

*Network of Spiritual Progressives (NSP)*

# THE GLOBAL MARSHALL PLAN

## A NATIONAL SECURITY STRATEGY OF GENEROSITY AND CARE

MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR ON THE WEAKNESS OF VIOLENCE:

*The ultimate weakness of violence  
is that it is a descending spiral,  
begetting the very thing it seeks to destroy....  
...Darkness cannot drive out darkness; only light can do that.  
Hate cannot drive out hate; only love can do that.*

## Dear Network of Spiritual Progressives:

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I'm proud to be working with you to build a campaign for a Global Marshall Plan along lines that you have developed on your website [www.spiritualprogressives.org](http://www.spiritualprogressives.org). Rabbi Michael Lerner and I have great respect for each other, and frankly I'm happy that this initiative comes from cooperation between me, the first Muslim elected to the U.S. House of Representatives, and a rabbi well known for his commitment to peace, social justice and ecological sanity for our planet.

I have introduced into the House of Representatives House Resolution 1078 endorsing the Global Marshall Plan. I'm also glad to have been joined in this effort by those Members of Congress who have signed on as co-sponsors in the House (see sidebar). With your help, many other members of the House and Senate may join as co-sponsors as well.

Sixty-three years ago, the United States emerged from world war determined to rebuild a devastated continent and to sow the seeds of lasting peace and prosperity, even for people whose governments had been our enemies. The Marshall Plan was a great success: it helped Europe recover and dramatically increased the goodwill of the world toward the United States, generating increased U.S. influence for two generations. The Marshall Plan demonstrated the transcendent power of America's political and financial generosity.

Today we face challenges at home and abroad that rival the scale of that time, and I believe the circumstances call us now to meet moral obligations beyond what our current system of public diplomacy and foreign aid are designed to handle.

Foreign aid to poor countries in Africa, Asia and South/Central America, whether considered as a proportion of the Federal budget or as a proportion of gross domestic product (GDP), has never reached close to the amount of money that we used in the first years of the Marshall Plan. Meanwhile, more than 1 billion people on our planet struggle to survive on less than \$1 per day, and another 1.6 billion people on less than \$2 per day.

House Resolution 1078 recognizes that lasting security for America will be best achieved through policies of generosity and caring toward the rest of the world. It points out that the way to achieve these goals is through a new Global Marshall Plan in which the U.S. dedicates 1%-2% of the GDP each year for

the next 20 years toward once and for all eliminating domestic and global poverty, homelessness, hunger, inadequate education, inadequate health care, and repairing the environment of the planet.

The resolution also calls for creating international non-governmental mechanisms for receiving and distributing such funds in ways that ensure that the money is safeguarded from corruption and protected from manipulation to serve elite interests, but instead is distributed in ways that are respectful of native cultures, are environmentally sensitive, and reach the people who need it. It calls for the revising of existing trade agreements in ways that would improve the lives of the poor of the world, providing training in environmental sustainability, family and parental support, emergency health techniques, and non-violent communication.

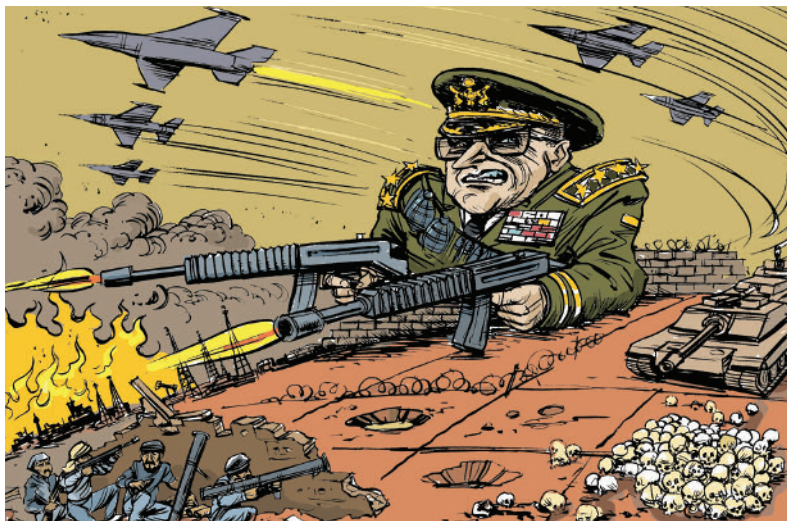
The campaign for a Global Marshall Plan will require years of work to help change the dominant way people think about homeland security. That campaign is being led by Rabbi Michael Lerner and the Network of Spiritual Progressives (NSP). I hope you will join with him and the NSP in this badly needed effort, and I, for my part, will do what I can to bring this way of thinking into the conversation in the U.S. Congress.

*Hon. Keith Ellison (D, MN)  
House of Representatives  
Washington, D.C.*

#### **CO-SPONSORS OF HOUSE RESOLUTION 1078**

|                                   |                                   |
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*Congressman Ellison and the others who have endorsed House Res. 1078 (the NSP version of the Global Marshall Plan) have not seen and do not necessarily endorse the specific arguments and analyses put forward in this booklet, which go further than HR 1078 in explaining the intellectual and spiritual foundations of the NSP approach.*



*Which works better, a global martial plan...*

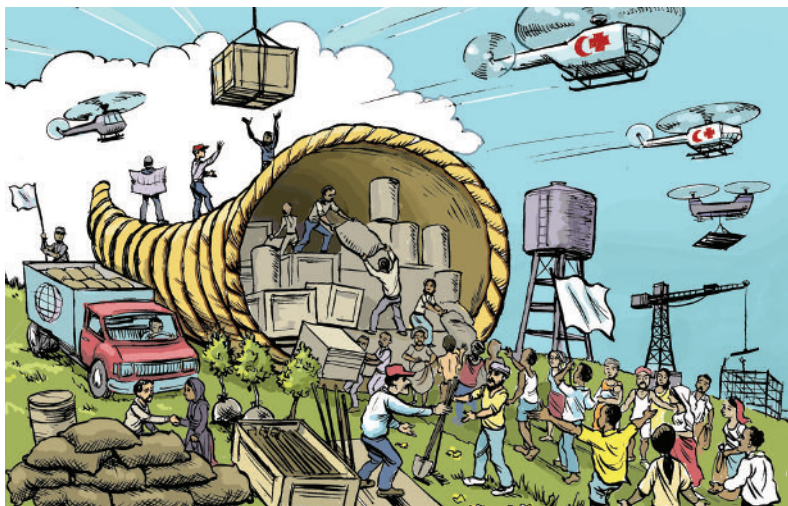
## Security Through Domination: The Current Paradigm

Most people on this planet want to live in a loving and compassionate way. The problem is, we've been taught by our culture that to live that way would put us in danger of being taken advantage of by everyone else. The dominant assumption of our culture is that we live in a world filled with hurtful people who care only about themselves, people who are likely to take advantage of us unless we protect ourselves by getting power over them before they get power over us. For thousands of years much of the human race has been living with the notion that the only way to achieve personal and collective security is through domination of others. That notion is dramatically reinforced by our daily experience in the competitive marketplace and the world of work where we frequently experience ourselves as surrounded by people who seem to be only "looking out for number one." Many people develop a cynical and fearful attitude about others that carries over, and often influences, our personal lives.

