me that some fact of logic is wrong, for example that in some mathematical system $1+1$ is not equal to 2. But you can't persuade me that I don't possess a deep consciousness. That's the most fundamental thing I know, a root knowledge that you cannot take away, and I believe that kind of root knowledge points to the fundamentality of consciousness as the stuff behind the universe, that there is intelligence that thought up the universe and whose thoughts then became these very laws of physics that we are talking about right here.

There may be many other universes that this intelligence thought up because if it is an infinite intelligence then it has infinite diversity. So, making universes that correspond to different ideas that work together seems like really a neat thing to do if you are that kind of consciousness, because that way you can take your potential and turn it into experience. That's what I think is the basis of all of this, the point behind it—that if there is an infinite intelligence with infinite potential, potential is fine but experience is better.

TIKKUN: So you are attributing to that consciousness a desire.

BH: A desire to know itself.

TIKKUN: Why would it have that particular desire?

BH: Actually, I think I should point you back to Kaballah, where it talks about this desire and it says that to know the basis of this desire is beyond human comprehension, but there is a desire to know itself. I guess I would take that as sort of a postulate of a theory.

You can be perfectly comfortable with the Big Bang origin of the universe 13.7 billion years ago and with Darwinian evolution, and still believe there is room for God behind it all.

TIKKUN: There's a version of the Kaballah that has a different analysis that says that it's because that fundamental consciousness is not just a consciousness, but also a loving consciousness, that it desires love and companionship, that it desires an *other*. That the fundamental birthing of the universe comes out of the desire for connection with an other. So the tilt of the universe is toward making loving connection more and more possible.

BH: That sounds perfectly consistent, and that loving desire can also give rise to the desire to create. You create an other so that you can then be united with an experience of the other.

TIKKUN: But is it ever really an other if it's part of the same?

BH: That's the trick. You can never *really* be an other but you can sort of act as if you are another. I think that's why we come into life not knowing what we really are, because if we knew what we really are it wouldn't be other anymore.

TIKKUN: Part of the essence of God is freedom and self-consciousness. To have an other is to create a space in which the other can be and that means allowing it freedom. So, imparting it with the freedom to move whichever direction it chooses is what is necessary in order to actually have love, because love requires a freely choosing other.

BH: In fact, this is where evolution enters in. In this view you want evolution to take place. If you had intelligent design you would have God stamping out cookie-cutter creatures and that would be making an other that isn't really an other. If you let evolution take place, you have freedom, then you get a real other, so this view is even more compatible with science.

TIKKUN: Now then the evolution of the universe may be a self-choosing of the universe—in other words, there is more freedom in the process of evolution than if there is a designer who is standing there at each stage saying, “Let the carbon divide into this and that.” It may be that the designer, at least at a certain stage, is letting go of the process and saying, “Ok, I’ve created enough here.” So that it is now in a position that it can evolve itself and choose its own direction, having already set in place that its direction will move towards some greater levels of consciousness, and that it will tilt toward love. For example, if you have a child, at a certain point, whatever that point is, you decide that more good will come for your child if you let that child be free than if you tell it what to do and try to shape its circumstances totally, even if shaping those circumstances totally will allow you greater control and will allow you to be sure the outcome you get is the one you really want. This undermines exactly what I want, which is a freely choosing being to choose to love.

BH: I’m not disagreeing with you. I am arguing that these fundamental rules are sort of boundary conditions. You have to have a certain set of boundary conditions to create the space in which things happen. So you have to set some of the fundamental rules of the laws of physics. I think these rules were set with the thought in mind of having freely choosing beings arise.

TIKKUN: So, do you believe that the laws of physics are eternal?

BH: Well I think the laws of physics go with our particular universe. There may be many other universes, and their laws of physics may be totally different—there may not be such realities as space and time in those universes, so we can't even comprehend them. But I think the laws of physics pretty much eternal for our universe.

TIKKUN: What's our argument for that? Is that a belief statement, or is it something for which we have evidence, where we can look at something from 10,000 years ago and say, “Here's the evidence that the laws of physics were operating in exactly the same way?” And, does eternal mean static?

BH: Once in a while you find articles that talk about the possible variations, for example most recently people talked about the possible variation of the quantum structure constant, a pretty technical aspect of physics, but that was never conclusive. To answer your question, we look at the spectra of distant galaxies and quasars and find that indeed, they have the same signature elements that you would expect in the right place. So this spectroscopic evidence from distant objects lets you infer that the laws have been the same at least for 13 billion years or so.

Now, what's interesting is that in the last twenty years, thousands of physicists have dedicated their time to the study of String Theory and Membrane Theory. And in those theories you have to postulate additional dimensions. It's in the mathematics that instead of having four dimensions of space and time—because we live in a four dimensional world, three of space and one of time—you need either a ten or eleven, or twenty-six dimensional space to make the mathematics work. So we take seriously the idea that there are additional dimensions. Most of the time they are thought of as kind of like rolled-up dimensions. They're not really the same as ours, but they're tiny dimensions.

So these scientists talk as if our universe is part of a greater ten, eleven, or twenty-six dimensional space in which universes may exist side by side with each other. That's mainstream, conventional String Theory. So, the notion that there are other universes, or at least the possibility of other universes, and the possibility of fundamentally different properties within them is built into String Theory, which has been the focus of particle physics for the last twenty years.

TIKKUN: What do you think a physicist would say in argument against your book? What would be their best shot?

BH: Well, I think that without realizing it, they would go back to God and say, "I hate the thought of God, God has been disproved; therefore, we've shown that we can explain why our universe is special by invoking an ensemble of universes—that's a perfectly rational explanation, why would you want to go back and invoke this medieval ancient idea called God?" And that's what it would consist of. There is no logical argument against what I'm saying because we are in an area beyond evidence and beyond proof. We're sort of asking, "What came before the Big Bang?" And there's not one shred of evidence that either side can point to.

TIKKUN: So, you're saying that they have a faith conviction against God, and from that faith conviction they then say, "The reason we have a faith conviction against God is because we simply don't believe that there is anything in the universe that can't be measured or subjected to empirical observation."

BH: Yes, that's right.

TIKKUN: In my book *The Left Hand of God* I argued against that empiricist hypothesis—which I see as just another religious conviction. I want those who move beyond science to understand that all reality is governed by the same principles—a move that I call scientism—to recognize that they are really on the same ground as any other religion.

BH: That's right. Unfortunately, they're not very tolerant. I say "they" and I feel funny about that, because I've been practicing science myself for thirty years.

TIKKUN: So, that's all they could say?

BH: You know, I think so. As I said, there's no evidence that points one way or another, the most they can say is that it's an unnecessary hypothesis. However, built into that argument is the idea that there must have been pre-existing laws of some kind because if you're going to invoke a quantum fluctuation as the basis of the universe then you have to ask, why do quantum fluctuations happen? Because there are quantum laws. Well, where do they come from? So you have to take that as a given.

Neither a reductionist,
materialist science,
nor a fundamentalist
religious path can help
humanity face the
tasks confronting us.

TIKKUN: So they would just invoke Ockham's razor and say that we should stay within the sphere of those things for which we have empirical evidence and not add any new hypothesis that we don't need.

BH: What is getting discounted in that dismissal is that consciousness is not going to fit into that materialistic kind of explanation.

TIKKUN: Their answer would be, "Yeah, I'm not going to deny that there are these experiences that you might have had on a drug or you might have had because you're tuned into some aspect of the world that I'm not tuned into, because I know that there are all kinds of things happening right in this room that if I just had the appropriate receivers for, I'd be receiving them. It's just that when we finally *can* explore them, we will explore them through the mechanisms of observation and measurement and so forth and they will eventually be accountable for in the same laws of the universe that everything else has been. We'll be able to find whatever it is about the physical nature of the universe that makes that possible."

BH: And I would say to them, "Fine, your position is perfectly logical and plausible. I'm not going to try and argue that away, all I want to do is have some respect and tolerance for the other view that there is more to it than that. You have *not* proven that there is *not* more to it than that. You're speculating that in the future everything will be brought into this scientific rubric, but that's as equally a speculative thing as what I'm saying. So I'm just trying to argue for space for the other side. And for a tolerance you rarely find among the more dogmatic secularists."

TIKKUN: Why do they find it so hard to credit an alternative position?

BH: If you're a physicist, you probably wound up maturing in a community that believes, "This empirical research is what we do, and that research will eventually explain everything that needs to be explained." That is the ruling paradigmatic belief and so you sort of assimilate that. And science has been really successful, there's no denying that, and it's easy to extrapolate that success into explaining everything. You always want to believe that what you're doing is the most important thing so you look at your field and say, "We're smart people, we've explained so much," and then you add to that the religious baggage from over the years: the Catholic Church and the inquisition and the persecution of science and the nuttiness going on in the Middle East and some in the Islamic world wanting to take us back to the eighth century, and you conclude "I want nothing to do with religion, it's the worst thing that has ever happened to mankind."

TIKKUN: So that's the culture. And there's no place in the scientific education or training where people are asked to deal with the fact that science has equally been used to generate weapons of mass destruction and create the technology to destroy the planet. And that medicine isn't solving all of our problems, that we're still only focused on end-of-the-line solutions.

BH: That's right. Also there is a big problem with the scientific world in that it is nihilistic and destructive. If you really take it to heart, the scientific, materialist, reductionist perspective removes any real purpose from our lives. I mean, you live a good life for what you do for your friends and your family and your neighbors and so on, but ultimately it's pointless.

TIKKUN: Are there parts of the books that you think a general intellectual audience ought to hear about that I haven't asked about yet.

BH: Yes, here's an interesting thing that is somewhat a bit of evidence that this universal consciousness is something that we tap into. This goes back to something that Aldous Huxley wrote in the 1950s when he wrote a book called *The Doors of Perception* that talked about an experience he had with mescaline in the 1950s. He took it deliberately to

try and understand what another reality might feel like, and being a very articulate writer, he describes his experience with mescaline, but he couldn't really describe it. He said he thought he might be able to interpret this as being like a crack in the filter into the brain. So, rather than assuming that the brain is the source of consciousness, assume the brain is the filter of consciousness, that really there is an infinite universal consciousness and what we experience in our everyday lives is just a tiny little part of that because our brain filters out everything else because we couldn't survive if we had a universal consciousness—we couldn't survive in this limited realm. So the brain is actually a filter, this is my hypothesis. And his mescaline experience cracked the filter a little bit and things flowed in. I think there is a consciousness that we can tune into by retuning the filter or cracking the filter.

TIKKUN: What is *your* belief in God?

BH: I guess I do picture some entity that has no properties that I'm familiar with, not space, not time, not matter, an absolutely infinite entity that wants to know itself and has ideas. And those ideas become the basis of universes, like ours, and perhaps like many others. The objective of the universe is to provide a space for that being to experience that subset of ideas that went into that universe. You can't experience infinity all at once—you have to experience parts of it at a time. So, the point of all this creation is to give that intelligence a place to embody itself and experience part of its ability.

TIKKUN: What about the idea that God is evolving?

BH: I guess I would say that that makes sense, because that's what we're doing here; we're evolving some of God's potential into new experiential creations.

TIKKUN: By the very conversation we're having. Exactly. That's why we would say we're doing Torah at this very moment. Now, what would you say about different theories of consciousness and how your theory differs?

BH: What I argue in the book is that it makes sense to consider the possibility that it's not that consciousness arises somehow out of matter, but that somehow consciousness is the basis of the physical universe. That the matter energy that makes up the physical universe somehow derived from the consciousness.

TIKKUN: What do you mean *somehow*? Why not say that matter and the consciousness have existed forever rather than saying that the consciousness exists and *somehow* creates matter?

BH: Because I would say that the matter has not existed forever because we know that the Big Bang took place 13.7 billion years ago. So that was the beginning of matter and energy, as we know it.

TIKKUN: But this Big Bang came from something, what banged?

BH: I would say it was the idea of the consciousness.

TIKKUN: And for those who would say that consciousness is epiphenomena that just arises in certain circumstances you would say, "no, it's the primary phenomena, matter is what arises under certain circumstances." We don't know what those circumstances are. When is it that consciousness gives rise to matter? Or, on your account, why wouldn't consciousness create other consciousnesses and not other embodied consciousness unless it itself was already embodied?

