

2/ ",+, * & +! -,)&1&) 0501* % 0
 FHEK9;; 7 9H? JC;BJEMD 7I>H?B?D=
 C?:B; 9B7II IJ7=D?DJM7=i ; I97B?D=EE:
 7D: ;D; H=CH9;I 7:H7C7J?9; 9B?D?D -
 C7DK<7JKH?D 7D: H;I; 7H9>97F78?B?O
 8?B?ED :E?B?HF7CF79A7=i <E?B?; =; <KD:C7D7=i HI IAO
 HE9A;J?D=9EDKC;H;; 8J 7DKDUJ78B?/ - :E BB7?UH?B?B?E
 :E BB7?B?BEK?H?17BB?JH;;J 7D J>; IFH;7:?D=9EBB7FE<
 7HJ>X?DL?HEDC;DJ7?I?I;CI O7DO9H;;?8B;C;7IKH;
 EK?H9EDEC9IO?C >7I <?B;
 1> ;D ;9EDEC?9<?B?K?H?I?OIJ;C?9 J;CFEH7?C?N
 ;L;DL;HQ;NF;DI?L;ED;I B?A?J; 17 BB?H;;J87?BEK?JH;B?A;
 FKJJ?D? 7D: ?;ED797D9;H. >;OC7C9H;7J;7J;CFE
 H7?Q; DI; E-9ED-2 ;D9; 8KJJ>;<<;9J?IIEBB?9EIC;J?9
 *EB?J?9?7D CEIJFKD:?J?I?H;B?EA?9EDB?OJJ>; J?FE<
 J>;9EDEC?9?9;8;H= *K?B?M7?Q?; 9KHJ7?B?BEE&;>D:
 J>;>;7:B?D;I 7D: M; <?D7FE;J?D?J?B?B?C?H?C?D?7?9EDEC?9
 9H?I?I?M?J>J?H; ;;<?D?D=B;C; DJI
 N9; II >KC7D9EDIKCFJEDM>?9>I799;B;H7J?D>;
 9EBB?FE<7 H?X?I 9EIOIJ;C
 /D9 EDI9?D?8B;?D;GK7?B?O?D: J>; HB7J;; IE9?B?B?;D
 7J?EDM>?9 7H;7:L7D9?D-J>; IE9?B?B?B?FI; C7D?K;IJ
 ?DJ;;HEHC =;DE9?;; 9H?C;7D =HEMD=FH?EDFEFK
 B7?ED
 D ;9EDEC?9OU;C HKB;8O<?D?D9?7?B?7HA;J =BE87B
 9E?H?E?H?J?DI 7D: ;9EDEC?9J>;EH?;I;LE J;; JE?D9;7
 ?D-9EDKCFJ?EDM>?B?H?B?B?D=879AH?7 BM7=i I 7D:
 8; D;<?J?E?H?M?E?H?B?F; EFB;JEC 7A; C ED;O-E?H?;
 H?9;IJ 7CED=KI



2 G:5"@CE6?2FE9@?1>;D EHFEH7J?E?B; J>; 1EHB:2?5. >; !H; 7J.K HD?D=HEC CF?H;
 JE 7H? ECCKD?O:D4@?@F?56 3@2C492:C@2 - ' 7=7PD; 2?5 2 3@2C56>36C @E9
 FD:?DD=2?467@#?@2#:#:G:78 4@@>:D) 6652G:5<@CE@C8

!!!



- 92EH:==EE26E@C6?
@C4:E6D
C@@7@H6\$2?92EE2?

. >?I?I7 JC; <E# ?9?I?L;79J?ED .> ; <D7D9?EC ;BJE MD>7I I>7A;D
FK8B99ED?.;D9; DJJ; F;EFB;7D. DIJJKJEDI DEM?D>7H? . >; JHD
I?JEDJED;M FEBJ?9?B?;HI>? F9H;7J;I7DEF;D?D=<E18EB:79JED #D
J>?I7H39B#<#C; J>; 9>E?9;8; <E# KI 7D. FHJ; DJCO>?>:H;7C E<#>;
;9EDEC?9? : HI I JEJ>; D7JEDJ>7J#>EF; * HI? ;DJ 7 H79A 87C 7
C?>#; ;B?; H>E#J?B?<H>?I?D7K=KH7ED

) & +% \$.- .,6 \$.-., *1241
2)& &5 \$.- .,6 \$. +.(*12

% " 1 0(" #,/" 20801, /" -) " 1%" 2) 12/ " +! &01&21&, +0, #
7JM;DJ?J> 9;DJKI9;9EDECO: ;I?>D: 7D: C 7D7=; JEI;HL; <?D7D9?7B
L7BK;IM?> J>; 9KBKJ 7D. DIJJKJEDI E?>D;M JM D.O<?HI9; DJK9
;9EDECO:;I ?>D: JEI;HL; B?;L7BK;I.>; <EH?HKD:EK&:BOB;7I JE
;DL?HEC;D J7BE9?B7D: ;9EDEC?99E#FI; . >; B7J;H>EBI FHE?I; E<
B7?>D=JEJ>; MEIB CEIJ>KC7DI H;7BB?DJ<EHJ>;CI;BL; I 7D: J>;?H
9>B;H;D7 MEH: E<;7BJ>O>7FFO>B;H;D <C?B? 7D. 9ECCKD?J?
B?>D=JEJ>;J>;H?DF;79; ?DL?BH?DJ>;7BJ9D7JK?B?DL?H?C;DJI #J?
EKHIJE9>EB;

.>; 9>E?9;8; JM; DJ>; F7J>E<?7BKJ?7D J>; F7J>E<FEI1?B?J?I?H?C: ; M?J>:H7C7J?9
9B?H?J?D?JME?D?K?J?7?BKJ>EHITED; 7JM;DJ?>;J>9;DJKIC9EDEC?IJ7D: J>; EJ>;H7JM;DJO
<#J 9;DJKHQ9EBE?J \$;<#HO- 79> D @>>@? -6 2-E9 4 @@:4 D7@2 C@H65'=2?6E
FHJ9H8;I 7 7 D: ? :\$7C; I! KIJ7L; -F; J> ?DC:5862E96 586@E96 @C=5
2 A:E2>D> E96 ?G:C@?>E2?5 C@D?87C@ C:D:DE@ FDE2:23=:EJ FH;I9H?8;I
7>EBU?99KH;=H?KD; ; ?D79KBJK?B7D: ?DJJKJED?BH?DI<EH?C7JED
-79>I 7D; 9EDEC ?J 8OJH?D?>D: 7D: F; HF;9J?L ? ADEMD<EH?IMEHA7I 7D:9EDEC?9
7:L?I;HUED7J?E?B-EL;HDC;DJI7D. 7D7H?FCE<FK8B?9DUJ?JKJDE %6H/@@*:>6D H;FEHJ;H
* ;J; H* 7II; B?; I9H?8; >?C7I UFHE878BO>; C EIJ?CFE#J7DJ; 9EDEC?J J D>; MEHB:V?DJ>;
7H?B;U H\$<#H;G79>I ->E9A >; H?P?U?V?>9>M7I FK8B?>; \$KD; -F; J> M>E
>7I ; =H; I ?D?M7D: ;9EDEC?9I >7I 7: ?J D=K?>; 7: C ?D?UH?JL; 97H;H 7I <EKD:7D
<EH?C?>; 7: E<#>; 1E HB:;; IEKH9;I #DIJJKJ 7: C ?D?J?H?E<#>; / D?J (7J?EDI;L;BEF
C;DJ* HE=7C 7D: DEM ;7D E<#>; 27B;/D?L;HI?J?O>=EE#<EH;I?H?G79>I MH?J;#HEC
J>; F;HIF;9JL; E?>D;E9B7I?9?B9EDEC?IJ -F;J> <HEQ>; F;HIF;9J?L;E?>I OIJ;CI ; 9EBE=?IJ