Though the levels of fear in the West were dramatically escalated post 9/11, these dynamics have been growing steadily for hundreds of years, with profound psychological and spiritual consequences for our daily lives. People have increasingly withdrawn from loving contact and emotional openness to each other into cocoons of imagined safety. We assume social roles that keep us trapped in isolation and loneliness while yearning for real contact and yet denying to ourselves and others that yearning for genuine recognition and loving community for fear of being humiliated and rejected. The desire to transcend these crippling dynamics is omnipresent, and the need for recognition and deep connection to each other and to a larger

framework of meaning and purpose for our lives beyond “making it” in terms of money or power or sexual conquest or fame is ever-present and ready to break through to a world of genuine connection to other people, to our own deepest feelings, and to joyous celebration of the universe. Yet simultaneously our fear of being humiliated by expressing these needs openly and then finding ourselves made vulnerable while others fail to respond often leads us to repress our own deepest desires or to deny them as “utopian.” In that state of mind we may respond to calls for community that only extend to the people of our own race, religion or nationality, while assuming that “the others” do not share our desires and would, if given the chance, frustrate our needs.

Nurtured by the media, by nationalist or fundamentalist dominated education, and by politicians who constantly adopt that “us vs. them” rhetoric in order to show that they themselves are “responsible” and “realistic,” many Americans accept the notion that the world is fundamentally unsafe and that the goal of American policy should be to advance “American interests” by dominating the world, either militarily, or, through one-sided global economic arrangements and diplomacy. Democrats and Republicans differ on the relative balance between military and diplomatic power, but many in both parties share the mistaken assumption that the only way to achieve security for America is to build a world in which we get “our way.” And “our way” usually ends up being defined in terms of the well-being of the most powerful corporations and their allies. National security is frequently defined in terms of their interests, so we end up spending vastly more on the military than on social programs.



TOM CHALKLEY

*... or a Global Marshall Plan?*

These next two decades are likely to be the last in which US economic and military power decisively shape the world. As China, India and other countries become more powerful, they will likely draw upon the precedents we've set as a world power. If we could dedicate our next two decades to showing how a world power could transcend "Us" vs "Them" thinking, we could be proud of the American legacy.

To do that, we have to stop talking about keeping America "number one" and stop ignoring the suffering of billions on this planet. We should show that world power can act in ways that seek the advantage of all people on the planet.

Too many otherwise decent people shrug their shoulders in despair about achieving this kind of consciousness in America. They tell themselves that to be "realists" they must accept the current way that the capitalist system functions and the way that elites of wealth and power shape our system while so many others simply "go along to get along." As a result, they end up participating in a society that continues to promote a global ethos of materialism, selfishness, and "looking out for number one." They even put-down those who advocate for more fundamental change, changes that they themselves actually really want, because they've been convinced that the world that they really want is unattainable. But it is this belief itself, shared by hundreds of millions of very good human beings, that makes it unattainable.

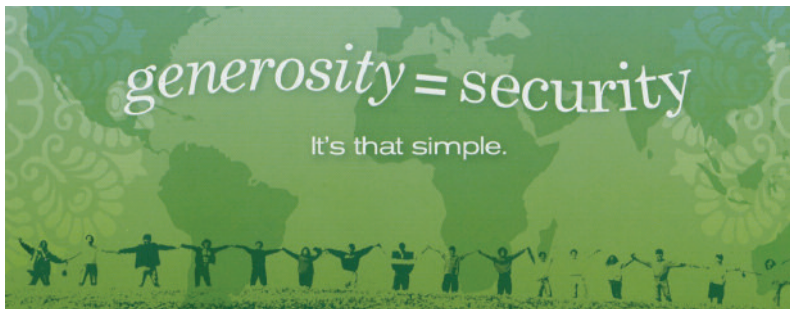
Even those who preach "change" in politics have allowed their vision to be constricted. To prove that they too are tough and "realistic," they buy the very distorted militarist assumptions that brought us to the idea that we could beat terrorism by making more wars or issuing more threats of war and violence. To change these dynamics in American politics, we need a social movement that can unequivocally assert that our well-being as Americans depends on the well-being of everyone else on the planet and on the well-being of the planet itself.

## **Security Through Generosity, Respect, and Caring: The New Paradigm**

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The Network of Spiritual Progressives (NSP) rejects a reality based on fear of others. We believe it is time for a fundamentally new approach to security and foreign policy. We suggest that generosity and genuine caring for others can be a much more effective and morally coherent approach to human safety, peace and development. We call this approach the "Strategy of Generosity."

Building the Strategy of Generosity and caring requires that we reconnect with the human capacity to recognize others as embodiments of the sacred, or, in secular language, as fundamentally worthy because of who they are and not just because of what they can do for us. This profound and intuitive connection among people must become the center of our campaign for peace and environmental sanity. The bonds of caring among human beings can and must be fostered and nurtured by our policies, because otherwise they are often undermined by economic and political arrangements that make these fundamental human ties seem “unrealistic” and even threatening.



The key to our alternative, what we call the Strategy of Generosity, is our commitment to cultivate trust and hope among the peoples of the world so that we might begin to reflect and act effectively to end world poverty in our lifetimes and save the global environment from almost certain destruction.