BH: I guess I don't see how consciousness could create other consciousnesses because it's operating at the same level—how could it have that ability? It's like me operating on some device—the device is subordinate to me therefore I can operate on it. In that same way I would see consciousness as able to operate on the world of matter and energy but not on itself.

TIKKUN: And how could anything else that this consciousness creates be anything separate if it's creating it?

BH: I would assume that whatever its infinite intelligence is it could splinter itself into little consciousnesses that could then enter into the art form of universes and hosts.

TIKKUN: Why does it need hosts?

BH: To have experience. Experience and ideas are two different things. It's the difference between understanding the rules of the game and playing the game.

TIKKUN: In the best possible world, what would you hope comes from this book?

BH: What I really want to do is offer some new ideas for society. I wrote this book as a sort of public service. We face a huge problem today because religion has caused a huge amount of problems in the world and is still causing problems today. Therefore, smart people in the sciences and humanities hate religion for the problems it's caused and therefore throw out spirituality as well because they can't differentiate between the two. So then we're heading down a very reductionist, materialist path on the one hand, and a fundamentalist religious path on the other, and we are heading for disaster. I want to point out that you don't need either one of those sides, that down the middle there is a perfectly logical worldview that is compatible with science and that we ought to take seriously.

TIKKUN: How do you see this relating to the project of spiritual progressives that is put forth in *The Left Hand of God*?

BH: It addresses the metaphysical side of the argument. We want to bring into the same political tent people who are very scientific and either agnostic or atheistic, but who politically have progressive ideas about making the world a better place, very humanistic. In that tent you also want to have the people who are looking for a purpose in life and who don't buy the claims that the universe is without purpose. My book offers the metaphysics that can persuade scientists to open their mind to see that they don't have to give up anything scientific in order to take the notion of God seriously, and for those looking for something truly spiritual, they can have that while still being scientific in their beliefs. I see my book as providing the metaphysics for the same group of people that Rabbi Lerner is trying to put under that liberal tent in the Network of Spiritual Progressives.

TIKKUN: Any last things you want to add?

BH: I guess I'd like to advise religious people that they should try not to humanize God too much. God is not what most religions teach God to be, God is not some entity within the universe, because then who made the universe? God is not some entity in space and time, because then who made space and time? God is none of these things that religions tend to interpret God as, which means also that you don't have a heaven in the way that most religions teach. So my message to most people who are the product of a religious upbringing is, "Rethink God, put God in a bigger context that doesn't conflict with science. Don't try to limit God to some entity that couldn't exist if science were correct, that would be incompatible with evolution for example. Broaden your view of God."

TIKKUN: What message would you have for Christians who see God as Jesus?

BH: I have one single quote out of John, where Jesus says, "In all truth I tell you, whoever believes in me will perform the same works that I do myself, and will perform even greater works." To me this implies that Jesus was God incarnate, but so are we all. He may have been a very advanced incarnation of God, but he says it here himself, we can do greater things still. To me this implies that we can be as great as Jesus and greater still. Therefore, Christians, nothing I'm saying in this book contradicts Christianity. ■

A Future for Holocaust Commemoration

BY LAURA DUHAN KAPLAN

In the Presence of Survivors

THE FRENCH-LITHUANIAN JEWISH philosopher Emmanuel Levinas describes the core of ethical experience as one of confrontation: the face of one in need appears before us and calls us to respond. In his writing on the Holocaust, Levinas focuses on the ethical failure of perpetrators to recognize the face of the Other. In his essay "The Name of a Dog, or Natural Rights," Levinas tells of the failure of prisoner of war camp guards to recognize him and his fellow prisoners as human beings—something even a stray dog in the camp did not fail to do. In his lecture "Toward the Other," Levinas attributes this unforgivable moral failure to the late German philosopher Martin Heidegger.

Holocaust Remembrance Day rituals consist mainly of responses to a face. Typically, groups gather in the disturbing presence of one who suffered things they hope they will never even be able to imagine. They listen to a Holocaust survivor speak about his or her experiences. They watch the face of the speaker. The speaker's story of suffering moves the listeners to want to respond. Thus they respond with strong emotion rather than with pure intellectual analysis. They may even be awed that the speaker has the courage to remember, and find themselves pledging to honor the



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speaker by remembering as well.

This method of remembering the Holocaust cannot go on indefinitely. The generations that lived through World War II are beginning to perish. The method can continue, perhaps, for one more generation, as those who were raised by survivors re-tell the stories they heard from their elders and describe their own experiences as children of survivors. But, when this generation passes on, how will Holocaust Remembrance Day evoke a sense of connection to this historical event?

Commemoration and Communities

WHEN I SPEAK OF COMMEMORATION, I have in mind remembering in a community, as a shared project. Commemorating does not require rehearsing historical events in excruciating detail, or the attempt to relive (or to cause others to relive) painful emotions. Instead, it is the practice of advancing certain values through symbolic reenactment of specific events. The aim of advancing these values is to create commitment to shared identities and communal projects.

In his book *The Ethics of Memory*, Israeli philosopher Avishai Margalit distinguishes between an ethical community and a moral community. An ethical community is given life by its ethos. Shared experiences, common memories, and bonds of feeling unite such a community. Families and close-knit ethnic enclaves are examples of ethical communities. The Jewish people — diverse as it is, and contested as its boundaries are — is an example of an ethical community.

A moral community shares mores. United by the fact of being human, members share an understanding of what constitutes decent behavior toward fellow human beings. They affirm a bare minimum of common values that make possible our co-existence on this planet. The entire human race is an example of a moral community.

The ethical community of the Jewish people and the moral community of humanity at large may have different reasons for remembering the series of events we now call the Holocaust. Many voices from the moral community of humanity have committed themselves to the project of standing guard against genocide. If groups cannot live without fear of genocide, then they cannot live in security. Without security, peace cannot exist.

Jews are a part of the moral community of humanity uniting against genocide. In this role, we have engaged in various kinds of remembering: working with international bodies to identify and bring to trial those who led atrocities, writing histories that attempt to understand how a continent could bring itself to mobilize against genocide, and publicizing the deeds of those who resisted being drawn in to the genocidal machine.

As members of an ethical community, however, Jews have very different reasons for remembering the Holocaust. We remember it as a set of personal losses. Many of us can list as victims the family members we never knew, but watched our own relatives mourn for. Many of us can tell the war stories we heard from our parents, and some of us are the parents telling the stories. Any one of us can mourn the destruction of our great, diverse, vibrant, intellectual, artistic, political, European Jewish culture, as we contemplate the shrinking possibilities for diversity in contemporary Jewish life. In this mode, we remember the Holocaust because it has so deeply affected our way of being in the world, our sense of personal and collective identity as family members and as Jews. Although we can appreciate the very significant acts of atonement performed by postwar Germany, these acts cannot erase our need as an ethical community for remembering this loss.

Models of History and Models of Commemoration

YOM HASHOAH (HOLOCAUST REMEMBRANCE DAY) is one part of a month-long series of new holidays created since Israel's founding in 1948. Many liberal, secular, and Zionist Jews embrace Yom HaShoah with passion. They acknowledge the historical

reality that the devastation of the European Jewish community led world leaders to recognize the State of Israel. They believe it is appropriate to mourn the losses involved in establishing the State before celebrating its birth on *Yom Ha'atzma'ut*, Israel Independence Day, that same month. These Jews do not see the Holocaust as a node in a repeating pattern of Jewish suffering. For them, it is a unique historical event, part of a unique chain of historical events, and deserves its own special commemoration rituals.

Some Orthodox Jews, however, object to Yom HaShoah. Some of those who object are conservative and therefore do not accept the authority of modern innovators to create new holidays. Others are uncomfortable with the State of Israel instituting holidays because it was founded primarily by secular, rather than religious, Zionists. Others see the Holocaust as part of a repeating historical pattern of Jewish oppression and believe that the existing rituals of collective mourning are sufficient. In particular, they wish to mourn for the losses of the Holocaust on *Tisha B'Av*, the ninth day of the Jewish month of Av.

Tisha B'Av falls near the summer solstice, but unlike many other Jewish holidays, it is not spoken of as a seasonal holiday. The sense of mourning created on this day is given an entirely historical interpretation. The ninth of Av is the day on which the First Holy Temple, along with the rest of the city of Jerusalem, fell to the Babylonians in 586 BCE. Further, the ninth of Av is the day on which the Second Holy Temple, along with the rest of the city of Jerusalem, fell to the Romans in 70 CE. The ninth of Av is also the day on which the fortress of Betar fell to the Romans during the revolt of Bar Kochba in 135 CE, and it is the day that marks the expulsion of the Jews from Spain in 1492. We know from documents widely available that it is the day on which the Great Deportation of 350,000 Jews from the Warsaw Ghetto to Treblinka and other death camps began. And, depending upon the fate of the state of Israel, it may be remembered as the day before the evacuation of the Gaza Strip.

The rituals of *Tisha B'Av* include a twenty-five hour fast and small communal gatherings on the eve as well as the morning of the holiday. At these gatherings a mournful mood is set with low lighting, the use of special mournful tunes for familiar prayers, and the absence of refreshments or a communal meal. The biblical *Book of Lamentations* is read aloud. A carefully edited compilation of poetic laments from different authorial hands, *Lamentations* takes the reader through a winding maze of painful descriptions, political, cultural, and personal devastation; sadness; humiliation; guilt; a desperate will to survive; desire for revenge; hope; and profound questions about the role of God in a violent world.

Given the powerful themes of the *Book of Lamentations*, it is easy to see why many Jews feel that it speaks to a variety of historical tragedies beyond the one about which it was composed. Thus, the liturgy of *Tisha B'Av* has grown over the centuries to surround the reading of the *Book of Lamentations* with *kinot*—Hebrew for poetic laments and dirges—that mourn other historical losses. These include early medieval poems about the Roman conquest of Judea, as well as the murder of several Jewish communities at the hands of rioting mobs during the Crusades. In recent years, poems in memory of the six million lost in the Holocaust have been added—in sources that represent the poles of contemporary Judaism, including, at one end, prayer books produced by the Jewish Reconstructionist Federation, and, at the other end, prayer books produced by the Artscroll *Mesorah* (Tradition) Foundation. In a sense, these *kinot* are viewed as comments on, or extensions of, the content of the *Book of Lamentations*, and they help create the mood that helps the *Book of Lamentations* come alive with contemporary meaning year after year.

Folding Holocaust commemoration into *Tisha B'Av* accomplishes several good aims. It keeps the meaning of *Tisha B'Av* current, and it makes use of a ritual

Jews are a part of the moral community of humanity uniting against genocide. In this role, we have worked to identify and bring to trial those who led atrocities.

Many Jews define the Holocaust as part of a divinely ordained pattern of Jewish suffering.

structure that has evolved over centuries to create a moving ceremony. However, folding Holocaust commemoration into Tisha B'Av limits possibilities for understanding and remembering the Holocaust because the practice is based on a view of Jewish history as cyclical, rather than as one that can advance into new experiences and forms. Such a view is not only pessimistic, but is based on an early medieval view of Jewish history that offers limited tools for understanding new historical situations.

Further, the practice of folding Holocaust commemoration into Tisha B'Av appropriates Holocaust remembering as a strictly ethical exercise. By defining the Holocaust as yet another attack on the Jews, the Holocaust is linked with an exclusively Jewish sense of being in the world, in which the Nazi genocide is part of a divinely ordained pattern of Jewish suffering. This is not compatible with the idealistic moral view that genocide ought to be both unthinkable and incomprehensible. And, consequently, it denies the fact that the Holocaust is an event of universal moral significance that affects humanity as a whole – not just the Jewish people.

Literature, Ritual, and their Challenges

IT MIGHT BE POSSIBLE TO take what is most effective about Tisha B'Av and use it to create a Yom HaShoah commemoration for the future. Tisha B'Av could continue to be a holiday where we mourn a growing set of events that fit a particular pattern of Jewish history, and Yom HaShoah could continue to stand on its own. Yom HaShoah observances could include the rituals that build ethical ties, yet emphasize the universal themes that speak to a moral community.

