

AMERICA

PRESIDENTS

NAME	YEARS	STATE	PARTY	EDUCATION	PROFESSION	RELIGION	VICE PRES	
G. WASHINGTON	1789-1797	VIRGINIA	FEDERALIST	INFORMAL	SOLDIER, ^{PLANTED} FARMER	EPISCOP	J. ADAMS	2
John Adams	1797-1801	MASS.	FED	HARVARD	LAWYER	UNITARIAN	T. JEFFERSON	1
T. Jefferson	1801-1809	VIRGINIA	DEM-REP	WILLIAM + MARY	LAWYER, PLANTER	X		2
Ja. MADISON	1809-1817	VIRGINIA	DEM-REP	PRINCETON	LAWYER	EPISCOP		2
Ja. MONROE	1817-1825	VIRGINIA	DEM-REP	WILLIAM + MARY	LAWYER	EPISCOP		2
J. Q. ADAMS	1825-1829	MASS.	DEM-REP	HARVARD	LAWYER	EPISCOP		1
A. JACKSON	1829-1837	^{TENN} So Carolina	DEM	INFORMAL	LAWYER, SOLDIER	PRESBYT	M. V. BUREN	2
M. VAN BUREN	1837-1841	NEW YORK	DEM	KINDERHOOK ACADEMY	LAWYER	DUTCH REF.		1
W. H. HARRISON	1841	OHIO	WHIG	HAMPDEN-STONEY	SOLDIER	EPISCOP	J. TYLER	< 1
John TYLER	1841-1845	VIRGINIA	WHIG	WILLIAM + MARY	LAWYER	EPISCOP	-	< 1
James POLK	1845-1849	TENNESSEE	DEM	U of No. Carolina	LAWYER	PRESBYT		1
Z. TAYLOR	1849-1850	VIRGINIA	WHIG	INFORMAL	SOLDIER	EPISCOP	M. FILLMORE	< 1
M. FILLMORE	1850-1853	NEW YORK	WHIG	INFORMAL	LAWYER	UNITARIAN	-	< 1
F. PIERCE	1853-1857	NEW HAMPSHIRE	DEM	BOWDOIN	LAWYER	EPISCOP		1
Ja. BUCHANAN	1857-1861	PENNSYLVANIA	DEM	DICKINSON	LAWYER	PRESBYT		1
A. LINCOLN	1861-1865	ILLINOIS	REP	INFORMAL	LAWYER	X	ANDREW JOHNSON HARRISON HAMLEN	1+

RELIGION

EPISCOP 12

PRESBYT 8

~~DISC of CHRIST 5~~

BAPTIST 4

X 4

METHODIST 3

UNITARIAN 3

DUTCH REFORM 2

QUAKER 2

UNITED CHURCH of CHRIST 1

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A. JOHNSON	1865-1869	TENNESSEE	DEM	INFORMAL	TAILOR	X	—	<1
U. S. GRANT	1869-1877	OHIO	REP	WEST POINT	SOLDIER	METHODIST		2
R. HAYES	1877-1881	OHIO	REP	KENYON	LAWYER	X		1
Ja GARFIELD	1881	OHIO	REP	WILLIAMS	TEACHER	DISC OF CHRIST	a ARTIST	<1
CHESTER ARTHUR	1881-1885	VERMONT	REP	UNION COLLEGE	LAWYER	EPISCOP	—	<1
GROVER CLEVELAND	1885-1889	NEW YORK	DEM	INFORMAL	LAWYER	PRESBYT		1
B. HARRISON	1889-1893	OHIO	REP	MIAMI	LAWYER	PRESBYT		1
G. CLEVELAND	1893-1897	NEW YORK	DEM	INFORMAL	LAWYER	PRESBYT	ADLAI STEVENSON	1
W McKinley	1897-1901	OHIO	REP	Allegheny	LAWYER	METHODIST	HOBART ROOSEVELT	1+
T. ROOSEVELT	1901-1909	NEW YORK	REP	HARVARD	AUTHOR	DUTCH REFORM	FAIRBANKS	1+
W. H. TAFT	1909-1913	OHIO	REP	YALE	LAWYER	UNITARIAN	SHERMAN	1
W. WILSON	1913-1921	NEW JERSEY	DEM	PRINCETON JOINT HOPKINS PHD	ACADEMIC	PRESBYT	MAASIAL	2
W. HARDING	1921-1923	OHIO	REP	OHIO CENTRAL	NEWSPAPERED	BAPTIST	COOLIDGE	<1
C. C. COOLIDGE	1923-1929	VERMONT	REP	AMHERST	LAWYER	CONGREGATIONAL	DAWES	1+
H. HOOVER	1929-1933	IOWA	REP	STANFORD	MINING ENGINEER	QUAKER	CURTIS	1
F. D. ROOSEVELT	1933-1945	NEW YORK	DEM	HARVARD	PUBLIC SERVICE	EPISCOP	TRUMAN WALLACE GARNER	8+

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H. TRUMAN	1945-1953	MISSOURI	DEM	U OF KANSAS	BUSINESS	BAPTIST	BARCLAY	1+
D. EISENHOWER	1953-1961	KANSAS	REP	WEST POINT	SOLDIER	PRESBYT	NIXON	2
J. F. KENNEDY	1961-1963	MASS	DEM	HARVARD	AUTHOR	CATHOLIC	LOIS	<1
L. B. JOHNSON	1963-1969	TEXAS	DEM	SW TEXAS STATE	TEACHER	DISC OF CHRIST	ITUMHART	++
R. NIXON	1969-1974	CALIF	REP	DUKE LAW SCHOOL WHITTIER	LAWYER	QUAKER	FORD AGNEW, T	1+
G. FORD	1974-1977	MICH	REP	YALE LAW UNIV OF MICH	LAWYER	EPISCOP	RUCKELSHA	<1
J. CARTER	1977-1981	GEORGIA	DEM	ANNAPOLIS	FARMER	BAPTIST	MONROE	1
R. REAGAN	1981-1989	CALIF	REP	EUREKA	ACTOR	DISC OF CHRIST	BUSH	2
G. H. W. BUSH	1989-1993	MASS	REP	YALE	BUSINESS	EPISCOP	QUAYLE	1
W. J. CLINTON	1993-2001	ARKANSAS	DEM	GEORGETOWN, OXFORD YALE LAW SCHOOL	LAWYER	BAPTIST	GORE	2
W. BUSH	2001-2009	TEXAS	REP	YALE HARVARD BUSINESS	BUSINESS	METHODIST	CHENEY	2
B. OBAMA	2009-	ILLINOIS	DEM	COLUMBIA HARVARD LAW	TEACHER ACADEMIC	UNITED CH OF CHRS	BIDEN	

AMERICA

AMERICA1.P51

DISK:COSTATE

July 7, 1991

AMERICA
TENSES AND TENSIONS
SEVEN ESSAYS ON AMERICA—PAST, PRESENT, AND FUTURE

1. PRECOLUMBIAN AMERICA
2. DISCOVERING AMERICA
3. INVADING AMERICA
4. DECLARING INDEPENDENCE
5. MELTING POTS
6. THE SECOND REPUBLIC
7. THE CO-STATE

APPENDIX:
A META-CONSTITUTIONAL CONVENTION

A few decades ago, ~~Arthur C. Clarke~~^{Asimov} formulated this now famous definition of a human being:

A human being should be able to change a diaper, plan an invasion, butcher a hog, conn a ship, design a building, write a sonnet, balance accounts, build a wall, set a bone, comfort the dying, take orders, give orders, cooperate, act alone, solve equations, analyze a new problem, pitch manure, program a computer, cook a tasty meal, fight efficiently, and die gallantly.

----Specialization is for insects.

Perhaps at this time it might be appropriate to give an up to date definition of an American:

An American should be able to manipulate statistics, spend deficitly, speculate, declare bankruptcy, initiate litigation, exploit loop-holes, orchestrate a merger, organize a strike, shift blame, grab credit, launder money, picket, lobby a bail-out, conceal a monopoly, drive aggressively, harass sexually, consume extravagantly, waste profusely, spit accurately, win boastfully, and bitch incessantly.

----Productivity is for ~~Asians~~.

Foreigners

THE TWO AMERICAS

GEOLOGICAL MANIFESTATIONS

CONTINENTAL DRIFT, LAURENTIA

DEPARTURE AND RETURN (A FORM OF INDEPENDENCE)

The two threads, like the two snakes of the caduceus

PRECOLUMBIAN MANIFESTATIONS OF THE TWO AMERICAS

QUETZALCOATL AND TEZCATLIPOCA

Cruelty, savagery vs.

Ecology, spirituality, learning

Degandawida, Hiawatha, Seattle

Tezcatlipoca has always been more concerned

with being against Quetzalcoatl than with being for anything

THE PROCESS: THE GREAT DIALECTIC

EUROPE'S DREAMS VS. AMERICAN WISDOM

BACON, LOCKE, AND ROUSSEAU, - & Berkeley

See A Treasury of Great Passages

PLURALISM AND CONFEDERATION

p 527

1776

PATRIOTS AND TORIES

THE INDEPENDENT AND THE UNITED

E PLURIBUS UNUM

1860

AGAIN PLURALISM

HALF SLAVE AND HALF FREE

1886

THE STATUE OF LIBERTY EMMA LAZARUS

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PHILIPINE INSURECTION

WORLD POWER

1917

WORLD SAFE FOR DEMOCRACY WILSON

EXPORT OUR WORLD VIEW

DEPART WASHINGTON'S INJUNCTION *re alliances*

THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS

1939

ISOLATION VS. INTERNATIONAL ROLE

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AMERICA AS INHERITOR OF THE BRITISH EMPIRE

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THE IRON CURTAIN AND THE COLD WAR

1965

THE GULF OF TONKIN

NEO COLONIALISM, *i.e. corporate colonialism*

THE DYNAMIC OF AN ENEMY

The United States has fed its psyche and economy on the existence of enemies.

as have the Jews

Up until 1890 the enemy was the Indian

1890-1914 Spaniards, Philipinos, Mexicans

1914-1918 Germans

1917 1919-1992 Communists USSR

1938-1945 Nazis

1941-1945 Japanese

1950-1960 Korean and Chinese communists

1960-1973 Vietnam communists, Cuban communists

1980's Nicaraguan communists

1990's Iraq, Iran and Islamic fundamentalists-

2001 Terrorists

Zoom

OUTLINE DRAFT-3

MISSION

- 1 INTRODUCTIONS (DESTAM00.WP5)
- 2 CONTINENTS (DESTAM02.WP5)
 - 2.1 AFRICA--HOMO SAPIENS, THE INDIVIDUAL → Community "Com"
 - 2.2 ASIA--CIVILIZATION, THE COLLECTIVE → Religion "Shavla"
 - 2.3 EUROPE--SCIENCE, THE ABSTRACTION → Law, Politics "Must"
 - 2.4 AMERICA--MELTING POT, THE SYNTHESIS → The primacy of process "DO"
- 3 MELTING POTS
 - 3.1 THE CHINESE STYLE--ABSORPTION, AN ALLOY
 - 3.2 THE AMERICAN STYLE--PLURALISM, DILUTION
 - 3.2.1 THE BAS RELIEF AT CHICHEN ITZA
 - 3.2.2 E PLURIBUS UNUM, the Trinity
- 4 SYNTHESIS: THE SPECIES
 - 4.1 DIALECTICS vs SYNTHESIS
 - 4.1.1 HERAKLEITIAN-HEGELIAN
 - 4.2 HOMOGENIZATION
 - 4.3 GARBORIZATION
 - 4.4 THE NEW IS KILLED
 - 4.5 THE OLD IS KILLED
 - 4.5.1 OEDIPUS
 - 4.5.2 TITANS/OLYMPIANS
 - 4.5.3 THE CORTEZ/MOCTEZUMA ARCHETYPE
 - 4.6 BOTH ARE KILLED
 - 4.7 NO CONFRONTATION
 - 4.8 EMERGENCE
 - 4.9 HYBRIDS AND ALLOYS, MULES
 - 4.10 EXCHANGE
- 5 INDIGENOUS CONTRIBUTIONS OF THE PRE-COLUMBIANS (DESTAM03.WP5)
 - 5.1 THE INDIANS
 - 5.1.1 VALUES
 - 5.1.1.1 NO TEARS, MACHOISM vs Masculism
 - 5.1.1.2 PASS SO THAT NO ONE KNOWS YOU HAVE PASSED ✓
 - 5.1.1.3 RESTITUTION OVER RETRIBUTION
 - 5.1.1.4 WISDOM OVER KNOWLEDGE
 - 5.1.1.5 THE EARTH IS NOT POSSESSABLE ✓
 - 5.1.2 CONTRIBUTIONS
 - 5.1.2.1 MANY INDIAN LANGUAGES HAVE NO WORD FOR "I", ONLY A WORD FOR PEOPLE California - Women have own language
 - 5.1.2.2 HOPI LANGUAGES AND RELATIVITY
 - 5.1.2.3 CONFEDERATION Bottom-up Unity
 - 5.1.2.3.1 WOMEN ELECT, MEN HOLD OFFICE ✓
 - 5.1.2.4 THE FOUR (not unique)
 - 5.1.2.5 PLURALISM
 - 5.1.2.6 BALL GAMES
 - 5.1.2.7 POTLATCH
 - 5.1.2.8 THE GREAT DIALECTIC
 - 5.1.2.8.1 THE AVATARS OF QUETZALCOATL

Change Nature
of Warfare →

Tebequol

Roads + Sacred space
Use of Regrets
1970 Law for Ghost Dance etc

1

Cruelty - Torture
Courage
Cowardice = Compassion

Shaping of America
Role of the Atlantic Ocean (Isolation)

6 THE EUROPEANS

6.1 THE EXPLORERS

- 6.1.1 SPANISH--GOLD (required slaves)
- 6.1.2 FRENCH--TRADE, FURS
- 6.1.3 ENGLISH--LAND, TOBACCO, SUGAR
(required slaves)

6.2 THE VISIONS

6.2.1 UTOPIAN

- 6.2.1.1 AKHNATON, PLATO, PLOTINUS, ... BACON *New Atlantis*

6.2.2 MYSTICAL

- 6.2.2.1 MANLY HALL

6.2.3 THE FOUNDING FATHERS

CINCINNATUS

- 6.2.3.1 LOCKE, ROUSSEAU, ...

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- 6.2.3.2.2 THE FOUR FREEDOMS, FDR's, OTHERS

- 6.2.3.2.3 CIVIL RIGHTS

Nikington: Jerry

- 6.2.3.2.4 ECONOMIC RIGHTS

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AND THE AUTOMOBILE

The re-inforcer of self + ego

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- 6.2.3.3.2 RIGHTS OF MINORITIES

- 6.2.3.3.3 THE RIGHT TO BE WRONG

- 6.2.3.3.4 THE ROLE OF AUTHORITY

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- 6.3.3.1 CHURCHILL

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- 6.3.3.1.2 THE WORLD POLICEMAN

- 6.3.3.2 THE NAZI PROJECTION

- 6.3.3.3 THE COLD WAR

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ACT OF 1947

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Vietnam → what is America's Mission

*Pluralism was
not a European idea
Has been limited*

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7.1 THE LOSS OF A MORAL SENSE

7.1.1 NO BELIEFS

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7.1.2.2 NO FEAR OF PUBLIC JUDGEMENT

7.1.2.3 ENTERTAINERS REPLACE LEADERS

7.1.2.4 CELEBRITY vs HERO

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7.1.3.3 DON'T GET CAUGHT

7.2 CONSPICUOUS CONSUMPTION

7.2.1 HOW MUCH IS ENOUGH?

7.3 INSTANT EVERYTHING

7.4 COMPETITION

7.5 CHOMSKY'S LIST

8 ISSUES

9 THE META CONSTITUTION

9.1 WHAT WE HAVE LEARNED

10 THE TWO AMERICAS

10.1 THE UNITED STATES

10.2 THE INDIGENOUS VISION

10.2.1 THIS CONTINENT CONTAINS ITS OWN WISDOM

10.2.2 AMERICA IS STILL KARMICALLY CLEAN

(relatively)

since viet nam?

*Sister Theresa's
comment*

*de Tocqueville
2° Tyvany*

U.S.R.

America as a phenomenon created by two forces

The isolation of the breadth of the Atlantic Ocean

*The vastness of the abundance of unprocessed
land & resources*

The latter was enabled in part by

the American vision on non-possessivity of land

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NEO COLONIALISM

CONTINENTS

The story of America might be said to have begun some 180,000,000 million years ago with the split up of the super-continent of Pangaea and the drifting apart of the tectonic plates that were to become the continents of Africa, Europe, North America, and South America. It was some 120,000,000 years prior to this (c. 300,000,000 B.P.) that the various then existing continents had come together to form the super-continent of Pangaea. But these earlier continents were themselves the result of even earlier mergings of tectonic plates. Laurentia, the ancestral continent of much of North America, was composed of several tectonic plates which had merged some 1.8 billion years ago forming what has been humorously called the "United Plates of America" (S.N. v 135 n 22 p 346)]. We thus have already in geological records the manifestation of the great historical process of departure and return, of isolation alternating with synthesis.

Each separating continent carried with it a special destiny, each had some special task to perform in the evolution of the earth. The evaluation of what each continent has contributed to biological and cultural evolution must remain somewhat speculative and subjective, but there has indeed been a continental difference in evolutionary emphasis as is born out by the divergence in species and cultures found on each continent. We might, for example, in a general way claim that human life originated in Africa, culture and civilization began in Asia, abstract thought and science arose in Europe. But what of the Americas? What contributions have been made or are being made by these two continents to the ongoing cosmic drama being acted out on earth?

It is difficult to answer this precisely in view of the many transplants from other continents that have been brought to American shores. However, the answer can be surmised, in part by inspecting the transformations that have occurred here: Pre-Columbian transformations, Post-Columbian transformations, and current ongoing transformations. In part by noting the indigenous myths and religions of historic and contemporary Americans, and in part by studying the flora, fauna and geomorphology unique to these continents. But perhaps most of all by marking those ideas and beliefs, associated with America, which have inspired and energized peoples all over the world.

What is America? America is a continent, America is a nation, America is a nation of nations, America is people, America is an institution, America is a process, America is an heritage, America is a dream, America is a destiny. We cannot begin to understand what America is or what being an American means until we take into account all of these Americas.

CHARACTERISTICS OF THE PRESENT AMERICAN CULTURE

HIGHLY COMPETITIVE [SATURATED WITH IRRECONCILABLE SIMILARITIES]

HIGHLY CONFORMING [DIVERSITY IS CONFUSING, EVEN UNPATRIOTIC]

INSTITUTIONALLY RELIGIOUS [BUT MATERIALISTIC, SECULAR, NOT SPIRITUAL]

HYPOCRITICAL [SELF--DELUDED, SUSTAINED BY ILLUSORY RHETORIC]

ME ORIENTED [WITH CRITICAL IDENTITY PROBLEMS]

NOW ORIENTED [SHORT TERM BOTTOM LINE, NO RESPONSIBILITY TO FUTURE]

NOVELTY ORIENTED [FADS REPLACE GENUINE INNOVATION]

HEDONISTIC [DEMAND INSTANT GRATIFICATION]

WASTEFUL [OBLIVIOUS TO CONTEXTS AND CONSEQUENCES]

ARROGANT [HAVE THE RIGHT ANSWERS AND SOLUTIONS]

LEMMING LIKE [SECURE BECAUSE LARGE NUMBERS ARE IN AGREEMENT]

DYADIC THINKING [LIMITED REASONING POWER, REDUCTIO AD "US/THEM"]

MONOPOLISTIC CAPITALISM [WINNER TAKES ALL]

SUCCESS MEASURED BY WEALTH, CELEBRITY, POWER [THE REAL PANTHEON]

VERTICALLY SPLIT [LARGE ACCESS AND REMUNERATION GAPS BY CLASS]

While Americans have been "good rowers", implementing and developing ideas, they have been "poor steersmen" in their selection of what to implement and develop. And recently goals and objectives have had to be imported for lack of a domestic "idea industry". Americans now face the critical choice: Learn how to really innovate or become extinct. We cannot survive on fads.

The hubris that the "number one" culture has the right and responsibility to control and reshape the world and to do it alone arouses the gods of history. If we have become uncorrectable then we shall inevitably end in the trash bin of history.

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY:

In brief, American culture is a **consumer me-culture, now-culture on wheels.**

RECAPTURE THE CONFEDERATE FLAG

In an age of dawning understanding, we can say that in every conflict both sides are right and both sides are wrong. In the triumph of one side, the right as well as the wrong in the defeated is vanquished and the wrong as well as the right in the victor is confirmed. To truly learn from history we must disavow the premise that might makes right and search out the right we have vanquished and the wrong we still enshrine.

In many a county, in many a state, in the court house square stands a statue to a soldier who fought in years long past for a cause called lost. Those who bother to stop and gaze upon the statue wonder how he could have fought for a cause we now abjure. We who have been conditioned, not by history, but by those who have written history, cannot place ourselves in his shoes. For us his cause was not only lost, it was wrong.

To the victor belong the spoils. And the most important spoil of all is custody of the record, the power to reshape what has happened in order to shape what will happen. The victor rewrote the lost cause into an ignoble cause. The victor rewrote his own cause into a lofty cause. That is why as we stand in the court house square today we cannot perceive what was in the heart of those who sacrificed all for what we have been told they fought for.

Today in a great state in the South a debate wages over whether to change that state's flag, to remove from it the portion that preserves the emblem that was the battle flag of that lost cause. It is argued that only 1.5 percent of that state's history was lived under that flag. And that is not what that state is about today. All of which is true. But the deeper reason for seeking this change is that the flag of the lost cause was left unprotected and it was stolen by bigots who rewrote its meaning to conform to their own purposes. For each generation rewrites the meaning of its symbols in order to render them useful and understandable to its own agendas.

That there is contention over possession of this flag proves that it is still an energizing symbol. Even though less than two percent of that states history was lived under that flag, the devoted sacrifices of that time made that small percent one of the state's finest hours. The cause has died, the flag still lives. And this flag belongs to all Americans, not to bigots who would distort it into a racist symbol. The flag stands to remind us that while we remain united, we must ever oppose centralization and homogenization. These values are the defeated's right values, and should speak today for cultural diversity and local selfhood as the victor's values speak for our unity and equality of opportunity. All of our history is our precious heritage.