" \$)1 " *- +&11* -& 3-*-(

%0 ,-" +0 COMMON WEALTH 4 &% - , 4" / #2) +! 2+" .2 &3) - / ,)" *
I J7J C; DJJ>7JH?I;I ;NF;9J7JEDI E?>8EB 8H7A M?> J>; ;9EDEC?9EH?E:ENOE<M>7J
-79>IH;<#HIE7I UK;; C 7HAJ ?;;EBEK;I V

.> ; 9>7BB;E?I E4KIJ7?D78B;;; L;BEFC;DJTFHE9J?D=J>; ;DL?HEDC;DJ78B?P?D=
J>; MEIB:XIF?KB7J?ED7HHEM?D>; =7F18;JM;D H?>9D. FEEH?D ;D: ?D=; N
JH;C ; FEL;H?OTM?B?A; 9;DJ;HJ?>; ! BE87?E?FH?JEDM?B?7L; JE9EC; JEJ>; <EH;
.> ; L;HO?>;7 E?>ECF;J?D=7J?E IJ7J;I J>7J9H7O8B <EH?7HA;JI FEM;H7D: H;
IEKH9 M?B;9EC; F7IIRS .>; FH?IK HI E497H9; ;D;H=CHIE KH9 =H?M?D=;DL?
HEDC;D J7BJHI I; I 7H?I?D=BE87?E?F?J?D B=7B7D: ?B=7BC7I I C?>H7J?ED
I>?>D=;9EDEC?9FEM;H7D: L7J?D?GK7B?I E<D?EC; 7H;JEE=H;7JJE8; B;>JE
D7A: C 7HAJ<EH9 7D: KDJHC C; B: ;=EFEB?9?B?ECF;J?JED7CED=D7JED
> ?IIJ7J C;DJMEKB>7L; I;HL: ;GK7BB?B?I 7DEF;D?D4J7J;C;DJ <EH?J>; ;OED:
J>; FHE8C IJ7J C; DJ-79>I 7D: -F;J>8EJ>7=H? J>7J>; H? 7D;I I;D J7B?E?<EH?EL;HD
C; DJ7D <EH?H?J;H9E?F?H?J?D?7CED=D7JEDI H?E J>;H; >EM;L;H 7I #M?B?B?8EH?>;
B?J;HM; C?>=JMED:; HM>; J>;HJ>;O?B?L? ?D ?<#H;DJMEH?B

-79>I 7II KH;IKI J>7JM; 97D; 7I?B; D: ; DL?HEC;DJ7BJHI 7D: FEL;HJ?I?D=N?IJ?D=
J>9>DEB=?I O>?I ;IJ?C7JEDM?>C E ;IJ D;M?D;IJC;DJIM; 97DI;GK;IJ;H97H8ED;
L;BEFD;M ;D;H=OIEKH9;I ;D: FEFKB?ED=HEM> C7A; C EH;; <?9;DJKI; E<M7J;H7D:
E?>; HD7KH7B?JEKH9; 7D: @?F I J7H?9EDEC?9=HEM?>D>; MEH?H?C7 ?D?D?E9A;JI
E<#>; H?I;DJFEL;HJ?G79>I C7: ; 9E?H>? 8;B?<J>7J>; H;? DED:; JEH: ?JH?8KJ;M;7BJ>

9KJ879AC7J;H7B9EDIKCFJED EHEJ>;HM?IH;EH=7D?B>;;9EDECO: KH'D=>?I B;9
JKH;JE;J>;EO7BE9?;JOD&ED: EDM>?9;M7I8HE797IJ8OJ>;

#E DEJ8;B?L; J>7JJ>; IEBKJ?BJEJ>P FHE8B;C?I7C 7II?L; 9KJ879AE<EKHEDIKCF
JEDB;L;BIH<EKHB?ID4J7D7HI #J>?DAJ>; IEBKED7IIC7 HJ;HBLD= #E 8;B?;L;J>7J
J;9>DEB=O?I78IEBKJ;BOD?J?97B: #: EDEJ8;B?;L S J>7JJ>; ; II ; D9; E<B; FHE8BC
? J>7JM; <79;7P;HEKC J>7JCKIJ8; H :?IJH?8KJ;#C =E?BJE7H;K; J>7JJ>; H;I 7
M7OEHKI JEKI; J>; ADEMB;=; J>7JM; >7L; J>; J;9>DEBE=J9JM; >7L; JEC 7A;
8HE7 FHE=H;II ?DC7J;H?79ED:J7H JEDEJH;GK?HEH7IAJ>; H9>JEJ7A; I>7HF9KJ
E<B?I2D4J7D:7HI 8KJH7J;HJEB?LM7B IC7HJ;HJ;9>DEB=?I J>7J7H;IKIJ7D78B;
7D: J>;H;8OJE<?D7M7O<EH; HJ E<J>; MEHBM>?9 O;7HDKHEJ 7D: ;;H L;I 2J
7I <77I # C9ED9HD; JE H?; J>;HEMDC7J;H?79ED:J?B?I 7I M;BB>; 9EJ 7H;
C K9>B;II J>7DF; EFB;J>?DA

7H<IEC 97BB?DEH7 HJ JH?JED9EDKC FJED -79>I FHE@I =BB7B9EDEC?9 NF7D
I?ED+IE JHB?ED JE JH?BB?B ;; BO?EDM>7J>; 97BB7U879A<
J>; ; DL;BE; 97B9KB7DNE; ;IJ ?C7J;I J>7JJ>; MEHBM; 7B;JOD7JEDI 97D;B?C07J;
;NJ;C; FEL;HU07D: :L;BEF7D: 7FFB0; D;9; I17HODL?HEDC;D7B0D;BOJ;9>DBE=?
JE7: : H;II ; DL?EDC;DJ7BD; ; I M7>7D; NFD: ?JKH; E<7 C;H; E<FHE@;9JC?:
9;DJKH0;9EDEC9EKJFK * HE8B F7?DB;IIB0BL: : 7JB;7IJD-79>IXC D:

- 79>I =?IJ DE?D:97J?HEM>O?M; 97DIJ78?BP FEFKB7ED7D: C;; J>; D;;I E<J>;
FEEHM?J>CE:;I J;NF;D: ?JKH M; I>EKB:D;;: EHL;D M7DJ =HE87B 9EDEC0I?NJ?C;I
B7H=HJ>7D?I FHJ;DJ I?P; I ?IJHK;<EHCEIJ; 9EDEC?IJ7D: ?D;;: J>; =;D;H7BFK8B9
-79>I?CFB0I1KC;I J>7J9EDEC?9=HEMJ>I8EJ>=EE 7D: D;9;II 7HGJ7FF7H;DB0;L;H
E99KHIE>?CJEGK;J JEDJ>?7II KCFJ?EDM>?9> F;J>;CEDIJ H7J; JE8; <7BI; 7I #M?BB
; B7EH7J7J;H K HJ>;HCEHI ?D9-79>I C7?DJ7?D>7J>; H;?IDED; ; <HCEH J>7DJ>;
L;HOC E;; IJH;?IJH?8KJ?ED; IJ?C7J? ?IHGK?H; JEFKJ>; FEEH;IJE<B; FEEHJD>; F7J>
JE;9EDEC9=HEMJ>;; I; C I JE7I1KC; J>7J9EDIKCFJ?EDM?BEBD7DK; JED9H;7I; 79HEII
J>; 8E7H "; I7OIDEJ>?D=>EM;L;H 78EKJ>7J<EHCE<9EDKC FJ?D>; 8;B?;L;I 97D
9EDDK; JECKB3FBOM?<EKJFB79D=O;JCEH;FH;I1KH ED7BH;7:EL;H JH I; D7JK7BOI
J;CI / DBI CEH F;EFB 7H;H?I2D-97HI B?D=D8?>EKI;I ;7J7D=>?>;HEDJ>; <IE:
9>7D JHJ;B?D<KH;HM?J>CEH;H;GK;D9OD: 8KOD=C EH;;B;9JHE?9;7HM>7J;N79JBO
M?BB; 8; 9EDKC?D=CEH;E< D: <HEOM>7JC 7J;H?7BM?BB;O8; <7H?9J;: -79>
D;2J>;HH7?I DEH7DIM;H IK9>GK;IJ?BI