An essential element in this strategy is to recognize that terrorism is generated by a global system that demeans the values and the lives of many on this planet. While we in the West tell ourselves that our globalized corporate culture, our sex- and money-crazed media, and our political domination of the world are bringing enlightenment and rationality to a “backward” world, many people experience it quite differently. They see the extreme individualism, materialism, and deterioration of families and religions in the West as a sickness that threatens to overpower through force or through media indoctrination the values and communities upon which they have built their own self-esteem. The demeaning of their cultures by the West coupled with the imposition of global economic arrangements that impoverish many in the economically underdeveloped world is experienced as a humiliation which threatens to destroy their own sources of meaning and higher purpose in life. This combination of poverty and humiliation drives many people into frenzies of rage and into

re-interpreting their own religious or cultural traditions to emphasize the need to drive out the foreigners or the imposers of a form of secularism that threatens to engulf and destroy their last vestiges of self-esteem. The Global Marshall Plan provides an alternative which maintains a strong national defense but nevertheless reaches out to others and siphons off their rage and brings them into connection with a world of people who actually do have respect and caring for them. A strategy that provides this kind of recognition of their humanity, coupled with generous help to provide for economic well-being, is a better alternative, more likely to make us secure, than driving them mad through military, economic, political and cultural forms of humiliation.

## What is the Global Marshall Plan?

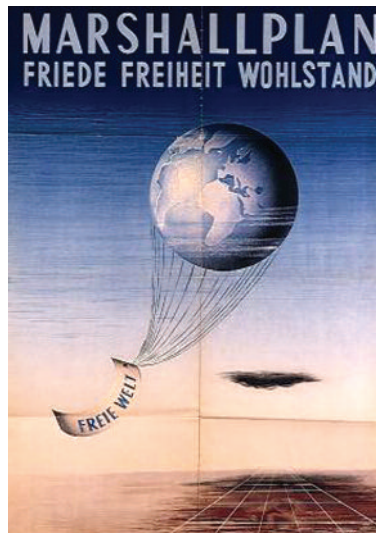


**The Global Marshall Plan is a plan for all the world's people to work in solidarity to eliminate poverty once and for all and to heal the environmental crisis.**

The Global Marshall Plan takes its name from the post-World War II Marshall Plan, a massive and successful project to provide aid to Western European countries—including Germany, which had been our antagonist in the war. Historians have debated how altruistic the plan was. Some argue that a large part of the motivation for the original Marshall Plan was to strengthen capitalist economies in Europe to prevent them from becoming Communist. A similar motive to prevent the world from devolving into terrorist-generated chaos might inspire some who will join our efforts for a Global Marshall Plan. But other historians point to the strong strands of generosity that were tapped when Americans embraced rebuilding the devastated lives of the defeated nations against which they had just waged war. This was enlightened self-interest, and it can ally with strong altruistic tendencies that persist in Americans and many others around the world, this time mobilized to combat the suffering of humanity that leads to destructive wars, violence and ecological irresponsibility.

Over the past 25 years, various ideas have emerged for a similar massive relief effort for developing nations. They are called “Marshall Plans” because





*Posters from the original Marshall Plan.*

there are tens of millions of Americans still alive today who remember with pride that moment in American history when our country acted generously to help others, and the program actually worked! Unlike subsequent “foreign aid” which was scant and given frequently in the form of military assistance to undemocratic elites and not for the purpose of ending poverty, the Marshall Plan, precisely because it was massive and aimed at the well-being of the majority of Europeans, has retained its favorable status in the memories of the American people and others around the world. That’s why in 2008, when calling for a global effort that had many elements in common with what we are proposing, U.K. Prime Minister Gordon Brown called for a “Marshall Plan.” The idea is growing, and the NSP is dedicating our efforts to build public support for the underlying Strategy of Generosity, caring for others, and humility that are at the heart of this effort, even as we continue to advocate for our larger Spiritual Covenant with America (please check it out at [www.spiritualprogressives.org](http://www.spiritualprogressives.org)).

The spirit of generosity that is needed for a Global Marshall Plan has fallen victim to the rise of fear and looking out for number one that has dominated American politics in the last thirty years. Today, while other wealthy countries do poorly enough by giving only 30 cents in aid per \$100 of income in their countries, the U.S. does even worse: it gives only 17 cents per \$100 of income. The Right has successfully convinced many Americans that we are giving a huge part of our budget to aid—but the facts are quite the opposite.

Here are the essential elements of the plan as developed so far by the Network of Spiritual Progressives (NSP):

- **Provide enough funding to eliminate domestic and global poverty, homelessness, hunger, inadequate education and inadequate health care, plus repair the global environment.** The most modest estimates for this would be to dedicate 1-2% of the Gross Domestic Product (GDP) of the world's developed nations toward funding this goal each year for the next twenty years. We do not want to wait until all of the G-8 nations are involved in this project; *we believe that the U.S. must lead by example, dedicating at least 1% to 2% of its GDP toward this goal starting as soon as the American people can get Congress to fund it.*



*An Indian villager participates in a "People's Summit Against Poverty" in New Delhi, India, Saturday, Sept. 3, 2005.*

- **Create an international, unbiased, nongovernmental agency for receiving the funds (from both foreign aid and alternative sources of financing) and distributing them in a way that is environmentally sensitive, respectful of native cultures, safeguarded against corruption, protected from manipulation to serve elite interests, and empowering of the people in each region.** *This agency or mechanism should be governed by a board of ethicists, religious leaders, artists, writers, social theorists, philosophers, economists, scientists, and social change activists, all of whom have demonstrated in the ways that they have lived their lives and conducted their public affairs that they give higher priority to the well-being of others than to the well-being of corporations or wealthy elites.*
- **Revise trade agreements in which the U.S. is currently involved so that they no longer privilege the most powerful and economically successful Western countries and the elites of other countries at the expense of the poor of the world.** Global trade must be both multilateral and equitable. New agreements must provide support and encouragement for working people to organize, receive a living wage, and work under adequate safety and health conditions and environmental



*World trade policies frequently harm farmers. This poster commemorates South Korean activist and farmers' leader Lee Kyung Hae, who died protesting World Trade Organization policies.*

safeguards. Trade agreements must also protect farmers, both at home and abroad, encouraging food prices that make it possible for farmers to make a living and poorer people to buy adequate food, and encourage land use that is environmentally sustainable.

- **Ensure hands-on involvement from peoples of the world through an International Peace and Generosity Corps** which would provide ways for people with useful skills to volunteer two years (at any age) toward the goals of the Global Marshall Plan. High school graduates would receive college tuition and room and board following their service, and older Americans would receive a yearly salary equivalent to their average salary for the past five years of work, as well as a guaranteed job after service is completed.