MORE ON THE CONFEDERATE FLAG

The recent demonstrations in Atlanta and other southern cities against the incorporation of the Confederate Battle Flag in the state flag disclose that there are still vestiges of the Civil War that remain unresolved. This is not surprising, since main stream historians have simplified the modern perspective of that war to the issue of slavery. However, that this was not a one issue war, nor at that time was slavery the principal issue, keeps alive the tensions and disagreements that center today on the symbols of the Confederacy.

As with many Americans, I am a descendant of both those who fought with the Union and with the Confederacy. In my blood is the blood of New Englanders who fought with the Meade and Grant and of Alabamans who fought with Johnson and Lee. I honor both sides and know that in reconciliation both contributed to a higher vision of what this country is about.

The motto on the Great Seal of the United States is "E Pluribus Unum": Pluralism and Unity. The deeper issue of the war was how to make possible both pluralism and unity. And this is an issue that is unresolved today. The South felt pluralism was impossible within the Union. The North felt that pluralism must be restrained for the sake of Union. Today, the issue still focuses on cultural pluralism versus economic unity. Everywhere in the world people want the benefits of economic union, but fear the loss of cultural heritages that appear to be the price of these benefits. Are culture and economics examples of Niel Bohr's complementarity? At one level contradictory, at some higher dimensionality reconcilable? Any higher dimensionality has yet to be discovered.

Those who want the state flag changed insist on a particular interpretation of the issues of the Civil War and of the Confederate symbols and demand that all others accept this interpretation. These same people want, rightly, to preserve their cultural heritage. But pluralism requires that others be allowed their interpretations. After all cultural differences are basically different interpretations and emphases of human experience.

The African Americans who object to the symbols of the Confederacy are in agreement in interpretation with the skinheads and members of the Klan. All look on the Confederate flag as a symbol of racism. Skinheads and the Klan parade the Confederate flag along side the Nazi swastika. Their seizure of these symbols and juxtaposing them does great violence to historic truth. But in a pluralistic society, the Klan has a right to its interpretations too. It is only when we demand that our

particular interpretation be universal that we violate "E Pluribus Unum". The Klan has taken the Latin Cross, a Christian symbol, and by burning it on peoples front lawns given it a totally unchristian meaning. Are we to demand that crosses be removed from all churches because the Klan has appropriated the cross? Today we fight over possession of symbols. They cannot be owned nor can a symbol (in Jung's sense) be tied to one meaning. An essence of cultural pluralism is let people have the right to their interpretation of symbols. The swastika still belongs to the American Indian. The Nazis own it only if you give it to them.

June 14, 1996

Editor: I would like to comment on Commander Everett Alvarez Jr's essay on "Why Flag Must Be Protected". First let me say that personally I am in strong agreement with the Commander's feelings about the flag. For me, as for him, it stands for our values, sacrifices, and liberty. But I disagree on passing a Constitutional amendment to "protect" the flag. And this is why:

The flag is a symbol and symbols in general contain no intrinsic attributes beyond their patterns and colors. Other attributes possessed by symbols are the associations and feelings that we project on them. It is not in American tradition to legislate how people shall feel. To do so goes beyond curtailing freedom of speech, it would be an attempt to control thought. Such laws are enforceable only through the techniques of totalitarian prisons.

Furthermore, since no one can own the meaning of a symbol, who is to mandate what a symbol should evoke in anyone's mind? Take the example of the Confederate flag. How do people think about it? For many it has become a symbol of racism. For others it stands for the "pluribus" in our motto "E pluribus Unum". Must we pass laws to require agreement? and then condition attitudes as with Pavlov's dog, getting all to salivate when a bell rings?

It strikes me that the approach consistent with what this country is about is not to pass Pavlovian statutes, but for us all as Americans to come to respect each others symbols and our freedom to interpret them according to our individual heritages and traditions. Our diversity must become the opportunity for insights, not the excuse for oppression or violence. Those of us who have sacrificed in the service of our country, made that sacrifice for the continuing liberty of all Americans, not for the right of some to impose their particular views on others. Once before an amendment (the Eighteenth) was passed to impose a particular view on all Americans. It had to be repealed. The Constitution was designed to protect our liberties, not to be used as a vehicle to take them away.

A.G.Wilson
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TOPICS

The Day's News March 7, 2001

1) Image and Meaning

Conflict over symbols, who owns them and whose interpretation of them should be used.

- a) The Confederate Flag
- b) A team mascot name, "The Braves"
- c) Statues in Afghanistan

2) Democracy and Time

Time as a guillotine to terminate democracy.

- a) It is more important to fit an arbitrary schedule than to have an accurate count. This was used against the electorate in the state of Florida by the U.S. Supreme Court.
- b) No more time, used against the people of the United States by the Department of Commerce in rejecting supplementary census data.
- c) After ten years of study and one year of hearings, the ergonomic rules were put in place.

A Republican House overturned them with but one hour of debate.

3) Conformists vs. Outcasts

The school shootings: Alienation of the loners, the "dissed" from the majority and from the norm. People, especially the young, feel threatened and made insecure by anyone or anything different. The pressure to conform includes adherence to the values of not "narcing" or "snitching", especially not reporting to authority. Other examples: The crew of the submarine Greenville fearing to speak up and interrupt the brass's show for the civilians; The lady photo technician who reported the arsenal of a potential shooter as seen on a photo, and was condemned for violating privacy.

The repetitive replay of these school shootings suggests an archetype at work. When a sufficient sector of the population becomes economically and culturally "dissed", we may expect a playout of this archetype on a much larger scale.

4) Religion vs Spirituality

Islam and Buddhism, a contrast between a monotheistic religion and a quasi-pantheistic religion. The Taliban's destruction of ancient Buddhist statues in Afghanistan. [The matter of prohibiting images and especially prohibiting the worship of images] The importance of the Hajj, coming to Mecca to worship together. This month there were over two million pilgrims in Mecca, several score of whom were trampled to death while casting stones at an image of the devil. [a form of image worship?] Islam: Gathered worshipers in the presence of one God; Buddhism: One worshiper in the presence of gathered Buddhas.

5) Modernization vs Tradition

Current conflicts in the Middle East [including the Israeli-Palestinian conflict] derive in part from Arab opposition to Westernization. While Arabs desire the advantages of modern technology, they fear the accompanying consequences of cultural secularization. Indeed, technology and materialistic values appear everywhere to be locked into one package. But why must technological innovation erode or change traditional values?

One answer to this has been given by Jaron Lanier, a computer technologist who has spent most of his life working on artificial intelligence, but has recently had a metanoia regarding such efforts. His awakening came from his frustration with simple word processing. He realized that the word processor would no longer do what he wanted, it had been programmed to automate too many inputs taking them away from the writer and giving them to the computer. This was because the programmers primary drive had been toward computer *intelligence*, not toward computer *usefulness*. A tool had become a tyrant.

Lanier became concerned with this trend toward computer independence in which he had earlier been a participant. He realized that all software was brittle and fragile [not to mention subject to viruses] and consequently that the dream of artificial intelligence was not only unattainable, but also undesirable. He realized that the goals of technologists, not only computer technologists but in other fields, had become anti-people. He saw disaster ahead in two trends: Wild technological innovation, and in the resulting increase in the rich-poor gap of access to resources. Technology has a built in hubris that leads to its overreaching value: Its own proliferation. It blindly follows Osbekian's and Mallory's laws.¹ This has rendered it deterministic both with respect to its own future and humanity's future. The computer geeks are homogenizing the future, [This was pointed out by Ralph Nader with respect to the Microsoft monopoly trial], preparing the way for Big Brother, if not for HAL.

Early in the 20th Century certain German politicians together with their military were taken with a home grown philosophical value: "Macht geht vor Recht"= "Might goes before Right". This raised an international cry of alarm condemning such a viewpoint. But today in the Macht geht vor Recht tradition, we have:

Profits geht vor People²
Rich geht vor Poor
Technology geht vor Humanity
Economics geht vor Culture
Us geht vor Them

Why is there now no international outcry against these values?

We live in a time in which that which makes sense has become a cultural curiosity—Li Kiang

¹Osbekian's Law: "If we can do something we will do it."

Mallory's Law: [Why climb Mt. Everest?] "Because it is there"

²Nature does not employ the profit motive, nor do the organs within the human body operate with the profit motive, [except for cancer cells]

ONE DAY IN THE NEWS: APRIL 19, 2001

JACKSON, MISS.

Mississippi voted overwhelmingly to keep the Confederate emblem on its flag. With all precincts reporting, 488,630 voters or 65% favored keeping the old flag and 267,812 voters or 35% wanted to replace it.

JACKSON, MISS.

The NAACP raised the threat of an economic boycott to drag Mississippi "kicking and screaming into the 21st century". State NAACP President Eugene Bryant said, "That flag has never been my flag, nor will it ever be my flag nor the flag of black people in the state of Mississippi who really understand the reason behind the Confederate flag and all of its history". "The voice of the people has been heard. The people of Mississippi do not want another flag. Mississippians are proud of their families, this state and its rich history", said William Earl Fagert leader of the state Sons of Confederate Veterans.

CHARLOTTESVILLE, VA.

The Thomas Jefferson Heritage Society issued a rebuttal to the DNA evidence of Jefferson's fatherhood of the children of Sally Hemings, a black slave on Jefferson's plantation. The possibility exists that it was Jefferson's brother who was the father. "Why do we go on and on about this?" asks Annette Gordon-Reed, a law professor who has written about Hemings and Jefferson. "Its about Jefferson and its about race, but **I think it's really about who gets to say what's true and what's not.**"

TOKYO.

A new school history textbook removing and declaring that the Japanese atrocities committed in the 1937 "Rape of Nanking" and subsequent abduction and forced prostitution of thousands of "comfort women" for Japanese soldiers in WWII never happened, has raised the ire of Koreans and Chinese. "It's intolerable to misrepresent what Japan did in that era. It's intolerable to use a distorted textbook and to teach it at school", said one South Korean. The official Chinese news agency said, "A handful of ultra-rightist forces are still trying to reverse the verdict of history on Japan's wars of aggression". But Tadae Takubo and Nobukatsu Fujioka, the authors of the textbook see it otherwise. "This is blatant interference by a foreign country. **All nations have a right to interpret their history in their own way, and pass down that interpretation. We think that is an important part of sovereignty.**"

"History is what I write it to be." -Josef Stalin

Who controls the past controls the future, and
who controls the present controls the past.

-George Orwell, "1984"

July 16 and 17, I and a few fellow buffs will attend the Civil War days held near here. The guys in blue and gray uniforms reenact battles and we all watch trying to figure out why it still fascinates us. I can only conclude that in some sense the Civil War is not over. Slavery is gone as long it should be, but other unresolved issues still lurk behind the smoke from the cannons. Something in the vision of the Founding Fathers was lost along with the "lost cause". Being one of those whose New England ancestors fought with the North and whose Alabama ancestors fought with the South, I still feel some destruction of the pluribus in e pluribus unum. So maybe as I watch the reenactment, I hope I might see some of what the historians have missed, something that has not, but should be said.

It has to do with these united states becoming the United States

The vision of separation of power eroded

Greatest steps in Govt

Separation of Powers

Enslavement
Loop

— remain to the states
RIGHTS

The civil war

— Slavery
— Union

The beginning of destruction of separation of power

A noble truth - Separation of Powers

1803 Court
- Separated powers both

PRE-COLUMBIAN AMERICA

THE CONTRIBUTIONS OF THE PRE-COLUMBIANS

COSMOLOGY

The sacred cosmological myths of many American Indians, Hopis, Navajos, and Nahuatl peoples, contain the theme of successive creations and destructions. Change is not stepwise by evolution, but through creation, living out the possibilities of that creation to its limits, followed by its destruction and replacement by a new creation. Each cycle resulting in emergence at a higher level.

ECOLOGY

The earth is sacred. One cannot own the air, the sea nor the land. The earth is one vast commons. We are all stewards for its care. We must be responsible to return to it that which we borrow from it and be thankful. [But no commons is so vast but that some thief will try to steal it.]

Walk through the world in such a way that no one will know you have passed this way.

POLITICS

The concept of Confederation was a contribution of native Americans. Humans have always sought means to live in security frequently by seeking some form of relationship or unity with others. Typical of the old world approach to unity was the 'top down' initiative, unity through conquest and empire as practiced from Darius to Hitler.

The Iroquois Confederation, a 'bottom up' initiative, created an American paradigm for unity. The Iroquois Confederation was the first "League of Nations" having reputedly been organized c. 1570 by the coming together of five tribes through the inspiration of a chief of the Mohawk tribe. (A sixth nation joined the league later in colonial times.) However, other traditions attribute the formation of earlier confederations to the efforts of a great chief of the Onondaga tribe, the celebrated Hiawatha, c 1450. The Swiss also created a Confederation which evolved from a defense league of 3 cantons in 1291, to a formal confederation in 1648, so the Iroquois and the Swiss must be said to have independently evolved the concept of confederation. However, only in America did the idea catch on and spread, first with the Articles of Confederation joining the thirteen colonies in 1776, next with the creation of the United States by bottom up initiative in 1787, followed by its 'add-a-state' plan. Later there was the Southern Confederacy of 1860-65. In 1919 through the vision of Woodrow Wilson the idea was exported and tried on a global level. But the late League of Nations was not successful in the face of overwhelming top down

traditions. Finally, with increasing hope that the bottom up initiative would become a new paradigm for international relations, the United Nations was founded in 1945.

In the Iroquois Confederation, there was a unique separation of powers idea: Only the men held office, but only the women voted and selected the office holders.

OFFICE HOLDERS GIVE AWAY ALL PROPERTY

Potlatch

The four-fold social order

Pluralism

Restitution ^{over} vs. Retribution

LEARNING

THE MAYAN CALENDAR

The meso-American 52 year cycle of renewal.
(cf. the Jubilee).

THE INVENTION AND USE OF ZERO

WISDOM vs. KNOWLEDGE

HOPI MANIFEST VS. UNMANIFEST

SOCIAL

MACHOISM, NO TEARS

GUERRILLA WARFARE AND ITS CONSEQUENCES

NO WORD FOR "I" ONLY WORD FOR "PEOPLE"

BALL GAMES

THE BOTTOM LINE: NOT TO TAKE ONESELF TOO SERIOUSLY (MAD MAGAZINE)

THE GREAT DIALECTIC

THE ANASAZI HAD THE SAME WORD FOR
ART
ARCHITECTURE
ASTRONOMY
RELIGION

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Walk through the world in such a way that no one will know you have passed this way.

Find the history of Ecology

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THE BOTTOM LINE: NOT TO TAKE ONESELF TOO SERIOUSLY (MAD MAGAZINE)

THE GREAT DIALECTIC

"BUY AMERICAN"

The contributions of America to Social Contracts

The earth is sacred. One cannot own the air, the sea or the land itself. We must return to it that which we take from it and be thankful.

Hopi, Navajo, and Nuhuatl peoples all have myths of successive creations and destructions, each resulting in emergence at a higher level.

The Iriquois Confederation: an American paradigm.

(The Swiss Confederation evolved from a defense league of 3 cantons in 1291, to a formal confederation in 1648. The Iriquois and Swiss independently evolved the concept of confederacy.)

In the Iriquois Confederation, the men held office, but only the women could vote.

The meso-American 52 year cycle of renewal. (cf. the Jubilee).

INDWHITE.P51

DISK:SCRAPS → LOSTATE

July 13, 1991

KINSHIP-W

PHA of ^{discovering} America

But there is a curious paradox in this. In those aspects where the Indian emphasizes uniqueness, as with individual humans, the white man seeks to garberize^{by} emphasizing commonalities for the purpose of generalizations. On the other hand where the Indian seeks to bridge differences, as in the concept of universal kinship of all animate (and inanimate) creatures, the white man seeks rigid distinctions as with the scala of rocks, plants, animals, man. When using the scientific approach the white man is concerned with the likeness of chimps and humans, when using the macho approach, the white man wishes no kinship. Superiority is the essence to be preserved. In both cultures there is a blurred line between uniqueness and kinship. In the Indian cultures, the ultimate emphasis is on kinship; In the white cultures, the ultimate emphasis is on elitism.

For Indians the dichotomy is kinship and uniqueness.
For the white man the dichotomy is commonality and elitism. It is the same dichotomy, but the choice of words leads to an entirely different attitudinal approach.

kinship w diversity
commonality w elitism

For the Indian, diversity does not contain the imperative of elitism, of a ladder of superior/inferior, as it does for the white man. For the white man, commonalities do not contain the concept of kinship, as for the Indian.

garberize
~~garberize~~ = remove distinctions, + discriminations

DISCOVERING AMERICA

DISCOVERING AMERICA

(WILL THE REAL AMERICA PLEASE STAND UP)

(also re melting pots)

Today we celebrate the 215th anniversary of the Declaration of Independence, but let it not be another occasion for the glorification of patriotism. We have been in an orgy of patriotic celebrations for many months and have wrapped and rewrapped our flag with yellow ribbons, ^{yellow ribbons} which seem to be becoming a flag themselves—the flag of Imperial America. Rather than raising one last hurrah, let us today celebrate the Fourth by unwrapping the yellow ribbons and looking again toward that America ~~which can yet~~ ^{to} come. ~~to pass.~~

Our President has proclaimed that "America rediscovered itself in Desert Storm". For balance, this proclamation must be put in juxtaposition with the feeling of groups of native Americans who maintain that the White Man has yet to discover America. Next year we shall celebrate the 500th anniversary of the White Man's arrival in America. According to native Americans this event marked, not the **discovery** of America but the beginning of the **invasion** of America. America, they say, has yet to be discovered by white men.

Both native Americans and the White Man agree, however, that the event we celebrate today is one of great significance. They feel that in incorporating into the Declaration of Independence and Constitution those political ideas whose roots resided in the tribal structures developed by native Americans, the White Man once discovered a part of America. They also feel that the current awakening sensitivity to the environment and understanding of the principles of ecology may hopefully lead the White Man to the discovery of another part of what is America. But very much still remains undiscovered.

Sailing westward with Columbus were three worldviews. There were those apprehensive of toppling over the cliff edge of the world to destruction, ready at every moment to turn back. There was the Admiral himself with the vision of a new route to the treasures of the Indies and Cathay. And there were those who were magnetically pulled to the legendary paradise believed to exist somewhere to the west.

For centuries the peoples of Europe had dreamed of a paradise located in their imaginations and in their myths somewhere to the west, out beyond the Pillars of Hercules in the far reaches of the Atlantic. In the sixth century St. Brandan set out from Ireland with a few of his brother monks to search for this sacred land. Some say he found it, that St. Brandan was the first from Europe to reach America. (Modern scholars, however, feel he may have reached only the Azores.) But whether or not St. Brandan or anyone else who tried, really succeeded in reaching the sacred western land, for more than two thousand years there was the incentive and urge to find this land, "Land of pure delight where saints immortal reign and everlasting spring abides." (Isaac Watts).

THE BUDDHIST "PURE LAND OF AMITABA"

also - somewhere in the West

Beginning in the 14th century a second incentive and urge arose in Europe, a commercial urge to find a route to the East, to the spice islands and the treasures of the Indies. The Turks had blocked the traditional route, but the faith and genius of Prince Henry the Navigator, led in the 15th century to the discovery of a route to the East leading around the southern tip of Africa. At the same time a Genoan sailor became convinced of the truth of the knowledge of the ancients that the earth was a sphere, and that one could reach the East by going west. In 1492 this sailor succeeded in testing his belief and sailed west to find the East. But instead the way was blocked by two continents. These continents were not the sought-for East, but could they be the sought-for West of St Brandan and those who searched for the land where saints immortal reign? It is in this dual search for the metaphorical West and the metaphorical East that we have the origin of two visions of America that compete to the present day. The West has always been portrayed as the site of utopian visionary paradises. (Even in Asia, the trans-earthly paradise of the Buddha Amitaba resides in the West.) While the East, on the other hand, has symbolized material riches and mysterious powers. Was America to be West or East? OR was America something else, something entirely different from both the paradisiacal and commercial visions of Europeans, neither the site of fountains of youth nor the location of mountains of gold.

The history of America has thus become the story of the search for an identity. But definition for America has been not so much a search as a contest between those with different definitions for America. It has been a struggle between those who wish to impose various old world visions on America and those who are trying to hear the message of ~~the~~ America itself. This has resulted in a race between America and the white man to see whether America could transform the white man before the white man could efface America.

But what is this message of America, which has, in spite of the repressive power and inflexible mind set of the European conquistadors, been heard with eagerness and hope by peoples throughout the world?

The discovery of a new world, at the time, had an electrifying effect in the learned circles of Europe. As news came back across the Atlantic of the differences between the two worlds, a most important message from America was heard, perhaps one of the most important messages of all time. In seeing practices different from their traditions, but nonetheless viable, Europe awoke to the fact that **ALTERNATIVES WERE REALIZABLE**. The impact of this message catalyzed the release of ideas which had long been confined in the prisons of social, political, and religious orthodoxies. Perhaps it was no accident that following on the heels of the discovery of America, Luther was emboldened to launch a religious reformation and Copernicus was able to break the shackles of geocentricity. At this moment in history dormant ideas were empowered to be born -- This was America's first gift to the world.

For the first century after Columbus, **intellectual Europe** was projecting its notion of the western paradise onto America, while **mercantile Europe** was busy exploiting America's resources and enslaving and exterminating its inhabitants. But gradually Europeans began to realize that there was more to America than a receptacle for their visions or a fountain source for their cravings. America was bringing them things beyond what they had ever sought or even known of. Then instead of looking on America as a Lockean blank tablet to be written on as they pleased, they began to take notice of the lifestyle of the "Noble Savage" and incorporate aspects of his worldview into their thinking. Many new social, political, and philosophical ideas flowed from America to the old world, but since they were articulated by Europeans, their source was forgotten and no credit to their originators ever given.