(EHE;I -79>I C;D J?ED>; H;7B?J E<FEB?97BFEM;H7D: H;EKH99EDJHEBT<B7C
FB; J>; H7B0J>7?DC EIJ?DUJ7D9;I FEEH9EKDJH?7H;FEB<DEJ<HEM7DJE<EH;=?D?: 8KJ
8;97KI; M; E<J>; H9> D7JED >7L; KI; : EKHC?B?J77D; 9EDEC?FEMHJE;NFHEFP7J;
J>;H;HIE KH9; JE9EDKC; 8;OED: EKHEMDC;7DI #J?IJHK8B?D7B>EK=>DEJ KHFP?B
J>7J-79>IXH7I IKH?D=MEH =;J7D7JJ;DJ?L>;7H0=7CED=;I7 8B?C; DJFEM;H>EB;HI

/ &2) &%*0\$2*.- "-% &%&1*-

+ 01/ (,+ 1/ 01 1, % 0 -"1% ,+)2!"0 7%" -)+ "1 ++, 1 0201 &+ 97F?J7B
7C 7I M; ADEM?J97BB?DEHEJ>?D>B;II J>7D79ECFB;J;9EDEC?9H; ;!?=D

(EI?CFB879A E<J>; ;DL;BE; FHE@;9JDE<EHF; J>; ; J7A;I 7>7H: BEEAJJ>; H;
I;7H9=ED=HEMJ>7D: ;DL?HED0J7B 7C7=; ?DH;B7J?EIB=HEII: EC;I J?FHE:K9J! *
7D: 9ED9BK;I J>7J>;IF?J; 7IB?=>J ;9B?D;?DJ>; 7CEKDE<DL?HDC;D J7B 7C7=; F;H?D
9H;C;DJE<HEMJ>HEMJ>3D * 7BM7O?I2D9H;7I;I ;DL?HDC;DJ7B 7C7=; .>; H;B7J?ED
I>7?I?D>H;DJ?DJ>; I?CFB;<7J M>9>7FF7H;DBQ97F: -79>I J>7J! * ?ICEIJ07
C;7IKH;E<HEMJ>?D9EDIKCFJ?EDM>?9>?IJ>; :H?L?D97KI; E<DL?HED0J7B; 9B?D;
-F;J>?I9B;7J>7J7B>EK=>9>EE?D=U=H?DVFE:K9JIC7O8; 7FEI?J?L;J;F DEJ8KO?DZJ
7BB;7JI 8KOD=H;D CEIJ;L; HQ?C

E IKC KF M; B2; D7MEIB: M>;H;9EDEC9=HEMJ>I;D;H7B0 ;D 7I 8EJ>8;D;<?
9;DJ7D: D;9;I17HOTJ>; C EH J>; 8;JJ;H M>;H; F7IJ =HEMJ>>7I 8HEK>JKI JE7
F;H?BEIJ7J ;DL?HDC; DJ7BOM>;H;M; 7H;FE?I; <EKDFH;9: ;DJ: ?D9HC;DJI ?D
=HEMJ> M>;H; J?I=HEMJ>?IFH9; ;?D=M?J>M?B:BOHE9C7HAJ I?>7BI D9BK?D=
FH?9I J>7J:E DEJ?DEHFEH7J ;DL?HBC;DJ7B EIJIEHH;<B;9J>; D;;I E<KJK;

ASK THE AUTHOR!
Jan. 5: David Korten

, 408C48E 0E85>A
<8-DCB0-3C7474CC;04
@BGS85A>. \$*

6 PM PST (9 PM EST) Monday, Jan. 5
call 1 888 346 3950 Free!
(445;BZ43D40FFF C8D=>A6



=;D;H7J'ED M>;H;7<7?B;FEB?J?9I DEJC;7D?D=<KBH?H;9J;J>; C7HAJXE8B?L EKID;II JE;DL?HEDC;D J7B?;; I M>;H;;9EDEC?I 7H;HEKJ'D;BO;FBEO'D=J;9>DB E=O>7JM7 9H;7J;; ?D7D;DL?HEC;D J7BB?D?M7H;;H7 M>;H; J>;H; ? DE>?;;D >7D: EH?D>H;DJC; 9>7D?C 7: ;GK7J JE9EH?J>; ; ;IJHK9?; J>;; D9? -E H?=>J DBM ED; 97DED?9ED9?; J>7J=H?M>? J>; ;D;CO E<DL?HEDC;DJ 9EDEC?7D: ;DL?HED?JHC7?D?D?E?ED

-F; J> ? 9B?7H>7JM; 7H;KDBAB?I 7IF;9?;I JE?CFB;C;DJJ>; C;7IKH;I H;GRH; JE 8H?D=EKHI;B;I ?DJB7B?D9;M?J>; ;DL?HEC;DJIE BEB?7I ;9EDEC?9=H?M>?J>C 7?D 7D EL;H? ?D=FB?9?FHEH?O9EDKC;H?IC ;;<?D;I EK?KBJ?K?L?7BK;I7D: J>; ;N9;II;I E<9EH FB?7J 8;> 7L?EH?H; KD?EDU?7?D: 8O?7?HB?O?EH9; H?B? . E9EH?J?EKK?C?IFB79; FH?EH? J?I >; H;9ECC;D:I H;FB?9D=<D7D?7B?D:97JEHE<9EDEC?9F;H<EB?D9; IK9>7I ! * M?>M>EBB?OM C;7IKHI 87I;; EDDED<?D?7?7BD:97JHEI?E?9?7?ED: ;DL?HEC;DJ7B >;7B?J J>; J>?D?M; I>EKB:8; EFJ?C ?D?D -F; J>GKEJ;I FIO>E?E?J 7L? 'O ;HI M>EI; ;II 7OJ1>7J#J>; !EE: &?< V9?B?CI J>7J C ;H?7D1>7L;

8?=>EK;I 7D 8HEAD >EC;I >?=>?D?EC;I 7D: BEMCEH?B;I; 9KH;;H?=>J?D: :? C?D?B;;: 9?LB?J?O M;H;;N9;B?D=7JC 7A?D?7?B?L?D?KJJE?E<J;D?7?D?7JC 7A?D= 7B?<I ; 9;B8 H?; EKHFHEF;H?O8KJO;7HD: <EHFKHFE; 1 ; 9>;H?>;: EK?H; ;E CI 8KJBD=;: <EH?EDD;9?D? #D7D7=; E<FBD;OM;M;H; <;B?D=IF?H?K?B?KD=;H .> ;I ; <79J E<B?<B? : KI JE?IJ?H?B?D=9ED9?B?I?ED)K H8;9EC ?D?B; J;HE<C 7J;H?B? >7I DE.C 7: ; KI 8; J;HE<FIO>E?E?7B?B

.>?I ? 9ED?IJ;DJM?>IJK: ?;I <D: ?D= J>7J8;OED 787I?9J>H;I>EB: B?; BE<78EKJ F;H?F?7F; HO;7H;GK?07D: 9EC C KD?O7H <7?C EH; ?CFEH?J?D; J;HC?D7DJE< >;7B?J 7D: >7FF?D;II J>7D?D9EC; EHFEL;I I?EDI#D:;;: 7I -F;J>:E9KC;DJI ;9EDEC?9 =H?M>J>;D: I JE8; 7IIE9?7: M?>D9H;7;I ?D?D: ?L?K7B?C IE9?B?H?C; DJ?7EDD;GK7B ?JO;F H;I ?ED 7D: ;L;D ?CF?7?; F>O?97B;7BJ>

-F; J>=?; I I?D?97D?J?J?D?J?E?E?9?BCEL;C;D JI =HEKD:;; ?D7D7M7A;D?D?IF?H?