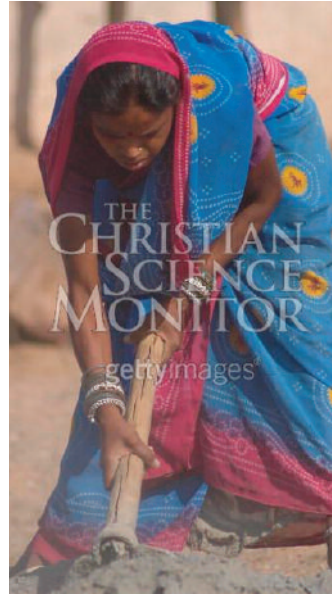


*A Peace Corps volunteer (right) learns to cook traditional food in Ghana.*

- **Fund trained, unarmed, civilian peace teams such as the Non-violent Peaceforce to intervene in areas of conflict.** Retrain the armies of nations around the world to become experts in ecologically

sensitive construction of those aspects of their own societies that need relief and reconstruction, including agriculture, health care, housing, infrastructure, education and computers, and other appropriate technology.

- **Train everyone on the planet in techniques of nonviolent communication, diversity, environmental sustainability, family and parental support, stress reduction, emergency health techniques, diet and exercise, and caring for others who are in need of help.**
- **Empower girls.** A major focus of our program will be the empowerment of girls through literacy, education and skills-training, plus opening up of work for young women. This process requires building support in the local villages and families for this kind of switch in the role of girls, so that too becomes part of the education process.



- **Ensure that the local village communities feel empowered by the programs being introduced,** that they have and experience “ownership” of the programs, and so feel a real stake in the success of the programs. The involvement of people on the local level is critical. At the same time, we will consciously take steps to make sure that government bureaucrats do not feel under-recognized or “dissed” by the programs we introduce. The goal must be to achieve ongoing “buy-in” and involvement by all the stake holders, rather than passivity and resentment.
- **Empowerment is a central goal.** We seek to promote active involvement of the recipients of support in developing their own skills to the point that they can enter and strengthen local economies.
- **Vast improvement of health care systems globally,** including: giving

*Women in India manage markets, mines, farms, fisheries and other businesses which got financial startup funds (microfinance) through Self-Help Groups (SHGs). Here an SHG member mixes concrete.*



*An Interfaith Convocation on Hunger was held at the Washington National Cathedral in 2007. Organized by Bread for the World, it attracted nearly 1,000 worshippers from 45 states. Catholic, Protestant, Jewish, Muslim and other leaders urged an abiding commitment to bring "bread to those who are hungry, and hunger for justice to those who have bread."*

primacy to health promotion rather than only treating illness; dramatic reduction of the role of private insurance companies and health care profiteers in the delivery of health care; recognition of quality health care as a fundamental right to be provided without regard to the capacity of individuals to pay for such services; free availability globally of vaccines, antibiotics, food supplements, training in health care promotion and prevention in every school system and every village; and free medical school training. Health care is a form of caring, and caring should shape every aspect of the way we deliver medical support.

- **Recognize that the private sector, the public sector, NGOs, private foundations, academia, social change activists, and religious and spiritual communities all have important elements to contribute to our Global Marshall Plan.** Each sector should be involved in providing their special capacities in the development and implementation of the Global Marshall Plan. The public sector can contribute monies to funding basic scientific research that will help in developing alternative energy sources, medical advances, and environmentally-friendly forms of production of goods and agriculture; the private sector can provide help in implementing programs and in providing funding; NGOs can help with finding the appropriate people to provide leadership in the conceptualization and implementation of local, regional and national plans; academia can support both the scientific research and graduate students with the skills and capacities (ethical, intellectual and emotional) to develop and sustain widespread support for a Strategy of Generosity and/or to participate in the hands-on work of an International



*"World Harmony" by Salma Arastu. Born a Hindu in India, Arastu embraced Islam through her marriage. See [www.salmaarastu.com](http://www.salmaarastu.com).*

Peace and Generosity Corps; and religious and spiritual communities can provide careful monitoring to ensure that the program does not become drowned in bureaucracy and spiritual deadness and hence capitulate to the ethos of looking out for number one or making unnecessary compromises in focus to accommodate the interests of economic

and political elites, and they can join with social change activists both to ensure that the program does not lose its central ethical focus and spiritual goal to elicit in people of the world a new sense of caring for each other and to ensure that genuine involvement of the recipients becomes the hallmark of this program.

- **Environmental goals will be central to GMP funding.** These must include ways to: slow or stop deforestation; reduce by 80% the carbon emissions from our factories, furnaces, automobiles and energy sources; achieve a global limit on overall greenhouse gas; adapt to the likely damage already done to the global environment (which will impact most disastrously on many countries that are already suffering from extreme poverty); secure safe drinking water and sanitation for all; reject privatization of water; increase water efficiency in agriculture; protect biodiversity; dramatically reduce the consumption of meat in order to shift croplands to more efficient food production; protect global fisheries from pollution and excess fishing; promote family planning and stabilize the world's population.
- **Engage the loving life energies of the universe, to re-instill hope and generosity in people involved in this program** whether as donors, recipients, trainers or in any other capacity. We will judge our program successful to the degree that it makes people feel safe and cared for by others, less alone, more trusting and more willing to personally engage in acts of caring and generosity toward others and more capable of caring for the planet earth and responding to the majesty and mystery of the

universe with awe, wonder and radical amazement at the grandeur of all that is. It is this spiritual outcome that is our bottom line. If done with this intention, we believe we can construct a set of programs that will nourish and excite the souls of everyone alive on the planet, so that they burn with passionate intensity for life, and embody a new level of inner calm and gentleness that can help repair the planet.

We estimate that this program, if fully implemented, could cost as much as 3-5% of the GDP of the world. Our commitment is to start with the 1%-2% of U.S. GDP and move from there.

People will be tempted to dismiss this plan as “too unrealistic.” We must break through our entrenched assumptions about what is realistic so that people can look at the Strategy of Generosity not through the frame of existing inside-the-beltway assumptions or the “common sense” thrown at us daily by a corporate-dominated media, but rather through the frame of what the human race and the planet earth urgently need in order to survive the 21st century. Don’t ask what is possible, since possibilities change as people’s awareness changes. Ask, instead, “What is necessary?”