Even today it is difficult for us to recognize how much of our culture had its origins in America in pre-columbian times. We praise the philosophers of the Enlightenment, the Lockes and Rousseaus for their contributions; and we revere the Founding Fathers for theirs, but we fail to inquire where their ideas originated. Their great revolutionary political wisdom was not developed by a single generation in the last quarter of the eighteenth century. How many know, for example, that the first written constitution (on wampum belts made of sea shells) which was drafted in North America appeared before Columbus ever embarked on his famous journey. The Gayaneshagowa, or Great Binding Law of the Five Nations, was a written constitution created by the Iroquois and enunciated such democratic ideals and doctrines as initiative, recall, referendum, and equal suffrage. it provided a type of central government that would later be suggested by Benjamin Franklin to the colonies as an institution worthy of emulation. It contained the essence of federalism, where one could be both a member of the tribe and the league, a citizen of both a state and the nation. *world*

Let us look further at some of the social, political, and religious ideas of native Americans, contrast them with our European heritage, and recognize both how much we have adopted and rejected of their wisdom. *Perhaps we should call this an ~~excursion~~ excursion into undiscovered America.*
Characteristic North American social and political theory *Russel Barsh*
is based on three concepts: *Jack Weatherford*

Individual conscience Universal kinship Endless creative power of the world

COSMOGONY

Native American cosmogony begins with a Creator, sometimes with a Grandmother image, but usually as a Great Mystery. This creator is not a personal god but an

ultimate and aloof power identified with love. The creation itself was entirely an act of Love. However, after the universe was launched, the creator set in motion a myriad of spirits and forces that continually reshape and recreate the universe in endless cycles. These forces are sometime referred to as "tricksters", who are neither good nor evil, who while increasing the complexity of the world and expanding the domain of moral choice, are subject to no universal plan nor destiny. But creative power was not given exclusively to the tricksters. Creative power is available to all. Nothing is intrinsically superior or inferior in either rights or power. However, there do exist temporary perturbations in power arising from carefulness, shrewdness, or skillfulness on the part of individuals. The Creator is too vast to be known directly, one can approach the Great Mystery only through the Creator's manifestations in creation. Thus Nature is sacred because it is the manifestation of the Great Mystery. All parts of nature are sacred and since the animals were created first they are elders and teachers (Barsh)

DIVERSITY

A corollary to the initial creative process was the creation of diversity, of unique talents and capabilities. Each new human brings a gift from the spirit world to the material plane, but these gifts in themselves possess no moral value. The subjective individualistic worldview of native Americans in stressing the uniqueness and diversity of all humans stands in contrast to the western emphasis on similarities and commonalities among humans. Western science could not make its generalizations if it were to focus on differences. It has hidden the unique aspects of the world within its bell shaped distribution curves. But in stressing commonalities, there has developed another impulse -- one toward minimizing differences. The western scientific worldview thus has a vested interest in the economies derived from homogenization, whereas native Americans see differences as wealth. For the Indian the challenge in living becomes not to learn what is already known, although there must be a place for this, but to discover one's own unique talent and develop it fully.

→ p 4 A

RELIGION

While western religions see humanity as fallen and in need of redemption, the native American view is that humans do not exist for moral testing, but to enjoy and participate in the world. This view, however, does not assert that life does not possess moral challenges. Tolerance and individual liberty must be accompanied by self-discipline and a sense of responsibility to the

But there is a curious paradox in this. In those aspects where the Indian emphasizes uniqueness, as with individual humans, the white man seeks to garberize by emphasizing commonalities for the purpose of generalizations. On the other hand where the Indian seeks to bridge differences, as in the concept of universal kinship of all animate (and inanimate) creatures, the white man seeks rigid distinctions as with the scala of rocks, plants, animals, man. When using the scientific approach the white man is concerned with the likeness of chimps and humans, when using the macho approach, the white man wishes no kinship. Superiority is the essence to be preserved. In both cultures there is a blurred line between uniqueness and kinship. In the Indian cultures, the ultimate emphasis is on kinship; In the white cultures, the ultimate emphasis is on elitism.

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tribe and all nature. The native American accepts the validity of all religious experience, making their religion **polysynthetic**, that is, capable of evolving and incorporating new experience. When exposed to European missionaries, Indians simply merged Christian conceptions with their own.

The important concept of "medicine" emphasizes the role of individuality in contacts with the spiritual level. Each person receives power that flows from a unique combination of spiritual sources and each individual must approach the infinite alone, in his own time, to discover his own unique guardian spirits, rituals, and identity. No priests stand between the human and the Great Creator.

KNOWLEDGE

In the native American view the really important knowledge is personal and subjective knowledge, knowledge that cannot necessarily be communicated or standardized. In contrast Western culture consists only of communicated knowledge and discards all non-sharable knowledge as being either nonsense or psychotic and of no consequence. The native American feels that subjective and personal knowledge, even if articulated, should never be fossilized into dogma. A view similar to this was held in ancient Greece and throughout Celtic Europe, but was stifled in the Roman world. But subjective individualism has limits, while it may lead to artistic and spiritual creativity of great moment, it cannot create towers of Babel or wage global wars. Rather its fulfillment lies in 'each person striving to contribute his own irreplaceable fragment to the whole mosaic and in respecting and understanding the pieces contributed by others'.

EPISTEMOLOGY

The native American and the white man differ also in their epistemological approach to the world. It may be expressed as the difference between **observe** and **experience**. The white man observes the world, the native American experiences it. Roughly this means that most of western culture is based on experience that is predominately visual, while native American cultures incorporate all sensual and trans-sensual experiences.

In a deeper sense it is doubtful that any **genuine** culture ever belongs to more than a small group. Such a group must be connected by more than articulated communication. It must share a direct intensive spiritual contact.

ONTOLOGY

For Indians, if two people observing at the same point in space see different things, their interpretation is that both have seen reality, because reality is in the observer. The white man's response is that one or both of the observers has erred or is mad. The western mind, possibly because of the structure of its languages, easily supports the notion of an **absolute** external reality, and by ready extension supports the concept of an **absolute** good and evil. Native Americans, on the other hand, see things and events as akin or related without the necessity of absolute frameworks to relate them. This is why the relativistic concepts of modern physics are more in accord with the Indian worldview than with the traditional European worldview.

CONSCIENCE AND DEMOCRACY

Native Americans hold, 'We have no right to judge others, each alone is responsible for his own conduct.' It is felt by them to be morally indefensible and cosmologically hazardous to prevent anyone from doing what his conscience demands. "One man is as much master as another and since all men are made of the same clay, there should be no distinction or superiority among them". If the exercise of conscience results in injury to others, it is a matter for reconciliation or in irreconcilable cases a matter for exile, never a matter for correction.

All compulsion is abhorred. "We will not be whipped into duty, but as men we can be persuaded to do the right." All injunctions that carry with them the appearance of a command are instantly rejected. Public order depends on self discipline and the power of public opinion and ridicule. The position of the individual within the tribe is entirely dependent upon private virtue. While each person is his own judge, each is intensely aware of his accountability for the welfare of others.

The primacy of individual conscience dictates a very pure form of democracy characterized by its lack of central authority and in which any collective action requires the consent of everyone affected. Anybody can speak who has anything to say. Ordering anyone to do anything is an insult to intelligence. To minimize conflicts and wounded pride, debates and public voting should be avoided. Instead issues should be discussed widely and informally to seek agreement in advance. At meetings speakers are encouraged to build on one another's words so that by the time all had spoken everyone was of one mind.

Economic independence preserves political freedom. Leaders are therefore powerless to deprive any family of its means of subsistence. In contrast, one of the evils of modern states is their power to decide who eats. It is the exercise of this particular power rather than inadequacies in production or distribution that is responsible for the hunger in today's world.

Representative majority rule democracy was an improvement on European feudal monarchies, but from a native American perspective it was step backward to authoritarianism.

UNIVERSAL KINSHIP

Present nations are defined geographically and it matters little who is found within the state's territorial jurisdiction. One's identity is assigned by geography. If you are born on one side of the river you are drafted into one army, if on the other side, into a different army. By contrast the native American tribal system rests on universal kinship crossing all geographic boundaries. Further it is a kinship that is continuous also in time and across species. "The Dakota say they are responsible for all things because they are at one with all things." For the native American **Responsibility derives from kinship**. For the white man **Responsibility derives from ownership**.

*{ This subverts
the feminine role
of deciding
who belongs }*

The concept of **kinship in time** connects ancestors with the unborn. Each that has come this way and each that is yet to come, has a name. Birth does not begin relationship and death does not end relationship. The family in all its generations already exists and the names of all members have been preordained. Only when the white man developed the theory of relativity with its concept of a time-line, did this basic idea of the native American begin to make sense to him. The spirit world from which all souls come and to which they return completes the circle, so through the spiritual world every family extends both backward and forward in time.

Kinship in space connects family to family. Every family and therefore every human being is related. At the individual level these relationships change over time with birth, marriage, and death, but the family to family relationships transcend time. With the white man this idea of the relationship of families is expressed as the 'brotherhood of man'. But the brother-brother relationship is only one. Some families are older brother to others, some are mother, some father, some nephew, some uncle, and so on. For the native American once these relationships are established they endure forever.

Kinship across species connects human beings with all life. Just as human families are related, before memory so too were human and animal families. And again the relationship endures forever. Here is found the ecological dimension in Indian perspective. Human and animal families, joined in kinship, share the same territory, and their kinship is the charter of their common rights of tenancy. There is no ownership, only the right to live in a place with one's human and animal relatives. The responsibilities of human and animal families sharing the same place are reciprocal. The salmon are uncles to human beings who live at the stream's edge. They feed their nephews, and in return are respected and not molested. To sell them or to destroy them would be as unthinkable as selling or murdering human kinsmen.

Thus native American relationships are modular. Within the tribe, relationships are personal, brother, sister, mother, father, cousin, etc. Between tribes relationships are tribal, but again brother tribe, mother tribe etc... And between species relations are species wide. Humans do not relate to a specific buffalo or crow but to buffaloes and crows as species, and again as Uncle buffalo, cousin crow, etc.

In contrast, the white man's sociopolitical structure has reduced all kinship to binary oppositions. Us and them. Like ^{and rights} us or different from us. And there is one set of rules for us and another for them. The ~~Us-them~~ dichotomy has also been extended to the living and non-living. The living have the right to ignore the wishes of the dead and the unborn. The unborn do not exist and therefore have no rights, and the dead have no right to govern ~~to~~ the living. Us-them is also the dichotomy of rulers and ruled. While all of the ruled may have identical rights with respect to the rulers, the so-called 'universality of law' in modern democracies, equal rights can become a substitute for inalienable rights. All slaves may possess equal rights. Keep the people focused on equal rights to keep their thoughts off of their inalienable rights.

Indigenous Americans had no surplus of humans. Everyone was unique and everyone had a place. In contrast the modern industrial state is plagued with duplication because we reduce human roles to a limited set of types or classes. Freedom comes to mean being treated like everyone of the same class.

LEADERSHIP

'In the indigenous American view leadership is a burden upon the selfless, an obligation for the most capable, but never a reward for the greedy.' (BARSH) Indians had difficulty understanding why in white man's democracy the decisions were made by the most ambitious, the most egotistical, and the most power driven, and not by the wisest. There is no room for the power hungry in Indian society because there is no power. To the native American, a leader was not a decision maker. Rather he was a coordinator, a peacemaker, a teacher, an example, and a comedian. One of the most fundamental rubrics of native American society is that the chief cannot tell others what to do. What the chief can do is persuade, cajole, illuminate, inspire, and tease. The chief is an advisor, not an executive. The chief's influence depends on the ability to minimize differences of opinion, remain above the argument, and win trust and esteem through integrity, generosity, and sacrifice. To become well liked the leader must share everything and become poor. Nominees to the Great Council before taking office are asked if they are prepared to be poor for the rest of their lives. Senator Henry Dawes once complained one could not treat with the Indians because there was no selfishness, which is the very cornerstone of western civilization. There is no need here to comment on the contrasting situation in white man's society.

Those who lead are also expected to be examples to the children. Thus in Indian communities education and government become inseparable. Every chief is an 'education chief'. In some tribes chiefs adopted the most promising children as apprentices.

RENEWAL

Renewal is observed in all the dimensions of kinship: With life, with space and with time, with family, other species and the earth. It is effected in annual meetings of families and tribes to erase residues of grievances and conflicts, reassert underlying responsibilities, and rebalance confederation. Celebrations of the hunt and the harvest renew covenants with animals and plants and reaffirm human kinship with all life. Some tribes held annual rituals in sacred places to restore the ties with the earth. The Cheyennes met at Bear Butte, in their view the sacred node of the earth for this purpose.

These ideas have great spiritual power. Those which lie in the already discovered portion of America, that is those incorporated in the Declaration of Independence and Constitution, have inspired the world. The notion of individual liberty has lit a flame in human hearts on all continents, and turned minds everywhere to study and emulate the political wisdom which an inspired generation of white men in the eighteenth century developed from these native American attitudes and ways of living. But there is a shadow side to this. These spiritual values have been exploited and manipulated for the sake of power and gain just as have the material resources of America. Because of this native Americans now have a new fear, that not only is the continent becoming polluted and desecrated by the greed of the white man, but these sacred spiritual values will themselves being soiled and rendered impotent through their prostitution to personal gain and political power.

Let us tune in on the debate.

ON CULTURAL GENOCIDE

From Barbara Owl, a White Earth Anishinabe

"We have many particular things which we hold internal to our cultures. These things are spiritual in nature. and they are for us not for anyone who happens to walk in off the street. They are ours and they are not for sale. Because of this, I suppose it is accurate to say that such matters are our secrets, the things which bind us together in our identities as distinct peoples. It is not that we never make outsiders aware of our secrets, but we, not they, decide what, how much, and to what purpose this knowledge is to be put. That is absolutely essential to our cultural integrity, and thus to our survival as peoples. Now, surely, we Indians are entitled to that. Everything else has been stripped from us already... a lot of things about our spiritual ways may be secret, but the core idea never has been and you can sum up that idea in one word spelled R-E-S-P-E-C-T, respect for and balance between all things, that's our most fundamental spiritual concept. Now, obviously, those who would violate the confidence which is placed in them when we share some of our secrets, they do not have the slightest sense of the word, trust. Even worse are those who take this information and misuse or abuse it for their own purposes, marketing it in some way or another, turning our spirituality into a commodity in books or movies or classes or ceremonies. And it does not really matter whether they are Indians or non-Indians when they do such things, the non-Indians who do it are thieves, and the Indians who do it are sellouts and traitors."

Countering is the white poet Gary Snyder:

"Spirituality is not something that can be owned like a car or a house. Spiritual knowledge belongs to all humanity equally. Given the state of the world today, we all have not only the right but the obligation to pursue all forms of spiritual insight and at every possible level. In this sense it seem to me that I have as much right to pursue and articulate the belief systems developed by Native Americans as they do and arguments to the contrary strike me as absurd in the extreme."

But former American Indian Movement leader Russell Means concurs with Owl's assessment:

"What is at issue here is the same old question that Europeans have always posed with regard to American Indians. whether what is ours isn't somehow theirs too. And, of course, they have always answered the question in the affirmative. When they wanted our land they just announced that they had a right to it and therefore owned it. When we resisted their taking our land they claimed we were being unreasonable and committed physical genocide upon us in order

to convince us to see things their way. Now being spiritually bankrupt themselves, they want our spirituality as well so they are making up rationalizations to explain why they're entitled to it.

"We are resisting this because spirituality is the basis of our culture. If it is stolen our culture will be dissolved and if our culture is dissolved, Indian people as such will cease to exist. By definition, the causing of any culture to cease to exist is an act of genocide. That is a matter of international law: Look it up in the 1948 Genocide Convention. So, maybe this will give you another way of looking at these culture vultures who are ripping off Indian tradition. It is not an amusing or trivial matter, and it is not innocent or innocuous. And those who engage in this are not cute, groovey, hip, enlightened, or any of the rest of the things they want to project themselves as being. No what they are about is cultural genocide and genocide is genocide regardless of how you want to qualify it. So some of us are starting to react to these folks accordingly."

Mark Davis and Robert Zannis, Canadian researchers comment as follows on Mean's remarks:

"If people suddenly lose their prime symbol the basis, of their culture, their lives lose meaning. They become disoriented with no hope. A social disorganization often follows such a loss and they are often unable to insure their own survival. The loss and human suffering of those whose culture has been healthy and is suddenly attacked and disintegrated are incalculable. One should not speak lightly of cultural genocide as if were a fanciful invention. The consequences in real life are far too grim to speak of cultural genocide as if it were but a rhetorical device to beat the drums for human rights. The cultural mode of group extermination is genocide, a crime. Nor should cultural genocide be used in the game, which is more horrible to kill and torture or remove the prime cultural symbol which is the will and reason to live. Both are horrible."

We are talking here about an absolute ideological and conceptual subordination of the Indian peoples in addition to the total physical subordination they already experience. When this happens, the last vestiges of real Indian society and Indian rights will disappear. Non-Indians will then own the heritage and ideas of Indians as thoroughly as they now claim to own their land and resources.

July 3, 1991

What is the answer? Does to discover America mean to destroy it? Does it always mean for the white man that to discover is to destroy? The record suggests that this is so. The teachings of the world's greatest teachers have been institutionalized for power and material gain. What is idealism and inspiration for some is bait and a weapon for conquest for others. Is there hope that this need not always be so?

Thomas Wolfe said,

"I believe we are lost here in America, but I believe we shall be found. I think the life we have fashioned in America, and which has fashioned us -- the forms we made, the cells we grew, the honeycomb that was created -- was self-destructive in nature and must be destroyed. I think these forms are dying and must die, just as I know that America and the people in it are deathless, undiscovered and immortal and must live."

The America of the white man has been a melting pot. A melting pot of the sort that all who come, whatever their heritage, can be remolded to the American vision. But those who come from abroad seeking freedom without understanding freedom dilute the vision. Is the vision strong enough to survive its diluters and exploiters? There are examples from history that strong cultures can endure and survive even alien conquest. In historic China a well defined culture withstood repeated conquests and invasions. It was the invaders not the culture who were who were repeatedly melted in the Chinese melting pot. The historic culture continued to prevail. A more recent example comes from World War II. When it appeared that the Allies would soon be in a position to liberate Paris, Hitler sent to Paris the general who had been his agent to supervise the destruction of cities which his retreating armies had to abandon on the Eastern front. This man of little compassion was known as the obliterator of Warsaw. However, when a few weeks later, Hitler gave the order that Paris was to be burned to the ground, the General refused. He had come under the spell of Paris. He could not destroy such a city. He surrendered. There are indeed cultures and visions that can survive Mongols and Nazis.

It has been said: The Owl of Wisdom Wakes when the sun of empire sets.

I feel America's vision can survive yellow ribbons.

*A strong culture and vision will
always be able to survive Mongols and Nazis*

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DISCOVERING AMERICA
July 4, 1991

[He Together]
in the century
four whenever our
govt. intervened abroad,
war has usually
followed.

Today we celebrate the 215th anniversary of the Declaration of Independence, but let it not be another occasion for the glorification of patriotism. We have been in an orgy of patriotic celebrations for many months and have wrapped and rewrapped our flag with yellow ribbons. Indeed, yellow ribbons seem to be a flag themselves ~~perhaps the flag of Imperial America~~. Rather than raising one last hurrah today, let us celebrate the Fourth by ~~taking down~~ the yellow ribbons and looking again toward that America which yet can come be — the America that understands its true identity.

Our President has proclaimed that "America rediscovered itself in Desert Storm". For balance, this proclamation must be put in juxtaposition with the feeling of groups of native Americans who maintain that the White Man has yet to discover America. Next year we shall celebrate the 500th anniversary of the White Man's arrival in America. According to native Americans this event marked not the discovery of America, but the beginning of the invasion of America. America, they say, has yet to be discovered by white men.

Both native Americans and the White Man agree, however, that the event we celebrate today is one of great significance. They feel, in incorporating into the Declaration of Independence and Constitution those political ideas whose roots resided in the tribal structures developed by native Americans, that the White Man once did discover a part of America. They also feel that the awakening sensitivity to the environment and the developing understanding of the principles of ecology may hopefully lead the White Man to again discover a part of America. But very much still remains undiscovered.

Sailing westward with Columbus were three worldviews. There were those apprehensive of toppling over the cliff edge of the world to destruction, ready at every moment to turn back. There was the Admiral himself with the vision of a new route to the treasures of the Indies and Cathay. And there were those who were magnetically pulled to the legendary paradise believed to exist somewhere to the west.

For centuries the peoples of Europe had dreamed of a paradise located in their imaginations and in their myths somewhere to the west, out beyond the Pillars of Hercules in the far reaches of the Atlantic. In the sixth century St. Brandan set out from Ireland with a few of his brother monks to search for this sacred land. Some say he found it, that St. Brandan was the first from Europe to reach America. (Modern scholars, however, feel he may have reached only the Azores.) But whether or not St. Brandan or anyone else who tried really succeeded in reaching the sacred western land, for more than two thousand years there was the incentive and urge to find this land "Land of pure delight where saints immortal reign and everlasting spring abides." (Isaac Watts).

Beginning in the 14th century a second incentive and urge arose in Europe, a commercial urge to find a route to the East, to the spice islands and the treasures of the Indies. The Turks had blocked the traditional route, but the faith and genius of Prince Henry the Navigator, led in the 15th century to the discovery of a route to the East leading around the southern tip of Africa. At the same time a Genoese sailor became convinced of the truth of the knowledge of the ancients that the earth was a sphere, and that one could reach the East by going west. In 1492 this sailor succeeded in testing his belief and sailed west to find the East. But instead the way was blocked by two continents. These continents were not the sought-for East, but could they be the sought-for West of St Brandan and those who searched for the land where saints immortal reign? It is in this dual search for the metaphorical West and the metaphorical East that we have the origin of two visions of America that compete to the present day. The West has always been portrayed as the site of utopian visionary paradises. (Even in Asia, the trans-earthly paradise of the Buddha Amitaba resides in the West.) While the East, on the other hand, has symbolized material riches and mysterious powers. Was America to be West or East? OR was America something else, something entirely different from both the paradisiacal and commercial visions of Europeans, neither the site of fountains of youth nor the location of mountains of gold.

The history of America has thus become the story of the search for an identity. But definition for America has been not so much a search as a contest between those with different definitions for America. It has been a struggle between those who wish to impose various old world visions on America and those who are trying to hear the message of America itself. This has resulted in a race between America and the white man to see whether America could transform the white man before the white man could efface America.