A first step in doing so would be to create a central piece of literature. This could be a "Book of the Shoah" that takes the form of an edited compilation of excerpts from great Holocaust literature. The sources could come from a variety of writers coming from different positions: Jewish victim, non-Jewish victim, non-Jewish rescuer, Jewish or non-Jewish resistance fighter, repentant child of perpetrators, curious child of silent survivors, etc. The emotional topics could be diverse, ranging from brutality to

helplessness, to heroism, to guilt, anger, sadness, and incomprehension. The finished "Book of the Shoah" would be short enough to read aloud in about half an hour. It would tell a coherent, yet multifaceted, emotional and historical story. It would confront listeners with voices from the Holocaust so that they would be moved to respond by a confrontation with a "face" in the Levinasian sense. If this project were undertaken right now, the result would likely not be the final form of the Book. Survivors and their offspring are still writing Holocaust memoirs, personal essays, novels, and poems. Even when such works are no longer being produced, it will take some time for a canon of the most compelling and most enduring works to emerge.

A second step might be to create appropriate group rituals surrounding the reading. They could be patterns of group movement, such as walking in a procession towards a goal or standing in concentric circles of unity; they could be songs sung in different languages by different composers. They could involve symbolic foods, such as the eating of a fruit that is mostly inedible and thus mostly wasted, followed by a resolution not to waste human life. Or, on a more hopeful note, something like an artichoke could be eaten, for which we remove the barbs to find the good at the center.

Such observances might turn out not to be popular over time. First of all, it would be difficult for the world moral community to sustain enthusiasm for an international commemoration once those personally involved and their offspring have passed away.

Second, Jews might not support the lending of the ethical memory to the world moral community. We have long debated among ourselves whether we are in fact outsiders to an imagined world community, and whether we ought to consciously position ourselves as such. The Biblical prophets Isaiah and Micah, for example, hoped

that the Jews' fall harvest holiday of *Sukkot* would be reinterpreted as an international holiday of peace and interfaith cooperation. In our time, Arthur Waskow is working to revive this hope by encouraging interfaith events during *Sukkot* (the Jewish harvest holiday). But the popularity of such practices is limited by the ambivalences Jews have about their status as world citizens.

Third, this model of a commemoration ceremony is based upon a certain cultural style of commemoration. It draws upon one particular Jewish conception of history, and upon one view of what constitutes a communal voice. Its elements – literature, poetry, and rituals involving light, food, and movement – are practices familiar to modern Jews. Perhaps, for a ceremony to have international appeal, it must draw on elements familiar to a variety of cultures. Perhaps no single model can work for all times and places. If so, the first goal would simply be to secure an agreement that commemoration is important for ethical and moral reasons.

Doubts notwithstanding, there is time and space for many experiments, and for many different conclusions. Clearly, now is the time to begin experimenting, so that we can remember – even after those who have carried the burden of constant face-to-face retelling are laid to rest. ■

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Praying to Pray with My Feet

MARGIE KLEIN

LAST NOVEMBER, A MONTH AFTER I left environmental organizing to pursue rabbinical school, the Senate voted to pass a budget bill that included authorization for oil drilling in the Arctic National Wildlife Refuge. This news was particularly disturbing to me after working on the issue for over a year, traveling through Michigan with members of the Gwitchin Nation, a Native American tribe that vehemently opposes drilling and sees it as a threat to their way of life. I hardly knew how to process the news. But I had to leave for morning services, so I drove to school.

At *davening*, I alternately felt numb and miserable. It didn't make sense, but I

somehow felt like if I hadn't decided to go to rabbinical school and had instead kept organizing, I could have helped block the drilling in the Arctic National Wildlife Refuge. When it came time for the *Amidah*, I placed my *tallis* over my head and began to pray.

At first I said the prescribed words of the *siddur*. But when I arrived at the *Elohai Nitzur* prayer where I usually add in my own prayers, I started to cry out to God. With all my heart, I begged God to help save the Arctic, to stand with the Gwitchin people I'd promised to help, to have faith in everyone who had worked tirelessly to save America's last great wilderness. I called out to God, apologizing for not having done more, for sometimes forgetting about the work of protecting God's creation because I was so busy with the day-to-day details of my life. "Please, God," I prayed, "please let the words of my mouth and the meditations of my heart be acceptable to you."

By the time I finished my *Amidah*, everyone else had already moved on in the service. I wiped off my face, exhausted and a little confused. What had just happened to me and what did it mean? Who was I talking to? How could I pray so fervently when I usually don't believe that God has the power to intervene?

Unfortunately, I got swept up in my school day before I had a chance to confront those questions. First there was a Hebrew quiz, then an intense study session on the rules of *Rosh Chodesh*, both of which felt somewhat irrelevant in the face of the environmental disaster I saw looming ahead. Unexpectedly, when I returned home, I felt a sense of calm and clarity about what I needed to do. Rather than mourn the state of our country, beat my breast for leaving the organizing world, or slog through homework, I sat and wrote an op-ed piece about the Arctic Refuge from a religious perspective, and sent it to newspapers in key swing states where the Jewish vote mattered. My op-ed ended up getting published in ten papers. When Arctic drilling was stricken from the budget bill two weeks later, I cried again, thanking God for answering my prayers.

This and other similar experiences have led me to reflect on what happens when I pray. My rational self doesn't believe that God will answer my prayers, and yet there I had been, begging, pleading, and pouring forth my gratitude.

This experience impels me to ask the following questions: What am I hoping will happen when I pray? What constitutes an answer to my prayers? Who is the "You" to whom I'm praying? Why pray?

Prayer Hopes

WHEN I PRAY, SOMETIMES I wish for divine intervention and special prophetic powers, but I don't pray because I'm certain that prayer causes God to change history. I pray because I believe there is something inside of me—and every other human being—that is holy, and that the holiness in me is connected to what is holy in everything else. I pray because I believe that longing for a better world helps enliven the holy part of me that can bring that world closer. I pray because celebrating what is right in the world gives me joy and strength to keep working.

Answered Prayers?

AN ANSWER TO MY PRAYER is the ability to live a "prayerful life," in which my actions honor my relationship with creation. I felt full and blessed at having been able to write my op-ed because my own sorrow and longing had been turned into purposeful action. For a few moments during prayer, I felt connected to the problems unfolding in another corner of the world. It was empowering to feel related to the Gwitchin Nation, to share in their pride and their pain. That moment of connection gave me the power to act.

It is hard to describe what gave me this strength. Meditating on my connection to the situation gave me a feeling of responsibility and urgency to get involved. Praying provided me with a sense of humility, and an understanding that all I could do was to help as best I could in my own personal way. Prayer helped me to realize that I am human. By

embracing my own limitations, I could act in a way that God would want.

When I prayed in gratitude after the Arctic Refuge was saved (at least for now), I did not believe in a causal connection between my prayer and the Senate's change of heart. Whether or not my op-ed was a factor in any senator's decision, I felt rewarded in being able to use my knowledge of Judaism and environmental issues to speak out passionately for what I believe is right.

What do I think happens when I pray?

WHEN I PRAY, I DIRECT my prayers to "the force that animates all life," which I call God. My teacher Rabbi Art Green talks about God as the Oneness and as the infinite diversity of all created things in dynamic relationship with one another. I am not sure whether I believe this God has a will, or, if God does, whether humanity is able to understand this will, and is able to influence it through prayer. But I do know that I have had powerful experiences in moments of deep connection with loved ones, singing in harmony in community, or gathering together at a social justice rally, where I've felt a presence connecting myself with everything around me.

To paraphrase the Reverend Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., I cannot be who I ought to be until you are who you ought to be. If I believe I am part of the One, I cannot tolerate suffering as if I am isolated from it. I believe that to worship God, I need to understand that I have a stake in every other created thing. I am part of the human community and the greater community of life. Any suffering is an affront to the dignity of the whole.

As Rabbi Abraham Joshua Heschel wrote, "Prayer is meaningless unless it is subversive, unless it seeks to overthrow and to ruin the pyramids of callousness, hatred, opportunism, falsehoods." When, through prayer, I meditate on God as the force that connects all life, I am inspired to honor God by striving for justice, compassion, understanding. Prayer helps me experience the world as One, which leads me to want to eliminate the inequalities and barriers that separate us. Prayer helps give me the compassion to reach out and feel for others. Prayer inspires me to strive for understanding, so that I can act according to the values I most deeply believe to be true. It helps me to retain a sense of wonder at the "big picture" and not get sidetracked by false gods and false values.

Praying enlivens my own will to act in accordance with God. In Hasidic terms, my prayer, and what I'm praying for, is *dveikut*, cleaving to the divine. My prayer brings me into closer connection with the rest of the world, and my prayer expresses the hope that my actions will help make the world more connected. Cleaving to God helps me transcend my ego in order to act in a way that honors my relationship with the rest of the world. In that moment of humility and powerlessness, I am able to shed preconceived ideas of how I'm supposed to act and react, and to open myself up to guidance beyond myself.

Though my most powerful prayer experiences have been spontaneous and social-action-oriented, I have a similar approach to both traditional prayers and prayers unrelated to social action. When I go through the *Amidah* and get to the *Chonen Hadaat* prayer, I pray in order to enliven the part of myself that has the capacity for learning and wisdom. When I pray for healing, I pray in order to bring forth my own power to heal and to comfort. When I pray privately that I will find the right person to share my life with, I pray in order to help myself be open to love and commitment. In each case, I pray to the holy part of myself that can help me to live a holy life, a life that honors the interconnectedness of all creation.

Relating to God

INTELLECTUALLY, I AM SKEPTICAL THAT there is an external God that can respond to my prayer. Instead, I pray more to reach that point within myself that is beyond

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myself—that part of myself that is unselfish, relational, filled with wonder, Godly. Nevertheless, when I'm standing brokenhearted and begging for help, I am praying to an Other, making the most of the language of God as Thou, as father, mother, lover, King. The course of my prayer life is poised between my rational beliefs on the one side and the I-Thou language that moves me on the other. I believe that the divinity within me—or the outer divinity that I find so hard to sense—is forgiving enough to accept this internal conflict.

Praying as a Jew

ALTHOUGH ANYONE COULD ADOPT this theology, I pray my prayers as a Jew. I am still exploring what this means to me, given that many of my most powerful prayer experiences actually happen in interfaith contexts. At a minimum, the Jewish tradition is the language and form that has shaped my faith, and the vehicle through which I'm comfortable relating to God. Whether or not I believe in the liturgy or agree with its theology, like a child needing to hear a favorite bedtime story, the Jewish prayer service helps get me to a place where I can begin to speak to God. But maybe more than that, the sense of Oneness, and the corresponding responsibility that Oneness implies—these are at the core of my Jewish experience. In becoming a Jewish leader, I pray for the strength and wisdom to help others pray to lead Godly lives and act in Godly ways. ■

Margie Klein is a rabbinical student at Hebrew College, and is founder and director of Moishe House Boston: Kavod Jewish Social Justice House. In the fall of '07, Klein is coming out with her first book, Righteous Indignation: A Jewish Call to Justice, which she is co-editing with former Tikkun editor Joellen Green Kaiser and Contributing Editor Rabbi Or Rose.

Praying with YOUR feet

Notice that when Abraham Joshua Heschel prayed with his feet, it was in the context of an interfaith civil rights movement led by Rev. Martin Luther King, Jr. and other religious and spiritual people that included secular non-religious people as well.

**We are rebuilding that movement.
It's called The Network of Spiritual Progressives.
We invite you to join us.**

FIRST ACTIVITY: building support for a Global Marshall Plan to end once and for all global and domestic poverty, homelessness, inadequate education, inadequate health care, and to repair the global environment.

You can read some of the details in this issue of Tikkun (pages 7-17). We are launching this campaign on Generosity Weekend, April 13-15 by asking mosques, synagogues and churches to use that weekend to discuss the Global Marshall Plan and to focus on our central contention: that real homeland security will come when we switch the dominant paradigm from a view of security based on "power over others" and militarism to a paradigm that recognizes security as best achieved through generosity and caring for others. Please help us organize such an event or a city-wide teach-in including secular as well as religious voices!

Join us—at www.spiritualprogressives.org

Conservative Judaism

Good for the Gays?

BY JAY MICHAELSON

IN THE GAY JEWISH COMMUNITY few people are breaking out the champagne over the Conservative movement's long-expected split decision on homosexuality this past December. It was, the conventional wisdom goes, a positive step—nothing more. Unlike most activists, though, I'd go so far as to say that it's better than an all-out "victory" would've been.