## A Global Marshall Plan for Domestic Needs as Well

- **Part of the NSP version of the Global Marshall Plan aims at eliminating poverty, inadequate education, inadequate health care and repairing the environment in the advanced industrial societies,** particularly in the U.S. where wealth disparities are so extreme and environmental responsibility so underdeveloped. Some of these funds, then,

will be used to finance social welfare programs for health, education, job training, alternative forms of energy and transportation, and support for our elders and for the unemployed. Caring for our own is not a first step but a simultaneous step with caring for others and has equal ethical validity. It has political wisdom as well. As economist Jeffrey Sachs points out, “social



JOSH MACPHEE

welfare spending not only reduces inequities and uncertainties within a rich society but also bolsters the confidence and trust within the society to be more generous on the international stage. Countries treat the world's poor and vulnerable as they treat their own. U.S. policies, by pursuing a constricted notion of social insurance, foster a society of fear and vulnerability that lacks the readiness to contribute more to global cooperation. Mainstream Americans feel increasingly unnerved by widening income inequality at home, and are themselves less likely to support assistance for the poor abroad.”

- **Learn to bridge the divisions that keep us apart.** Economist Jeffrey Sachs points out that people are more willing to pay for programs that help people like themselves, so they are less likely to support programs for the disadvantaged if the socioeconomic divisions coincide with racial or ethnic divisions. Unlearning racism and dismantling its economic, political, ideological and institutional manifestations is a critical need if the Global Marshall Plan is to succeed. The poor—of our own or another race, ethnicity or religion—are not “other.” They are all “us.” Similarly, strengthened unions can play an important role in mobilizing support for both domestic and global aspects of the Global Marshall Plan if their leadership elites can think beyond the narrow forms of self-interest that have sometimes paralyzed the best instincts and deepest spiritual truths that undergird the imperative to organize and defend the interests of working people.

The current economic woes facing the U.S. are in large part a product of the absence of the consciousness of mutual solidarity and generosity that the NSP version of the Global Marshall Plan seeks to develop. The dramatic increase in oil prices is not just a result of increased demand but of the desire on the part of speculators to make super-profits without regard to the social consequences of their greed. Similarly, the home mortgage crisis is largely generated by reckless encouragement of debt by the large banks and selling of those mortgages in a global banking system detached from concerns about providing affordable housing for middle income people. It is the lack of connectedness to human needs, which are being played with irresponsibly by our advertisers, speculators and financial institutions, which underlies our current economic tensions. Because funding for our plan does not involve new taxes on middle income people (see below), the GMP will not add to our economic burden, while the values of solidarity and caring for others that it will foster are precisely what is needed to stabilize the world economy and purge it of the striking irrationality that hap-



pens when an economic system is ruled purely by a drive for profit and selfishness without the balance of generosity and caring for others and for the planet.

## A Spirit of Humility

We offer this plan with a commitment to humility and a conviction that it cannot work unless it is understood as deriving from our own commitment to the well-being of everyone on the planet and not primarily as a self-interested plan to advance American or Western world power and influence, though of course we know that this is actually a far better way to achieve homeland security than the trillions that the Western world spends on arms, military assaults, and “defense.”



We must also insist that the plan be implemented with a clear message that although the West has superior technology and material success, we do not equate that with superior moral or cultural wisdom. On the contrary, our approach must reflect a deep humility and a spirit of repentance for the ways in which Western dominance of the planet has been accompanied by wars, environmental degradation, and a growing materialism and selfishness.



We have much to learn from the peoples of the world, their cultures, their spiritual and intellectual heritage, their ways of dealing with human relationships. That insight must guide the kind of Global Marshall Plan that the NSP supports, so that this doesn't end up being a new installment of “the Ugly American” pushing our agenda around

the world. On the other hand, we will also avoid the manipulation that sometimes takes place when elites of the third world tell us that we in the West have no idea what their people need and that only they can represent their own people. We do know that people need an end to poverty, homelessness, hunger, inadequate education, inadequate health care and environmental degradation, and we want to work only with people who are truly dedicated to those goals. We are not going to be manipulated by those who demean as “a form of cultural imperialism” all ideas that come from the West, from whites, from men, or any other of the categories that are sometimes used to make people in the West feel guilty. We are all in this together, and people in the West have reason for humility, but not self-abnegation.

### **“Realistic” and Right**

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It is in our own interests as humans to recognize that our individual and societal well-being depends on the well-being of everyone else on the planet. The Global Marshall Plan could save the planet from nuclear and conventional wars and jump-start the process of global environmental planning.

**“Enlightened self-interest,” sure. But is the Self...**



**THIS?**



**OR THIS?**

But there is an even more crucial reason to adopt it, and that is because it reflects our deep need to care for each other as momentary embodiments of God (or whatever name you use for the goodness and love and generosity of the universe at its current stage of evolutionary development). We wish to foster an ethos of caring and love for others because it is ethically and spiritually right to do so, not only because it is instrumentally the only sane policy for saving the planet and saving the lives of our children and grandchildren.

The Global Marshall Plan (GMP) can only work if it is perceived not as a new way for the West to dominate the world or fund further penetration of Western corporate and media dominance around the planet, but if it is perceived primarily as manifestation of a new awareness that has grown in the Western world of our interdependence with and caring for everyone on the planet. Even domestic support for the NSP version of the GMP will grow to the extent that people perceive it as a manifestation of genuine caring rather than primarily as a smart and savvy way to protect the United States (which it also is) or as a way for some smart liberal and progressive politicians to gain greater public support (which it also is).

For us, the Global Marshall Plan is worthy not only because it serves the biblical imperative to care for the poor and the down-trodden, but also because the very debate around the idea of a Strategy of Generosity will be empowering. If the campaign for a Global Marshall Plan adheres to the approach we present here, it will help many people recognize their actual deeply held (but sometimes denied) desire for mutual recognition, genuine caring and love. Insisting on values like generosity, repentance, humility, and transcending selfishness and materialism provides a language to challenge the one-dimensional technocratic rationality that presents itself as the only form of respectable thinking. Our language seeks to support the re-emergence of a heart-centered rationality that involves responding to others with overflowing generosity and to the universe with awe and wonder and radical amazement at the grandeur of all that is. Though it's likely to take a long time before the NSP version of the Global Marshall Plan is adopted by the US and other world governments, the campaign for it has an intrinsic value because of the way it will place into public discourse the fundamental human needs that have been too long ignored, and will challenge notions of what is realistic that have constricted our imaginations and crippled our politics.