But what is this message of America, which has, in spite of the repressive power and inflexible mind set of the European conquistadors, been heard with eagerness and hope by peoples throughout the world?

The discovery of a new world, at the time, had an electrifying effect in the learned circles of Europe. As news came back across the Atlantic of the differences between the two worlds, a most important message from America was heard, perhaps one of the most important messages of all time. In seeing practices different from their traditions, but nonetheless viable, Europe awoke to the fact that **ALTERNATIVES WERE REALIZABLE**. The impact of this message catalyzed the release of ideas which had long been confined in the prisons of social, political, and religious orthodoxies. Perhaps it was no accident that following on the heels of the discovery of America, Luther was emboldened to launch a religious reformation and Copernicus was able to break the shackles of geocentricity. At this moment in history dormant ideas were empowered to be born -- This was America's first gift to the world.

an aha!

And -
'sought more
nearly to
& below
for
expression

was it
heard? In
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did this
appear with
other visions
of important
history?

Cultural
absorbing part
of other
cultures?

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to p.

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don't they
usually find a catalytic
event?

For the first century after Columbus, **intellectual Europe** was projecting its notion of the western paradise onto America, while **mercantile Europe** was busy exploiting America's resources and enslaving and exterminating its inhabitants. But gradually Europeans began to realize that there was more to America than a receptacle for their visions or a fountain source for their cravings. America was bringing them things beyond what they had ever sought or even known of. Then instead of looking on America as a Lockean blank tablet to be written on as they pleased, they began to take notice of the lifestyle of the "Noble Savage" and incorporate aspects of his worldview into their thinking. Many new social, political, and philosophical ideas flowed from America to the old world, but since they were articulated by Europeans, their source was forgotten and no credit to their originators ever given.

Excellent point
Even today it is difficult for us to recognize how much of our culture had its origins in America in pre-columbian times. We praise the philosophers of the Enlightenment, the Lockes and Rousseaus for their contributions, and we revere the Founding Fathers for theirs, but we fail to inquire where their ideas originated. Their great revolutionary political wisdom was not developed by a single generation in the last quarter of the eighteenth century. How many know, for example, that the first written constitution (on wampum belts made of sea shells) ~~which was~~ drafted in North America appeared before Columbus ever embarked on his famous journey? The Gayaneshagowa, or Great Binding Law of the Five Nations, was a written constitution created by the Iroquois and enunciated such democratic ideals and doctrines as initiative, recall, referendum, and equal suffrage. ~~it~~ provided a type of central government that ~~would~~ later be suggested by Benjamin Franklin to the colonies as an institution worthy of emulation. It contained the essence of federalism, where one could be both a member of the tribe and the league, a citizen of both a state and the world.

ref. on p. 1
Let us look further at some of the social, political, and religious ideas of native Americans, contrast them with our European heritage, and recognize how much we have both adopted and rejected of their wisdom. Perhaps this could be entitled, "An excursion into undiscovered America". I wish to acknowledge here that I am indebted to the scholarly research of Mr. Russel Barsh for most of the following material on native American philosophy and religion.

Characteristic North American social and political theory is based on three concepts:

Individual conscience Universal kinship Endless creative power of the world

*Is he white
If so this is
an interpretation
of an
interpretation
be careful*

ON NATIVE AMERICAN COSMOGONY

Native American cosmogony begins with a Creator, sometimes with a Grandmother image, but usually as a Great Mystery. This creator is not a personal god but an ultimate and aloof power identified with love. The creation itself was entirely an act of Love. However, after the universe was launched, the creator set in motion a myriad of spirits and forces that continually reshape and recreate the universe in endless cycles. These forces are sometimes referred to as "tricksters" who are neither good nor evil, but who while increasing the complexity of the world and expanding the domain of moral choice, are subject to no universal plan nor destiny. But creative power was not given exclusively to the tricksters. Creative power is available to all. Nothing is intrinsically superior or inferior in either rights or power. However, there do exist temporary perturbations in power arising from carefulness, shrewdness, or skillfulness on the part of individuals. The Creator is too vast to be known directly, one can approach the Great Mystery only through the Creator's manifestations in creation. Thus Nature is sacred because it is the manifestation of the Great Mystery. All parts of nature are sacred and since the animals were created first, they are elders and teachers.

ON DIVERSITY

A corollary to the initial creative process was the creation of diversity, of unique talents and capabilities. Each new human brings a gift from the spirit world to the material plane, but these gifts in themselves possess no moral value. The subjective individualistic worldview of native Americans in stressing the uniqueness and diversity of all humans stands in contrast to the western emphasis on similarities and commonalities among humans. Western science could not make its generalizations if it were to focus on differences. It has hidden the unique aspects of the world within its bell-shaped distribution curves. But in stressing commonalities, there has developed another impulse -- one toward minimizing differences. The western scientific worldview thus has a vested interest in the economies derived from homogenization, whereas native Americans see differences as wealth. For the Indian the challenge in living becomes not to learn what is already known, although there must be a place for this, but to discover one's own unique talent and develop it fully.

ON RELIGION

While western religions see humanity as fallen and in need of redemption, the native American view is that humans do not exist for moral testing, but to enjoy and

participate in the world. This view, however, does not assert that life does not possess moral challenges. Tolerance and individual liberty must be accompanied by self-discipline and a sense of responsibility to the tribe and all nature. The native American accepts the validity of all religious experience, making their religion **polysynthetic**, that is, capable of evolving and incorporating new experience. When exposed to European missionaries, Indians simply merged Christian conceptions with their own. [Didn't Christians merge native concepts too?]

The important concept of "medicine" emphasizes the role of individuality in contacts with the spiritual level. ^{? meaning sh} Each person receives power that flows from a unique combination of spiritual sources and each individual must approach the infinite alone, in his own time, to discover his own unique guardian spirits, rituals, and identity. No priests stand between the human and the Great Creator. ^{- what about the Shaman?}

ON KNOWLEDGE

In the native American view the really important knowledge is personal and subjective knowledge, knowledge that cannot necessarily be communicated or standardized. In contrast Western culture consists only of communicated knowledge and discards all non-sharable knowledge as being either nonsense or psychotic and of no consequence. The native American feels that subjective and personal knowledge, even if articulated, should never be fossilized into dogma. A view similar to this was held in ancient Greece and throughout Celtic Europe, but was stifled in the Roman world. But subjective individualism has limits, while it may lead to artistic and spiritual creativity of great moment, ^{but} it cannot create towers of Babel or wage global wars. Rather its fulfillment lies in 'each person striving to contribute his own irreplaceable fragment to the whole mosaic and in respecting and understanding the pieces contributed by others'.

credit needed in text

ON EPISTEMOLOGY

The native American and the white man differ also in their epistemological approach to the world. It may be expressed as the difference between **observe** ^{others} and **experience**. The white man observes the world, the native American experiences it. Roughly this means that most of western culture is based on experience that is predominately visual, while native American cultures attempt to balance both all sensual and trans-sensual experiences. Hence it is doubtful that any **genuine or deep** culture can ever belong to more than a small group. Such a group must be connected by more than articulated communications. It must share direct intensive spiritual contact.

is missing a piece of logic here?

Since the members of a group must share direct, intensive spiritual contact as well as articulated communications, it is doubtful ^{large} that any genuine culture can belong to a group of people. Hence the development of the tribe (X → Y number of people)

ON ONTOLOGY

For Indians, if two people observing at the same point in space see different things, their interpretation is that both have seen reality, because reality is in the observer. The white man's response is that one or both of the observers has erred or is mad. The western mind, possibly because of the structure of its languages, easily supports the notion of an **absolute** external reality, and by ready extension supports the concept of an **absolute** good and evil. Native Americans, on the other hand, see things and events as akin or related without the necessity of absolute frameworks to relate them. This is why the relativistic concepts of modern physics are more in accord with the Indian worldview than with the traditional European worldview.

avoid this adjective - from white men's language!

ON CONSCIENCE

Native Americans hold, 'We have no right to judge others, each alone is responsible for his own conduct.' It is ~~felt by them to be~~ morally indefensible and cosmologically hazardous to prevent anyone from doing what his conscience demands. "One man is as much master as another and since all men are made of the same clay, there should be no distinction or superiority among them". If the exercise of conscience results in injury to others, it is ^a matter for reconciliation, or, in irreconcilable cases, a matter for exile, never a matter for correction.

source of quotes

All compulsion is abhorred. "We will not be whipped into duty, but as men we can be persuaded to do the right." All injunctions that carry with them the appearance of a command are instantly rejected. Public order depends on self discipline and the power of public opinion and ridicule. The position of the individual within the tribe is entirely dependent upon private virtue. While each person is his own judge, each is intensely aware of his accountability for the welfare of others.

*always?
a battle?*

*There's no
jealousy
etc.?
Makes NAs sound
very pure*

ON DEMOCRACY

The primacy of individual conscience dictates a very pure form of democracy characterized by ^{its} lack of central authority and in which any collective action requires the consent of everyone affected. Anybody can speak who has anything to say. Ordering anyone to do anything is an insult to intelligence. To minimize conflicts and wounded pride, debates and public voting should be avoided. Instead issues should be discussed widely and informally to seek agreement in advance. At meetings speakers are encouraged to build on one another's words so that by the time all had spoken everyone was of one mind.

Senses?

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- good point

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ON UNIVERSAL KINSHIP

Present nations are defined geographically and it matters little who is found within the state's territorial jurisdiction. One's identity is assigned by geography. If you are born on one side of the river you are drafted into one army, if on the other side, into a different army. By contrast the native American tribal system rests on universal kinship crossing all geographic boundaries. Further, it is a kinship that is continuous also in time and across species. "The Dakota say they are responsible for all things because they are at one with all things." For the native American **Responsibility derives from kinship**. For the white man **Responsibility derives from ownership**.

a person
under
Shoshone
vs
Kiona
vs
Wes

The concept of kinship in time connects ancestors with the unborn. Each that has come this way and each that is yet to come, has a name. Birth does not begin relationship and death does not end relationship. The family in all its generations already exists and the names of all members have been preordained. Only when the white man developed the theory of relativity with its concept of a time-line did this basic idea of the native American begin to make sense to him. The spirit world from which all souls come and to which they return completes the circle, so through the spiritual world every family extends both backward and forward in time.

pp?

name as
geography?
not in
a timeline

Kinship in space connects family to family. Every family and therefore every human being is related. At the individual level these relationships change over time with birth, marriage, and death, but the family to family relationships transcend time. With the white man this idea of the relationship of families is expressed as the 'brotherhood of man'. But the brother-brother relationship is only one. Some families are older brother to others, some are mother, some father, some nephew, some uncle, and so on. For the native American once these relationships are established they endure forever.

Kinship across species connects human beings with all life. Just as human families are related, before memory, so too were human and animal families. And again the relationship endures forever. Here is found the ecological dimension in Indian perspective. Human and animal families joined in kinship share the same territory and their kinship is the charter of their common rights of tenancy. There is no ownership, only the right to live in a place with one's human and animal relatives. The responsibilities of human and animal families sharing the same place are reciprocal. The salmon are uncles to human beings who live at the stream's edge. They feed their nephews, and in return are respected and not molested. To sell them or to destroy them would be as unthinkable as selling or murdering human kinsmen.

Thus native American relationships are modular. Within the tribe, relationships are personal, brother, sister, mother, father, cousin, etc. Between tribes relationships are tribal, but again brother tribe, mother tribe etc... And between species relations are species-wide. Humans do not relate to a specific buffalo or crow but to buffaloes and crows as species, and again as Uncle buffalo, cousin crow, etc.

In contrast, the white man's sociopolitical structure has reduced all kinship to binary oppositions. Us and them. Like us or different from us. And there is one set of rules and rights for us and another for them. The us-them dichotomy has also been extended to the living and non-living. The living have the right to ignore the wishes of the dead and the unborn. Future generations do not exist and therefore have no rights, and the decrees of the dead have no right to govern the living. Us-them is also the dichotomy of rulers and ruled. While all of the ruled may have identical rights with respect to the rulers, the so-called 'universality of law' in modern democracies, equal rights have become a substitute for inalienable rights. All slaves may possess equal rights. By keeping attention focused on equal rights people lose sight of their inalienable rights.

Indigenous Americans had no surplus of humans. Everyone was unique and everyone had a place. In contrast the modern industrial state is plagued with duplication because we reduce human roles to a limited set of types or classes. Freedom comes to mean being treated like everyone of the same class.

make me think of abortion

who?

"Yeah, they did of starvation & disease," says white male medicine man

Use 1 sentence to elaborate here on inalienable rights

ON LEADERSHIP

'In the indigenous American view leadership is a burden upon the selfless, an obligation for the most capable, but never a reward for the greedy.' Indians had difficulty understanding why in white man's democracy the decisions were made by the most ambitious, the most egotistical, and the most power driven, and not by the wisest. There is no room for the power hungry in Indian society because there is no power. To the native American, a leader was not a decision maker. Rather he was a coordinator, a peacemaker, a teacher, an example, and a comedian. One of the most fundamental rubrics of native American society is that the chief cannot tell others what to do. What the chief can do is persuade, cajole, illuminate, inspire, and tease. The chief is an advisor, not an executive. The chief's influence depends on the ability to minimize differences of opinion, remain above the argument, and win trust and esteem through integrity, generosity, and sacrifice. To become well liked the leader must share everything and become poor. Nominees to the Great Council before taking office are asked if they are prepared to be poor for the rest of their lives. Senator Henry Dawes once complained one could not treat with the Indians because there was no selfishness, which is the very cornerstone of western civilization. There is no need here to comment on the contrasting situation in white man's society.

attribute

concentrated

*Argument?
Explain*

Those who lead are also expected to be examples to the children. Thus in Indian communities education and government become inseparable. Every chief is an 'education chief'. In some tribes chiefs adopted the most promising children as their apprentices.

ON RENEWAL

Renewal is observed in all the dimensions of kinship: with life, with space and with time, with family, other species and the earth. It is effected in annual meetings of families and tribes to erase residues of grievances and conflicts, reassert underlying responsibilities, and rebalance confederation. Celebrations of the hunt and the harvest renew covenants with animals and plants and reaffirm human kinship with all life. Some tribes held annual rituals in sacred places to restore the ties with the earth. For example, for this purpose the Cheyennes met annually at Bear Butte, in their view the most sacred node of the earth.

These ideas have great spiritual power. Those which lie in the already discovered portion of America, that is those incorporated in the Declaration of Independence and Constitution, have inspired the world. The native American notion of individual liberty has lit a flame in human hearts on all continents. It has turned minds everywhere to study and emulate the political wisdom which an inspired generation of white men in the eighteenth century developed from these native American attitudes and ways of living.

But there is a shadow side to this. These spiritual values have been exploited and manipulated for the sake of power and gain just as have the material resources of America. Because of this native Americans now have a new fear, that not only is the continent becoming polluted and desecrated by the greed of the white man, but these sacred spiritual values are themselves being soiled and will be rendered impotent through their prostitution to personal gain and political power.

Here are some of the arguments *on this bear* ~~in the debate~~:

From Barbara Owl, a White Earth Anishinabe

"We have many particular things which we hold internal to our cultures. These things are spiritual in nature and they are for us not for anyone who happens to walk in off the street. They are ours and they are not for sale. Because of this, I suppose it is accurate to say that such matters are our secrets, the things which bind us together in our identities as distinct peoples. It is not that we never make outsiders aware of our secrets, but we, not they, decide what, how much, and to what purpose this knowledge is to be put. That is absolutely essential to our cultural integrity, and thus to our survival as peoples. Now, surely, we Indians are entitled to that. Everything else has been stripped from us already... a lot of things about our spiritual ways may be secret, but the core idea never has been and you can sum up that idea in one word spelled R-E-S-P-E-C-T, respect for and balance between all things, that's our most fundamental spiritual concept. Now, obviously, those who would violate the confidence which is placed in them when we share some of our secrets, they do not have the slightest sense of the word, trust. Even worse are those who take this information and misuse or abuse it for their own purposes, marketing it in some way or another, turning our spirituality into a commodity in books or movies or classes or ceremonials. And it does not really matter whether they are Indians or non-Indians when they do such things, the non-Indians who do it are thieves, and the Indians who do it are sellouts and traitors."

Countering is the white poet Gary Snyder:

"Spirituality is not something that can be owned like a car or a house. Spiritual knowledge belongs to all humanity equally. Given

the state of the world today, we all have not only the right but the obligation to pursue all forms of spiritual insight and at every possible level. In this sense it seem to me that I have as much right to pursue and articulate the belief systems developed by Native Americans as they do and arguments to the contrary strike me as absurd in the extreme."

But former American Indian Movement leader Russell Means concurs with Owl's assessment:

"What is at issue here is the same old question that Europeans have always posed with regard to @merican @ndians, whether what is ours isn't somehow theirs, too. And, of course, they have always answered the question in the affirmative. When they wanted our land they just announced that they had a right to it and therefore owned it. When we resisted their taking our land they claimed we were being unreasonable and committed physical genocide upon us in order to convince us to see things their way. Now being spiritually bankrupt themselves, they want our spirituality as well so they are making up rationalizations to explain why they're entitled to it.

"We are resisting this because spirituality is the basis of our culture. If it is stolen our culture will be dissolved and if our culture is dissolved, Indian people as such will cease to exist. By definition, the causing of any culture to cease to exist is an act of genocide. That is a matter of international law: Look it up in the 1948 Genocide Convention. So, maybe this will give you another way of looking at these culture vultures who are ripping off @ndian tradition. It is not an amusing or trivial matter, and it is not innocent or innocuous. And those who engage in this are not cute, groovy, hip, enlightened, or any of the rest of the things they want to project themselves as being. No what they are about is cultural genocide and genocide is genocide regardless of how you want to qualify it. So some of us are starting to react to these folks accordingly."

Mark Davis and Robert Zannis, Canadian researchers comment as follows on Mean's remarks:

"If people suddenly lose their prime symbol, the basis of their culture, their lives lose meaning. They become disoriented with no hope. A social disorganization often follows such a loss and they are often unable to insure their own survival. The loss and human suffering of those whose culture has been healthy and is suddenly attacked and disintegrated are incalculable. One should not speak lightly of cultural genocide as if were a fanciful invention. The consequences in real life are far too grim to speak of cultural genocide as if it were but a rhetorical device to beat the drums for human rights. The cultural mode of group extermination is genocide, a crime. Nor should cultural genocide be used in the game, which is more horrible to kill and torture or remove the

prime cultural symbol which is the will and reason to live. Both are horrible."

We are talking here about an absolute ideological and conceptual subordination of the Indian peoples in addition to the total physical subordination they already experience. When this happens, the last vestiges of real Indian society and Indian rights will disappear. Non-Indians will then own the heritage and ideas of Indians as thoroughly as they now claim to own their land and resources.

What is the answer? Does to discover America mean to destroy it? Does it always mean for the white man that to discover is to destroy? The record suggests that this is so. The teachings of the world's greatest teachers have been institutionalized for power and material gain. What is idealism and inspiration for some is bait and a weapon for conquest for others. Is there hope that this need not always be so?

Thomas Wolfe said,

"I believe we are lost here in America, but I believe we shall be found. I think the life we have fashioned in America, and which has fashioned us -- the forms we made, the cells we grew, the honeycomb that was created -- was self-destructive in nature and must be destroyed. I think these forms are dying and must die, just as I know that America and the people in it are deathless, undiscovered and immortal and must live."

which?
The America of the white man has been a melting pot. A melting pot of the sort that all who come, whatever their heritage, can be remolded to the American vision. But those who come from abroad seeking freedom without understanding freedom dilute the vision. Is the vision strong enough to survive its diluters and exploiters? There are examples from history that strong cultures can endure and survive even alien conquest. In historic China a well defined culture withstood repeated conquests and invasions. It was the invaders, not the culture, who were who were repeatedly "melted" in the Chinese melting pot. The historic culture continued to prevail. A more recent example comes from World War II. When it appeared that the Allies would soon be in a position to liberate Paris, Hitler sent to Paris the general who had ^{been} his agent to supervise the destruction of cities which his retreating armies had to abandon on the Eastern front. This man of little compassion was known as the obliterator of Warsaw. However, when a few weeks later, Hitler gave the order that Paris was to be burned to the ground, the General refused. He had come under the spell of Paris. He could not destroy such a city. He surrendered. There are indeed cultures and visions that can survive Mongols and Nazis. I feel America's vision can survive yellow ribbons.

not previous defines
(name him?)
logic: are ribbons as bad as Nazis?

attributed to him
"The Owl of Wisdom Wakes when the Sun of Empire Sets"

DECLARING INDEPENDENCE

DECLARING INDEPENDENCE

- I. Independence as Archetype
 - A. States, groups, individuals
 - B. Examples: Palestine, Lithuania
 - C. U.S. has been both parent and child
- II. Awakening to Community
 - A. Celebrating the dissolving of community
- III. Rites of Passage
 - A. Thrown out of nest, Sparta
 - B. Independence, divorce, teenage rebellion
- IV. What Britain learned and why
 - A. Churchill
- V. The Declaration of Independence as a 'meta-document'
- VI. Antecedents
 - A. The Iroquois Great Law of Peace
 1. Adopted by the white man
 - a. confederation
 - b. checks and balances
 - c. free speech
 - d. consensus in the Grand Council
 2. Not adopted by the white man
 - a. the protocol of listening
 - b. reverence for nature and higher order
 - c. rights of women
 - B. The Oath of Abjuration the Hague, 1581
 - C. The Massachusetts Body of Liberties
 - D. Camden
 - E. The Virginia Declaration of Rights
 1. Section 13 vs. the Second Amendment
 2. William Endicott, 150 -> 4
- VII. Subordination and Identity
 - A. Non-assimilation
 1. by choice of parent = subordination
 2. by choice of child = identity
 - B. modular resolution
- VIII. Steps to success
 - A. Recognition by third parties
 - B. Relative strengths
 - C. Persistence
 1. William the Silent
 2. George Washington
 - D. The Great Vision - *The Confederacy - the same vision*
 1. Lord North
 2. Land Grabs *Independence Abused*
 - a. Texas, California, Hawaii, (Cleveland)

*In dependence as identity: The Exodus
Most celebrations of identity, The US
are celebrations of independence*

*Earlier examples rare (except Exodus)
because cannot separate from Queen Bee
from the Omnipotence of the Pharaoh*

IX. The 'what' vs, the 'how'

A. War, displacement, oppression, further fragmentation

B. Formal processes

1. Robert E. Lee

2. Deuteronomy 24:1

3. Gorbachev

X. Independence and Birth

XI. The Continents

A. America:

1. Confederation not conquest

2. Pluralism and tolerance

3. Visionary independence

4. Retribution not revenge

5. Environmentalism

6. The Great Dialectic

XII. The Struggle and the Race

A. Europeanization of America

B. Americanization of the white man

C. Theodore Roosevelt

D. The Star Spangled Banner vs. America the Beautiful.

Heritage Woodrow Wilson's Self Determination

But Military Power is involved.