To review the facts: the Conservative movement's Committee on Jewish Law and Standards (CJLS) is a twenty-five-member body that decides *halacha* (Jewish law) for the movement. In most cases they issue one opinion that is, theoretically, binding upon the movement's adherents. However, in controversial cases, it's not uncommon for multiple opinions to be issued, leaving it to rabbis and institutional leaders to choose which they will adopt for their community. In this case, six opinions were issued, three of which received enough votes to pass: a compromise by Rabbis Elliot Dorff, Daniel Nevins (recently named as the new dean of the Jewish Theological Seminary rabbinical school), and Avram Reisner; a restatement by Rabbi Joel Roth of his earlier view that all same-sex activity is forbidden by halacha; and a somewhat perplexing opinion by Rabbi Leonard Levy urging the social acceptance of gay people, while arguing that some of them could change their sexuality if they wanted to.

Rabbi Dorff's opinion received the most attention, and justifiably so, as it is the first opinion in the Conservative movement to hold that some same-sex activity is permissible. It argues that while Leviticus 18:22 does indeed prohibit anal sex between men, that the Biblical prohibition extends no further, and that later, rabbinic extensions of the law may be changed in the name of human dignity. Moreover, just as we don't ask when women are menstruating (during which sex is forbidden under the Jewish "family purity laws" contained in the same portion of Leviticus), we don't ask exactly what gay men are doing behind closed doors. Thus, since we *presume* they are following halacha (and leave it to God to decide if they aren't), acceptance of gays, ordination of gays and lesbians, and even celebration of same-sex relationships are all permissible.



Homophobia, far more than Jewish law, influences why prejudice endures in the Jewish community today.

What gay activists really wanted was a ratification of Rabbi Gordon Tucker's opinion, which basically holds that when we apply our moral conscience to the sacred text, we find that it can't possibly mean to bar people from being who they are. Nowhere in Jewish law is such a repressive regime advocated, Tucker argued, and so we must be reading the verse incorrectly here. We may not know what the verse means, the reasoning goes, but we know it can't mean this. (Another, more permissive opinion by Rabbis Myron Geller, Robert Fine, and David Fine, would also empty Leviticus 18:22 of meaning on the grounds that the Biblical prohibition only applied when same-sex relationships could not be sanctified by matrimony.)

Some have argued that Dorff's "don't ask, don't tell" interpretation of the law is insufficient: after all, it still leaves a constituent element of gay relationships taboo, and requires potential rabbis to be less than fully truthful about their lives. But in the context of Conservative Judaism, I actually prefer the Dorff compromise tactically, if not personally or spiritually, for at least three reasons.

First, for those with a stake in the Conservative Judaism being a halachic movement, Tucker's reasoning could be very troubling. Yes, there is the occasional precedent, as Judith Hauptman has argued persuasively, for rabbis uprooting a rule of Torah, or effectively reading it out of existence, but not since the Talmudic period. To do so now would change the meaning of halacha within the Conservative movement; we in the gay community would be open to the charge that homosexuality and halacha, as traditionally conceived, don't go together.

Second, in explaining the current ruling to the press, I've often explained it as saying "the verse means one thing, instead of a lot of things." That's very different, and I think much more moderate, than "the verse is basically meaningless." It means we didn't have to make a massive change, and it leaves the verse with its plain meaning intact. It's also much more Jewish; we're using a textual strategy to get to where our conscience needs to go. It maintains the divinity of the Torah, and says that, all along, it's not God who hated fags—it's (straight, male) rabbis interpreting the text who didn't know any better.

Finally, the fact that this is a compromise means that every "side" comes away with something. Mine got a ruling that will let gays into rabbinical school, and theirs got a ban on at least some (male) homosexual activity. Usually, when no one's completely happy, it means that an effective compromise has been reached, and while I know that many in the anti-gay camp—including the four rabbis who resigned from the committee in the wake of the decisions—view this as a radical departure from halacha, the fact that it's a compromise is vital for building consensus.

To be sure, there are many things I wish had gone differently. I wish that lesbianism and male homosexuality had been treated halachically (where they are totally separate issues) rather than in contemporary terms (where they are lumped together). I wish that Rabbi Roth and his colleagues had followed their own advice from twenty years ago, when they excoriated those who left the Conservative movement over the ordination of women. And, while Roth's opinion in 2006 is far more nuanced and carefully argued than his earlier one, I wish he would have allowed the real-world consequences of this debate to influence his legal methodology, which is much more conservative-with-a-small-c here than in many of his other rulings.

Truthfully, not many Conservative Jews, gay or straight, really care what the CJLS says, and as even the "anti-gay" opinions recognized, homophobia far outweighs halacha in terms of why prejudice endures in the Jewish community today. But there is real significance to the Dorff opinion, because it says something very simple, but very important: that being gay is okay with God. Perhaps that's not earth shattering to most *Tikkun* readers, but to some religious kid out there, it just might be. ■

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Reflections on Human Rights Work

by Ken Roth

RABBIS FOR HUMAN RIGHTS IS AN ACTIVIST organization in Israel. The North American branch has not yet fully defined its path, but at its first national gathering in December 2006, which attracted over 150 rabbis and fifty rabbinical students, participants heard a variety of speakers describing the human rights issues facing our world. We present here selections from the remarks delivered to that conference by Kenneth Roth, Executive Director of Human Rights Watch, one of the world's most respected human rights organizations. Mr. Roth was asked to give an introductory lecture about human rights law and human rights work.

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A few words about my background: my personal existence is very much a product of human rights abuse. My father had the good fortune to escape Nazi Germany in July of 1938. Among the lessons that I drew from his stories was that military force alone is not enough to combat the world's evils. Clearly military force was needed to stop Hitler, but military force was also a very blunt instrument, it took a long time to play out, and it didn't work until six million Jews had already been killed. What is needed in addition to a readiness to use military force is a focus on the development of ethical views. We need a strong public morality that does not allow such atrocities to occur in the first place. I am not a pacifist by any means. I believe in using military force in places like Darfur, where it is necessary to stop the killing. In addition, short of military force, there are many tools that can be invoked to deter atrocities, including the prospect of prosecution and punishment. I have devoted my public life to trying to build a public morality that does not allow future genocides or even lesser human rights crimes to take place, and that insists on the use of a broad array of tools to stop them.

Now, let me run through a few basics as to what the human rights movement is about and what a human rights organization does.

Fifty-eight years ago today (Dec. 10, 2006), in the aftermath of the Second World War, the UN General Assembly adopted the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, not as a binding treaty but as a declaration. From this broad statement of principles emerged a series of legally binding treaties. Some are quite familiar to Americans, such as the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights, which, in many respects, looks like the U.S. Bill of Rights. Some are less familiar, such as the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights, which addresses issues such as the right to education, the right to housing, and the right to work—necessities that Americans often don't think of as human rights, but that most of the world does. There are also specialized treaties on such matters as genocide, torture, racial discrimination, and the rights of women and children.

In addition, there is a parallel body of international law dealing with warfare. One human right is the right to life, but, of course, in war, certain types of taking of life are grudgingly accepted, such as a combatant shooting at another combatant. Yet a body of law has emerged to try to spare civilians as much as possible the hazards of war and, in that sense, to define what the right to life means in the context of an armed conflict. That law, known as international humanitarian law or the laws of war, is largely codified in the Geneva Conventions, which were adopted in 1949, just a year after the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, and have since been supplemented by protocols, adopted in 1977, which codified many customary rules on the means and methods of warfare so they could be applied to modern armed conflicts. These various treaties constitute the law to which the human rights movement holds governments.

Now, there are some frustrating limits to international human rights law. First, it does not establish an absolute right to education or to food, but rather it says that governments have a duty to progressively realize those rights on the basis of available resources. So it speaks in terms of trends and intentions rather than absolute results.

Second, human rights law speaks only to governments, not to private individuals who may express discriminatory attitudes. The exception to this governmental orientation is in the context of an armed conflict. The laws of war speak not only to governments but also to organized armed groups. There is one section in particular of the Geneva Conventions, sometimes called a convention within the Conventions, which sets forth these rules.

Some rights can never be violated, regardless of the circumstances, while some admit exceptions in limited circumstances. For example, the International Covenant of Civil and Political Rights allows limited exceptions to the right to free speech, but no exceptions to the right not to be tortured, even in time of war or other emergencies threatening the life of the nation. The laws of war, however, do not allow any exceptions, which makes sense because they are designed to regulate conduct even in the face of a war—about as severe a threat to the nation as one can imagine. Even in the case of an armed conflict, the

laws of war prohibit such conduct as torturing prisoners, targeting civilians, or bombing indiscriminately. The absolute nature of the laws of war and certain parts of human rights law can be difficult for people to accept. They say, "my country is at risk, can't I break these rules?" The answer, quite clearly, is "no."

Another important principle is that the laws of war apply to each side, regardless of the conduct of the other side. There is no requirement of reciprocity, no right to reprisal. The other side might be doing terrible things, sufficient to justify prosecution for war crimes, but that does not justify your side doing terrible things in reply because, frankly, every war has some abuses, and if those abuses were permitted to justify one's own abuses, practically every conflict would degenerate into a retributive cycle of violence and atrocities against civilians. So, reprisals against people protected by the laws of war are flatly prohibited, even if the other side engages in terrorism, even if the other side attacks civilians.

A source of frustration for some people is that the Geneva Conventions do not take sides. They are neutral about the purposes of a war, they do not identify who the defender is and who the aggressor is, they do not say who's right and who's wrong, they look simply at how the war is fought. This is important because civilians should be spared as much as possible the hazards of conflict, regardless of whose side is right, and it's difficult to do that if those upholding the law are seen as partisan because the other side would just stop listening to you. Therefore, the Geneva Conventions do not get into questions of aggression or the appropriateness of going to war.

Nor do groups that uphold the Geneva Conventions, whether it is the International Committee of the Red Cross or Human Rights Watch. We are often criticized by people who contend that we are practicing moral equivalency, saying that the aggressor is the same as the defender. This is a misunderstanding of the law we apply. We are not equating the moral rightness of two sides in conflict. We simply are not commenting on why they went to war. We look at *jus in bello*, the way the war is fought, not *jus ad bellum*, whether it was right or just to go to war.

Another concept that is often a source of confusion is that of proportionality. You often hear people say that so-and-so responded in a disproportionate way or that a specific attack was not proportionate. The confusion lies in the fact that proportionality has two different meanings; one of them is of concern to organizations like Human Rights Watch, the other is not. What we look at is whether, in a particular attack, the reasonably anticipated military advantage of destroying a target is justified in light of the likely civilian costs. For example, if you expect to kill an entire family in order to eliminate one foot soldier, that would probably be considered a disproportionate attack. This *jus in bello* sense of proportionality, as codified by the Geneva Conventions, requires constantly weighing expected civilian cost against military advantage.

The other meaning of proportionality is quite different. It asks whether you were justified in deploying a certain level of military force, regardless of the civilians put at risk. If you receive a pinprick and respond with a sledgehammer, you may argue that the response is disproportionate in *jus ad bellum* terms—that it is an act of aggression. But that is not applying a Geneva Conventions meaning of proportionality. So long as the sledgehammer was deployed in a way designed to spare civilians, human rights groups will have no objection.

Using this summer's conflict in Lebanon as an example, a lot of people have asked whether Israel responded proportionately to the Hezbollah capture and killing of Israeli soldiers. If the point is to question whether Israel should have launched so extensive a military response, that is an issue that organizations like Human Rights Watch will not address. We will ask only whether particular attacks were proportionate in terms of anticipated military advantage and civilian costs. You might respond massively in military terms, but so long as you are hitting only legitimate military targets and not harming civilians, the Geneva Convention meaning of disproportionality will not come into play.

Now I would like to talk about the methodology of international human rights organizations. Here it's best to compare a typical human rights group like Human Rights

Watch with an organization we are all familiar with, the American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU). On one level the ACLU is a human rights group too, but it basically uses litigation to protect the rights of individuals and groups. That's because it operates in a country where we are fortunate to have legal systems that often work to restrain governmental misconduct. There are other countries around the world that also have well developed legal systems and local versions of the ACLU. When it is possible to go to court to defend your rights, groups like Human Rights Watch are less important.

