



**DVAR TZEDEK:**  
*Inspired by the Jewish commitment to justice for 30 years*

**AJWS**  
at **30**

We are excited to announce that in the new year AJWS will publish *JustThought*—New Jewish Ideas on Global Justice. This is a brand AJWS’s series of essays applying Jewish wisdom to *tikkun olam* today. From Jewish history to Torah sources to the latest headlines, we plumb pressing questions about human rights and global justice through monthly essays by noted scholars, activists and AJWS staff. We will address questions like, “Does Jewish wisdom speak to human rights?” and “How do we understand the suffering in our own lives relative to the suffering of the world?”

Keep your eye out for this new publication after Simchat Torah in late October.

### Introductory Reflection

In her 2012 Dvar Tzedek on *Parashat Nitzavim*, Sarah Mulhern explains that in the transitional moment when leadership is passed from Moses to Joshua, the covenant between the people and God becomes more expansive. For the first time in the Torah, the covenant explicitly includes both men and women—and even foreigners who reside within the camp, “from wood-chopper to water-drawer.”<sup>1</sup> Mulhern explains that *Parashat Nitzavim* “teach[es] us a key lesson—that everyone, including the most marginalized, must have a seat at the table.”

Mulhern wrote this piece in 2012, just after Aung San Suu Kyi—who was at the time the leader for the opposition to the government—won a seat in Parliament after years of house arrest. Hoping that the changes in Burma would lead to expanded human rights, Mulhern remarked:

“...The people of Burma will need to embrace an inclusive approach like that championed in our *parashah*. Repression and violence against ethnic minorities has been a primary agenda of Burma’s Junta government for decades, and it has kept members of minority groups, especially women and youth, excluded from society and robbed of their human rights. Recent outbreaks of violence between Buddhist and Muslim communities, coupled with government persecution against Muslims, highlight these ongoing tensions. As Suu Kyi and others begin negotiations with the government on democratization and ending violence in ethnic regions, marginalized communities must have a seat at the table and their concerns must be on the agenda.”

Just this past week, Suu Kyi, now Burmese State Counselor and the country’s de-facto leader, visited the U.S. and met with President Obama. While her historic election has brought greater freedoms to Burma and progress towards reconciling conflict between ethnic minorities and the majority population, we believe she could be doing more. Burma has a long (and continuing) history of political, cultural, economic and physical attacks against almost all of the country’s minority ethnic groups, including the Kachin, Karen, Ta’ang and Shan. Under Suu Kyi’s watch, the military continues to torture civilians, confiscate land and displace people from their homes.

As an organization that supports [33 social change organizations](#) working to bring peace, democracy and justice to Burma, [we call upon Suu Kyi to build on her hard-earned reputation by intensifying her efforts to guarantee respect and human rights for all of Burma’s ethnic minorities](#). At the same time, we call upon the Obama Administration and Congress to continue to press Burma by enacting human rights benchmarks that require the current government to make significant progress in addressing the concerns of Burma’s ethnic minorities and other human rights issues.

For a deeper analysis of *Parashat Nitzavim*, read Sarah Mulhern’s piece below.

# Parashat Nitzavim 5776

By Sarah Mulhern

October 1, 2016

(Reprinted from September 15, 2012)

*Parashat Nitzavim* describes a ceremony through which the people of Israel will “enter into the covenant of Adonai [their] God.”<sup>1</sup> It is a powerful ritual, with its recited litany of curses for when the Israelites abandon God and blessings for when they return faithfully,<sup>2</sup> but it is strangely redundant. The people of Israel already affirmed their commitment to God’s covenant before the revelation at Mount Sinai. Why is Moses orchestrating a second entry into a covenantal relationship that already exists?

Rashi explains that this ceremony occurs on the day Moses dies<sup>3</sup> and Joshua assumes leadership, just as the people, at the end of 40 years in the dessert, are poised to attempt to conquer the land of Canaan. In this interpretation, Moses is creating an opportunity in this transitional moment for the people to pause, shore up their enthusiasm and seriously recommit to taking the next difficult steps.

Some modern commentaries, however, hint that it was necessary to enter into the covenant again because the first experience was flawed in a critical way. When Moses issued his instructions for preparing to receive the Torah at Sinai, he said: “Be ready for the third day; do not go near a woman.”<sup>4</sup> Some feminist commentaries<sup>5</sup> have suggested an interpretation of this verse, strongly rejected by classical commentaries<sup>6</sup>, that implies that the covenant at Sinai was made only with men. Whether or not this is correct, it is clear that the experience was far from participatory. We are told that the people were so overwhelmed that they remained “at a distance” while Moses went forward to receive revelation on their behalf.<sup>7</sup>

In contrast to this exclusionary or passive revelation, the covenant ceremony in *Parashat Nitzavim* repeatedly emphasizes inclusion and participation. The ceremony begins by declaring that *all* members of the community are present—“You stand this day, *all* of you, before Adonai”—and then goes on to list the groups who are represented: “Your tribal heads, your elders, and your officials, *all* the men of Israel, your children, your wives, even the stranger within your camp, from woodchopper to water drawer.”<sup>8</sup> From the elites to the most economically and socially

---

<sup>1</sup> Deuteronomy 29:11.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid 29:9-28.

<sup>3</sup> Rashi on Deuteronomy 29:9.

<sup>4</sup> Exodus 19:15.

<sup>5</sup> See Judith Plaskow, “Reshaping Jewish Memory,” <http://www.myjewishlearning.com/article/reshaping-jewish-memory/>

<sup>6</sup> See Shabbat 86a, Rashi on Exodus 19:15

<sup>7</sup> Exodus 20:15-18.

<sup>8</sup> Deuteronomy 29:9-10.