1776, 1860, - Chernobyl, Timor, -

Melting Pots to Endopendence

CONSOLIDATION

FRAGMENTATION

DIOUTL.P51

DISK: TRANSFERAMP

June 11, 1990

DECLARING INDEPENDENCE: PLURALISM, PUERILISM AND POLITICAL MITOSIS
for Fourth of July address, Macrobiotic Camp, Mendocino, CA 1990

There are two great processes in human affairs: We may call these conjunction and disjunction. On every level we can find examples of both: *[from physics to politics]*

LEVEL	CONJUNCTION	DISJUNCTION
3) personal	marriage birth <i>collaboration</i> death	divorce birth death <i>alienation</i>
4) social	<i>baptism</i> bar mitzvah joining	<i>ost</i> exile resigning
5) business	incorporation hiring <i>Take over</i> symbiosis	sunset clauses firing mitosis
6) biological		
7) physics	nuclear fusion	nuclear fission
8) political	federation confederation annexation anschluss conquest <i>Texas California</i> economic union melting pots <i>Take over seizures</i>	and in opposition to all of these stands DECLARING INDEPENDENCE <i>Schism</i> <i>Reformation</i>

From this we glimpse the universality of these processes. They not only occur in human history, but in biological evolution, and are components of many physical and chemical processes. It is not surprising that they were considered as basic processes in the deliberations of the alchemists. And for an audience such as this one, immersed in the universality of yin-yang, conjunction may seem familiar as a form of yang and disjunction as a form of yin. But in spite of long recognition of the ubiquity and importance of these processes, they are not well understood and their principles are ignored and violated. This is especially the case in the domain of politics where we see on the current scene crises in conjunction as in the case of the union of the two Germanys, and crises of disjunction as in the cases of the Baltic Republics/the USSR, Israel/Palestine, and Quebec/Canada. There are many others which have received less notice: the Basques from Spain, the Kurds from Iraq, the Tiroleans from Italy and Austria.

Religion

Yugoslavia

Schism 1054
Reformation

Science

Homeopathy

Lecture July 4, 1990

DITEXT2.P51___DISK:_AGWORKDISK___June_14,_1990

DECLARING INDEPENDENCE

At this moment in history, we are between two worlds--one dying, the other yet powerless to be born. On this day we celebrate an event which history has shown to be archetypal in all past worlds -- the declaring of independence. Whether the archetype is manifested on the level of the individual, a leaving of the nest; or the level of the family, splitting up or moving away; or the level of the state, secession and the establishment of a new government. It is the same archetype. It is also the archetype symbolized in religions by the virgin birth and the archetype in science of a paradigm change. It is probable that it is also the history archetype for the times in which we are now living -- the passing of one world and the birth of a new.

One need only look at the happenings of the past few months to see many political manifestations of the archetype of declaring independence. This archetype was manifested in Morocco on November 14, 1988 in the proclamation of an independent Palestinian state, the archetype was manifested again in Vilnius on March 11, 1990 in the declaration of an independent Lithuanian state. At this time the archetype is on hold in Serbia, in Latvia, in Estonia, and in all probability in the remaining republics of the Soviet Union, including Russia itself. Also the archetype is being played out in Quebec where an independence movement thwarted 10 years ago is again resurfacing. There is even speculation--at present mostly in scholarly journals--concerning the future division of the United States into autonomous regions in order to make tractable the many dilemmas now besetting our society.

Whether each of those states seeking independence succeeds or not, the independence movements themselves are going to have impacts, possibly major impacts, on our own lives. Perhaps it is therefore appropriate for us on this 214th anniversary of our own independence to reflect on the notion of independence itself, and see how the process of achieving independence in the years 1775 to 1783 fits into the larger archetypal pattern. It is also important to think about independence that we not find ourselves in the ineffective position of those politicians and journalists who call for the recognition of the independence of Lithuania and run from the proclamation of an independent Palestine. A simplistic appeal to historical precedents is an embarrassment for Americans since they have been on both sides of the independence issue, on one side in 1776 and on the opposite side in 1861. So we must choose on the one hand the position of George Washington and Vilnius or on the other hand the position of Abraham Lincoln and Moscow. But the issues are far too complex for this kind of approach.

The theme of this camp is "*Awakening to Community*". This week we are here not only to talk about community in its various compositions and forms, we are here to experience community. On this day, our national holiday the Fourth of July, we shall experience celebration in community. While we shall be celebrating in holiday mood with special food and special activities, including that most American of rituals, the baseball game, we should recognize that actually what we are celebrating this day is the right to dissolve community. It may seem a bit paradoxical that Americans get together in community to celebrate the right and the process of

dissolving community. Yet it is well we recognize that dissolution, termination and mortality are intrinsic aspects of all finite systems, be they individuals, institutions or governments. Our proclivity is to focus on origins and on growth, to ignore and deny the inevitability of demise and death. It is rather remarkable therefor that we celebrate the demise and termination of a centuries long relationship, being as disposed as we are to avoid thinking about sunset clauses for our covenants and social contracts. [Robert E. Lee's remarks on secession]

While the declaring of independence is archetypal, we must recognize that it is but one rite of passage for coming of age. It is not the only path by which we can leave our childhoods. In some societies the young are thrown out of the nest long before they have any thought of leaving on their own. Other societies have initiation rites marking graduation from childhood to a second phase of life in which both responsibilities and privileges are bestowed. The archetype of declaring independence seems to obtain only where parent bodies seek extended dominance and control. In this case the seceding party refers to acts of dissolution as establishing independence while the parental party holds such acts to be rebellion. The time honored enactment of the archetype on the family level is expressed by one party as "I am no longer a child" and by the other party as teenage rebellion.

Examples of two modes of change are seen in the breakup of the British Empire. Much was learned in London as a result of the loss of the first empire--the American Colonies. But not enough was learned. The contumacious attitudes that alienated the colonies, still obtained up through World War I. Only the weakening of Britain by two costly wars effected a change in attitude. Winston Churchill proclaimed that he did not become prime minister to preside over the dissolution of the empire. Gandhi's moral strength was abetted by Britain's physical weakness. Only when it became inevitable, did the British turn about and abandon perpetual dominion for a commonwealth of equals. (It must be said that when they did finally change they did so with great grace and dignity. The independence of the many parts of the empire was marked with peaceful and friendly transfer of power. There were no wars of independence. In India's case the stored up hostility toward the British was released between Hindu and Muslim, with tragic consequences.)

The document which we specially honor today is a most remarkable document. It not only speaks to a specific act of dissolution in the year 1776 between the 13 British Colonies in the new world and their mother country, it addresses itself to those requirements which every document of dissolution, whenever the date, whoever the parties and whatever the causes, must take into account. In this sense it is a "*meta-document*", a prototype and template to be followed whenever in the course of human events causes arise that demand the dissolution of ties that bind together a community. This prototype nature of the American Declaration of Independence has been universally recognized by its global influence, admired and copied in countries throughout the world for the last 200 years. That the American Declaration of Independence is recognized as a meta-document derives from its base in antecedent documents which distilled centuries long experience of government and governed.

ANTECEDENTS

Notable among the antecedent documents affecting the Declaration of Independence were--

- The Great Law of Peace of the Iroquois Confederation >1350 <1600 ? (NGS Sept 1987)
independence?
- The Oath of Abjuration The Hague 1581 (FS p36)
King Philip II has violated the compact and duty of a ruler to deal justly with his subjects and give them good government, and therefor has forfeited his rights to sovereignty. It is the inherent right of subjects to withdraw their allegiance and to depose an oppressive and tyrannical sovereign, since no other means remain for preserving their liberties.
[This is the Dutch declaration of independence from Spain, by the States General 1581]
- The Mayflower Compact 1620 (AA v1 p64)
- The Massachusetts Body of Liberties 1661 (AA v1 p231)
The Governor and Company are, by the patent, a body politic, in fact and in name. This body politic is vested with power to make freemen. These freemen have power to choose annually a governor, deputy governor, assistants, and their select representatives or deputies.
- The philosophical writings of John Locke and Jean-Jacques Rousseau
- The speeches of Camden, Pitt, Burke and Fox in the British Parliament (FS p200)
"...taxation and representation are inseparably united...this position is founded on the laws of nature. Whoever overrules this throws down and destroys the distinction between liberty and slavery." Lord Camden--House of Lords 1766
- The speeches and writings of Paine, Franklin, Samuel Adams, James Otis, Patrick Henry, ... in America 1760-
- The Virginia Declaration of Rights, George Mason, June 12, 1776 (AA v2 p432)

The root cause of the desire for independence is either subordination or identity but sometimes both.

Subordination has to do with unjust or unequal treatment. When a minority (or a minor) perceives that fulfillment under existing circumstances is not a possibility and that there is no hope for change in the parental body, disillusion forces rebellion. Grievances alone do not lead to rebellion, but grievances plus hopelessness in the status quo do. Differences in language, race, and religion oftentimes thwart the normal assimilation processes of a melting pot, and the minority finds no hope in acquiring acceptance, participation or representation. In the case of the American colonies the barrier to participation was not language, race or religion but the breadth of the Atlantic Ocean. In any case, since the chances of becoming a self-fulfilling participant under the circumstance are remote, the alternative is to go it alone and to declare independence.

The other root of independence is the matter of identity. In this obverse case, there is not desire for assimilation and participation, but fear of assimilation and losing of one's cultural or personal uniqueness. An identity crisis may arise in the process of maturation. Coming of age is tied to the quest for self-esteem. Esteem is usually acquired through a recognized status in the social or global order or through having some essential role to play. But self-esteem is also sometimes found through adopting some unique differentiating features which are universally recognized. Whether these differentiating features are admired or detested is secondary to their securing uniqueness.

Thus the dilemma, we all wish both to belong and to find our unique self fulfillment, that is, we want both interdependence and independence. Resolution to this paradox is found through locating a modular level for ourselves on which we and the contextual order can satisfactorily agree. If we cannot find a satisfying place within the order, leave the order and seek a satisfactory place in the next higher order. If the colonies cannot find fulfillment within the British Empire, leave it and find fulfillment along side the empire in the global order. This is the essence of the problem facing Canada and Quebec, the USSR and Lithuania, Israel and Palestine.

Several factors determine whether a move to independence will succeed. One important factor in the success or failure of independence is early recognition by third parties. The salute to the Continental Flag by the Dutch at St. Eustatius on November 16, 1776 legitimized a nation among the powers of the world and transformed a rebellion into war for independence. The failure of the Confederacy throughout the years 1861-1865 to gain the recognition of any foreign power was a major ingredient in the outcome of the Civil War. The prompt recognition of Israel by Truman in 1948 went a long way toward crystalizing the chaotic situation in Palestine and assuring the survival of the State of Israel.

But whether election for independence succeeds depends primarily on the relative strengths of the parent and minor bodies. But the factor of persistence may be more significant than relative strength or size. Persistence seems to be an individual quality, not a group quality.

The Dutch struggle for independence from Spain in the 16th century was maintained by the character of William of Orange, (William the Silent), who when his countrymen resigned themselves to forever being under the Spanish heel, carried on with the motto: "It is not necessary to hope in order to persist." Most Americans are not aware of how much is owed to Washington alone for the success of our struggle for independence. He at times, almost alone with the will to persist, inspired the colonists to continue.

"...No doubt but that the same bountiful providence, which has relieved us in a variety of difficulties before, will enable us to emerge from them ultimately, and crown our struggle with success." (FS p206)

But what underlies persistence? It is a noble vision--not just of freedom but of what to do with freedom. And this is the ingredient that differentiates the American Declaration of Independence from many others. The Founding Fathers had a vision of a new order, an experiment in pluralism, of differences working together: E pluribus Unum. The vision of a new age. Even Lord North, King George's Prime Minister at the time saw the consequences of this vision:

"If America should grow into a separate empire, it must cause a revolution in the political system of the world. And if Europe did not support Britain now, it would one day find itself ruled by America imbued with democratic fanaticism." (FS p187)

This must be contrasted with such declarations of independence as in Texas in 1836, California in 1846, and Hawaii in 1893. These were not declarations in the tradition of the Founding Fathers, these were land grabs. It is to the credit of President Grover Cleveland and to the United States, that the overthrow of the legitimate government of Hawaii by adventurist business interests, was not supported:

"It has been the boast of our government that it seeks to do justice in all things without regard to the strength or weakness of those with whom it deals. I mistake the American people if they favor the odious doctrine that there is no such thing as international morality; that there is one law for a strong nation and another for a weak one, and that even by indirection a strong power may with impunity despoil a weak one of its territory." December 18, 1893 (AA v11 p481)

Where has this morality been at other times ?

The declaration "...these united colonies are, and of right ought to be free and independent states..." speaks only to the condition of 'what'. It says nothing as to the process of 'how'. This is the great lacuna in the declaring of independence on all levels. There is no formal process for secession, separation or independence. Robert E. Lee lamented during the Civil War that because politicians had made no provisions for a legal and orderly process of secession, neither had they made it illegal, the matter was left to the resolution of arms and what politicians should have decided in congress in debate was decided on the battle field in blood. The matter of secession from the United States is still not on the statutes, there is only the precedence of the Civil War.

But the need for a formal method governing the dissolution of ties between groups and individuals has long been recognized. For example, here are the rules for divorce given in the Bible as documented some three millenia ago: (Deuteronomy 24:1)

1 When a man hath taken a wife, and married her, and it come to pass that she find no favour in his eyes, because he hath found some uncleanness in her: then let him write her a bill of divorcement, and give it in her hand, and send her out of his house.

Historically, with few exceptions, the steps to independence have been war, mass displacement of population, oppression of new minorities, and frequently further political fragmentation. The crisis in the Soviet Union today centers not about ultimate independence for Lithuania and others but about the steps to be taken in the orderly establishment of independence. Gorbachev is insisting on the formulation and following of a legal process to replace the risk of war, displacement and oppression.

Certainly there is great euphoria at the moment of independence, the potentialities briefly become limitless. But like all birth, of which it is a form, independence is difficult and perilous, an occasion of both pain and joy.

DIIROQUS.P51___DISK:_AGWORKDISK___June_15,_1990

THE GREAT LAW OF PEACE

The Constitution of the Six Nations of the Iroquois
(Iroquois, Haudenosaunee = the people of the Longhouse)

THE THANKSGIVING ADDRESS (The Preamble)

We put our minds together to thank all the elements of the natural world.

Concepts from The Great Law incorporated into the Constitution of the United States:

- The uncoerced union of independent states into a confederation [A step beyond the concept of alliance which was taken by the Swiss in the 17th century]
- The structuring of checks and balances into government. Only the women could vote, only the men could hold office
- Freedom of speech, the protocol of listening
- Inherent liberty of the individual
- Democratic counsel, consensus in the Grand Council

Think not forever of yourselves, O Chiefs, nor of your own generation. Think of continuing generations of our families, think of our grandchildren and of those yet unborn, whose faces are coming from beneath the ground. -- The Peacemaker

Portions of The Great Law were read by John Rutledge of South Carolina to the drafting committee of the Constitutional Convention of 1787. He said, "Consider a philosophy coming directly from this American soil".

Benjamin Franklin said before the Albany Plan of Union in 1754, "It would be a strange thing if six Nations of ignorant savages should be capable of forming such a union and be able to execute it in such a manner that it has subsisted ages and appears indissoluble, and yet that a like union should be impractical for ten or a dozen English colonies, to whom it is more necessary and must be more advantageous, and who cannot be supposed to want an equal understanding of their interest".

Franklin also proposed at Albany that the legislative body of the Union be called the Grand Council after the Iroquois.

Concepts left out:

- The spiritual connection to nature. However, we did institutionalize Thanksgiving Day.
- The intrinsic rights of women

THE TREE OF PEACE

The dating of the Great Peace is uncertain, as early as 1350 as recent as 1600. The Peacemaker of Iroquois antiquity met with an Onondaga exile called Ayawentha (Hiawatha) who was living among the Mohawks. Together they brought the nations into confederation. According to tradition, the Peacemaker chose a great white pine of the eastern woodlands to represent the peace covenant among 50 Iroquois chiefs. All weapons of war were to be buried under the tree which has four white roots extending toward all humanity in the four directions. The Tree of Peace would offer the "shade" of the Great Law to all those who would seek its philosophy and strength.

"If any man or any nation outside the Five Nations shall show a desire to obey the laws of the Great Peace ... they may trace the roots to their source ... and they shall be welcomed to take shelter beneath the tree."

The Peacemaker

No problem is important enough to cause disunity. -- Chief Oren Lyons

In the history of human culture each continent appears to have made a significant contribution. We may think of Africa's as the beginnings of social order, the clan and the tribe. We may think of Asia's as the gift of the world's great religions, while the contributions of Europe seem to be best represented by philosophy and science. What then is the contribution of America? It may be of surprise to us that the ideas of confederation, pluralism, tolerance, and a special kind of independence dedicated to a new order not a replica of the old, are all indigenous American contributions to world culture. It would be quite an error to hold that any continent has completed its contribution, but we have now become one world and the interplay of ideas will make it impossible and meaningless to speak of the contribution of any one continent. However, there remains one American contribution of great importance yet to be realized. This is the dialogue between humanity and its highest vision. And when that highest vision is attained, a new higher vision is called for -- and a new declaration of independence from the old. [The Great Dialectic]

Indeed, the declaration of independence which we celebrate today was more than a political declaration. It was, at its time, the declaration of a new vision, a new vision of what man was, a new vision of what governments were for, and how society should be structured. While the new vision had roots in the great theological revolution brought about by the reformation in Western Europe bestowing value and dignity on the individual man, it also had roots in the native wisdom of the 'noble savage' who, conditioned by millenia of experience on the American continents, had come to a different view, the oneness and interdependence of man and the world. We are both a blend of those two heritages and a struggle between the irreconcilable in the two images.

For the past five hundred years there has been a race, so to speak, between the Europeanization of America and the Americanization of the white man. This contest has ebbed and flowed in both directions. The Europeanization flows are characterized by the conquests of the conquistadors, the settlement and westward movement of the frontier, the advance of the technological frontier, the path to empire and world power status, American participation in two world wars and colonial adventures in such places as the Philippines and Vietnam and most recently the cold war. The Americanization flows are characterized by the Iroquois Great Law of Peace, the Declaration of Independence, the Constitution of the United States, and other formulations of the founding fathers. Characterized by the transcendentalist movement of Emerson, Thoreau and others, by the labor movement (May Day was invented in America), by conservationism, the feminist movement, and most recently by the environmentalist movement. It is evident that these two worldviews are struggling within each of us. We see this on the presidential level most clearly in the person of President Theodore Roosevelt, who was both architect of America as world power along European lines and father of our national parks and the conservation movement.

The consolidation/individualization dialectic

Our dual ideals are expressed even in our two national anthems:

THE STAR SPANGLED BANNER

Oh, say can you see by dawn's early light
the rocket's red glare, the bombs bursting in air
Then conquer we must, for our cause it is just
The star spangled banner in triumph doth wave
O'er the land of the free and the home of the brave.

AMERICA THE BEAUTIFUL

O beautiful for spacious skies
for amber waves of grain
for purple mountain majesties
above the fruited plain
America, America
God shed his grace on thee
and crown thy good with brotherhood
from sea to shining sea.

The struggle continues and the question is, which will occur first, our destruction of America or America's changing of us?

The real epic of America is the yet unfinished story of the Americanization of the white man --Felix Cohen

The occurrence of the desire and the need to dissolve ties between individuals and groups has been present throughout human history. Here are the rules for divorce given in the Bible as proclaimed over 3000 years ago: Deuteronomy 24:1-4

1 When a man hath taken a wife, and married her, and it come to pass that she find no favour in his eyes, because he hath found some uncleanness in her: then let him write her a bill of divorcement, and give it in her hand, and send her out of his house.

2 And when she is departed out of his house, she may go and be another man's wife.

3 And if the latter husband hate her, and write her a bill of divorcement, and giveth it in her hand, and sendeth her out of his house; or if the latter husband die, which took her to be his wife;

4 Her former husband, which sent her away, may not take her again to be his wife, after that she is defiled; for that is abomination before the LORD: and thou shalt not cause the land to sin, which the LORD thy God giveth thee for an inheritance.

INTRODUCTION

Ten score and thirteen years ago our fathers brought forth on this continent a new nation, conceived in liberty and dedicated to the proposition that all men are created equal. For many of those 10 score years it has been the custom on this day, the Fourth of July, for Americans to deliver and listen to grandiloquent speeches narcissistically praising this country and its manifest superiorities. The speeches over, there followed the three "B's": barbecue, beer, and ^{Bill} ball games. This was all accompanied by band music and finally capped off with ice cream, watermelon and fireworks. There have been several variations on this theme of celebration of our independence from the old world, and details have evolved over the decades. Bands have been replaced by ghetto blasters and barbecue by pizza, and the speeches have all but disappeared, perhaps because we are no longer independent of the old world or perhaps because the manifest superiorities are no longer so manifest.

With the Fourth of July, as with most of our other national and religious holidays, we have lost touch with what we are really celebrating, and our rituals of celebration have little to do with what we are celebrating. However, with or without understanding the meaning of a festival, it is important to continue to celebrate it. Hollow forms can serve to preserve traditions until the time when new experience leads to the rediscovery of their meaning, or until the time when some new and deeper meaning is discovered in the tradition.

It is my feeling that the global events of the past few months are awakening in us a deeper meaning implicit in our tradition of independence. We are beginning to have one of those periodic glimpses of what America is to be, such as the glimpse of those who participated in that event of 10 score and 13 years ago which we are celebrating today.