JK?9EDI9?EKID;II J>7J7H 9H?7J?D=9ECCKD?J?I E<B; <KJKH; 4HE J>; 8EJEC KF F?H?9?D=7H?J?7?EHO;C E9H?O7D . ;C 7D: ?D?9>7D=;I ?DJ>; H?B? E<J>; =7C;

'7DO E<EKH; ;F; IJ J>?DAHI7D: C7DOE<B?EI; CEI J <7C?B?M?J>;I97B;E<J>; 9>7B?D=;I M; <79>7L; 9ED 9B;;: J>7J>; J?D?I?EDH;GK?H;97D8; 79>?L; ED?O ?DJ>; 9EDJ NIE<M>7J#M?B?7B?; H?; E?7D;M9EDI9?K?I D;II EHI EC; ?J?I7IF?H?K?B?M7A;D?D?7 J?H?I?EH?C7 J?E?E<B; >KC 7D>;7H?E HE?;HI?J?I7CEH;?D;B?9JK7B FHE9 II E<9EC?D=JE I; ; J>; MEHB: 7D;M 7D: ; ;F ?D ;C 8H79D?>; ;C ;H?D?J>?E<B; ;DL?HEC; DJ?D J>; EB; J>?E<M>?J?C; 7DIJEEL; J>O?; ?>8EH?I J>O B<

-F; J>; N?C?D?J>; 78KI; I E?9EHIE?7J FEM H7D: ; D:EH;I 97B?J?EHL?EA J>; 9>7H;H E?9EH?H?7?EDI J>7J=HE?BOL?EB?J J>; FK8?9?D;H?J>; N?B?K E?NF;BKDM?D?; 9EHFEI?7?EDI HE?B 879ABC?J>; B?8?B?D;B?C?D?J 9EHFB?7J; F;HIED>EE: 87H?EH FEH?7?EDI <HE C7A?D?FEB?J?9?EDJH?8?K?DI 7D: B?C?9EHIE H?; BE8?O?D " ; H9ECC;D:I 7H;;I ?DE<J>; EF;H?7D= IOJ;C E<97F?7B?7?C?VJEI KFFEH?J>; ; ;L;BEFC; DJE<BE97B ;9EDEC ?;I FEFKB?;J M?><?E?I J>7J<7JKI;M?A;H7D 9EC C KD?OEMD;HI>?F 7D: JE9>7H;H9EHFEH?J?EDED?BOEL;HL; 7 FK8?9?D;H;IJ

.> ; 9EDJ?7J?D=F;H?F;9?;I E<79>I 7D: -F; J>ED?; J>H; ;;<?D?D=9EDEC?9?I K;I EKJ?B? ?D>; ?D?HE: K9?ED7H IKC C7H?P. ?D 78B; .> ; ; ?<;H?D9;I 7H;?DJHK?J?; 8;97K; 7DO <<EH?JE? : H;II J>; 9KH?H?J FEJ;D?J?7B?C?J?7B?H;7?J JE?>; >KC7D <KJKH;D;9; I?7H?B?;=?DM?J>; 9?>?D?M>;J>;HE<E9K ED7:@KJC; DJI7J>; C7H=?D?B?7-9>I J>; ;9EDEC?J EH;;F

TABLE 1: CONTRASTING POSITIONS ON THE ESSENTIAL DEBATE

"0A680; 39DBG-0127B (HB4< 434B86?4C7

\$# \$ ' ()	A>E78= %8B?E08340BDA4 2>><2 6AFC7B38EA?G8 >57D?0= ?A6AB?A>B?8CH C7?E0;D?0=38E8B6B4B4B 0=382A?43F4; 1486"> A4B B4=C8?D?D<?F4;; 18=6 4 6440;H14C4A8E=02><B H?>3 0 <8-8?; C?A?B-3 >5 =06>>5:0A:45A24BAE8B8 2>=BD<?B= 6A?F862><D <?D1;82-2=8E4B=3)?A?4A =8C?C74?706A>F8?72=> >?D1;82-2=8E4B=3)?A?4A ED<?B=>5BCD?B?C? : 4HC> 74A4=C?BA?<4?C; ;8<8C> 7D<0=740;C?D=3 42>=>8?AFC7 70?78=4BB
&*)	%EAC?@ @D?B?748B? GCA<4?>EAC?H?78=4E8C01;4 0=3C74A>4A4?B?48E?82: >C74?B345C72>8>54GCA4<4 F4Q?0=320=14A4BE43=?H C?A?6A4B?C?85A<C?B4 01B?C?4?>A?C?H8?A?D28=6 F7>70?<A?C?70?74?43C> 5A?8=08?B343?27=>;>6B4 C7B?F7>70E?4BB 0=3B>28;B4E8B
\$+ ' # (. () ")748=88?>B>520?8?B?4B)74>?4A8=8HB4B=52?8C0; 2DA=C?2?B8?C?20=A4B>;E4 B? <D?E14 5D?30<4=C?H?4 2DA=C?E8A<4C?D=3B280; 34B?43 C?8C4A?42>BCB ?A>1;<B?C?A?670?<18=0C8>=38B?I DG?#=?B8?0=34BC01 >5;D?O?H?C?<>34B?D1 ;8B?22>BC018;8?A?7D?0= :24G?43?C?A?0=3584?C?D=? 0=3 =0?A; 2>=?@4=2?>5 0C?74?0A68= 42>=>8?3428B=B

IOI;C H;I ?=DOB7F;J> J>; IOU;C I ;9EBE=?IJ
OU>? FE?D?DJ?C; =?LD J>; IJHD=J E<J>; ;L?; D9; JEJ>; 9ED
JH7HQ?I: ?<<?BUEJA;I;H?EKI?DOEDM>E7IIC ;I M?JEKJGK;IJ?EL
J>JJ>; =BB7B 9EDEC97D;NF7D: 8OI?NJ?C;I 8;JM;;D DEM7D:
M?>EK.9EB?D=7HJ>XB<IKFFEHVIOJ;C /D<EHKD7J;B979>I ;; CED
IJHJ;I J>; ?D;BB;9JKECOEF?9ECC EDJEC7DOFHE<J?EDB;9EDEC?IJI
M>Ei; ?;EBE?97IICKFJ?EDJHKCFH7BJO1 >;D M; I;;A =K?:7D9 ED; 7B
D=M?>J>; 9ECFB;NRIK; I H?J?D=JE?DJ;H79J?EDJM;;D >KC7D;9EDEC ?;I
7D: J>; FB7DJ7H;9EIQJ;C I DM>?> J>;O7H;;C8;:::: M; 7H;8; IJ7:
L?; : JEJHJ JEJ>Ei; B?A -F;J> M>EL?;MJ>; MEHB: J>HEK=?
B?H=;H7D: BII ?; EBE-97B99EK::: BDI