Human Rights Watch and similar groups generally do not engage in litigation. Instead, we have evolved a methodology to address countries or situations where the courts are weak or lack independence and impartiality. We use non-judicial methods to put pressure, not on the courts, but on the political branches of government to respect human rights.

It is easy for Americans to think that rights are for only the courts to enforce, but that is not correct. Rights are for governments to protect. When the judicial branch of government doesn't fulfill this responsibility, our job is to push the executive or legislative branches to do so. This is necessary in many countries that lack an effective legal system, and it is even necessary in democracies where the courts are not doing what they should.

I should note that sometimes the courts do not work here in the United States. For example, when it comes to prison conditions, the U.S. courts have largely abdicated their oversight role. Even on the issue of torture of terrorist suspects, the courts have been slow to get involved and a new law limiting the right of habeas corpus has made it more difficult for them to do so. So I am not exempting the United States. Sometimes we need to supplement the ACLU's litigious orientation with our own methods for putting pressure on Congress and the president.

How do we do this? In essence, we collect facts about human rights abuses as carefully as we can, we publicize those facts, and we use our reports and the press attention we attract to put pressure on those political branches to respect human rights. Fortunately, today, no one wants to be known as a human rights abuser. Even Saddam Hussein hid his human rights abuse. By exposing those abuses we can embarrass governments and de-legitimize them before their peers and their people. This can be a powerful force to bring about change.

Now, let's talk about fact finding. It may sound simple, but I can assure you that it is not. In many places that we work there is an enormous incentive for people to lie or exaggerate or tell you what they think you want to hear. In places where human rights abuses take place, people tend to hate the government, or to hate the other side in a war, and thus they are prone to lie about its misdeeds. Therefore, you have to go into fact finding with an enormous dose of skepticism. Of course, when you are speaking to victims of human rights abuses, you do not want to be rude, but you must cross-examine them, respectfully yet firmly.

Human Rights Watch works regularly in about seventy countries around the world. We have on staff some seventy to eighty researchers, each assigned to a country or a thematic issue such as women's rights or refugee rights. Their job is to become a world expert on either their country or their issue. We also work closely with local human rights groups. Fortunately, there is a network of human rights groups around the world in all but the most oppressive countries. Some are more reliable than others and initially you have to treat them with the same skepticism with which you would treat an ordinary witness until you figure out whether you can rely on them.

We also have a fairly elaborate internal vetting process. After a researcher returns from an investigation and writes up a report it must go through a series of experts—legal experts, policy experts, and people who double-check the fact-finding. Our aim is ensure that our reports are absolutely accurate, because our credibility is essential to our ability to pressure governments through this process of exposure.

Selecting which countries to address is often difficult because, needless to say, there are more than enough candidates to go around. We tend to look at the severity of the abuse, our ability to collect information on the abuse, and our ability to influence a

government. In war, we always try to look at the worst offenses of both sides, not equating the two, not pretending that the two are equivalent, but as a matter of principle, to highlight that the laws of war apply to both sides.

Let me conclude by mentioning a few issues that are of great importance today. Darfur is at the top of many of our agendas simply because the slaughter there is so intense and has been happening for such a long time—and is still happening. The most we have been able to achieve is getting the UN Security Council to agree to deploy 20,000 peacekeepers to supplement the small African Union force that is now in place, but only if the Sudanese government agrees. Obviously, that's a pathetically weak response. Nobody wants to invade Sudan, so the real question now is how to twist Khartoum's arm to get "coerced consent" to the deployment of the UN peacekeepers. For this to work the European Union has to enforce the same kind of economic sanctions on Khartoum that the United States has. Human Rights Watch has also been promoting the idea of pushing a step further to create an escrow fund so that all oil revenues from Sudan go into this fund which would be used for the victims of the ethnic cleansing in Darfur rather than for the purchase of Sudanese arms. If we can get China in particular to agree to this, Khartoum will accept peacekeepers in an instant.

In this and many other ways, we need to get China to become more constructive on Darfur. This is not by any means a hopeless endeavor. China, as it aspires to be a global power, does not want to be seen as the defender of thugs and murderers. We need to stigmatize the government every time it stands in the way of ending serious human rights abuse, since that's the only way that it will change.

We also are challenging America's method of fighting terrorism. There is nothing that is a greater affront to human rights principles than the deliberate killing of civilians. But the Bush administration has chosen to fight terrorism without regard to human rights. Its use of torture, its creation of secret detention facilities, its locking people up in Guantánamo, mostly without trial or charge, are serious human rights violations. These violations have also been profoundly counterproductive for the fight against terrorism because America has lost the moral high ground.

The United States is never going to curb terrorism successfully on its own. In order to reduce terrorism, America needs the cooperation of governments around the world. These governments are less likely to be forthcoming if they equate that effort with America's participation in human rights abuse. Perhaps more importantly, the United States needs the cooperation of communities that tend to give rise to terrorists. In this sense, the U.S. government has been extremely shortsighted. The idea of torturing somebody to squeeze a bit of information from him disregards the way that secretive criminal conspiracies are in fact defeated, which, most often, is through tips and information provided by the general public. Torturing suspects discourages the general public from cooperating with a law-enforcement effort that they view as wrong or improper. As a result, the public will be less likely to report, say, suspicious activity next door that may turn out to be the next suicide bomber.

Finally, I would be remiss not to address Israel. We have an office in Jerusalem and one researcher there who splits her time between looking at Israeli and Palestinian abuses. Israel is not the only country that we work on, despite what Abe Foxman of the Anti-Defamation League often suggests. Far from it, given the seventy countries where I mentioned we regularly work.

Moreover, our work can sometimes be helpful to Israel. You may remember the "massacre" that was said to have taken place at the refugee camp in Jenin. It was not until the Human Rights Watch team got there that we were able to show that, while there were serious problems, there wasn't anything remotely like a massacre. We put that allegation to rest.

Other times, we can give the Israeli government or the IDF information that it cannot readily obtain on its own. We went in to meet with the IDF legal advisor to describe

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incidents in which Israeli soldiers were using Palestinian civilians as shields, a clear violation of the Geneva Conventions. The advisor said he had no idea because this kind of information does not get reported up the chain of command. He quickly issued a directive reaffirming the prohibition on this kind of abuse. Other times, even when the Israeli government resists, Israeli courts are receptive. We did work on house demolitions in Rafah (on the Egyptian border with Gaza) and that work was used by the Israeli Supreme Court to limit what were deemed excessive and unjustified house demolitions.

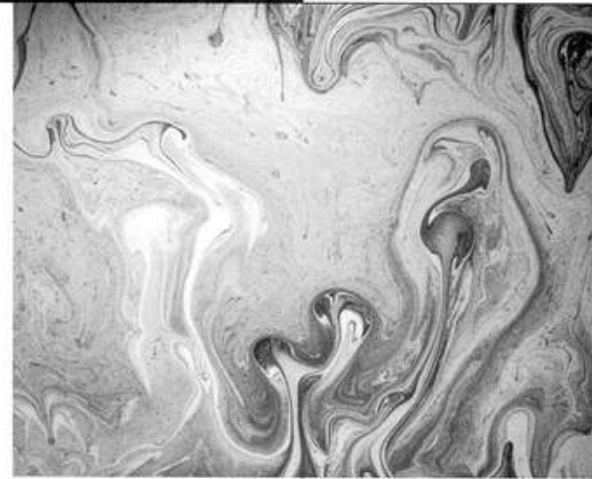
We also criticize the practices of Israel's opponents, whether it's Hezbollah for launching rockets indiscriminately, or Palestinians for deploying suicide bombers. With respect to the Palestinian groups behind suicide bombing, we did the definitive work tracing the chain of command, figuring out who at the top was responsible for ordering these murders. We also listed every possible justification for suicide bombing and rebutted it—all part of our ongoing effort to change the public conversation about such matters in the Middle East.

We also address Israeli abuses. Most recently, with the Lebanon war, we spent a lot of time looking at the scattering of cluster munitions along southern Lebanon. These indiscriminate attacks have no conceivable justification, and are going to be killing innocent people for years. We also looked at targeted killings and, I'm sorry to say, although the IDF and its allies continue to say that civilians died because Hezbollah was hiding in civilian villages, that was not the reason why most civilians died. Most civilians died because, after Israel issued warnings for civilians to flee, the IDF falsely assumed that all civilians had in fact fled. People remained for a variety of different reasons ranging from being infirm and unable to move, to being afraid of dying on the road, or being unable to afford the exorbitant taxi fares charged to move out of southern Lebanon. As a result, Israel was firing at virtually anyone who moved, whether it was a civilian vehicle or someone moving around his home, causing a lot of civilians to die in situations where there simply was no Hezbollah military presence at all. We said this during the war and, in light of continuing IDF denials, have gone back and checked again, and we have reconfirmed its truth. Israel needs to honestly address this misconduct to avoid such needless killing in the future.

The summer of 2006 was a difficult summer, not only for me but for many others in the human rights movement as well. I grew up with the Jewish tradition of critical probing, of factually and logically based discourse. Unfortunately, that is not the way many of our reports were responded to by certain leaders of the American Jewish community. They responded with deceptive arguments, making up facts, even name-calling. One challenge for us all is how to improve the level of discourse. It doesn't serve any of us when the discourse stoops to the level that it did this past summer. It dishonors the Jewish tradition.

As to what motivates such vitriol, I understand full well the fear for Israel's existence, and I do recognize that Israel is facing an existential threat. However, I think many people are focused on the wrong threat. As terrible as suicide bombing is, as terrible as Katyusha rockets are, they are not existential threats to Israel. The existential threat to Israel today is Iran and its apparent development of nuclear weapons. If I were running Israel, I would be worried about preventing the emergence of a political environment in the Middle East that would make it feasible for someone like the current president of Iran to say, "We can afford to lose a lot of Muslims in a nuclear exchange because there are many more of us than Jews in Israel."

Now, we may never be able to preclude such an environment. As I said from the outset, military preparedness inevitably must be part of the defense, but that alone is not enough. It only takes one nuclear bomb on Tel Aviv and, in many ways, there goes Israel. Part of an effective defense of Israel requires changing public morality around this question in the Middle East, making it intolerable to think that a nuclear weapon would ever be used against Israeli cities because that would be an intolerable affront to the most fundamental human rights. This requires reaffirming, not ignoring, basic human rights laws. It requires practicing what one preaches. It requires living by human rights standards even when sometimes it is difficult to do so. ■



Can Science Validate the Psychedelic Experience?

By Charles Hayes

A PORTAL TO HEAVEN OPENED UP LAST SUMMER WHEN a study by a psychiatric team at preeminent Johns Hopkins School of Medicine revealed that psilocybin, the all-natural ingredient that packs the magic in magic mushrooms, can “occasion mystical-type experiences having substantial and sustained personal meaning and spiritual significance.”

Published in *Psychopharmacology*, the results of the double-blind study led by psychopharmacologist Roland Griffiths were blindingly persuasive and unambiguous. A whopping 79 percent of the thirty mentally healthy, well-educated, hallucinogen-naïve, religiously or spiritually active adult volunteers, reported that their psilocybin sessions were one of the five most important events of their lives, right up there with the birth of their first child. Thirty percent said it was the single most significant event ever. What’s more, after two months, most reported lasting positive effects on their sense of well-being and life outlook—confirmed by significant others.

Psychedelic therapy has shown enormous potential to decouple minds from various kinds of captivity, from drug addiction to psychological disorders.

While some reported experiencing strong anxiety and a few would decline to repeat the experiment, the potent breadth of the psychedelic's positive effect on the majority constitutes a home run on almost anyone's scorecard. In a society that fancies itself foremost as faithful, an encounter with divinity would seem to have optimal value. We're not talking about a nice buzz or an amelioration of the jitters; we're talking godhead, *unitive ecstasis*.

Granted, the sovereign, enlightened individual doesn't really need science to validate what he intuitively—or experientially—already knows. In that sense, scoffed *San Francisco Chronicle* columnist Mark Morford, the Griffiths findings can be tossed onto “the pile of the science of the No Duh.” One might well ask, “Since when is science equipped to quantify spirituality, anyway?” Doesn't more flow out of an entheogen-induced *devekut*—Kabbalist mystic union with God—than can possibly be caught in the clinical chalice? To tend The Garden and ingest its ennobling fruit, do we really need to wait idly for an approving nod from secular authority, be it Big Brother Science or his more imposing sibling, Government?