*A young girl in Dasilami, Gambia, walks past a storage house stocked with grain to help tide local families over during times of environmental or economic crisis.*

## How Our Global Marshall Plan Differs From Other “Aid” Plans

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Where aid has failed to work as expected or hoped, it is not only because funds have often been siphoned off or misused, but also and primarily because they have not been part of a comprehensive plan to once and for all end both domestic and global poverty. Imagine that you wanted to end malaria, but instead of draining all the swamps in your area, you drained a few at a time, often with inadequate funds to even do that effectively. Then, after some time, people in your society said, “lets stop draining the swamps—after all, that hasn’t had much of an impact on malaria, but meanwhile it’s costing us higher taxes.” They’d be right—the partial steps have not worked and will not work.

But we don’t mean to suggest that our vision of the Global Marshall Plan should be seen as an alternative to other partial programs that are doing important work. We fully support the One Campaign, Oxfam, Bread for the World, and dozens of other enterprises that are motivated by the same desire to end the suffering of people around the world. In fact, there’s a good chance that as more people rally around the Global Marshall Plan, more of the corporate interests and conservative elites that run the Western world will suddenly discover that they have found ways to raise the funding for these other more partial plans as a way to head off too much support for a more comprehensive plan. We welcome that—because we don’t want to suggest that people should wait till a Global Marshall Plan is funded in order to take significant steps to relieve the burdens imposed by

debt, poverty, and exploitative trade arrangements and environmental insensitivity. We believe that the campaign for a Global Marshall Plan is likely to bring even more people into support for these other campaigns which we view as allies. At the same time these campaigns have been educating the public in ways that are critical to building support for a huge national effort. Would it not be a great flowering of their work to see a GMP come into being? And it is clear that a GMP will need all of their expertise to make sure it works as intended.



*Albina du Boisrouvray, French founder of the organization FXB International, whose goal is to fight poverty and AIDS, and support orphans and vulnerable children left in the wake of the AIDS pandemic, meets families in Thailand. They are taking part in a program to help them gain income and tackle AIDS.*

On the other hand, we think a major reason that many people don't want "big government programs" is because they have watched for decades as their taxes have risen to support programs for the poor that never ended poverty, but seemed to be sinking people's hard-earned monies into a bottomless pit. This feeling is reasonable and not always a reflection of selfishness. So a comprehensive plan that can be seen to be viable in actually achieving the One Campaign's great goal to "Make Poverty History" might generate more public support and more willingness to raise taxes than less comprehensive programs that —despite their good and sometimes amazing work—in sum only put bandages onto a world that is bleeding more heavily than the bandages can contain. People will be more willing to make sacrifices for a larger goal that would actually make a huge difference than for smaller goals that will only perpetuate the world as it is, with all its obvious pain and suffering.

The NSP is working closely with other groups moving toward the same aim, including the Centre for Global Negotiations, the Global Marshall Plan Initiative, and Global Commons.org

## Where Will the Money Come From to Pay For a GMP?

Please note that the militarists and political centrists who have funded our wars and foreign policy misadventures never get pushed to answer this question for their strategy. When Congress voted a blank check to the

President for the war in Iraq, it didn't include a plan for how to fund the war. Close to a trillion dollars later, the Democrats who ran in 2006 with the promise of ending the war continued to vote for hundreds of billions to continue it instead. Why? Because for them as for the militarists and centrists, the question of where the funding comes from and what other programs have to lose their funding is never asked by the media or by the society as a whole, it being "obvious" to everyone that when it comes to national security there is no relevance to the question and that the government will find a way to fund it. The same approach is appropriate for the Global Marshall Plan, since it is in fact the best possible approach to national security. Once we've been able to convince people about that, the rest of the funding issue will recede in importance.



*"Sluggo" by Chad Person. Medium: U.S. Currency on Canvas.*

One source of money will be the military budget itself. The GMP will be a primary part of that budget. In turn, huge savings of hundreds of billions of dollars will be possible each year that we implement the GMP by reducing other useless military spending.

In addition, a tax of one percent on all international financial transactions of over \$1 million could generate the rest of the funding. This Currency Transaction Tax can also be supplemented by a tax on world trade: goods would be subject to a 0.5% tax, which would have only a tiny impact on

consumer prices. A tax on carbon emissions, on international and domestic sales of arms and ammunitions, ocean fishing, maritime freight, offshore oil and gas might also contribute to the sources for funding the GMP.

## Eliminate The Military Entirely?

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Though the success of the GMP might lead to a world in which the elimination of a military becomes conceivable, we are not yet there. In this historical moment, a GMP will only win mass approval if it is seen as one leg of a two-legged strategy, in which military defense is still intact and powerful.

A rational defense policy coupled with the GMP will provide far better defense than the U.S. currently has been able to muster by depending primarily on military interventions around the world. The direction we propose would involve withdrawing U.S. forces to our own borders, closing our military bases around the world, and strengthening international institutions that could provide nonviolent interventions, but if necessary military interventions in the case of clear and present danger of genocide or ethnic cleansings. Although we believe that nonviolence is the only path for the future of the human race, we understand that convincing Americans of the viability of a nonviolent defense will take many years, and that one of the steps in that direction will be the success of a Global Marshall Plan which proves that generosity can actually work to increase security. Nevertheless, in implementing the two-prong strategy, we will be able to achieve huge savings in the military budget by a new balance that focuses military defense on our borders.

The GMP is the most appropriate weapon for the war on terror. It replaces the failed strategies of military interventions with the Strategy of Generosity and caring for others. A strong national defense requires the GMP, and those politicians who refuse to move in this direction should be seen as stuck in the 19th and 20th century mentality and as a result as “weak on national defense.” It’s as if they are spending money on muskets from the 18th century, whereas we need to use the power of kindness and generosity. There’s no point in being wimpy about this—love, generosity, real respect, and caring should be advocated for in a strong way, not defensively or as if we suspect that they are really “secondary measures that would be nice to integrate if we could afford to, but we cannot.” The truth is that the advanced industrial societies of the world can’t afford to anything less than the GMP.