) & +&/)" - 2.5 * 2& / 2 +() 2

3"+ -"1 % %,4" 3"/ !," 0 +,1 !! /"00 4% 1 2- 2+1&) 1%"
8;=?ID?B E<J>; IK8FH?; CEHJ?; C;BJ:EMDJ>7J; =7D?DJ>; IKC C;H E<
M7I J>; B?H=;B9DC;DJ?D;: ;B F>7DJ?DJ>; HEC 7:7D=;HEKBCOI
<K9J?D7B>D7D?7BJ;C ;L EJ;; FH?C?B?B?;D;H7J?D=2D79?7EHJKD;I
<EHJIC7@H?B7O;HE #XL7;::: 7J>H:8EEAJEJ>; C?N 2 5 \$ @?76J(64<6DL
:??246 2:=65' @=:4D2?5 B96 =@32E:DD@76C: 42? 2A :E=D 80%; L?L
*>?B?F.>; 7KJ>E?I7 @H?B?I?J?D <EH;H ;FK8B?D*7 HJ9EBJ?9JH7;=?IJ
M?>78HBB97H;9EH E< E9KC;DJ?D=J>; <H?=>D?D>; N9;II;I 7D: ?IJEH?EDE<
;NJ?E 7JH?=>M?D?FEB?J?9
#D 25\$@?6J *?>BB?9KJ J>HEK=>J>; KIK7BE=7D: E8KI97J?EJE;N
FB7D>; ?D;HMEHA?D=7D: J>; B7H+9EDI;GK;D9J E<7 17BBJH;; J
CED;O=7C; ?DM>?>J>; FB?;HIKI; CED;QJEC 7A; CED;O<EHF;EFB
M>E>7L; CED;OM?J>EKHE:K9?D=7DQ>?D=E4L7BK; .>;OFHOM?J
?CFKD?0EDJ>; H7B9EDECCE?7? D-JH;;J EDM>?>M; ; ;F;D: JE
FHEL?;:II; DJ?B=EE:I 7D: I;HL?9 .>HEK=>7H;IJHK9JKH?D>; ;9EDEC0J>7J=7?D:
JH9J?EIKH?D=>; ; 7=7DHL?EKJEDE<J>; I 7D7B9D9;E<17 BBIH;J 7IJ?JKED7D:
J>;?97F?L;H=KB7JEHITJ>; ;;H7B ;I;HL; 7D: J>; /- .H;7IKHO; F7HJC;DJTC7; <?
D7D9;J>; :E C?7D7D: CEIJFHE<?J789JEHE<J>; ;9EDEC0#D 7H=K8BQ>; F;7AE<
/ - =BB7BFEM;HC7DK<79KH?999EKDJ>; <EH E4 - =HEII:E C;IJ9FHEK9J7D:
<D7D9?7BHL?9;I<EH O C7DK<79KH?D=799EKD>; <EHED? 7D: <?D7D9?7B
I; H29 <EH E4*

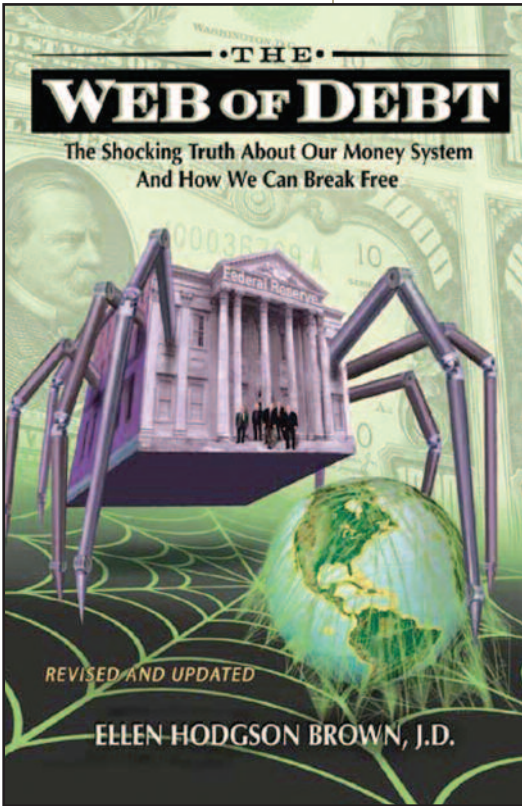
-J;F 8OIJ;F H;IJH?J?BIM;H H;CEL: ED:8 J;GK?OH73EI<D7D97BH;FEHJ?D9ED
IKC;H?D;H;IJHJ;I 7D: B;D:7D=FH79J?9;7D: J>; <EB7J?EIE<K=; 2D7D9?9ED=BEC;H
7J;I J>7JC; H; 87DA?B ?DIKH7D9 I;9KH?J?;I 7D: H;7BIJ7J; ?DJ;HI JI ?D7:;DI;B O
?D;H9ED9J: M;8 E<DI?; H;7BI 1 7BBJH;;JFB7O;IKI; J>?<H;:EC JE97FJKH?7?DI
<HE >2>B9;L;H?; IF;9KB7?L;JH?D=I9>;C;I 7D: F7II J>; HIAI JEEJ>; HIKI?D=NEJ?9
<D7D9?9DIJHKC; DJI7D: 8E=KI9H;?JH7J?D=I ;=; <KD:I J>; >?=>HEBBI7JJ>; B;7?D=
; ;=; E<J>; IF;9KB7?L<H;D9FHB?H7J>; <HEC?9EKFB>KD:H: ?DJ>; 7H9 I JEIEC;
DC?: 8OM>9J?C; J>;O>7: CEH J>7D JH?BB?D<D7D9?7BI; JIKD; H
C7D7>;C; DJI&A; :?=?J78K997D;HI 7D: >7H:BC EH;H;IJH7D; J>7D>; ?H;L;DJ>; D>J
9;DJKH?H;9; II EHI J>;O7H8?JH7=>J>; DEAI7D: 9H7DD?E<HE87B<D7D9; 97FJKH?D=
;L;DCEH;HJKH?ED97F?J7B7D97I?DIEF;H7EH7C7; <HECED; 7HC: 87D: ?J7D: <7IEH
78B;=7C?D=J78B;E::I V

&;L;H7=;T7BIE AD?MD7I 8EHHEM?T8;97C; J>; D7C; E<J>; 17 BBIH;J =7C; 7DA
KI: J>;?HFEM;HUE9H7J; CED;QJEC;: J>; IF;9KB7J?L;H;D9O9H;73D=7 9ECFB;NFOH7
C?: E<BEDI;E;79>EJ>;H O?>?B?97B9KB?E?I ?D /- <?D7D9?9JEH; 8JM>?9>
9EDI?IJB?H?BCE<<D7D9?9DIJ?K?I?EDIB;D: ?D=EEJ>;H<?D7D9?9DIJ?JKJ?EIEB;L;H7=<?
D7D9?9BF;9KB7?D JEJ7B: JHB?EDM>?>M7I E<7BB :;8J 7D: E4-
! *

! 7C8B?DM?J>8EHEM: CED;O?I>?=>BHI?AO7I ?IB;D: ?D=JE=7C8B;HUE<; J>;?H
>78?JJ J>; J?C; E<?J9EBB7FI&;>C7 D HEJ>;HIM7I B;L;H7? J>?HJ9?L;EED; M>?>



. () \$ " ' . . .