The theme of this camp is community. We are not only trying to experience community, but we are trying to glean from this experience something of the meaning of community and what being a participant in a community is about. This is why it is appropriate for us on this particular day to look at the community which is America and try to see what America is about and what being an American is about. Whatever our immediate community, the community of America is the context in which we make our living, create our life styles, evolve our future.

Just a reminder of why we're able to have a 4th of July!!

Have you ever wondered what happened to the 56 men who signed the Declaration of Independence? Five signers were captured by the British as traitors, and tortured before they died. Twelve had their homes ransacked and burned. Two lost their sons serving in the Revolutionary Army, another had two sons captured. Nine of the 56 fought and died from wounds or hardships of the Revolutionary War. They signed and they pledged their lives, their fortunes, and their sacred honor.

What kind of men were they?

Twenty-four were lawyers and jurists. Eleven were merchants, nine were farmers and large plantation owners; men of means, well educated. But they signed the Declaration of Independence knowing full well that the penalty would be death if they were captured.

Carter Braxton of Virginia, a wealthy planter and trader, saw his ships swept from the seas by the British Navy. He sold his home and properties to pay his debts, and died in rags. Thomas McKean was so hounded by the British that he was forced to move his family almost constantly. He served in the Congress without pay, and his family was kept in hiding. His possessions were taken from him, and poverty was his reward. Vandals or soldiers looted the properties of Dillery, Hall, Clymer, Walton, Gwinnett, Heyward, Rutledge, and Middleton. At the battle of Yorktown, Thomas Nelson, Jr., noted that the British General Cornwallis had taken over the Nelson home for his headquarters. He quietly urged General George Washington to open fire. The home was destroyed, and Nelson died bankrupt. Francis Lewis had his home and properties destroyed. The enemy jailed his wife, and she died within a few months. John Hart was driven from his wife's bedside as she was dying. Their 13 children fled for their lives. His fields and his gristmill were laid to waste. For more than a year he lived in forests and caves, returning home to find his wife dead and his children vanished. A few weeks later he died from exhaustion and a broken heart. Norris and Livingston suffered similar fates.

Such were the stories and sacrifices of the American Revolution. These were not wild eyed, rabble-rousing ruffians. They were soft-spoken men of means and education. They had security, but they valued liberty more. Standing tall, straight, and unwavering, they pledged: "For the support of this declaration, with firm reliance on the protection of the divine providence, we mutually pledge to each other, our lives, our fortunes, and our sacred honor."

They gave you and me a free and independent America. The history books never told you a lot of what happened in the Revolutionary War. We didn't just fight the British. We were British subjects at that time and we fought our own government! Some of us take these liberties so much for granted. We shouldn't. So, take a couple of minutes while enjoying your 4th of July holiday and silently thank these patriots. It's not much to ask, for the price they shall be understood as neither given nor endorsed by it.

Dec Ind.txt

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99/07/06

MY FILES

STORIES

FREEDOM AND LIBERTY

COMPLIANCE vs AGREEMENT

Society and its institutionalized governments which sustain the social order have the right to demand **compliance** with their laws and rules. Otherwise social order is impossible. However, neither society nor government have the right to demand **agreement** with their laws and rules. Nor do they have the right to suppress expression of disagreement with those laws and rules. And in order to preserve social order, social institutions must provide orderly processes by which their laws and rules can be changed. Otherwise agreement is part and parcel of compliance. Furthermore, whenever citizens refuse to comply, their acts become **illegal** and they are subject to restraint. Whenever governments and social institutions refuse to permit disagreement and orderly change, they become **illegitimate** and are subject to removal or alteration by whatever processes the citizens may choose.

In general innovation and change originate with individuals, not with aggregates or institutions. The larger the aggregate, the greater its inertia and resistance to change. For this reason orderly processes of change must be built into the system. All of this has been recognized and increasingly designed into the structure of governments over the last two hundred years. However, this point of view is still far from universal. Particularly it cannot be accepted by religious institutions whose very purpose is in part the providing of a changeless ground of "absolutes" against which all the various figures of experience may be projected and evaluated. Most change in life can be said to be in the figure not in the ground, and the solution to figure type change instituted 200 years ago by the Enlightenment (as described above) meets this need. But what is the approach to be used when the need for a change in the ground is perceived? Certainly it is not by any processes presently proposed or practiced.

A change in the ground is not the same as a change in the rules or laws set up by society. It is a change in the perception of the good itself. Change on this level is not an internal change in society, it is the result of changing factors external to the social order. The innovation has come from outside the system as all true innovation always has. It may come from a contextual change, such as in the ecology or environment. The depletion of the ozone layer may have originated as a consequence of societal activities but it was not included in the rules. Or it may come, as has happened many times in the past, in the form of a new revelation leading to new paradigms for human attitudes and behavior. The solution to the problem of effecting a change in the ground must be found in study of the archetypes of incarnation, not in debating, propagandizing, and voting nor in rebelling, splitting, and fragmenting.

THE TWENTIETH CENTURY: IMPERIALISM AND COLONIALISM

Colonialism began in the wake of the successes of the Portuguese navigators in the 15th century. It was a development whose success depended on the development of a global traversing sailing vessel, the compass and means to navigate, and the cannon and weapons to prevail. It was motivated by expansionist economic factors and predatory psychological factors, both supported by a religion which saw itself as the salvation of all mankind.

After 500 years of exploitation, in the present century a basic theme of history has become the de-imperialization and de-colonialization of the world. However, as the century draws to a close, imperialistic thinking still prevails in many quarters. Primarily with the superpowers. For the Soviet Union the spread of world revolution has been but a thinly disguised continuation of Russian Imperialism. The Third International replacing the Third Rome. But also the strike for empire by Japan in the 30's and 40's was anachronistic in view of the trend toward de-imperialization launched by Japan herself with her victories in the Russian war of 1904-05. More anachronistic is the policy of the United States in the 60's and later in Vietnam and Central America and most recently in the Persian Gulf. Also anachronistic are the imperialistic views held by certain sectors within Israel. The realization of the vincibility of western powers, inculcated by Tsushima and the defeat of Russia in 1905, was given increased momentum by the first world war in which the struggle for empire resulted in the loss of empire. Following the realization of the vincibility of the West, came the design of a strategy for de-colonialization primarily by Gandhi. What was started in the 1904-5 war and accelerated in the 1914-18 war was brought to consummation by the 1939-45 war. The legacy of that war was the launching of the final demise of colonialism.

It is curious that in spite of communist rhetoric to the contrary, the last empires to hold together are those of the chief communist powers. What is happening in the Soviet Union in the wake of glasnost and perestroika is a long overdue dismemberment of the czarist empire. Gorbachev, like Winston Churchill before him, may not want to administer the dissolution of an empire, but it is inevitable. The days of monolithism in China are also numbered. By the end of the century, these last empires will probably be gone and imperial policies anywhere, however disguised, will be self defeating.

*written 8 months
before the USSR
collapsed*

ON NON-CONFORMITY

Those Americans who made a sacrament of pursuing non-conformity were Marxists in the thirties but had become Buddhists by the eighties. The Life of non-conformity was to be lived like a flat spinning stone skimming over the surface of a pond, touching the world only long enough to be propelled upward again in the flight to freedom.

But there is a question whether the non-conformist is pursuing freedom or liberty. Liberty is getting others off your back, while freedom is getting yourself off your back. Perhaps the pursuit is for both. There are those like Yevtushenko who were free even where there was no liberty, and there are millions of Americans who are not free in the land of liberty. De Toqueville noted this a century and half ago. Americans, he observed, would suffer no tyranny from government but readily succumbed to the self created tyranny of conformity. This is why here the distinction between liberty and freedom has long been obscured.

But conformity itself is currently being challenged from another source. The issue, usually phrased in terms of the rights of immigrants, is whether to continue to subscribe to the traditional dominant heritage or encourage a diversity built of minority heritages. If the pluralistic view prevails then the tyranny of conformity will come to an end, or at least we shall have the paradox of 'choice of conformity'. All of which makes the task of the non-conformist more difficult, for eclecticism among conformities does not constitute non-conformity. In the future Marxism, Buddhism or any other non-domesticism will no longer be a refuge for the non-conformist. To non-conform in the twenty first century one must create original alternatives, blaze entirely new trails, ~~and~~ which will require high levels of both imagination and courage.

The Logic of Pluralism
Is no religion one among many religions
or a category apart.

06/27/93

I Make \bar{A} a subset of $\{A\}$

symbols

$\{ \} = \text{set}$

$\bar{x} = \text{not } x$

1. $A \rightarrow \{A\}$

First, define religion as the set of all religions

2. $\{A\} \supset \bar{A}$

Second, subsume religion to be but one member of the set.

2 Logical Approaches.

II Aristotle's $A \neq \bar{A}$ Logic

I preserves pluralism

\bar{A} is treated equally as a member of the set $\{A\}$

II Gives the minority \bar{A} equal status with all $\{A\}$

Pluralism: The protection of minorities
must reject Aristotle

The inability to go with I
is the root of dogmatism and intolerance

3 Logical
Europe - Aristotle II
America - I
Asia - III Hindu

Opt for all, instead of for none

Opting for one, \rightarrow the ultimate opting for none

i.e. implicit in monotheism is atheism
monotheism will evolve into atheism

1 \equiv 0, Pythagoras return to the Sunyata

≥ 2 Akshobya III Hindu $A, \bar{A}, A + \bar{A}, \overline{A + \bar{A}}$

\pm Aristotle A, \bar{A} IV USA $\{A\} \supset \bar{A}$

EGALITE AND HOMOGENIZATION

The proposition "All men are created equal" has been a central tenet of democratic ideology for more than two centuries. It is a tenet which everyone knows is false and which no one would wish to be true. But we keep it in our catechism and repeat it because it is our justification for bestowing equal rights under the law on all citizens. But in sacralizing "All men are created equal" we cannot be faithful to the great truth which is its antithesis: "All persons are created different". The exaltation of equality has led us over the decades to prefer homogenization and conformity and to fear the real essences of democracy--pluralism and dissent. Had we placed in our founding documents instead of "All men are created equal" the statement "All persons are ^{unique} different and therefore special", perhaps we would not have come to dread differences but rather to value and cherish them. We could still have consistently and reasoned, "Since all persons are unique, they are valuable and therefore deserving of the rights of life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness and to the freedoms of conscience, speech, assembly, and dissent". Equality is not the basis of freedom, the basis of freedom is the uniqueness of the individual and the value to society and to the universe of uniqueness itself.

What has the glorification of equality cost us? In facing in the direction of homogenization we have moved beyond the erosion of individual and cultural differences. The icon of egalite has led to conformity in our thinking, seeing and speaking and a narrowing of a good many other aspects of life. But worse, we have come to think that this is all to the good. And worst of all, there is a law of physics governing all systems that tells us that homogenization leads inevitably to stagnation. In the language of physics, as entropy increases the quality of energy deteriorates. Which is to say, when everything is brought to the same level, energy no longer flows and stagnation follows.

The communist nations have led the way toward the drab homogenized life. The resulting stagnation has brought them to the sharp realization that their whole society must be restructured if it is to survive. But America and the West are moving in the same direction. Our opinions have gone beyond being equal, they have become narrowly the same. Our cities and suburbs with their tracts, traffic, and shopping malls are not only equal they are becoming undifferentiable. All times have become the same. Sunday has become like every other day. There are no special days, no special times. The last time I experienced a day that was different was the day of President Kennedy's funeral. On that day America stopped business as usual. It paused to reflect. It thought some different thoughts. Its consciousness moved to a different level. This is something for which people used to dedicate one day each week to do. But with nine to five, gridlock, the rat race, the same old routine day in and day out, and the same old men in high positions making the same stupid decisions year in and year out, life is not only frustrating it is oppressive. The path leads from equality to homogenization to stagnation and now further. It leads to the drug scene. People fight drabness and frustration in their lives with drugs and alcohol. This has become a global problem, not a matter of communism or capitalism. Without preservation of differences in places, in times and in viewpoints, and without the flowering of the differences in our beings the psychic energies cease to flow. It may be truly said, our differences are our wealth.

There is no question that the advent of high tech communication and transportation has accelerated the global trend toward homogenization. But we have a philosophy which holds this to be a plus. We feel we shall be safe and have peace once all peoples are like us and agree with us. But this is a serious fallacy. Competition and conflict occur between like

organisms, symbiosis and interdependence occur between unlike organisms. We are in conflict with the Soviet Union, not because we are different, but because we are alike. But our world view with its belief in egalite makes us believe that it is differences that are the roots of rivalry.

Will Rogers once said, "It's not what we don't know that's getting us into trouble. It's what we know that ain't so." Some of the premises we have assumed as fundamental ain't so. The trend toward global homogenization, the elimination of differences, the erosion of pluralism will not result in a more secure and peaceful world. We will all want the same things, competition will increase, and with not enough to go around, there will be strife and conflict. Furthermore, the Global Village will not be a utopia. The Second Law of thermodynamics assures us that in a high entropy world, energy becomes effete.

The rules of the societal and political games that we play are no longer in sync with the "Big Rules" of the earth and the cosmos. At the hearings investigating the Challenger disaster, the Nobel Prize physicist, Richard Feynman, pointed out that the tragedy occurred because the rules by which executive decisions were made violated the laws of physics. But we see all around us the results of our violating the laws of ecology--pollution, ozone holes, climatic instability. We have long departed from the simple wisdom of those from whom we stole the land. "Leave the forest so that no one will know you have passed through."

*The threat for independence
is to deter the march to
homogenization*

THE KOANS OF JULY

The koans of July involve the contradictions implicit in the slogans or mottos of two governments. Both are products of the late Eighteenth Century.

- ▶ The Koan of July 4th
E Pluribus Unum

This motto of the United States of America combines the major dialectical pair: Diversity and Homogenization. These opposing dialectical principles are among the most basic dialectics operating in the universe. Very rarely, and then only briefly are they in balance. Although manifested in the particulars of Union, States Rights, Right of Secession, and the immediate question of Slavery, their interplay was at root the cause of the American Civil War. The dialectical principle of diversity, the **pluribus** of the motto, incarnated itself in the viewpoints of the South. The dialectical principle of homogenization, the **unum** of the motto, played its part through the armies of the North. The remarkable feature of the United States is that it has, through its system of federalism, preserved a near balance of these dialectical forces. However the forces of homogenization are gradually prevailing.

- ▶ The Koan of July 14th
Liberté, Egalité, Fraternité

This motto of the French revolution also puts into juxtaposition particular manifestations of the diversity-homogenization dialectic. Liberty and Equality are in opposition. Liberty is the sine qua non of individual uniqueness which in turn is the foundation of diversity and variety. Equality of one or more parameters is the end sought by the forces of homogenization. At what point is balance sought or at what point is balance obtainable? The French approach seems to be let liberty go as far as it will in some parameters and homogenization go as far as it will in other parameters. Support liberty in personal choices, support homogenization in preserving the Republic. We end with the paradox of compulsory military service in order to preserve individual liberty. In effect there is a time in life for liberty and another time in life for uniformity. No civil war needed if resort is to ADMA (across parameters) and TDMA (across time). But also there is liberty for some bought by the homogenization of others. Back in some sense to the issue of slavery, an unacceptable point of balance of the two dialectical principles.

MELTING POTS

MELTING POTS AND FREEDOM

Europeans came to this continent for freedom. Too long had they lived under political and ecclesiastical tyrannies. But they came to get freedom, not to give freedom. They came not for freedom as a principle but for freedom for themselves. For centuries the intolerance in New England replicated that in Old England. The burning of witches, Roger Williams flight to Rhode Island, "Henry, what are you doing in there?" "Ralph, what are you doing out there?" all indicators that freedom and tolerance were for us not for you.

But after living in America for a couple of centuries the idea of freedom as principle began to seep through. Whether this was absence of European custom, ^{association with England,} or the permissiveness of the broad continent or both, ^{all} is arguable. In any event this concept was finally articulated and imbedded in the documents of the republic. This was to be the infrastructure for the future.

Its appeal resounded back across the sea and millions came to America for freedom.

*Give me your tired, your poor,
Your huddled masses yearning to breathe free,
The wretched refuse of your teeming shore,
Send these, the homeless, tempest-tossed to me:
I lift my lamp beside the golden door!*

Emma Lazarus

But like the first pilgrims, they came for freedom for themselves, not yet understanding the American version of freedom. Even in 1988 a candidate for president of the United States was impressed most with an America in which the son of an immigrant could have the opportunity to be such a candidate.

There are those who fear freedom. Those who fear giving freedom to others, such as the Ku Klux Klan, and those who fear having freedom for themselves, who conform and disappear into the homogenous mass. They have somehow, in a free society, become like the denizens of Nazi concentration camps who march in the middle, not near the front, not near the rear, not on the left, not on the right. They fear to exercise their freedom and of course they have lost it. Jun 8/91

In the great melting pot of America have those, conditioned in the old world, who have come here afraid of freedom begun to create a docile society that jeopardizes the principle of freedom itself? What is the melting pot doing to freedom? We are not the generation of 1775 risking death for liberty. Today we put up with things that would have had them at the barricades. Is it because we cannot realize that threats to our liberties, to the roots of our inheritance, can come from ourselves. We spent trillions to keep at bay external threats to our liberty, and meanwhile let it be stolen by those the founding fathers warned us against.

If we are to have freedom of speech, I am worried
that I shall have something to say that is worthy
of freedom of speech.

- Yevtushenko

There is a race between the white man and America:

Will the white man destroy America before
living here will destroy his imported values
of greed and intolerance.

In our fascination
with freedom, will
our expression of freedom
destroy that freedom.

The white man first was threatened by the
values of the Indians - "you ~~could~~ not own the earth"

He killed the Indians

Now he is threatened by the beauty of
the land itself. The forests, the lakes, the rivers

and now he is bent on destroying them

He knows his values ~~cannot~~ survive only
in the value-ghetto he seeks everywhere to create

We've come to America to take over. To help build a new culture.

Bharati Mukharjee

Movers II p10

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very ones

Reasons
Freedom
To make
money

Jun 8/1

The America of the white man has been a melting pot. A melting pot of the sort that all who come, whatever their heritage, are to be made over into a prescribed mold. But there is contention over the prescription of the mold. Made over into what mold? Because of the variability of the mold, America's melting pot differs from that of China. In historic China a well defined culture withstood repeated conquests and invasions. It was the invaders not the Chinese who were ~~who were~~ melted, and the extant culture prevailed. In America on the other hand, (for invaders read immigrants if you wish), the invaders over the years have been melting the culture.

As the white man at long last begins to see and hear the world of the Indian and to appreciate and accept his culture, the native American instead of moving into the role of teacher for the white man, reversing the roles enacted over the past centuries, withdraws and chooses to hold his wisdom to himself. This of course fits with his philosophy. All paths are those of individuals and all white men must find their own. But being white men they will do it collectively.

THE AMERICAN WORLDVIEW vs THE OLD WORLD WORLDVIEW

AMERICAN WORLDVIEW

• **POLITICS**

LIBERTY OF THE INDIVIDUAL.
 SOCIAL EQUALITY,
 NO ELITISM.
 RIGHTS OF BOTH SEXES.
 PLURALISM. *see 06/27/93 insert*

• **ECOLOGY**

THE EARTH CANNOT BE
 OWNED OR POSSESSED.
 OUR COVENANT IS WITH THE
 PLANTS AND THE ANIMALS.
 PART MUST BE SET ASIDE.
 RESPONSIBILITY UNTIL THE
 SEVENTH GENERATION.

• **RELIGION**

THE GREAT SPIRIT IS
 UBIQUITOUS.
 BALANCE.
 WE ARE PART OF NATURE.
 PASS WITH NO MARK.
 THANKSGIVING TO EARTH.

• **TIME**

TIME IS LATERNESSE.
 EACH DAY IS AN ACCUMULATION
 OF ALL PREVIOUS DAYS.
 THERE IS A UNIQUE SPIRIT
 WHO GOVERNS EACH DAY.

EUROPEAN WORLDVIEW

FREEDOM TO ACQUIRE.
 CLASS AND CASTE.
 MALE SUPREMACY AND DOMINATION.
 CONFORMITY AND HOMOGENIZATION.

CONTROL, SUBDUE, POSSESS.
 [STEWARDSHIP, RESPONSIBILITY
 ANIMAL RIGHTS].
 OUR COVENANT IS WITH GOD.
 NO GENERATION BELONGS TO
 EITHER THE PAST OR THE
 FUTURE.

GOD IS OMNISCIENT AND
 OMNIPOTENT.
 PRINCIPLE OF PLENITUDE.
 I--THOU.
 MAKE A MARK.
 PRAISE TO GOD.

TIME IS LINEAR.
 EACH DAY IS LIKE EVERY
 OTHER DAY.
 REPETITION OF LIKE CYCLES.

SOME NOTES:

The freedom to acquire is regarded as perhaps the most basic freedom of Western man. This is tied up with the sacredness of private property. When running for president, Ronald Reagan was asked for his view of freedom. His reply was, "Freedom is when someone can get rich." Today 10% of Americans own 86% of all wealth while at least half of all Americans have no net worth.

The idea that part must be set aside is not exclusively a native american view. ~~Ty~~thing is traditional everywhere and is only absent in the current worldview of blind consumerism. The ~~tit~~the is part of the price we must pay to assure that the future be open ended.

The principle of plenitude as applied to organisms has two aspects:

Every organism tends to proliferate itself as extensively as possible by 1) unlimited reproduction of itself, and 2) modification of the environment so as to ^{make it} be more favorable to itself and less favorable to competitive species.

This statement of the principle of plenitude seems to be of more general applicability than just to living organisms. There is evidence that interstellar molecules also practice the principle of plenitude by their absorbing and scattering light of certain wavelengths thereby enhancing their own being and penalizing molecules that differ.

A generalized version of the principle of plenitude would state that **structures tend to impose their own particular organization on the cosmos**. This by self-replication, destruction of the competition, or any other means. By cosmos is meant here any environment or context in which the structure is imbedded.

.....