The Hopkins results highlight the struggle between our culture's twin idolatries, science and religion, both of which render themselves incomplete and exclusionary by their certitude. “Science without religion is lame,” Einstein observed, and “religion without science is blind.” But there's good news: the science applied by the new psychedelic researchers at Hopkins and elsewhere is both more rigorous and more humane—even capable, in fact, of working in league with religion. The mystical models that arise will deliver unprecedented insight into the *mysterium tremendum* and the subjective phenomena of the religious experience.

William Richards, the Hopkins study's chief monitor and a veteran of LSD research for treating the terminally ill at Spring Grove Hospital, Maryland some two generations ago, asserts that the study's protocol and psychometric instruments are far ahead of where they were back in the golden age of psychedelic research, an appraisal echoed by notable physicians, including former National Institute on Drug Abuse director Charles Schuster and Herbert Kleber, deputy director of the White House's Office of National Drug Control Policy under the first President Bush.

“It was as good a job as science can do today,” Richards says. “It almost makes me believe more in science than I did before.” The very first session, decades after his last work in the field, was profoundly mystical for him. “Just to be able to do it.... I felt awe and privilege myself.” Richards believes we're finally in the “early dawn of psychology's recognition and understanding of the spiritual experience.”

The prime mover behind all this progressive science is Robert Jesse, a former vice president of Oracle for whom life-changing entheogenic events inspired him to found the Council for Spiritual Practices (www.csp.org) in 1994 to develop “approaches to primary religious experience.” Working stealthily under the media radar, Jesse navigated the bureaucracy and moved the study to fruition, a strategy that kept it from being blackballed. Jesse once told me his aim isn't to legalize psychedelics but to demonstrate their value. Mission accomplished at Johns Hopkins.

Bolstering the new science with the requisite judiciary buttress for the pursuit of spirituality through chemistry is yet another ray of light that pierces our Drug War benightedness. Early last year the U.S. Supreme Court ruled unanimously against the Bush administration's attempt to block the ingestion of the hallucinogenic Amazonian brew ayahuasca by a branch of União do Vegetal (UDV), a Brazilian religious order that insists the *hoasca* tea brings members closer to God. In the opinion written by new Chief Justice John Roberts, the court affirmed that the 1993 Religious Freedom Restoration Act protects the church's taste in tea. Sounding a distinct note for reason, he observed that federal law already allows peyote use by Native Americans, and that Congress ought to be “striking sensible balances between religious liberty and competing prior governmental interests.” And there's an ecclesiastical catch: The U.S. Conference of Catholic Bishops

and the National Association of Evangelicals defended the UDV's case for religious freedom, prompting psychedelic researcher and UCLA professor Charles Grob, an expert witness at the hearing, to notice that "religious rights can apparently trump the Drug War."

There's a real movement afoot. The field of psychedelic research is opening up, blossoming worldwide. The landmark study of MDMA-assisted psychotherapy to treat post-traumatic stress disorder victims unresponsive to other treatment, launched at the University of South Carolina in 2004, has been showing "tremendous results," according to Rick Doblin, president of the Multidisciplinary Association for Psychedelic Studies (www.maps.org), its sponsor. Privy to the extant data, Doblin noted that a telltale sign that subjects in the double-blind study had received MDMA rather than the placebo was their query of the monitor "And how are *you* doing?" once the drug kicked in.

A similar MAPS-funded study will begin soon in Israel. The Israeli Ministry of Health had been waiting for U.S. federal approval for the South Carolina study before launching its own MDMA work, to treat casualties of war and terrorism, under the direction of former IDF chief psychiatrist Moshe Kotler. The final condition, now satisfied, was express written support by the Israeli Anti-Drug Authority. Comparable MAPS-sponsored MDMA studies in Switzerland and Spain await approval.

MAPS is also hoping to start research at Harvard into LSD and psilocybin as treatments for cluster headaches, a horrifically painful affliction thus far resistant to lasting relief. A *Neurology* article by prospective monitors Andrew Sewell and John Halpern reports strong anecdotal evidence that unauthorized use of either of the two drugs—even in sub-psychoactive doses—has halted both shorter episodes and months-long cycles of these headaches.

Arising from the supplications of an underground population of law-breaking self-medicators, this research proposal demonstrates the moral authority of grassroots, people-driven science and how an overlooked, even factious interest group (www.clusterbusters.org) can force action and keep science honest.

"The psychedelic renaissance will have really begun in earnest and completely when we have LSD underway for both physiological and psychotherapeutic studies, particularly the latter," says Doblin, who expects imminent approval for a MAPS-funded Swiss study of the psychotherapeutic use of LSD to ease anxiety in cancer patients. Still other psychedelic studies are in the pipeline, at different stages of the bureaucratic maze, including psilocybin research at NYU, and a not yet publicized LSD study to investigate brain function.

Psychedelic therapy has shown enormous potential to decouple minds from various kinds of captivity. Ketamine has been used successfully in St. Petersburg, Russia, to separate heroin addicts from their abusive habits. At the Iboga Therapy House (www.ibogatherapyhouse.net) in Vancouver, Canada, MAPS will conduct an investigation of ibogaine, a trance-inducing African tree bark, as a treatment for opiate dependence. Acute relief of obsessive-compulsive disorder symptoms, after treatment with psilocybin, is described in a *Journal of Clinical Psychiatry* report on a University of Arizona, Tucson, study funded by MAPS and the Hefter Research Institute (www.hefter.org).

The case for treating substance abuse with psychedelic therapy dates back to the first studies fifty years ago, asserts Grob, Hefter's director of clinical research and chief of child psychiatry at the Harbor-UCLA Medical Center. "The best therapeutic outcomes are with patients who have transpersonal experiences. In these patients you'll see the most significant reduction of anxiety and the most sustained improvement."

Getting religion has its health benefits. As William James once observed, "Religiomania is the best cure for dipsomania [alcoholism]." It was one such breakthrough in a legal LSD session in the 1950s that inspired Alcoholics Anonymous founder William Wilson to propose (unsuccessfully) to AA's board that it use psychedelic therapy to help alcoholics break their bondage to the bottle.

Ponder for a moment the awesome power behind a force so strong that it can tear asunder a drug addict from his slave master, an obsessive compulsive from her involuntary rituals and ideation, and the searing vise of pain from a cluster headache sufferer. Yet psychedelics may also play a gentler role, in family or marital counseling.

The 2005 comedy *When Do We Eat? (My Big Fat Jewish Seder)* starring Michael Lerner (alas, not *Tikkun's*) and Jack Klugman, depicts what it might be like for the patriarch of a dysfunctional family to undergo an introspective trip on LSD-laced Ecstasy while presiding over the Passover ceremony. Dosed by his dopest son, Lerner is struck by a series of lustrous revelations that lead the family to catharsis and communal forgiveness. The final scene's implication that a drug needn't play such a role might be a cop-out, but it doesn't nullify the fact that psychoactive substances have long held a revered place in religious ceremonies.

While not as rending as addiction busting, such religious communions are hardly trivial. Says Grob, who did biomedical psychiatric research into community ayahuasca ceremonies in the Amazon, "The intensive moral inventory of a night on ayahuasca is like the longest Yom Kippur you could ever imagine." Grob places the family in a central supportive role in psychedelic therapy. His current study, using psilocybin to treat the anxiety of terminally ill cancer patients (beginning each session with a Native American-inflected ritual calling on the spirits of the four cardinal directions) has yielded highly positive results. He recalls how one sobbing subject (the late Pamela Sakuda) underwent a bout of profound empathy for her husband, soon to lose her. The reunion of the two at the end of the session brought tears to all present. Having treated seven of the twelve in the study design, Grob still needs five more volunteers (www.canceranxietystudy.org).

Some of us require a little nudge to take the leap toward faith. Religion scholar Huston Smith, a self-confessed "flat-footed mystic" who neededentheogens to connect with God, concedes, "religion is not accessible to everyone." The so-called scandal of particularity, the alleged exclusion of the "infidel" from God's embrace, is certainly at work in the socio-cultural realm of competing religions, but it also has genetic implications. Some of us are just better wired physiologically, or better situated environmentally (recall the role of set and setting). Select psychoactive agents could be an equalizer, enabling otherwise mystically barren subjects to undergo a lush transpersonal voyage of discovery.

The new science of neurotheology invites us to ponder the biochemistry of religion and its evolutionary role as a source of meaning and structure in the face of impending death. According to the *Time* cover story "The God Gene," scientists have pinpointed a variation on a single gene that produces the monoamines that regulate mood, the presence of which determined how well volunteers scored on a self-transcendence test. Neither the variation nor the gene is the *sine qua non* for a spiritual life, of course, but the finding demonstrates both the value of science in detecting spirit-specific loci in the human biosphere—and the slippery slope of materialist/determinist interpretations of such findings.

So then, how do we construct a science devoted to human need and potential? Science is naturally driven by political culture. It's only right that the tools of science are regulated by our (duly) elected officials. But what happens when the government censors its own scientists, and political or industrial cronyism overrules sound medical policy? Instead of basing climate change policy on the expert testimony of real climatologists, Congress turned to the defamatory fantasies of potboiler novelist Michael Crichton. Witness the FDA's vacuous, contra-scientific pronouncement last year that cannabis has no medical value whatsoever. "Zilch, zero, nada," sneered opioid gobbler Rush Limbaugh, impossibly rubbing it in.

Functionally speaking, science is only as good as its institutions and what makes it into print. When the science is rigorous, as Griffiths' was, it helps build the case for sound medicine and public health policy, which can, if necessary, be hauled out and resurrected after its eclipse by unfavorable political leadership. No, we don't need doctors or Congressmen to tell us that good can come of cannabis or psilocybin ingestion. But a reformed legal framework for the judicious use of psychedelics, as well as extensive scientific inquiry into how they work on the human psyche, would be welcome evolutionary tune-ups for our civilization.

The efflorescence of new psychedelic research is an emerging pattern of stars in the night sky of indiscriminate proscription. Once the dots are connected and reinforced by ongoing inquiry, we'll be well on our way toward a wholesome science marked by rational integrity and a guiding heart that puts spirit and healing above profits and ideology. ■

Charles Hayes is the author of Tripping: An Anthology of True-Life Psychedelic Adventures (www.psychedel-icadventures.com).

(continued from page 30) (PNAC), which advocated attacking Iraq to remove Saddam Hussein, establish a strong military presence, and control the oil. PNAC's *Rebuilding America's Defenses*, released late in 2000, reiterated this goal. Immediately upon taking office, both Paul O'Neill and Richard Clarke have revealed, the Bush administration was obsessed with going after Saddam. The only question was "finding a way to do it," as O'Neill put it. "The terrorist attacks of September 11," said Bob Woodward, "gave the U.S. a new window to go after Hussein." Although no Iraqis were among the alleged hijackers, the Bush administration was able to use 9/11 as a pretext to attack Iraq. Given the state of fear created in the American psyche by 9/11, the administration needed only to fabricate evidence that Saddam was acquiring nuclear weapons while also suggesting that he *had* been involved in 9/11.

3) *Increased Military Spending:* PNAC wanted to increase America's military superiority sufficiently to establish a global *Pax Americana*. After saying that this *Pax Americana* "must have a secure foundation on unquestioned U.S. military preeminence" and that such preeminence will require a technological transformation of the US military, PNAC added that this process of transformation will "likely be a long one, absent some catastrophic and catalyzing event—like a new Pearl Harbor." When 9/11 came, it was treated as "the Pearl Harbor of the 21st century" and described by several members of the Bush administration as providing "opportunities."

The Preeminent Importance of 9/11

THE ABOVE EVIDENCE, PLUS the fact that all the "evidence" that seems to implicate the alleged hijackers, such as cell phone calls, airport photos, and discovered luggage and passports, appears to have been fabricated, leads to the conclusion that 9/11 was a false-flag operation orchestrated by the Bush administration for primarily imperial reasons.

If this conclusion is correct, then exposing the falsity of the official account of 9/11 should be high on the agenda of everyone committed to reversing the present policies of the U.S. government, for at least three reasons.