*Tube Well stranded by rising flood water in Bangladesh.*

## The GMP and the Environmental Crisis

Solving the global environmental crisis will require the active cooperation of all the people of the world. We will need a global plan for preserving natural resources, preventing wasteful production and consumption of unnecessary goods, allocating increasingly scarce food and water, and a coordinated plan to reduce the rate of population growth. This kind of cooperation is impossible as long as the U.S. or other countries rely on the strategy of domination to achieve our goals. Here's why:

The Western world holds a vastly disproportionate amount of the wealth of the planet. Talk of reducing consumption to save the environment is inevitably heard by many in the poorer countries as a way to freeze this inequality. "Why," people in the third world

argue, "should we condemn our citizens to a lower level of material well-being than the West already enjoys? We have the same rights to excessive consumption as they have had for the past 200 years." It's useless in that situation for the West to preach about "the greater good" when the West hordes its wealth.







*Catching every drop, girls share the task of pumping their water by hand, from a well in North Darfur, Sudan.*

Moreover, consider the situation of an individual in the third world. She might be told that cutting down the trees in the Amazon or increasing the number of her children in India or Pakistan or Indonesia or Uganda might be a long-term threat to the environmental sustainability of the world. But her immediate situation is that living on less than \$1 a day, she faces malnutrition, inadequate health services, and inadequate education to allow her children to do better than she. She has an immediate survival need to act in ways that might be unsustainable but which might achieve survival for her family. If she has enough children, she could reason, some of them might survive and provide her with the minimum material needs to physically survive when she is too old to work. Saving the global commons can only be done when people feel that their own personal survival is also part of the plan. Otherwise, we are likely to see both individual and national struggles, even possibly world wars, fought in the 21st century over water, food, and other declining resources as one group or country after another tries to take for itself without regard to the well-being of the rest of the world.

A Global Marshall Plan provides a direction to solve these problems. Done correctly, the Global Marshall Plan will put into place health care and educational systems and a more functional economy. The revision of world trade agreements so as to protect small farmers and allow for local production of organic goods will not only save on energy resources but will also allow for the development of local sustainable economies that will raise



*Adelina Ortiz signs official documents for a new women's organization in Ahuachapan, El Salvador, whose mission is to teach women about their human rights and help them train for work to support their families. The organization was established by Ortiz and other women in her community.*

the material well-being of people in the third world and give them an alternative to environmentally unsustainable and destructive practices.

Because the NSP version of the Global Marshall Plan puts so much emphasis on a change of consciousness, its impact on environmental issues

will be profound. When people in the advanced industrial societies see the world through the framework of generosity and caring for others, it becomes possible for them to take seriously the immediate dangers to survival that their own profligate spending and misuse of the world's resources constitute. The significant reduction in the accumulation of material goods and the transformation of energy, transportation, and production of goods necessary to preserve the planet will no longer feel like an impossible burden to be resisted, but a gift to be given to the planet and to the peoples of the world whom we in the advanced industrial societies have learned to embrace. A life of simplicity can feel like a rise in one's standard of living even as it is a decrease in one's level of consumption, if it is accompanied by an end to domestic and global poverty, the resulting decline in crime, full health care for all, a growing sense of community and connection to the people around us, and a reviving global environment.

Most important, the NSP version of the Global Marshall Plan insists on implementation that respects and honors the wisdom and cultural specificity of recipients as well as environmentally sustainable projects. The shift in global consciousness from domination to generosity within the more advanced industrial societies will eventually generate a new level of trust around the globe, and it is that level of trust that is the indispensable precondition for the development of rational global environmental policies. The GMP is thus the necessary first step toward saving the planet from environmental destruction. All the more reason why we must make the GMP an immediate priority for our public attention and action.



## What You Can Do

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Jump into this project with all your heart and all your energies. Make this a major focus of your non-work activities.

1. Talk about these ideas with everyone you know. Don't allow them to tell you it's unrealistic, when the world as it currently has developed is unsustainable and leading to endless wars, poverty, suffering and environmental destruction. Perhaps they don't yet really allow themselves to know that the UN estimates that between 15,000 and 40,000 children under the age of five die every single day of diseases related to malnutrition or because medical care and drugs are not available to them that could have saved their lives—approximately 12 million per year. Only a Global Marshall Plan at the level we are proposing could change this.
2. Invite people to your home and have them watch a video from the NSP about the Global Marshall Plan. Then engage them in discussions about what they are willing to do to help get this idea the support it needs.
3. Join the Network of Spiritual Progressives (NSP) and give us the financial support we need to reprint this brochure and develop other educational tools to promote this message. With your annual membership comes a free subscription to *Tikkun Magazine*.

4. Approach local and national religious organizations (such as your own church, synagogue, mosque, ashram, zendo, etc.), trade unions, professional organizations, civic organizations, colleges and universities, elected officials and people or political parties seeking your support during elections—and ask them all to officially endorse the Global Marshall Plan and lend their names to our campaign.



5. Educate your own elected officials about the importance of the Global Marshall Plan and ask them to teach their colleagues about the importance of supporting this plan.

6. Donate, create fund-raisers, approach people you know who have money or contacts in foundations, and ask for them to support the NSP in this project.



7. Get your local city council, state legislature and elected representatives in the House and Senate to enthusiastically and energetically back the NSP version of the GMP. If they won't, collect signatures to put it on the ballot if your state allows that initiative process, or collect signatures on a petition to elected officials.

8. Challenge the media to cover this campaign and to represent the perspective of those who believe that this is the best path to homeland security and national defense.

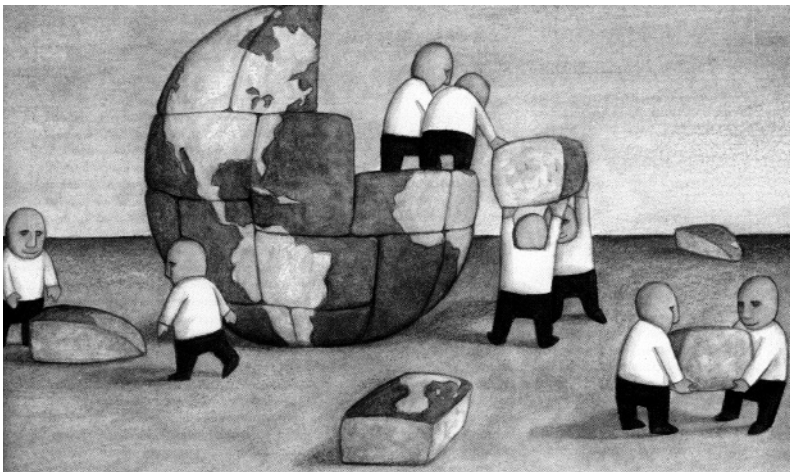
9. Build a local Network of Spiritual Progressives, composed of people who want to build support for the Global Marshall Plan. Once they join as members, they'll receive our information and our latest tools for building public support. Create your own leaflets or circulate our petition and get names of supporters who endorse it (and send that to us). Create a videotape. Spread our message on the web. Write op-eds or do videos on YouTube and other parts of the net. Create a movie, a song, a novel, a dance, a poem, about this movement!