Note: Edward R. Harrison uses the term 'principle of plenitude' in a totally different manner. In his book, Cosmology, The Science of the Universe, he describes the principle of plenitude as follows:

In its simplest form the principle of plenitude states that a beneficent Creator has given mankind for its own use an Earth of unlimited bounty. The Earth and the other parts of the universe necessarily display every possible form of reality in unlimited and inexhaustible profusion. (p18)

Harrison takes this definition of the principle of plenitude from Lovejoy, (The Great Chain of Being, 1936). Lovejoy writes,

"Not so very long ago the world seemed almost infinite in its ability to provide for man's needs, and limitless as a receptacle for man's waste products. Those with an inclination to escape from worn-out farms or the clutter of urban life could always move out into a fresh, unspoiled environment. There were virgin forests, rich lodes waiting to be discovered, frontiers to push back, and large blank regions marked unexplored on the map... it has, so far as I know, never been distinguished by an appropriate name, and for want of this, its identity in varying contexts and in different phrasings seems often to have escaped recognition by historians. I shall call it the principle of plenitude."

This definition of the principle of plenitude is about the erroneous belief in the unlimited and inexhaustible nature of the Earth which derives from belief in the omnipotence of the Creator and his turning the Earth over to mankind.

THE SECOND REPUBLIC

THE TWO AMERICAS

The destiny of America is the destiny forged through the interaction of two Americas. These two aspects or essences of America preserve a bi-modal distribution of vision, of time span, and of values. While both Americas are Janus like, looking to the past and to the future for their bearings and their justification, they tend to look past or through each other. They appear invisible to each other and manifest themselves only on the level of the specific and ephemeral. This can lead to what is sometimes regarded as the unlimited capacity of Americans for the incompatible and even contradictory with their subscription to "one set of rules for us and another set of rules for everyone else". (In the last few weeks we have seen the inconsistency of the same leadership voices denouncing the suppression of dissent in China and the protection of dissent in America.) *(Tiananmen Square but silence on Gaza Strip)*

It is no accident of history that a two party system has evolved in the United States. Neither party may be identified, except transiently, with either one of the two Americas. At one time a party will support one America at another time it will oppose it. But what is important is that the two party system manifests the dialectical process which lies at the root of the essence of America.

What I wish to explore with you on this 213th anniversary of the Declaration of Independence are some of the attributes of these two Americas. Can we make them ^{more} less invisible and see the forms they have taken in the different periods of our history? And what is this process operating at a deep level which shapes our evolution?

*Mining the Harbor at Nicaragua
defying the UN
and World Court*

Today we celebrate the 215th anniversary of the Declaration of Independence. We should note, however, that we are deep in the midst of an era of celebration of anniversaries:

1987--marked the 200th anniversary of the United States
Constitution

1989--marked the 1000th anniversary of the Viking
discovery of America (by Bjarni Herjulfson)

1992--will mark the 500th anniversary of Columbus'
discovery of America

1995--will mark the 50th anniversary of the Atomic Age

1997--will mark the 40th anniversary of the Space Age

2000--will mark the 2000th anniversary of the Christian Age
And sometime about now marks the transition from the Piscean
to the Aquarian Age.

But we are not only celebrating anniversaries, we are also deep in the midst of celebrations of a short, victorious war, in which, according to the President, "America rediscovered itself".

But there are many, and I include myself among them, who feel we neither know what to celebrate or how to celebrate. We seem only to know when to celebrate, (but apparently don't know when not to celebrate.

Many of the events we choose to celebrate have dark sides which we willfully or ignorantly ignore. Large groups of native Americans and others are opposed to any celebration next year of the so called 'Discovery of America'. In the first place, they maintain the event of 1492 was not a discovery, it marked the beginning of an invasion. They feel that America is yet to be discovered by the white man. I understand what these groups are saying and I would modify their point only to say that from time to time some white men have discovered America. I believe that the event we celebrate today marks one of those times.

Ferdinand Magellan

1480-1521

Sept 20
lv. Brg 10, 1519
5 vessels

1522

From time to time throughout history an individual has appeared who has defined a period of history. Certainly Napoleon defined the course of history for much of the world for the quarter century 1795-1820. Columbus defined much of the activity of the world for more than a century.

There are times that are undefined and when no one person emerges to effect a definition, i.e. to so determine events that an archetype is entered upon which must be acted out.

WHAT OF THE TWENTIETH CENTURY?

Up to the First World War, there seems to be no deterministic definition of the 20th century created by one person. The determinism of that period was a cooperative one on the part of several of the European nations and Britain.

The period 1917 to 1945 was the definition of Erich Ludendorff, the Quartermaster General, who launched both Lenin and Hitler.

The period 1946 to 1986 was defined by Winston Churchill. His speech at Westminster College in Fulton, Missouri on March 5, 1946 not only in the Tolstoy sense of articulating a situation, but in prescribing and proscribing rolls, launched the Cold War formally. In the Iron Curtain speech, Churchill also called on America to inherit the mantle of the British Empire, to be the world policeman, and also for eventual union of the English speaking world for continued world domination. Truman bought it. This attitude consumed America leading to Korea, the Gulf of Tonkin and Vietnam. But being the world's policeman is not what America is about, as Lyndon Johnson, Richard Nixon, and others learned. Nor was America created to play the Texcatlipoca roll of anti-communism. We were created for positive rolls, but are still caught in Churchill's net.

It is too early to be sure, but it may be that the definition of the period 1986 to the end of the century, has been taken over by Mikail Sergevich Gorbachev. We shall see. He seems to have the initiative.

but he lost it - (temporarily?)

THE TWENTIETH CENTURY: ABOUT AMERICA

In the United States this has been the century of the cowboy. While the cowboy himself disappeared with the previous century, his macho mentality, ^{continued to} suffused the nation. It began with Teddy and lasted through Ronnie; Roosevelt's Yellow Peril to Reagan's Evil Empire. The destiny America has chosen for itself is to be "Number One". And being Number One is taken to mean, "I can whip any hombre in the house". This includes Nicaragua, Grenada, Panama, and anyone else too small or too far away to hit back. And being Number One means having the biggest and mostest weapons. But our weapons have threatened our economy, cheated our children, endangered our environment, and generally weakened our moral stance. And being Number One means to be the leader of the imperialist pack. Yet while senators debate where to spend borrowed money to look like a leader, Japan is buying us out and going to the moon to boot. Only a vestigial moral and idealistic momentum from the founding principles of the nation preserves the hollow shell from collapse.

In this century we have left a trail not only of bullying, but of hypocrisy. In 1917-18, we fought a 'war to end war' opposing 'might makes right' with 'right makes might'. We at the same time supported 'self-determination' for those beyond our reach and Washington-determination where ever our reach could be extended. In 1945, we instituted the Nuremburg Trials and defined the concept of 'war-criminal'. Then we ignored or excused all our home grown war-criminals. We went to Korea to support the proposition that borders were not to be altered by force. Then as soon as we had a military advantage we crossed the 38th parallel. In 1964, we disavowed the war making provisions of our constitution by delegating war powers to a president who trumped up a phony assault on our ships 12,000 miles from our shores. And most recently we entered a 'just and moral' war to oust a dictator from a country he invaded, then turned our backs on the moral obligations arising in the wake of the destruction and suffering we inflicted in that war. Our announced objective was to create a 'just new world order', our real objective was to enable the establishment of a permanent military presence in the Persian Gulf. As for morality, it is our policy to use morality as a cover in pursuing our perceived self-interests wherever we feel them threatened and to ignore or abuse morality at other times. Our rhetoric has always been pro freedom and democracy, our practice has been one set of rules for us another set for the rest of you. We complain about a tilted playing field when others tilt it, but ignore the fact that we were first to institute tilting.

The time for an American perestroika has come. In the Eastern Bloc, the social order has failed the individual, In the United States, the individual has failed the social order. This not only through citizen neglect of domestic social interests, but by refusing to accept responsibility for those foreign actions of our elected government which would not be acceptable if applied to us here at home. Correction has begun in the East, when will it begin here?

and
to secure
continuity
the military
big 5/12
of the econ

"War is not an energy policy"

Notes from Lecture given by Frances Moore Lappé entitled "Restoring America's Values" given as the third Carolyn Wolfe Lecture on 'Preparing for a Renaissance in the 21st Century' at the Luther Burbank Center on February 25, 1990.

Lappé's new book: Rediscovering America's Values

Lappé uses the epistemology of "follow your nose". She starts with a basic question and follows it wherever it leads, formulating new questions as she goes. Her basic question was "Why is there hunger in the world?". Starting with the question of food she ended with the question of values. There are hungry not because of scarcity or the physical limitations of the Earth, but because of the way we think about ourselves and the world. Our ideas about ourselves determine who we are. In particular, the problems we face are in good part the result of the way in which we formulate and define them. "The 'experts' define a problem in terms of their pre-definitions." Most of our 'pre-definitions' go back to the Enlightenment and its mechanistic worldview. The success of Newton's description of the physical world in terms of physical laws led to the idea that there were similar laws governing the social world, which in turn led to economic and societal dogmas. (e.g. the inferiority of certain groups).

As an example of the Nobel Prize winner Milton Friedman being caught in his pre-definitions: Friedman extols the value of the market place--"the only economic engine known by which our preferences can equitably be translated into social realities. Whenever there is the mechanism of market choice the wants of society are provided". Lappé's reply was, "It seems that one want or preference that everybody agrees on is not to be hungry. Why then if the market operates as you describe are half of the people in the world hungry?" She says that Friedman's model of the market fails to take into account the fact that there are those who cannot cast an economic vote in the market. They have no access to the market. Friedman has ignored the moral context in which the market operates.

Today one child in every four in the United States is born into poverty.

Today one half of the world's grain goes to feed live stock.

Whose preferences are these?

Lappé notes that in Karela the problems of shortages that plague the rest of India are not manifest. She did not amplify except to emphasize that there must be non ecological factors determining hunger. {[Let us note that Karela has been Christian since the first century (St Thomas?) and it was the only communist state in India. In India who is hungry thus seems to be determined by world view.]} She also notes that the notion of freedom in our tradition is intimately tied up with the sacredness of private property. To some of the founding fathers this was the essence of freedom, if the freedom to accumulate private property were to be restrained all other freedoms would vanish. {[Jefferson's original wording of the Declaration of Independence was 'Life, Liberty and Property']} When asked for his definition of freedom, Reagan replied "Freedom is when someone can get rich."

Today 10% of Americans own and control 86% of the wealth.

Today one half of all Americans have no net worth.

Yet this seems somehow contrary to our true values as individual Americans. Why do we not apply our values to economic problems? She feels this is because we are not sure of our values. She holds that Jefferson's original idea of citizen being a small land owner, when updated, means that everyone has a real stake in the economic pie. {[I feel that Reagan's values are the true values of most Americans. We do not apply our philanthropic values because they are the values of a minority. This is one of the differences between the 'Two Americas'.]} Lappé's solution to all of this is in public forums, dialogues, debates. Make people aware. We must change our definition of freedom from acquisitiveness to the full development of human capacity. {[We must change from the level of the Principle of Plenitude to the level of an Ecology.]}

Lappé says our definition of democracy must be changed. Democracy is not just having different political parties and voting for pre-emptive slates of candidates. She tells of an interview that American reporters had with the head of a black African

1
state. During the interview the Americans accused the head of state of being a dictator because there was only one political party in the country. He replied, "You Americans too have only one political party, but in your usual American extravagance you have two of them." She says democracy is a set of working principles, that include the sharing of power, the access to resources, and full accountability. We have applied democratic principles to our political life but have failed to apply them to our economic life. As a result corporations have become private governments where 4 of them control more wealth and resources than 80 countries with more than half of the worlds population.

We have no proper model at the moment.

Communism treats everyone as a producer
Capitalism treats everyone as a consumer
Corporations treat everyone as clients

The time has come to go beyond Liberalism (with a capital L, i.e. the worldview of the enlightenment). Eastern Europe is getting rid of its rigid dogmas. Can We get rid of ours?

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zzTHE SECOND REPUBLIC--INTRODUCTION

If I were to try to capture the quintessential element of America in one idea, I do not think I could do better than the editors of Mad Magazine did some years ago. On the cover of this particular issue was a photo of a Kruschew look-alike tearing up Mad Magazine and saying, "This we bury first". Nothing is more American than self-criticism and self-ridicule. No right is more precious to the future of America than the right to dissent, for dissent lies at the heart of pluralism, and pluralism lies at the heart of cultural, economic and political evolution.

Today, most Americans seem to have no concept of what is special about our country. What we hear on all sides is that America must be Number 1. Our greatness and destiny must be measured by being first: first in wealth, first in military might, first in GNP, first and biggest in everything. But America was not founded to be in a race with the planet or with the other nations with whom we share this globe. America was not founded to be a modern Sparta, outdoing the military might of all others. Nor was America founded to inherit the role of the British Empire and become the world's policeman. America was founded as an experiment in a different type of government, and if that experiment succeeded, it was founded to be an example that others might wish to copy. There would be no need to proselite nor to export its ideas by force of arms. America needed only to develop and perfect its ideas, and if successful, the ideas would spread automatically of themselves.

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jj THE SECOND REPUBLIC

jjMETA-PRINCIPLES

The question of the purpose of the state leads to fundamental philosophical questions regarding mankind, life, and the cosmos. Since these are open-ended questions for which we must never assume we have final answers, the state must never impede the pursuit of deeper understanding by adopting as dogma any particular world view. It must protect the right of its citizens to a free choice in their religions, their educations, their modes of healing, their associations and their life styles. The right of conscience in all matters must be respected.

The political system should never be looked to as the source of innovation or leadership. Its task is to create and preserve a climate of freedom in which innovation and enterprise can take root.

Pluralism and variety are the safeguards of survival and evolution. Our differences are our wealth and should be cherished.

Every person has an inalienable right to participate in the deliberations and decisions whose consequences affect them.

The state has the right to protect its existence against those who would destroy it, but does ^{not} have the right to perpetuate itself against the justly considered wishes of a majority which wishes to replace it.

Just as citizens can be punished for doing what is illegal, the state can be replaced for doing what is illegitimate, and those accountable for such acts can be removed from office and punished.

pD@pD

America does have a destiny, not the "manifest destiny" of the 19th century jingoists, but a higher destiny, one relating it to purposes beyond the material. Manly Hall tells a story:

PPIt was during the evening of July 4, 1776. In the old State PPHouse in Philadelphia a group of men were gathered for PPthe momentous task of severing the last tie between the old PPcountry and the new. It was a grave moment and not a PPfew of those present feared that their lives would be the PPforfeit for their audacity. In the midst of the debate a PPfierce voice rang out. The debaters stopped and turned to PPlook upon the stranger. Who was this man who had sudPPdenly appeared in their midst and transfixed them with his PPoratory? They had never seen him before, and did not PPknow when he had entered, but his tall form and pale face PPfilled them with awe. His voice ringing with a holy zeal, PPthe stranger stirred them to their very souls. His closing PPwords rang through the building: "God has given America to PPbe free!". As the stranger sank into a chair exhausted, a PPwild enthusiasm burst forth. Name after name was placed PPupon the parchment: the Declaration of Independence was PPsigned. But where was the man who had precipitated the PPaccomplishment of this immortal task-- who had lifted for PPa moment the veil from the eyes of the assemblage and PPrevealed to them a part at least of the great purpose for PPwhich the new nation was conceived? He had disappeared, PPnor was he ever seen again or his identity established.

THE DEMISE OF DEMOCRACY

I. INTRODUCTION

A. WHAT IS GOING ON?

- ~~1. THE TRIUMPH OF DEMOCRACY--THE OFFICIAL STORY~~ *& Capitalism*
- ~~2. THE PERSONAL PERCEPTIONS CONTRADICT THE OFFICIAL STORY~~ *what is really going - Clippings*
- ~~3. THE EXPERTS AND PUNDITS CONFUSED~~
- 4. THE CONFLICTING TRENDS INABILITY TO LINEARIZE
 - a. UNION VS INDEPENDENCE
 - b. 'DO YOUR OWN THING' VS CONFORMITY
- 5. THE ONE WAY TRENDS
 - a. THE CONCENTRATION OF WEALTH, POWER, POPULATION,
AND URANIUM vs THE DIFFUSION OF POVERTY, DISEASE,
CONFLICT AND DRUGS
 - b. REPRIVATIZATION
 - c. OBSOLESCENCE OF JOBS
 - d. BOTTOM LINE SHORT TERM
 - e. TOP/BOTTOM COMPENSATION RATIO GARDENER
 - f. INCREASE OF VIOLENCE
 - g. DECREASE OF ACCOUNTABILITY AND RESPONSIBILITY
 - h. THE WAR ON POVERTY HAS BECOME THE WAR ON THE POOR

B. THE REACTIONS AND RESPONSES

- 1. THE PERVASIVE ANGST AND ANGER
- 2. FUNDAMENTALISM AS SOLUTION
 - a. ISLAMIC FUNDAMENTALISM THE GOOD OLD DAYS
 - b. JUDAIC FUNDAMENTALISM THE PROMISE

c. CHRISTIAN FUNDAMENTALISM QUAYLE

3. NEW FACES AS SOLUTION

a. PEROT

4. LIMIT TERMS TWO CIVIL SERVICES

II. HOW DID WE GET HERE?

A. THE ROLE OF TECHNOLOGY, TV

1. STORY OF THE RAILROADS *Loss of Jobs*

B. THE HYPOTHESIS OF DELAYED CHANGE

1. THE ARCHETYPE

2. APRES MOI, LE DELUGE

C. OUR ASSUMPTIONS WILL ROGER'S QUOTES

1. RELIGIOUS ASSUMPTIONS AND PRACTICES

a. BE FRUITFUL AND MULTIPLY

b. DOMINION OVER THE EARTH

c. CHURCH AND STATE

(1) ABORTION

(2) CORPORATIONS

2. POLITICAL ASSUMPTIONS AND PRACTICES

a. ALL MEN ARE CREATED EQUAL *The Royal Lies*

b. WHAT FREEDOM IS

c. THE NATURE OF THE SOVEREIGN

d. MAJORITY RULE

e. LAW AND INTERPRETATION OF THE LAW

f. OUR SELECTION OF DECISION MAKERS THE FILTERS

(1) THE CORPORATIONS AND THE CURIA

(2) THE COMMUNIST PARTY

(3) THE USA

The 4 Steps down

Nebuchadnezzar

Pygmalion

Socrates

USA

g.CONTROL OF WHO VOTES --> CONTROL OF THE VOTER

(1)BRAIN WASHING

(a)THE MEDIA AND THE POLITICIANS

(2)SIGNIFICATION

3.PSYCHOLOGICAL FACTS

4.PHYSICAL FACTS

THE DEMISE OF DEMOCRACY
Lecture, Camp Mendocino, July 3, 1992

Each year in this camp, which is given both to dialogues on community and to the experience of community, we spend one day discussing the nation as community. Since the Fourth of July falls in the week of the camp, it is usually on the Fourth that we hold our dialogue on the nation and celebrate the community that is America.

This is the fourth year of the camp and today we hold our fourth dialogue on America. Tomorrow, on the Fourth of July we shall celebrate America, but today we shall self-examine and critique our country.

The first year of the camp, 1989, our Fourth of July topic was on the contributions to our heritage of the pre-columbians, the indigenous peoples of America. Our indebtedness to them for such political ideas as federation and confederation, and such life style examples as environmentalism and sustainability.

The second year, 1990, our topic was "Declaring Independence". In the plethora of independence declarations of that year, Lithuania, Palestine, Namibia, ... we re-examined the notion of independence and the paradox of movements to independence in an increasingly interdependent world.

Last year, 1991, the topic was "Discovering America." Here we reviewed the ideas that came to fruition on our soil and which became exemplars and an inspiration for peoples around the world. The prospect that there were realizable alternatives to the rigid traditional way of doing things was America's first and perhaps greatest contribution to the rest of the world.

This year, 1992, is an election year. And instead of looking at the past, at our roots and our heritage, we properly focus this year on the present. Where are we? What is really happening today? and How do we set a course to the future when the compass needle ~~is~~ seems to be spinning?

And indeed it is spinning. Everyone seems confused. Those who are in the business of prediction-- economists, political pundits, even geophysicists (who cannot decide whether we are on the threshold of global warming or a new ice age) are all confused. One reason that it is difficult to understand what is happening is that there is no ^{clear} precedent, but more importantly it has become impossible to "linearize" events. That is, to identify cause and effect sequences and to isolate trends. With parts of the world establishing unions--Europe, Germany, the Koreas-- and other parts fragmenting--Yugoslavia, the Soviet Union, Canada (and there is even a movement to divide California into three states), it is difficult to identify the trend.

Of course, there is "the official story" of what is happening. The White House tells us that through the leadership of Reagan and Bush, we have ~~at last~~ won the cold war. Democracy has triumphed over the evil empire and free market capitalism has been successful while Marxism-Leninism has fallen flat on its face. We have just been given proof that we have the best system and we must continue to protect it by being Number 1 militarily and striking down trouble makers wherever in the world they rear their ugly heads. However, in victory there are some economic readjustments, job shifts, etc. we must make in view of the reductions in armaments, but we must be patient and patriotic and make readjustment sacrifices so we can bring about our new world order.

But what is really going on? The official conclusions do not fit the facts. There is a pervasive subconscious angst that we are not seeing the triumph of democracy, but rather are witnessing an erosion of democracy. The old labels are still on the bottle but the contents are being adulterated. People are finding it increasingly difficult to believe we have it the best and find little relief for their economic pain in circuses of foreign adventurism.
of corporate imperialism. domestic the diversions

What is really going on? Let's take a look at a sample of current clippings from local newspapers and try to figure out.

.....
We have on the same day, on June xx, the vote in Ireland to join the European Union and in Czechoslovakia to split the country in two. We have on June 29, the Supreme Court's decision to uphold Roe-Wade but at the same time permit the states to legislate restrictions. We have at the same time the granting the Chancellor of the University of California a multi-million dollar golden parachute and the cutting of faculty salaries and the raising of tuition fees.

In the past
Historically, we have been able to make predictions by identifying trends, *but* today we see parts of the world *as it was* on a train going east and other parts on a ship going south, still other parts digging in for a stand fast.

In common
In the United States, we are confused by the train going east of increasing emphasis on "do your own thing" and the ship going south of increasing conformity to the norm. This is especially evident among the youth where 'doing your own thing' has become almost totally homogenized: everyone's own thing becoming the same thing. Is this because watching TV has destroyed all imagination?

Still there are some trends in evidence:

Over the past few decades, especially in the eighties, we have the trend of concentration of wealth, the rich getting richer and the poor getting poorer.