First, 9/11 has provided the pretext for most of the destructive policies of the Bush administration since that day. When any objection is raised to these policies—from illegal invasions, to torture, to illegal spying, to weaponizing space, to talk of a nuclear first strike—the answer is always the same: "The critics fail to understand that the world changed on 9/11." Until the truth about 9/11 is exposed, it will remain a blank check for virtually anything desired by this administration.

Second, 9/11 as an inside job goes far beyond any "high crimes and misdemeanors" previously cited as cause for impeaching a president. The attacks constitute treason, as defined by Article 3 of the U.S. Constitution. If we fail to expose and prosecute this treason, there is little hope for the survival of the democratic forms we still have.

Third, the project of creating an American empire of truly global scope has been a long and bipartisan project. The replacement of the Bush administration by Democratic leadership for some reason other than 9/11 would likely result in a reversion to the subtler, more sophisticated, and hence more effective form of imperialism that the United States previously exercised.

What needs to be publicly recognized is that this project of global domination is propelled by a fanaticism based on a deeply perverted value system. Those who read books and magazines about U.S. imperialism know that there has long been abundant evidence for this assessment. But the public revelation of the truth about 9/11 could have an educational value extending far beyond the circles of those who read policy-oriented books and magazines. If Americans came to see that the attacks of 9/11 were, in the minds of those who planned them, *justified* by the goal of creating an all-encompassing empire, this realization could lead to

widespread revulsion against the goal itself and the values implicit in it—values that are diametrically opposed to basic values embedded in all the world's religions and ethical systems. ■

David Ray Griffin is professor emeritus of philosophy of religion and theology at Claremont School of Theology. He has published thirty-two books, including The American Empire and the Commonwealth of God.

MAKING ABORTION RARE

(continued from page 40) The bill's host of twenty proposals include plans to improve access to contraception for low-income women, expand access to health care for low-income women with children, provide child-care services for college students who are parenting, offer no-cost visits from nurses to teens and first-time mothers, increase a tax credit for adoption, and establish grants for effective pregnancy prevention education programs.

As pro-choice and pro-life Democrats gather under their new big tent, crafting promising legislation that could dramatically reduce the abortion rate in this country, the question is whether pro-life Republicans will even allow these bills to be debated or come to a vote.

Women must have access to contraception and effective pregnancy prevention education and, in turn, on a personal, individual basis we must take responsibility for utilizing both. Similarly, men have to stop using abortion as the means to escape their obligations to their partners. Affordable childcare, health-care, educational opportunities, and a living wage should be available to everyone.

Both political parties finally have big tents on the abortion issue; it's time for a bi-partisan grand alliance to make abortion rare. Both Democrats and Republicans who are pro-choice can agree with Democrats who are pro-life on many aspects of how to make it happen. It's time for pro-life Republicans to join the charge. If not now, when? ■

Nina Kohl is a Milwaukee-based freelance writer and communications consultant.

Culture

BOOKS | FILM | MUSIC

Climbing the Ladder of Interpretation

BY DAVID SHASHA

THE LADDER OF JACOB: Ancient Interpretations of the Biblical Story of Jacob and his Children, by James Kugel. Princeton University Press, 2006.

IN EACH CHAPTER OF *THE LADDER of Jacob*, Bar Ilan University's James Kugel lays out a single Biblical episode in the Jacob cycle and delves deeply into the multiple readings of the ancient interpreters. Through his thorough and deftly intricate scholarship, Kugel is able to reconstruct the countless debates that took place over the course of generations of these interpreters, who made ample use of the motifs and strategies of a dynamic Midrashic tradition of reading and commentary.

Modern modes of reading often seek originality and coherence. Kugel shows that the ancient interpreters, working off of many of the same assumptions about Scripture, even as they disagreed—sometimes violently—did not hesitate to crib from each other exegetical motifs and arguments in ways that served to build up their own unique visions. These same exegetes joined one another in a shared community of Bible readers who, for better or worse, created a unified school of interpretation that transcended time and place. These Bible interpreters were radical traditionalists, absorbing the past and pointing to a new and distinct vision of the future.

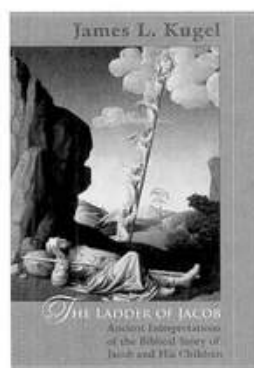
In his discussion of the tale of Simeon and Levi's murderous rampage in

Shechem, Kugel reconstructs a complex web of interpretations that reflect an inner dialectic that acts as an interpretive chamber. He sums it up in the following manner:

Apart from the inherent interest of these motifs because of what they show about how this biblical story was interpreted in Second Temple times, they can tell us something in particular about the presentation of the story in the Testament of Levi [a portion of the larger work, The Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs, a text from the Apocrypha]. To begin with, the Testament of Levi's version of the events at Shechem is an interweaving of different exegetical motifs found as well in other ancient texts. Indeed, almost all of the motifs studied in the Testament of Levi were attested in similar form elsewhere....

In a masterful performance redolent with the bravura, Kugel goes on to list the various motifs and the manifold sources from which they come. The point here is that a book such as the extra-canonical Testament of the Twelve Patriarchs, hitherto looked at as a minor work that strangely retells many of the same stories that appear in the canonical book of Genesis, now becomes a crucial chapter in an ongoing narrative of readers interpreting the Bible itself.

Kugel reconstructs this exegetical tradition in a way that makes sense of its literary value with a strong concern for



philosophical coherence and historical import. The original text as found in the Hebrew Bible becomes the jumping-off point for the interpreter, whose goal is to raise and answer questions that are prompted by the text. The interpreter does not seek to

emend the text as the writing was seen as sacrosanct and perfect, but to look inside it to see what it was that the text was trying to communicate to us.

This method elevates the interpreter/exegete to the level of a Sage. Throughout the history of Bible reading, we see that anonymous bits of exegesis serve to inspire other bits of exegesis just as a snowball rolling down a hill increases in mass and weight as it lurches forward. Along the route that these motifs travel, they pick up new shades of meaning and nuance. The conversation that takes place over time through biblical exegesis serves as a barometer of the endless and inexhaustible meaning of Scripture itself.

In the pages of *The Ladder of Jacob*, Kugel displays his encyclopedic knowledge of this exegetical literature, expounding on the meaning of the interpretations for the significance of Bible study over the course of centuries. Rather than seeing, as many moderns do, the Hebrew Bible as a dead and

lifeless book, which is regarded either as a talisman (for the literalist) or a fake (for the Bible critic), Kugel's reconstruction of the interpretive tradition is of momentous importance for the contemporary student because it places modern readers of the Bible in a tradition of reading that has been going on for thousands of years in many places and in different cultural contexts. This, in turn, allows for the expansion of sacred Scripture in ways that are an organic and inherent part of the body of tradition—a tradition continually in motion, growing and expanding with each new reading.

Using his own finely-tuned understanding of these abundant and diffuse sources, a great number of which have been passed down to us in a haphazard and eclectic manner—making their reconstruction especially challenging—Kugel begins each chapter of the book with a reading of the biblical text and a laying out of the hermeneutical matters that were of concern to ancient readers. The biblical text is then interpreted sometimes within the Bible itself. For example, a text in Malachi will look to explain the meaning of a problem in Genesis, and this explanation will be picked up hundreds of years later in other texts asking similar questions. Kugel explains how a specific motif will pop up in one place, and then be picked up in another and used for different purpose.

This repository of exegetical motifs represents an ancient library of knowledge whose purpose was to translate the intentions of God in ways that made God available after canonical prophecy had ceased. According to the Talmudic rabbis, the close of the biblical canon also ends the age of God's revelation to mankind. Though violent conflicts arose with Judaism's daughter faiths, Christianity and Islam, on this very point, the rabbinic understanding clearly informs so many of the texts that Kugel utilizes in his studies.

The Hebrew term *Midrash* may be understood by the manner in which it is used in Psalms 34:5 *Darashti 'et Adonai ve-'Anani*, (I call out to God and He answers me) where the Hebrew root DRSH

searches out the locus of God's presence and the place where Man comes to receive God's wisdom. As the Egyptian-Jewish poet Edmond Jabes has so beautifully remarked, "Isn't to make a commentary a way to force God to speak even in his silence or, rather, to sound the word in such a way that the dialogue never gets interrupted? This clearly shows how the Jew is totally stuck to the text and how his commentary is creation."

Over the course of nearly three decades, James Kugel has brought back to life these "creations" of the ancient Jewish interpreters. His skill in deciphering complex and obscure texts that have been scattered throughout the library of ancient literature, texts now available in languages such as Slavonic, Syriac and Ethiopic, have marked him not only as a scholar of rare character, but also as one of our most important guides to a world of knowledge that has stored within it hundreds of thousands of profoundly important ideas that crystallize ancient man's relationship to the Divine texts of the Hebrew Bible.

In this vital and necessary work, Kugel has pieced together fragments of texts from sources such as the Dead Sea Scrolls. An example of his brilliant work as a scholar of difficult texts appears in one of the last sections of the book, where he reconstructs and parses a text called by scholars the "Prayer of Enosh," and shows the ways in which that text spoke to the entire process of biblical interpretation serving itself as a wise and subtle model of the entire enterprise that *The Ladder of Jacob*, as well as Kugel's many other works, have so expertly taught.

The Ladder of Jacob deepens our understanding of the development of biblical literature, providing crucial insight into the mindset of the ancient readers of Scripture. To accomplish this most difficult and important of tasks, Kugel has had to read deeply into a body of work that has largely been ignored and forgotten by both scholars and laypeople. The study of rabbinic Midrash and sermonology has been set aside in our

day in favor of the vagaries of Kabbalah and the increased study of the Talmud by Orthodox Jews whose ambivalence to Midrash is a sign of their literalist approach to Judaism.

As Kugel shows us, Midrash asks many hard questions and prompts the reader to be on her toes as she navigates the biblical labyrinth. For the Orthodox literalist the Bible is something already known and mediated for us. There are no questions, just certainties that reinforce Orthodox understanding. By exploring the canon of biblical exegesis, a canon that is simultaneously open, intellectually eclectic, and diffuse, the student of the Hebrew Bible is offered the opportunity to restore our dialogue with God and to renew our complex faith in Him. Rather than reject God or reify YHWH as a static being, the study of ancient biblical interpretation allows us to rediscover the voices of thousands of readers who asked many of the same questions that we continue to ask.

The Ladder of Jacob is an elegantly written book. Serious students of the Hebrew Bible will find themselves overjoyed by Kugel's reconstruction of the interpretive literature of ancient Israel. Each of the chapters in this learned work provides a precise model of how one must go about the study of these difficult texts and how they dialectically function with one another to mine a gargantuan storehouse of ideas and conceptions that form the library of Jewish thought, serving up a treasure trove of organic religious thought that we are currently in dire need of. Countering trends that reject the value of tradition in our culture and civilization, this magisterial study will better allow us to navigate the byways of history and restore to us a more balanced and worthwhile understanding of the legacy of the Jewish past. ■

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[BOOKS]

Capsule Reviews

ZEPPPO'S FIRST WIFE: NEW AND SELECTED

POEMS by Gail Mazur. University of Chicago Press 2005.

WE DREAM OF living on poetry's high ground, the giddy air and wide prospect that distance us from the drear of daily life. Yet the brisk, eloquent, and quirky poems of Gail Mazur's *Zeppo's First Wife* may prove that there's more oxygen at ground level. Mazur finds a magic in the everyday, the delights and disorders that characterize a post-modern and multi-everything America. In this charmed and loopy world, immigrant grandparents lug their "relentless inaccurate memories of a shtetl called *Chagrín*" through the "iron terminal" of Ellis Island, leaving mixed baggage for generations of family members to pick through. Mazur doesn't sentimentalize a Yiddish tale, or the world's "pure savage / organized iron"; unlike the high-altitude poets, she admits, "I'm ordinary—my fears are ordinary," and with sweet irony she recognizes the domains of our "puny enormous sadness."