---

©2016 American Jewish World Service

To subscribe to this publication, please visit [www.ajws.org/dvartzedek](http://www.ajws.org/dvartzedek).

AJWS is committed to a pluralistic view of Judaism and honors the broadest spectrum of interpretation of our texts and traditions. The statements made and views expressed in this commentary are solely the responsibility of the author.

45 West 36th Street, New York, NY 10018 • t 212.792.2900 • f 212.792.2930 • e [ajws@ajws.org](mailto:ajws@ajws.org) •

[www.ajws.org](http://www.ajws.org)

disadvantaged, everyone in the community is explicitly acknowledged and welcomed. While *Parashat Nitzavim* does not go as far as we might wish to eliminate the hierarchy between these groups, it does teach us a key lesson—that everyone, including the most marginalized, must have a seat at the table. This seemingly redundant ceremony shows us that the presence and affirmation of the entire community is crucial to truly entering the covenant.

Like the Israelites in *Parashat Nitzavim*, the people of Burma<sup>9</sup> stand at a moment of extreme transition. After enduring 50 years of severe political and social repression at the hands of their military government, they are finally seeing a window of opportunity for change. Activists in Burma and in the refugee communities along the Thai border have slowly built a movement for freedom, and their work is starting to yield results. This year, the government released hundreds of political prisoners and finally freed Aung San Suu Kyi, the country's leading democratic opposition leader, who had spent most of the last 20 years under house arrest. It established a parliament and held democratic elections in which Suu Kyi and other opposition leaders won seats. But this is not the end of the struggle for the people of Burma. Like the Israelites, who prepared for their next challenges in Canaan just as they concluded their desert trek, this is a moment for both celebration and recommitment in the face of the hard work to come.

And like the Israelites, to be successful, the people of Burma will need to embrace an inclusive approach like that championed in our *parashah*. Repression and violence against ethnic minorities has been a primary agenda of Burma's Junta government for decades, and it has kept members of minority groups, especially women and youth, excluded from society and robbed of their human rights. Recent outbreaks of violence between Buddhist and Muslim communities, coupled with government persecution against Muslims, highlight these ongoing tensions. As Suu Kyi and others begin negotiations with the government on democratization and ending violence in ethnic regions, marginalized communities must have a seat at the table and their concerns must be on the agenda. The process, like the ceremony of *Parashat Nitzavim*, must emphasize participation and inclusion and explicitly acknowledge and welcome all members of society. Just as in our *parashah*, the presence and affirmation of the entire community is the crucial key to success.

AJWS is helping the people of Burma achieve this participatory society by creating spaces for ethnic minority communities to come together to discuss their concerns and develop shared strategies. We support ethnic minorities, youth and women to advocate for their rights and gain a voice in Burma's development. Some of the leaders of AJWS's grantees are already taking part in national level negotiations about the future of their country. AJWS will continue to support their lobbying efforts and help them overcome those who would keep them "at a distance."

Only when *all* of the community is represented can there be a covenant, like the one in *Parashat Nitzavim*, that is "both with those who are standing here with us this day . . . and with those who are not with us here this day"—which, according to a *midrash*, means with all future generations.<sup>10</sup> Through bringing representatives of *all* of the pieces of their diverse community into the negotiations, may the people of Burma—and those of us who support them—be blessed to achieve a free and democratic Burma today and for generations to come.

---

<sup>9</sup> All information about Burma is sourced from AJWS publication "The Story of our Impact: Supporting the Movement for a Free and Democratic Burma." [https://ajws-americanjewishwo.netdna-ssl.com/wp-content/uploads/2015/05/ajws\\_civil\\_and\\_political\\_rights\\_in\\_burma.pdf](https://ajws-americanjewishwo.netdna-ssl.com/wp-content/uploads/2015/05/ajws_civil_and_political_rights_in_burma.pdf)

<sup>10</sup> Midrash Tanhuma Nitzavim 3. See also Rashi on Deuteronomy 29:14.

---

©2016 American Jewish World Service

To subscribe to this publication, please visit [www.ajws.org/dvartzedek](http://www.ajws.org/dvartzedek).

AJWS is committed to a pluralistic view of Judaism and honors the broadest spectrum of interpretation of our texts and traditions. The statements made and views expressed in this commentary are solely the responsibility of the author.

45 West 36th Street, New York, NY 10018 • t 212.792.2900 • f 212.792.2930 • e [ajws@ajws.org](mailto:ajws@ajws.org) •

[www.ajws.org](http://www.ajws.org)



**Sarah Mulhern** is in her final year at Hebrew College Rabbinical School, where she is also working towards a master's in Jewish education and is a Wexner Graduate Fellow. During rabbinical school, Sarah has worked in a variety of settings—including pulpits, social justice organizations, mikvaot, hospitals, and adult and youth education. Previously, Sarah worked for several years at American Jewish World Service, where she designed curricula, wrote divrei Torah, ran the Jewish justice text database On1Foot.org, trained educators and designed and led service-learning programs. Sarah is an alumna of Yeshivat Hadar, Pardes Institute, Drisha Institute, Beit Midrash Har El, and Brandeis University. She currently lives in Cambridge, MA, with her husband Will.

---

©2016 American Jewish World Service

To subscribe to this publication, please visit [www.ajws.org/dvartzedek](http://www.ajws.org/dvartzedek).

AJWS is committed to a pluralistic view of Judaism and honors the broadest spectrum of interpretation of our texts and traditions. The statements made and views expressed in this commentary are solely the responsibility of the author.

45 West 36th Street, New York, NY 10018 • t 212.792.2900 • f 212.792.2930 • e [ajws@ajws.org](mailto:ajws@ajws.org) •

[www.ajws.org](http://www.ajws.org)