C; 7DI ?K?D7D9;?J=7C8B?D? =>BE87B?D7D9?B?D?M?J?>?HJO <?EBB7HD
 8EHEM; CED;OEH;L;HO EBB7H;GK?O> ? 97D8; >?>B?HE?J8B;?D7H?D=C7H
 A; J 8KJ??:?I7I JHEK?D7 ?B?D=C7HA; ; 97KI; J;>OH?==;J;> IOIJ;C JEF7II J;>
 H?AJEEJ;>HI J;> C 7D7=HI M>EC 7: ; J;> BEI?D8;JI M7BA;7M7OM?J?CFH;I?L;
 <;I 9EB9J: :KH?D?; =EE J?C;I 7D: B<JEEJ;>HI J;> C;I IOMB?AE?EH?D=>J?D=I
 EKJM;>D 17BBJH;JXL;H?E?E<7*EDP?9>;C; 9EBB7FI;#D J;> <?J?>=>;IJ
 F7? FH?L?; ?L;IJC ;DJ<KD C 7D7=;H M7BA 7M7OM?>7D7L;H?; C?BB?ED
 7DDK?B?ECF;DI7J?ED J?C;I 7I C K9> 7I 7L; H?; MEH?HF7O
)L;H 7F;H?E: E+EK=>EDJ>H; ;: 97: ;I J;> 1 7BBJH;J7?B?D9; KI: ; ?I 9EDJHEB<
 J;> CED;OIKFFB?OD: ?I FEB?B?D<B?D9; JE; DIKH;J>J?J;> 8; D;<?JE?FHE:K9J?L?JO
 =??D?D?>; ?? D-JH;J ;9EDEC?M;H; 97FJKH; 8O1 7BBJH;JFB?QH 7I ?D?H;IJ :?L
 ?; D:I 7D: <D7?B?BHL?9? <;I .>; 1 7BBJH;J 9ECC ?C;D JJE7DKFM7H H;H; ?U?H
 8KJ?E?E<M;7BJ?M7I IE I K99;I I <KB?J?<HEC JE J;> >?>J;J?7HD?D? E<
 J;> / - FEFKB?J?D?H;7; ?JII>7H;E?D7?ED?B?I> ?D9E; <HE JE D:
 CEIJE<J?J=??DM; DJJE>; JEF J;DJ>E<
 .>; C;7I KH?I KI: JE79>?L; J;>I?HC7 HA78B;EK?9EC; ?D9K;: C7D7=>D?C ED;
 J7H?E?B?OEC 7D?J?D7 J7H;J B;L;BE<KD;CFBEOC;D C7D7=?D=JH7; 7D J7NFEB?>
 9?I JE<?B?B?J; 9EHF?H; EKIEKH?D?E @E8JEHEM M7=;9EDEC?;I I KFFH;II?D=
 B?EHKD?ED ?C?D?D=>D<E?B?C ;DJE?B7M?7?D?J>?H?D?KDE 9KC;DJ; ?OC?>H?DJ
 MEH?H? 7D: KI?D=799EKD?D?H?9A?>7JKD;HIJ7J; ?D<B7?D?EIKFFH;II ?D8?J?E
 ?D ;N;: M7=; 7D: IE9?7B 9KH?D?D9H?;I I M7=;I <B?B?J?LJE?D?B?J?ED 7D: 7I
 FK8?B?9;HL?9I M; H;HEB;: 879A J;> >EKI;> EB I7L?D=H? ;<B?F79;
 HEC>; 8;=?DD?E< JE>J;> ;D: E< J;> J;> CED>B?O - >EK;> EB:I7L?D=I
 H?J; D;L;H<;BB;BEM E<EKI;>EB: ?D9EC; 7D ?E?D;D; N9;::: -?D9; FH?B
 ?>7I D;L;H; N9; :: 7D: ?D>J; C EIJH;9 DJO;7HI?>7I 9ECC EDB?; D
 8;B?M 799EH?D=>EJ>; / - ; F7HC;DJE<E C C;H9;X KH?7KE< 9EDEC?9 D7BO?I
 ; IF;H7JJE<?DM7OLEC 7A; ;D: I C ; ; J>EKI; >EB;I KHD; <EC I7L?D=JE8EHEM?D
 7=; HJE97F?7B?FED>; EFFE?K?D?J?D?KI9H;7J; 17BBJH;J; JKI: 7=H?I ?L;C7HA;J?D=
 7D :;9 ;FJ?L; B;D: ?D?FH79?9;I JE;D9EKH?; F;EFB;JEH?K?KF9H; ;?97H:7D: C EH?7=;
 : ;8JI ?H?B; O?D: J;>?HC;?7DI JE?F7O I J;> 8EHHEM;H?DL?78BQ;BB;>?D: ?DJ; ?H?F7O
 C; DJ 17BBJH;J; J>?J>; L?9J?CM?J?F;9?7B; ;I 7D: KIKH?EK?D;H;IJ H7J 9H;J?D=7
 CE:; HD;HI?E?E< ;8J 8ED 7=;
 .>; <?I;HC ED;CFEKH; ?DJB>; >EKI?D=C7HAJ J;> =H;7J;H?D: <?I;H?EKI?D?F?H?9;I
 ?D?J: .>; H;IKB?D?H;7BJ 7J 8K88B 9H?7J; 7D ?B?E?E<D9H?I?D=M; 7BJ>7JB7I J?EH
 >EC; EMD?HI 7D: J?EI; M>EFHE<?J;>HE?F;9KB?ED?D?>; >EKI?D=C7HAJ" EM;L;H9ED
 J?H?OEM>7JIEC; E<?J?8;D; <?9?9;I MEKB>7L; KI 8;B?L; 7H?7BJ7J; 8K88B; E I DEJ9H
 7J M;7B> HI? ?DJ>; C7HAJFH9; E<?>EK; <EC JE :E;I DE.C7A;
 ?JCEH;<H?9?ED?E?H?EC?EH?8B .>; ;H?B?ED; GK?D9 E<7H?7 B?I 7J 8K88B ?JE?D9H?7;
 J;> <?D?9?7B?EM;HE<?E?I; M>E?EMDFHEF;H.OH;B?L; JE>B;E; M>E:E DEJ 17BB JH; J; D
 9EKH?; >EC;EMD;HI JECED;J?P;J;>; ?HC7HA;J?7?DIM?J?CEHJ?;=;I M>?>1 7BB JH; J
 J;> D9EDL?H;: ?DEI;9 KH?;?I 7D: IEB:E<?EJ>; KDM?H?O?D9B?D=JEF;DI?ED<KD:IC7DOE<
 J;> >7FBII >EC;EMD;HI9EKD; ED?EH>; ?H?J?HC ;DJ
 1> ;D J;> >EKI?D=8K88B;D;L?78?D8KHU :7P:: >EC;EMD;H M7BA 7M7OC7DO?D
 <?D?9?7B?K?D?H?E FHE;HJ? EDM>?9>;OEM: CEH;J>7DC7HAJ L7BK; ;9KH?3I 87I:;
 ED>;I; CEH?7=;I ?EIJL?BK; 7D: J;> EL;H?L;H7=;: 1 7BBJH;JFB?D;HI9EKB;DEJC ; ; J
 J;>;?H?D?9?B?ECC ?JC;DJ #DU>; <?E; E<197B?J?D>; <?KBI J;> M>EB;IOJ;C E<?DJ;H?B?A
 ?D?9H;?JE8B=7?B?I9EB?FI; : 7D: 17 BBJH; JKH?D; JEJ?N?F?QH? <EH?87?B?KJ
 *>?B?B?F 7?DJ 7IJKD?D?F?D?K?H?E<1 7BBJH;JX?>K8?H?I7D: 9EH?F?J?ED BJ>EK=>>?I
 7D7BOI?KD; H?EH? - F;J>X?E?D?B?K?ED>7JM; D;;: 7IM;;F ?D?OIJC H; ;I?D >; B?L;I ?J
 JEE>;HIJE?; D?D?7FFHE?H?J;H;C;: ?I

) & +&/) "- 2*- 2)&)"%.51

%/" 805"1 + ,1%/" 0501"* !0&\$+ 8002" 1% 1 " /0 * ', /"0-,+0& &)&15#, / 1%"
 9H;?J9EB?FI; T7 D?I?IK; J>J>7I IE <7H?9 7F;: J;> IFEJ?>J L;D?> B?B?C;DJ?ED?EDBO

DF7II?D=> ; ?IK; ?IJ; FH?LJP; CED; OIOIJ; C 8OM>?9 D; 7HBQ; HO: EBB7HID?BKB7
J?D>7I 8;; D 9H7J; 8O7FH?L7,87DAM?J7 ; ;9; FJ? L; B07CFB; 799EKDJ?D= H;B7J; ;1B; ?=>J
E<7D: ' EIJ F; EFB; J>?D<799EKDJ?D=7I 7H7J; ;HBEH?D;K8@; ;98KJF7O7J; DJ?ED>; H;
8; 97KI; J>?1799EKDJ?D;H?9AJ; ; A; OJEKD; ;HJ7D; ?D= M>CEKH9KHHDJ OIJ; C E<; 8J
9H; 7J: CED; OC7A; I 2FEII?8B<H7 <M F; EFB; JE79GK?HE89; D; 7CEKDJE<KD; 7HD;
CED; OM>B; IJ?9AD?J>; H; IJE<K M?J>; ; 8?BB