Zeppo's First Wife holds selections from Mazur's four previous volumes, plus twenty-two sharply realized new lyrics. The title poem stitches hilarious tall tales of the Marx brothers with the loose threads of Mazur's family: "actually, my grandfather's / half brothers' cousin" Marion, briefly married to Zeppo, the "romantic" but un-brilliant brother who once played Groucho onstage and brought the house down, and who then, as an inventor, created "a clamping device" used "in the atomic raid on Hiroshima." Here, instant fame, jealousy, comic violence, and a procession of masquerades spool back and forth, a *Midsummer's Night Dream* from the Maine woods to planks of

Broadway. All is glimpsed, and erased. The name of Marion Benda, the "half cousin none removed," is only found on the web; Zeppo, i.e., Herbert, the everyman/no-man, was briefly the rage, he lived in an audience's delirious laughter, not quite himself, in the roar of its applause. And then, he left the stage.

Mazur's quick, unblinking eye moves from the poetry of Akhmatova and Michelangelo, freely translated in *Zeppo's First Wife*, to meditations on burned homes, the Houston zoo, the "Idea of Florida," and such richly anti-poetical verses as, "My Dream After Mother Breaks Her Hip." A world scanned, but sung in American off-beats

and double-takes. The book's last poem, and Mazur's earliest, is the contrarian anthem entitled "Baseball." The game, she begins, "is not a metaphor / and I know it's not really life." In baseball, "the mystery of accidents [is] always contained," unlike the ground note of poetry that Mazur sounds, "the wild field we wander in."

—David Gewanter

EMMA LAZARUS by Esther Schor. Shocken Books, 2006.

CLEVER, LITERARY, and rich, Emma Lazarus was the daughter of a distinguished Sephardic family settled in New York City for four generations. Her fame as the author of the sonnet engraved at the base of the Statue of Liberty came decades after her death in 1887, but Gilded Age contemporaries would have read her essays, translations, and poems in journals like *Century* and *The New York Times*. She published her first book at age seven-

teen, gaining the admiration of Emerson; later friendships included Thomas Wentworth Higginson and Henry James. Esther Schor's biography, the fifth book in Shocken's Jewish Encounters series, draws on recently discovered letters written by Lazarus to her friend, Helena deKay Gilder, to flesh out previously unknown details of Lazarus' life.

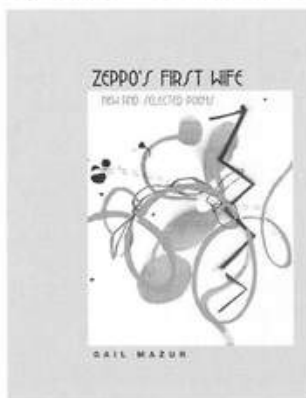
Lazarus emerges as a political as well as literary figure. She supported Henry George's single tax and Jacob Schiff's Hebrew Immigrant Aid Society, shaping social programs to assist refugees from Russia after the pogroms of the 1880s, and alerting Americans to the poisonous anti-Semitism that crept west with them. Years before the first Zionist council, she traveled abroad to raise funds for a Jewish homeland. But she could be volatile and contradictory,

forgetting her mission in a whirl of salons and parties, and returning from Europe empty-handed. She called herself and her non-observant family "outlaws," while translating Heine's *Poems and Ballads* and writing liturgical verse for Temple Emanu-El. She was, Schor suggests, an activist,

feminist, and secular Jew before such terms existed.

What remains of her legacy? The poems are mired in period style, but she crafted a decidedly modern persona as an outsider and public intellectual by refusing to mask her gender or religion. Referring to a critic of her "Songs of a Semite," she wrote, "I wish he could be a Jew for 24 hours—and he would then understand that neither materialism nor indifference prevents the Jews from decrying their persecutors." Lazarus' privileged, busy, short life—she died at 38—deserves notice longer than a sonnet. ■

—Joyce Peseroff



[FILM]

Two Dystopian Movies...and their Visions of Hope

Pan's Labyrinth and *Children of Men* BY KATJE RICHSTATTER

WHAT DOES IT MEAN to be human? What is it that limits our humanity, and what causes it to flower? The need to find or create meaning seems

to be one commonality of human existence—through storytelling, myth, or religion, we can connect to our core decency, a place untouched by the vagaries of the world. Recently, a cadre of Mexican directors—Alfonso Cuarón (*Children of Men*), Guillermo del Toro (*Pan's Labyrinth*) and Alejandro González Iñárritu (*Babel*)—has taken on our global humanity, offering genre-defying and emotionally rich perspectives. Del Toro's *Pan's Labyrinth* looks back to 1944 Spain, while Cuarón's *Children of Men* forwards to 2027 London, a police state that makes today look enviable. Both are dark but not despondent, and seem to offer a choice between humanity and civilization—in each there is an uneasy relationship between the two, from a wary truce to a complete estrangement.

Pan's Labyrinth is a fairy tale and political fable, set during the last throes of opposition to Franco's fascist rule of Spain. Ofelia (Ivana Baquero) is a young girl who travels with her pregnant mother to an old mill and military outpost where her new stepfather, Captain Vidal (Sergi Lopez), is intent on annihilating the last of the Republican troops, who have taken refuge in the woods. There are two worlds in *Pan's Labyrinth*, the bleak political reality, and a fantasy populated by a fearful-looking faun (Doug Jones), fairies, and other creatures of an ancient, pre-Christian world, where Ofelia may be the incarnation of a long-lost princess.

The film is unambiguous in its characterizations of the humans—there is



evil, undiluted Dickens-style evil (Captain Vidal), there is good (Ofelia, her mother, their allies, the rebel army), and there are innocents (her baby brother). Religion is on the side of evil; the priests cozy up to the steely fascists, offering faith as a salve against the horrors of life. The main offense of oppressive regimes is the eradication of choice among its citizens. And despite the heroic uprisings against such despotism, Franco eventually wins. But it seems that the answer to evil is not benevolence, but action. Ofelia alone is awake to the ambiguous, but preferable, world of nature, magic realism, and pagan gods—and ultimately that is where her redemption lies. Del Toro paints the natural and fantastical world in a lush green contrasted against the gray skies and uniform-blue wool of the human realm. The only colors that punctuate this dehumanized place are of blood and fire, administered by Cap-

tain Vidal and his henchmen much more generously than the rations of bread they are in charge of dispensing.

Cuarón's *Children of Men*, based on the novel by P.D. James, is imagined in a similarly muted palette of crumbled grey stone and blue military camouflage. In 2027 London, the rest of the world has collapsed, infertility has been absolute for eighteen years, and the government is fighting against a flood of illegal refugees. Without the ability to reproduce, human extinction is imminent, and in this context it seems plausible—since it's clear that animals can still breed—that God's wrath toward humankind, or our own inability to leave genetics alone, might be the reason. Rations include both antidepressants and suicide pills, and citizens like Theo (Clive Owen) plod along, self-medicating, averting their eyes to the caged refugees, protesting religious zealots and random violence. Theo is



brooding and indifferent at first, but is recruited by his former lover, Julian (Julianne Moore), to be part of a guerilla group called the Fishes, seeking freedom and rights of the "fugees." There is a class component to this struggle, with parallels to liberation theology movements, but it's clear that the resistance forces are plagued with the same cutthroat hierarchy as the dominant society. Theo is entrusted with transporting Kee (Claire-Hope Ashitey), who is miraculously pregnant—a fact that is revealed to him in a barn (manger). The religious allusions range from blatant to subtle, and Western (upon seeing Kee and her newborn, the most common response is either "Jesus Christ" or signing the cross) to Eastern (Kee's midwife chanting Tibetan mantras) expressions. Kee's child is the last hope for human survival, a spark that transforms Theo, who commits his whole self—running barefoot (literally) over the rubble—to help her escape. And though organized religion is mostly portrayed as reactionary—the two sects of protesters are the "Renouncers" and "Repenters"—the quest itself might suggest something different. The citizens of *Children of Men* are disconnected from nature and themselves, a split that suggests a spiritual crisis, and a yearning to return to the basics: no killing, stealing, lying or coveting? Or better yet, the healing values of tolerance, faith, brotherly love, and altruism.

Within our contemporary political despair, each film can be read as both a mirror and an alarm, reflecting what some see as hopeless, or hopelessly complicated by war, immigration struggles, and environmental degradation. Early in *Children of Men*, in a conversation between Theo and Jasper (Michael Caine), an old friend who has retreated to his house in the woods, Theo sums up his life as, "woke up, felt like shit, went to work." Unfortunately, that is a common plight today, resulting in widespread apathy or resigned disgust. There has to be more to life, these films seem to be shouting. Given that there will be oppression, bigotry, and small-mindedness in some form as long as there are political systems, how does one connect to a deeper, and more universal, spirit? In *Pan's Labyrinth* the spirit lies in the ancient, earthy tales of moral responsibility, but also in the hearts of the rebels who refuse to obey an unjust system. In *Children of Men*, the rulers and guardians of oppression, as in a futuristic *Animal Farm*, do not want the citizens to realize their collective power, but one infant could reunite them with their own humanity and each other. In both films we are implored by example not to look away, but to witness the suffering and the mysteries of the world. ■

Katje Richstatter is a fiction and culture writer whose work has appeared in Punk Planet, SOMA, the SF Bay Guardian, and Turning Wheel.

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Dear Swami:

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

BY SWAMI BEYONDANANDA

PSYCHICS WILL BECOME UNNECESSARY, SWAMI PREDICTS

Dear Swami: Are you psychic? And if so, what do you see in the cards for our world in the New Year?

RHODA RUDER,
Redondo Beach, California

Dear Rhoda: People ask me all the time if I am psychic, and I always give them the same answer: I knew you were going to ask that question. And yet, I am loathe to make predictions for several reasons. First, I don't want to jeopardize my non-prophet status. The Eternal Revenue Service has made it pretty clear that making predictions for money is a no-no. Propheteering, they call it.

The second reason I am unwilling to make predictions is now they are taking psychics to court for malpractice. If I make a prediction and it doesn't come true, I can be sued. In other words, if you're a sucker for a seer and what the seer sees sucks, you can redress your grievance in a seersucker suit.

But you know, the most important reason I don't make predictions is that this is indeed a universe of infinite possibilities, and anything can happen. They try to predict the weather, and one little butterfly fart can change everything.

So if we want truly unpredictable and unrecognizable results, my advice is close your predictionary and turn on your tell-a-vision. Attune yourself to the clearest channel you can receive, and tell your vision to others. Then, put yourself into that picture. Live into that possibility until it becomes a probability. I pre-

dict that will lead to a future that is much healthier than the one we are plunging fool-speed ahead into now.

DO WE DESERVE TO BE HAPPY?

Dear Swami: When I see how many humans behave, I have to question whether we humans are worthy of happiness in the first place. Don't you think it's a bit arrogant to think we deserve to have it any better than we do?

RONNA DEMILLE,
Studio City, California

Dear Ronna: Interestingly enough, I posed that very same question to my guru, Harry Cohen Baba "The Garment Center Saint," and he told the following Zen Cohen: It was Yom Kippur, the Jewish Day of Atone-ment. The lawyer, the doctor and the banker were all in the front row of the synagogue. As was the custom in those days, each was beating his breast and declaring his unworthiness: "I'm unworthy! I'm unworthy! I'm unworthy!" Just then, the lowly janitor walked in. Observing the scene, he too walked to front and began crying out, "I'm unworthy! I'm unworthy! I'm unworthy!"

At which point, the lawyer turned to the banker and said, "So, look who thinks he's unworthy!"

Ever since that great philosopher said "I think, therefore I am," we've been giving the mind *descartes blanche*. So let's give the head a little rest and relax in knowing that life is indeed a joke, but God is laughing with us not at us. The Creator is watching the Comedy Channel, and we are what's on. If God is laughing, who are we to not laugh? And if we are the Creator's primary source of entertainment and amusement, we should definitely cut ourselves a little slack.

WANT PEACE? MEDITATION IS THE ANSWER

Dear Swami: I read with interest that you participated in a worldwide meditation for peace a while back. Do these things actually work?

If so, where's the proof?

ARETHA FLOWERS,
Charlotte, North Carolina

Dear Aretha: Yes, it works and the results were extraordinary. During the entire duration of the meditation, there was not one act of violence perpetrated by anyone taking part. This is an amazing 100 percent success rate! The trick now is to get everyone on the planet meditating all the time. ■



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