10. Change your WILL and give a generous donation or bequest to NSP (tax-deductible non-profit name: The Institute for Labor and Mental Health). Write an ethical will for your children, sharing with them your wisdom and ethical vision, and urge them to support NSP.
11. Volunteer in our office, and encourage children and/or grandchildren to spend a year with us as an intern for the Network of Spiritual Progressives. Do acts of spontaneous generosity in your own life—by sharing with others, open-heartedly forgiving people who have offended or hurt you, and taking care of others who are in need without expectation of a “return on your investment” of time and energy and money. Be generous also in accepting the foibles and weaknesses of those who join you in this campaign—accepting that everyone on this planet is somewhat wounded and somewhat inadequate, but since that’s all there is on the planet, we have to work with our own and each other’s problematic parts. And do this work with joy at the opportunity that it gives you to do “tikkun”—the fundamental healing and transformation of the world. It’s an amazing privilege to have time give back to God and to the universe in this way—so use the opportunity you have to the fullest! Don’t ever say, “Nobody told me how I could be of help.” This is the way to be of help—please JOIN US!

## Why Bother?

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The future of the world is at stake. Our survival physically. Our spiritual health. The quality of human relationships on the planet. The survival of many other species and their ecosystems.



Some people believe that once good people are in place in the government, these problems will go away. Yet our own conversations with elected officials teach us that they are faced with massive pressures to keep going in the same old directions and to keep funding and relying upon the strategies of domination. The media will show massive cynicism toward any leader who talks about genuine caring and generosity. Members of Congress will respond to their funders and to the calls for being “realistic.” Even the most idealistic of them will feel constrained by their own advisors and their allies in Congress, unless they can point to a huge political movement that is equally determined as the lobbyists and the special interests, equally capable of getting its message heard, and equally insistent when meeting elected officials, media, or other public-opinion shapers on the urgency of giving the NSP version of the Global Marshall Plan a solid commitment.

This is not the task of someone else. Even if you are a full-time student, or raising your children, or working two shifts or in a professional job that takes all of your time, or an aging senior who is confined to bed, you can still help. You can make a phone call a week to an elected official or to a journalist. You can invite people to your home to show them an NSP video about the Global Marshall Plan. You can write a letter a week. You can talk about these ideas to everyone you know. And you can donate 1% of your annual income to supporting our campaign for the Global Marshall Plan. Whatever you do will make a difference. ■



# YES, I'LL JOIN THE NSP CAMPAIGN FOR A GLOBAL MARSHALL PLAN (GMP).

Sign me up as an endorser of the NSP version of the GMP. I commit to doing all I can to support your efforts and publicize these ideas. Use my name as one of the supporters of your efforts.

**Name:** \_\_\_\_\_

**Organizational Affiliation:** \_\_\_\_\_  
*(for identification purposes only and does not imply that the organization endorses the GMP or other ways that you'd wish to be identified)*

**Email** *(absolutely essential, so write carefully):* \_\_\_\_\_

**Address:** \_\_\_\_\_

**City, State Zip:** \_\_\_\_\_

**Home Phone:** \_\_\_\_\_ **Business Phone:** \_\_\_\_\_

## YES, I'LL DONATE TO HELP THIS GMP CAMPAIGN.

Enclosed is a check made to the Network of Spiritual Progressives GMP Campaign.

You can deduct the following amount from my credit card:

\$2,500 Patron

\$1,000 World Transformer

\$500 Pillar of the GMP Campaign

\$150

\$100

\$60

\$100 each month till I tell you to stop: Maximizer of Generosity

\$50 each month till I tell you to stop: Sustainer of Global Caring

\$35 each month till I tell you to stop: Basic Supporter

Other: \$ \_\_\_\_\_

I can't afford anything at this moment, but I still want to make the following commitment to help build this movement (please write clearly, and if you want to attach another piece of paper describing what you will do more fully, please include on that page as well as this one all your relevant contact information).

**Signature:** \_\_\_\_\_

**Credit Card #:** \_\_\_\_\_ **Exp. Date** \_\_\_\_\_ **Security Code:** \_\_\_\_\_

Return to: Network of Spiritual Progressives, 2342 Shattuck Ave, Suite 1200,  
Berkeley, Ca. 94704 [info@spiritualprogressives.org](mailto:info@spiritualprogressives.org)

or Call 1 (510) 644-1200 to donate and give credit card info by phone

Or sign up and donate on the web at [www.spiritualprogressives.org/GMP](http://www.spiritualprogressives.org/GMP)

## What is the Network of Spiritual Progressives (NSP)?

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NSP is a project of the Institute for Labor and Mental Health, a non-profit organization seeking to provide education to the public around issues of the relationship between health/mental health, on the one hand, and on the other hand, how we structure our economic and political lives. Our research has taught us that the world deeply needs a framework of meaning and purpose that connects to the highest spiritual aspirations of the human race for a world of love, kindness, generosity, ethical and ecological sensitivity, and awe and wonder at the grandeur and miracle of the universe. We created *Tikkun* magazine as a voice for that message, and the Network of Spiritual Progressives as an education arm to promote these ideas in the public sphere. We do not back any particular political party or candidate for office. We are a 501-c-3 to which contributions are tax-deductible. If you wish to make your contributions directed primarily to lobbying efforts, you should indicate so by making your check or credit card to the Spiritual Progressive Fund, a 501-c-4 which has the legal right to do lobbying work. Send those donations to us as well, because for the moment we are hosting them in our offices.

NSP National Co-Chairs Rabbi Michael Lerner, Benedictine Sister Joan Chittister, Princeton University Professor Cornel West