'E IJF; EFB; M>EJ7A; EKJ 7E7DJ>?DA>7J7DEJ; H87DA9KIJEC; H: ; FEI?J; ; J>; CED; O
J>; O7H; 8EHH?D?DJ>; 87DA<EH7<; A; ; F?D= ? ; J>7JJ>; 87DA? I?CFBQHL?D=7I 7D
7DJHC; ; ?7H8; JM; ; D ; FEI? JEI7D: 8EHHHEM; ; ID: =K7H7D; ?D=H; F7OC; DJ.>7J ?I?D<79J
M>7JC O9EBB; ; ; 9EDEC?I FHE<I EIJ7K=>KI C7DOO; 7H7=E #J?DXJHK;

/ DB I J>; O7H >EB: ?D?BEDJ; HC CEIJ ; FE I?JEHI>7L; ?CC ; ; ?D; 799; II JEJ>; ?H
CED; O@K7I OEK7L; ?CC; ; ?7J; 799; II JEJ>; CED; OOEK8EHHE<EC J>; 87DA1>7J 79
JK7ED>7FF; D; ; M>; DJ>; 87DA7FFHEL; ; OEK8ED?IJ>; 87DAX799EKDJ7DJ; H; ; JME
DKC8; HI?DJ>; 87DAX799EKDD=H9EH 2EKHFHEC?I; JEH; F7Q>; 87DAM7I; DJ; H; ; 7I 7D
7II; J J>; CED; O>; 87DAFKJ?DJ?EK799EIDJM7I; DJ; H; ; 7I 7B?782ED J?HI?B7D9?J
BEAI B& J>; ; ; DJH?; 97D9B; 79>EJ>; HEKJ .>; A; O?IJ>7J; ?J>; H; DJD; NJ; ; FH; L?EK8O
QJ>?179J J>; 87DA9H; 7J: D; M C ED; O<EC DEJ>D= ?DJ>;

7CEKDJE<J>; BED7FH9?B; 7D: 97KI; ; J>; 7CEKDE<
CEDO?DJ>; ; 9EDEC?I 7M>EBJE?D97I; ; J J>; I7C ;
J?C; OEK79GK?H; 7B; =7E8B? =7DJJEH; F7Q>; FH?D9?FB
M?>DJ; HIJ .>?I?D<79 ?I>EM7BC ED; O; N9; FJ<E9E?DI
7D: IEC; IF; 9?7DEJ; I ?19H7J; ; #J>EKB8; DEJ; ; J>7J
J>; 87DA9H; 7J; ; CED; O?I; B; 9JED? #J>7I DEIK8IJ7D9;
2EKC?=>JI7O?>7I DE; N?IJ; D9EKJ?; ; J> >KC7DC?D:
(; ; BII JEI7O=H7DJ?B7DAI J>; FEM; HUE9H; 7J; CED; O
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UNDERSTANDING MONEY

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AFTER THE MELTDOWN
(continued from page 40)

that says if government favors the financial interests of the rich to the disregard of all else, everyone will benefit and the nation will prosper. A thirty-year experiment with trickle-down economics that favored the interests of Wall Street speculators over Main Street businesses and working people has proven it doesn't work. We now live with the devastating consequences. It has given us a disappearing American middle class and a crumbling physical infrastructure; weakened our schools; left millions without health care; made us dependent on imported goods, food, and energy; increased our burden on Earth's living systems; and created an often violent competition between the world's peoples and nations for Earth's remaining resources.

Wall Street has become so corrupted that its major players no longer trust one another. The result is a credit freeze that is starving legitimate Main Street businesses of the money they need to pay their workers and suppliers. Pouring still more taxpayer money into corrupted institutions won't fix the fundamental problem.

Corrective action begins with recognition that our economic crisis is, at its core, a moral crisis. Our economic institutions and rules, even the indicators by which we measure economic performance, consistently place financial values ahead of life values. They are brilliantly effective at making money for rich people. We have tried our experiment with unrestrained greed and individualism. Our children, families, communities, and the natural systems of Earth have paid an intolerable price.

We have no more time or resources to devote to fixing a system based on false values and a discredited ideology. We must now come together to create the institutions of a new economy based on a values-based pragmatism that recognizes the simple truth that if the world is to work for any of us, it must work for all of us.

We have been measuring economic performance against GDP, or gross domestic product, which essentially measures the rate at which money and resources are flowing through the economy. Let us henceforth measure economic performance by indicators of what we really want: the health and well-being of our children,

families, communities, and the natural environment.

GDP is actually a measure of the cost of producing a given level of human and natural health and well-being. Any business that sought to maximize its costs, which is in effect how we have managed our economy, would soon go bankrupt. We will henceforth strive to grow the things we really want, while seeking to reduce the cost in money and natural resources.

I call on faith, education, and other civic organizations to launch a national conversation to identify the indicators of human and natural health against which we might properly assess our economic performance, taking into account what we know about the essential importance of equity, caring communities, and the vitality, diversity, and resilience of nature to our overall physical and mental health and well-being.

No government can resolve the problems facing our nation on its own, but together we can and will resolve them. I call on every American to join with me in rebuilding our nation by acting to strengthen our families, our communities, and our natural environment, to secure the future of our children, and to restore our leadership position and reputation in the community of nations.

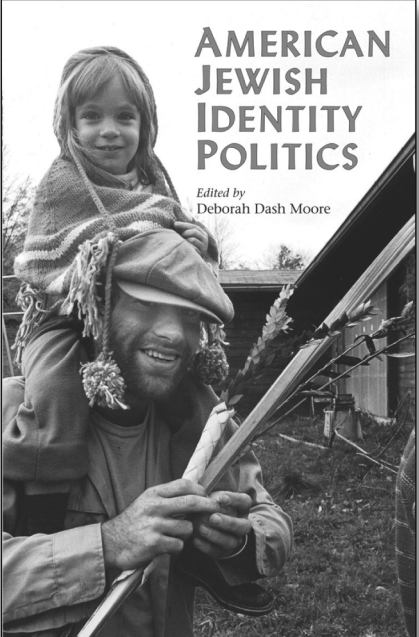
Like a healthy ecosystem, a healthy twenty-first-century economy has strong local roots and maximizes the beneficial capture, storage, sharing, and use of local energy, water, and mineral resources. That is what we must seek to achieve, community by community, all across this nation, by unleashing the creative energies of our people and our local governments, businesses, and civic organizations.

Previous administrations favored Wall Street, but the policies of this administration will favor the people and businesses of Main Street—people who are working to rebuild our local communities, restore the middle class, and bring our natural environment back to health. Together we can actualize the founding ideals of our nation as we restore the health of our nation and its economy.

- We will strive for local and national food independence by rebuilding our local food systems based on family farms and environmentally

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NEW



AMERICAN JEWISH IDENTITY POLITICS

Edited by Deborah Dash Moore

AMERICAN JEWISH IDENTITY POLITICS

Deborah Dash Moore, Editor

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friendly farming methods that rebuild the soil, maximize yields per acre, minimize the use of toxic chemicals, and create opportunities for the many young people who are returning to the land.

- We will strive for local and national energy independence by supporting local entrepreneurs who are creating and growing local businesses to retrofit our buildings and develop and apply renewable energy technologies.
- It is a basic principle of market theory that trade relations between nations should be balanced. So-called "free trade" agreements based on the misguided ideology of market fundamentalism has hollowed out our national industrial capacity, mortgaged our future to foreign creditors, and created global financial instability. We will take steps to assure that our future trade relations are balanced and fair as we engage in the difficult but essential work of learning to live within our own means.
- We will rebuild our national infrastructure around a model of walkable, bicycle-friendly communities with efficient public transportation to conserve energy, nurture the relationships of community, and recover our farm and forest lands.
- A strong, middle-class society is an American ideal. Our past embodiment of that ideal made us the envy of the world. We will act to restore that ideal by rebalancing the distribution of wealth. Necessary and appropriate steps will be taken to assure access by every person to quality health care, education, and other essential services, and to restore progressive taxation, as well as progressive wage and benefit rules, to protect working people. These policies are familiar to older Americans because they are the policies that created the middle class, the policies with which many Americans grew up. They were abandoned by ideological extremists to the detriment of all.

- We will seek to create a true ownership society in which all people have the opportunity to own their own homes and to have ownership stakes in the enterprises on which their livelihoods depend. Our economic policies will favor responsible local ownership of local enterprises by people who have a stake in the health of their local communities and economies. The possibilities include locally owned family businesses, co-operatives, and the many other forms of community- or worker-owned enterprises.

My administration will act at the national level to support your efforts to advance these objectives at the local level by engaging in a fundamental reordering of our national priorities.

Because the world can no longer afford war, the foreign policy of this administration will build cooperation among people and nations to eliminate terrorism and its underlying causes; resolve conflicts through peaceful diplomacy; roll back military spending and demilitarize the national economies of all nations; restore environmental health; and increase economic stability. We will work to replace a global system of economic competition with a global system of economic cooperation based on the sharing of beneficial technology and the right of the peoples of each nation to own and control their own economic resources to meet their needs for food, energy, shelter, education, health care, and other basic needs. We will work to protect the rights and health of working people and the environment everywhere.

An unprecedented concentration of power in transnational corporations that owe no allegiance to any nation, place, or purpose undermines democracy, distorts economic priorities, and contributes to a socially destructive concentration of wealth. The only legitimate reason for a government to issue a corporate charter giving a group of private investors a legally protected right to aggregate and concentrate economic power under unified management is to serve a well-defined public purpose under strict rules of public accountability.

There will be no government bailouts of

failed corporations during my administration. Any private corporation that is too big to fail is too big to exist. We will institute vigorous anti-trust enforcement to break up excessive concentrations of economic power and restore market discipline. Because absentee ownership invites irresponsibility, we will create incentives for publicly traded corporations to break themselves up into their component units and convert to responsible ownership by their workers, customers, or small investors in the communities in which they are located. Through a public legal process, we will withdraw the charter and force the dissolution of any corporation that consistently fails to obey the law and fulfill a legitimate public purpose.

There is no place in a life-serving twenty-first-century economy for financial speculation, predatory lending, or institutions that exist primarily to engage in these illegitimate practices. We will act to restore integrity to Wall Street by rendering its casino operations unprofitable. We will impose a transactions tax, require responsible capital ratios, and impose a surcharge on short-term capital gains. We will make it illegal for people and corporations to sell or insure assets that they do not own or in which they do not have a direct material interest. The brain power and computing capacity now devoted to trading electronic documents in speculative financial markets will be put to work solving real social and environmental problems and financing life-serving Main Street enterprises that create living-wage green jobs.

To meet the financial needs of the new twenty-first-century Main Street economy, we will reverse the process of mergers and acquisitions that created the current concentration of banking power. We will restore the previous system of federally regulated community banks that are locally owned and managed and that fulfill the classic textbook banking function of serving as financial intermediaries between local people looking to secure a modest interest return on their savings and local people who need a loan to buy a home or finance a business.

And last, but not least, we will implement an orderly process of monetary reform. Most people believe that our

government creates money. That is a fiction. Private banks created virtually all the money currently in circulation when they issued a loan at interest. The money is created by making a simple accounting entry with a few computer keystrokes. That is all money really is, an accounting entry.

Many years ago our government gave private banks the exclusive power to create money through the issuance of debt. This means that someone has borrowed and is paying interest to a private bank for virtually every dollar in circulation. The more our economy expands, the greater the debt owed to the bankers who create the money essential to economic exchange.

This makes banking a very profitable business, but it creates inherent economic instability as credit expands and contracts. Furthermore, because banks create only the principle loaned, but not the interest, the debt-money system creates an imperative for perpetual economic expansion to generate new loans to create new money at a sufficient rate to allow borrowers to pay the interest due on their loans. This means the economy must grow to keep the money supply from collapsing and assures that as a nation we are mired in ever-growing debt.

U.S. household mortgage and credit card debt stood at \$13.8 trillion in 2007, roughly the equivalent of the total 2007 GDP, and much of it was subject to usurious interest rates. The federal debt inherited from the previous administration stood at \$5.1 trillion in 2007, before the Wall Street bailout was approved, and it cost taxpayers \$406 billion a year in interest alone, the third largest item in the federal budget after defense and income transfers like social security. This debt hamstringing the government and places an intolerable burden on American families that undermines physical and mental health and family stability. It also creates a massive ongoing transfer of wealth from the substantial majority of households that are net borrowers to the tiny minority of households that are net lenders. This engenders a form of class warfare that has become a serious threat to the security of America's working families.

There is another serious consequence of giving control of our money supply to Wall

Street. When Wall Street banks stop making the accounting entries needed to fund Main Street, the real economy collapses, even though nothing has changed in terms of willing workers with needed skills, the needs of our families, physical infrastructure, or natural resources. The economy stops solely because no one is making the necessary accounting entries to allow real businesses to function. We cannot allow the moral corruption of Wall Street to bring down our entire economy, indeed our entire nation.

My administration will act immediately to begin an orderly transition from our present system of bank-issued debt-money to a system of public issuance. To this end I have instructed the Treasury Secretary to take immediate action to assume control of the Federal Reserve and begin a process of monetizing the federal debt. He will have a mandate to stabilize the money supply, contain housing and stock market bubbles, discourage speculation, and assure the availability of credit on fair and affordable terms to eligible Main Street borrowers. We will use public issuance to fund economic stimulus projects that build the physical and social infrastructure of a twenty-first-century economy to the extent consistent with our commitment to contain inflation.

By recommitting ourselves to the founding ideals of this great nation, focusing on our possibilities, and liberating ourselves from failed ideas and institutions, together we can create a stronger, better nation that secures a fulfilling life for every person and honors the premise of the Declaration of Independence that every individual is endowed with an unalienable right to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness.

This is a moment more crucial than the situation Franklin Roosevelt faced when he assumed the presidency in 1933. In addition to dealing with an economy in steep decline, President Obama must address a potentially terminal environmental crisis and do it quickly. The solutions he puts forward must restore economic confidence and achieve a dramatic reallocation of resources to reduce our economy's overall environmental burden, while meeting the

basic needs and improving the quality of life for every person. It is a daunting challenge, and half-measures will not suffice. He must act boldly to capture the momentum of the mandate of his first hundred days, guided by a vision of hope and possibility.

As we consider the need for bold initiatives by visionary leaders, we must also keep in mind the deeper questions that rarely find their way into political debates or public discourse: What is the source of true happiness and well-being? What is the purpose of economic life? What does it mean to be human on a living spaceship with finite resources? What is the human role in the great drama of evolution's continued unfolding?

These are deeply spiritual questions that call us to an epic quest of discovery and the great work of redesigning our societies to bring forth the world of our shared human dream. There is a need for people of faith to step forward to make these questions a part of our public conversation through initiatives such as the Network of Spiritual Progressives and through our churches, synagogues, mosques, and our other religious and spiritual institutions. ■

THOMAS FRIEDMAN
(continued from page 51)

this Israeli behavior and the Palestinian response, Friedman blamed Arafat rather than Sharon: "By provoking Israel with repeated suicide bombings, Mr. Arafat triggered an Israeli retaliation that didn't just destroy Arab cities—as he did in Amman in 1970 and Beirut in 1982. This time he provoked the destruction of Palestinian cities" ("Six Wars and Counting," May 29, 2002).

However bizarre the upside-down moral analysis implied in this kind of argument, it doesn't necessarily follow that Friedman was wrong in recommending to the Palestinians that they "oppose the Israeli occupation with nonviolent resistance ... and build a Palestinian society, schools, and economy, as if [there was] ... no occupation." Had the Palestinians done so, he concluded, "they would have had a quality state a long time ago" ("The Core of Muslim Rage," March 6, 2002). The problem, of course, is that Friedman's blithe confidence in the efficacy of nonviolent resistance was woefully disconnected from the