We have the trend of centralization of power, and that power becoming detached and out of touch with its roots.

We have the trend of an accelerated increase in

population and its ensuing impacts on the globe. We have the trend of this population becoming increasingly concentrated in urban centers. Wealth, power, population and uranium are all being concentrated, while poverty, disease, famine, and drugs are being dispersed. Endangered species in the wilderness include the redwoods and the spotted owl; endangered species in the human community include the accountable politician and the responsible father.

The economist, John Kenneth Galbraith, in his new book, "The Culture of Contentment", maintains that the reason there is no action on our basic problems is that the majority of those who vote are affluent and contented with things as they are. Once the numbers of the contented class were small and, though they are not now the majority, they have become the majority of those who vote; and since this class have it the way they want it, they do not vote for change. They form a voting bloc that obstructs new taxes which in turn impoverishes education and social services. If it were not for these contented, we would long ago have acted against the recession. The poor, on the other hand, as a consequence of their not participating in the political system, have been excluded from the market system.

During the eighties, as a result of administration policies, speculation and fiscal manipulations flourished, which together with the reduction of taxes on the wealthy, caused great wealth to flow from the poor to the rich. One result of this concentration of wealth was a great cutback in public services. During the same period the United States went from being the world's greatest creditor nation to the world's greatest debtor nation. Our loss of productivity was contributed to by having between one-third and one-half of our technical and scientific talent engaged in weapons development, while in Japan and Germany, science and engineering focused on the civilian economy.

Galbraith feels the solution lies in a strong attack on the recession, increasing taxes on the wealthy, removing resources from the military, retraining workers, rehabilitating those now out of the market place, renewing our educational system, and reducing interest rates even further.

Galbraith, however, is pessimistic. He predicts continued stasis unless the under classes decide to participate in the political process. Future riots, like April's in LA, will not be corrected by going after the causes, but will be suppressed, causing a further diminishing of the nation.

He feels communism failed because its leaders refused to look at its weaknesses and make changes. He thinks this is a lesson for us. We must look at the weaknesses in our own system.

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Forcefully He feels communism failed because its leaders refused to look at its weaknesses and make changes. He thinks this is a lesson for us. We must look at the weaknesses in our own system. *before we too fail.*

However, the non-contented's loss of faith in the electoral system and their apathy about voting is but one cause of the political system's falling completely under the control of the wealthy. There are two other factors operating in the subversion of the electoral process. The first of these is what Socrates termed the royal lie. The second is the development of modern psychological techniques of behavior control making it no longer necessary to control who votes when you can control how they vote. Let us look at each of these factors in turn.

THE ROYAL LIE

In the Republic, Book III pp340b-341a, after first introducing the ruling or guardian class, Socrates proposes a "royal lie" to make the existence of higher classes more palatable to the lower classes.

Socrates asks,

How may we devise one of those needful falsehoods of which we lately spoke--just one royal lie which may deceive the rulers, if that be possible, and at any rate the rest of the city?

Socrates answers his own question:

Citizens, we shall say to them in our tale, you are brothers, yet God has framed you differently. Some of you have the power of command, and in the composition of these he has mingled gold, wherefore also they have the greatest honour; others he has made of silver, to be auxiliaries; others again who are to be husbandmen and craftsmen he has composed of brass and iron; and the species will generally be preserved in the children. But as all are of the same original stock, a golden parent will sometimes have a silver son, or a silver parent a golden son . . . If the son of a golden or silver parent has an admixture of brass and iron, then nature orders a transposition of ranks, and the eye of the ruler must not be pitiful towards the child because he has to descend in the scale and become a husbandman or artisan, just as there may be sons of artisans who having an admixture of gold or silver in them are raised to honour, and become guardians or auxiliaries.

And the reason for this strict attention to the quality of the offspring is that

an oracle says that when a man of brass or iron guards the State, it will be destroyed.

Neither Socrates nor his hearers have much confidence that this royal lie will be believed. But they appear to find nothing morally wrong in trying to fool the people with it.

AMERICA'S ROYAL LIES

We easily perceive the royal lies of others but even feel offended over the idea that America also has a royal lie. We despised the Third Reich's royal lies of 'the master race' and the idea of the thousand year reich. We see oppression and injustice in the Hindu royal lie that ones status in society is frozen in concrete and the result of karma from earlier lifetimes.

Recalling that the function of the royal lie is to justify class distinctions and anesthetize the people into accepting existing social stratifications, we see that Socrates royal lie did allow vertical movement both up and down. In this it is partially palatable to modern Americans. But in the Declaration of Independence we went further. The statement that 'all men are created equal and are endowed by their creator with certain inalienable rights' seems to be an absolute refutation of all royal lies. In America there was to be no royal lie.

But the 'all men are created equal' statement, while certainly antithetical to all royal lies is itself an apodictic lie. And it is counter productive to base a political premise on a provable lie. Knowing this statement to be but rhetorical hyperbole, it was ignored. Ignored in the case of blacks, ignored in the case of women, ignored wherever expedient. For example, in 1893, Supreme Court Justice David J. Brewer, addressing the New York State Bar Association, said:

It is the unvarying law that the wealth of the community will be in the hands of the few. The great majority of men are unwilling to endure that long self-denial and saving which makes accumulations possible and hence it always has been, and until human nature is remodeled always will be true, that the wealth of a nation is in the hands of a few, while the many subsist upon the proceeds of their daily toil.

cf
Calhoun's
justification of
slavery

Thus Jefferson's premise is bypassed and America's royal lie revealed: If you are poor it is because you are lazy, sinful, or defective; while if you are rich it is because you have earned it, because you are virtuous, or because you are intrinsically superior. But this is only half of the American royal lie.

In the period after the civil war, a minister, Russell Conwell lectured to thousands of audiences:

I say that you ought to get rich, it is your duty to get rich. The men who get rich may be the most honest men you find in the community. Let me say clearly, 98 out of 100 of the rich men in America are honest. That is why they are rich. That is why they are trusted with money.

I sympathize with the poor, but the number of the poor who are to be sympathized with is very small. To sympathize with a man whom God has punished for his sins is to do wrong. Let us remember there is not a poor

person in the united States who was not made poor by his own shortcomings. [Zinn p255,256]

The second half of the American lie is the Horatio Alger story in its many forms. In America anyone can get rich. When asked what he felt to be the essence of freedom, President Reagan said, "That someone can get rich". When real possibilities diminish, we institute lotteries to fuel the royal lie. ^{But} In America anyone can get rich. This serves well to preserve the structure of the status quo. Lady Margaret Thatcher said more Britons must be given a vested interest in the system because this tends to stabilize it. But in ^{the} royal lie, the vested interest is not in the system, but only in blue sky probabilities of getting into the system. But this seems to suffice to get people to vote with the rich against their own interests.

A second royal lie, circulating primarily among the affluent class is that of America's manifest destiny. Brother to the idea of the white man's burden and cousin to the idea of the master race.

DRUGS, ALCOHOL, FOOD
ARE ALL PART OF ROYAL LIES

IF the ladder between poor + rich
disappears - the lie "anyone can
become rich" will fail

ON EQUALITY AND ELITISM

All men are not equal. But the basis for this assumption is that we cannot recognize the real way in which they differ, therefore we had better societally abolish the superficial distinctions such as gender, race, etc. Indeed, there is no grouping of humans that validates the statement that all members of the group are equal. So it is ^{is well} well, if we are to make the statement, that the group be ^{all humans} all humans. Judaism accepts all members of the House of Israel as equal, but all are > goyim. Christianity is democratic, all sheep are equal, its only distinction is between the sheep and the shepherds.

I am all in favor of the democratic principle that one idiot is as good as one genius, but I draw the line when someone takes the next step and concludes two idiots are better than one genius

Leo Szillard

In spite of our assertion that all men are created equal, we institute classes. The problem lies in deciding which yardstick to use for selecting our elites. The traditional congeries suggest only the idea of elites, not the actual levels. For example, the use of heredity as a basis for caste is erroneous. The children of Brahmins are not necessarily Brahmins. But the caste system does reflect, though inaccurately, the fact that humans, though here in similar bodies, are indeed on different levels.

In the case of Japan social relations between castes are of such importance that there are special personal pronouns to use between ranks. Individuals are not perceived as individuals but as members of a certain class. Within the class all men are equal. (p199, Dictionary of Asian Philosophies). Ryonin (1072-1132), founder of Yuzu Nembutsu said: *in refutation*

One person is all persons;
All persons are one person;
One meritorious deed is all meritorious deeds;
All meritorious deeds are one meritorious deed.

THE DEMISE OF DEMOCRACY

THE ARCHETYPE OF DELAYED CHANGE

It was King Louis XV who said, "Apres moi, le deluge"---"After me, the deluge". It is doubtful whether King Louis had direct perceptions of the forces of frustration and exasperation that were building up throughout France, and he didn't get his sense of impending change from the newspapers, there weren't any. But the mood was in the air, people of all classes picked up on it and at some level knew that the existing order of things could not long continue. The aristocracy tried to escape the mood with more elaborate parties and banquets, while the King tried to avert matters through foreign adventurism. All hope was placed on: *it will happen but not until after my time*. The poor, on the other hand, had no precedent for action; they had neither organization nor agenda, only poverty and anger. And for the time, the lid remained uneasily on the boiling kettle, but the future course of events was determined in all aspects but one--the time table.

This situation is archetypal. It is the archetype of delayed and deterred change. It has occurred in many guises throughout history. The details may vary, but the longer the delay, the more deterministic the course of events becomes. President Kennedy said, "Those who obstruct gradual change make revolutionary change inevitable." In our own history, the decades in which the issue of slavery was treated with band-aids made the civil war inevitable.

Today, as in 18th century France, a great many people are tuned into the mood that impending change is coming, and here we mean real change, revolutionary change, not just bandaid course corrections. And as in that period in France, many are hoping the change will be postponed long enough for them to complete their individual agendas. Only those with nothing to lose can overcome the fear of a plunge into the uncertainties of change. For all others, change and its accompanying disorder are more fearful than other alternatives. It is this fear that itself causes the delay of change and leads to the initiation of the archetype.

The determinism that leads to revolution, once the revolution begins, is replaced by total uncertainty and unpredictability. The deterministic archetype of delayed change is instantly dissolved and replaced by a freedom limited only by imagination and will. This is temporarily accompanied by the euphoria of limitless potential. But the freedom and euphoria are not long sustained. For it is a freedom that is beyond all control and results in guidance passing through many hands, until it finally settles into controllable form and is then seized by the same types who habitually effect a delay of change. A cyclical process.

THE CO-STATE

COSTATE INFORMATION CENTER

The CIC is a tool to support the activities of the Stewards of the Costate. It is to employ state of the art techniques to collect, significate, organize and disseminate data. Its facilities will include libraries, databases, computers, graphics, publishing, and other such hardware and software necessary to perform these functions. It is also to contain audiovisual data display equipment of various types, electronic, film, optical, etc. for both research and data dissemination. It is to create and/or join international nets and networks to abet collection, research and dissemination of all types of data. It is charged with the development of evaluation criteria, and effective processes and strategies for successful operations in each area of responsibility.

At the present time no paradigm for the Costate Information Center exists. However, the 'World Game' of Bucky Fuller, various operations used by Stewart Brant in assembling the Whole Earth Catalogue and CoEvolution Quarterly, and certain departments of various think tanks, such as the Rand Corporation, all include aspects of the visualized center. But basically its mission lies in unexplored territory, and in the broadest sense its mission is the development of an institution to carry on the global cultural responsibilities early borne by the Mystery Schools, later by the Academies, then by the monasteries, and most recently by the universities.

Human proclivity for collection has dominated the other phases of information processing, resulting in storehouses filled with unorganized and mostly unretrievable data. (Example, the International Geophysical Year.) While many excellent and valuable collections exist (e.g. Manas) which have yet to be converted into databases, currently much fundamental data is being put into magnetic format, and CDROMs are beginning to make this data available to thousands of computers across the nation. But the processing process itself, given any number of CDROMs, is still not available. This is because the processing of data in its fullest scope, properly called "The Epistemological Process", has never been adequately articulated. Hence, one of the first tasks of the CIC will be to perform the self-referencing operation of articulating the epistemological system, spelling out step by step how we convert experience into culture.

THE COSTATE--BASIC PRINCIPLES

The four domains of human activity:

Living with the Earth
Living with each other
Living with ourselves
Searching for The Other

Living with the Earth * * * * * The Great Mother

Our material, physical existence
The laws of Nature
Bio-evolution
Ecology, economics

Living with each other * * * * * Community

Our social, collective existence
The experience and heritage of Society
Cultural evolution
Government, Rights and Responsibilities

Living with ourselves * * * * * The Path

Our individual, multi-level existence
The practice of health and healing
Growth and Transformation
Psychology, Religion

Searching for The Other * * * * * God

The para and meta contexts of existence
The search for completeness and meaning
Our Cosmic Role
Cosmology, Theology

ATTRIBUTES OF THE COSTATE

The CoState employs materialization/etherialization dialectics

The CoState is constituted as an elite of responsibility

The CoState must answer the "61 Cygni Question"

The CoState practices Taoist cybernetics

The CoState pursues processes not goals

The CoState generates alternatives

The CoState is a guided guider

The CoState signifies

The Costate is catalytic

The members are self-chosen

The Stewards are unitarily co-opted

The members are an elite of responsibility, not of privilege

NETWORK OF THINK-TANKS/THINKTANK OF NETWORKS.

To Design operating manual for the 'torchbearer' of culture.

1> nodes.

individual and community.

a> self sufficient and independent.

b> ecologically appropriate; must fit in with local environment and thus must fit in with local needs. Unique to each locality. No one model fits all.

2> individual node.

Each person/family must have "bread and butter" activity.

Each person/family must have vocational work.

Need to work out how to do this so don't mix up.

Need to be eclectic - do not fall into trap of saying/thinking that this (macrobiotics/anthroposophy/christianity/ democracies etc) is the only way to do or be; rise above the principle of plenitude. Wisdom of ecology ("Ecosophy").

3> community node.

threefold order is based on the human organism:

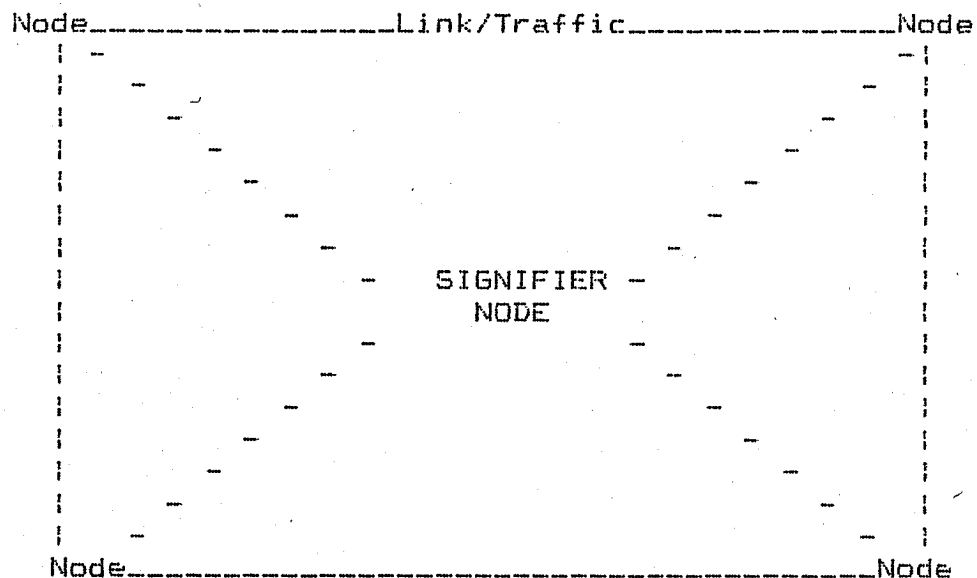
a) Nervous System - Thinking - Ethics & Moral Reason.

b) Rhythm (HT/LNG) - Feeling - Culture/Education.

c) Digestive - Willing - Economics/Agriculture.

Important that each community understands these distinctions and incorporates them into a working model for the community.

Model may be:



Link/Traffic occurs between nodes and between nodes and signifier node. Level of interdependence.

Signifier Node.

What is the role/function of Signifier/Significator?

Interpretation and Design.

Must always be mindful of the responsibility of continuously keeping in touch with the higher self.

Importance of understanding that we elect the future.

Also numbers are not important - the quality of individuals is of greater significance. (Must keep eye out for such individuals).

Some thoughts and notes on All Saints Day, 1987

Several years ago in a futures class at UCLA, we predicated a three way dialectic between the following basic segments of society:

Government (including the military/industrial)
Business (excepting weapons and armaments)
People

We maintained that two of these would form a coalition, creating the fundamental dialectical tension against the third. At the time (c 1972) it was rather uncertain which of the three outcomes would be most likely:

- A) Government/Business vs People
- B) Government/People vs Business
- C) Business/People vs Government

However, transnational corporations doing business in all countries and having considerable momentum toward freedom from subjection to various national governments, together with world wide populist sentiments against war and the military, suggested that path C) was a likely prospect. It was beginning to be realized in many influential quarters that the nation state was rapidly becoming an anachronism.

With the advent of the Reagan Administration this vector was reversed. The Reagan rearmament initiative became the force that restored government (particularly the Pentagon) to a position of dominance. Business went along--it always follows the bucks. After six years of this policy, the country has moved a considerable distance down path A), with the result that a new dialectic triad is emerging:

- A1) Government/Business (including science)
- A2) The Disfranchised
- A3) The New Age Movement

At first glance there seems to be no contest here. The disfranchised--the poor, minorities, and large numbers of women--have very little political clout, while the New Age groups are small, divisive, contentious among themselves, and disinclined toward the struggles of power politics. But two factors are rapidly altering the configuration.

The first of these consists of the built in self-destruct policies of group A1). These are many, but some of the more deadly are the following:

1. Operating with invalid models of the world, such as the desirability of unlimited growth.
2. Opacity to the true nature of nuclear weapons.
3. Inadequate mechanisms for self correction which is to say Government/Business will continue on a business as usual course in spite of many indicators and warning signals that not only are the rules changing but an entirely new ball game is emerging. This is because bigness per se is incapable of change. There is an old aphorism that applies here: "In the long run it is not the well adapted, but the most readily adaptable who survive."
4. An obsolete worldview.

The second factor that is altering the configuration is the addition of a new rapidly growing group to the disfranchised: The youth of the country. Our young people no longer have the opportunity to participate in the "American Dream". They are perceiving it to be the illusion which it has long been. For most there is no longer the chance to own a home, to have a family in the traditional sense, to have a successful career. There may be "cogships" available in the Great Machine, but for most there will be no participation, not even in the rat race. They must return to their parents homes and sit in frustration. They have no investment in the existing society or its institutions. They are outsiders, disinherited and dispossessed. Whereas the poor and the minorities will never be able to throw off their societal yoke, with youth it will be different. Having been excluded from society, conventional youthful rebellion will escalate to nihilism. No property, cultural, or human value will be immune from the impulse to destroy. They have nothing to lose. They will turn the country into another Belfast, another Beirut. The Soviets will not destroy us. Our destruction will be at the hands of our own young people whom we have robbed of their inheritance.

With these factors altering the dialectical configuration, the confrontation will not take the form of a power struggle between the Government/Corporate establishment and the disfranchised after the mode of traditional revolutions, but will be an orgy of mindless terrorism waged between increasingly fragmenting groups.

And what of the New Age Movement? It will either overcome its servitude to labelism and achieve a synthesis through a deeper self-understanding, and then possibly weave and raise a banner to which the desperate, be they establishmentarian or disfranchised, can repair; or it will remain locked in its bourgeois values and go down the tube with no understanding of either itself or the world in which it finds itself.

The future is at risk, it always is at risk. The temporal order of events may seem to be the crucial factor. Will the Corporate world achieve its Golden Age before its shadow destroys it? Will the New Age respond to its self challenge before events render it too late. But it is not by the temporal sequence of the clock and the calendar that the moving finger of history writes. It writes with the daily personal thoughts and activities of everyman. Those that are random cancel each other out. Those that are directed and committed determine the future.

THE SECOND REPUBLIC

META-PRINCIPLES

The question of the purpose of the state leads to fundamental philosophical questions regarding mankind, life, and the cosmos. Since these are open-ended questions for which we must never assume we have final answers, the state must never impede the pursuit of deeper understanding by adopting as dogma any particular world view. It must protect the right of its citizens to a free choice in their religions, their educations, their modes of healing, their associations and their life styles. The right of conscience in all matters must be respected.

The political system should never be looked to as the source of innovation or leadership. Its task is to create and preserve a climate of freedom in which innovation and enterprise can take root.

Pluralism and variety are the safeguards of survival and evolution. Our differences are our wealth and should be cherished.

Every person has an inalienable right to participate in the deliberations and decisions whose consequences affect them.

The state has the right to protect its existence against those who would destroy it, but does have the right to perpetuate itself against the justly considered wishes of a majority which wishes to replace it.

Just as citizens can be punished for doing what is illegal, the state can be replaced for doing what is illegitimate, and those accountable for such acts can be removed from office and punished.

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11/01/87

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THE NEW PARADIGMS

The new paradigms of thought and values [Einstein Quote]
from Belonging to the Universe

Fritjof Capra's five new paradigms (from Belonging to the Universe)

- Parts ---> Wholes
The interdependence of all phenomena and their embeddedness in the cosmos p70
- Structure ---> Process
- Objective ---> Epistemic
The epistemology selects the universe
Constructivism as the new epistemology p124
The observer is a necessary part of the observation
What we observe is not a world that exists objectively and is then represented, but rather a world that is created in the process of knowing ^{selected?} {[the cognitive operator]}
- A building ---> A network as metaphor for knowledge
No up no down, no foundation, no primaries, only network
{[What about islands and continents?]}
- Truth ---> Approximations

Other changes mentioned by Capra

Rational ---> Intuitive

Rational is the compartmentalized, the catagorized

Analysis ---> Synthesis

Reductionism ---> Holism

Linear ---> Non-linear

Thinking and values are intertwined. Consequently new paradigms of thought will create new values. p74

- Self assertion ---> Integration
- Competition ---> Cooperation
- Expansion/Growth ---> Conservation/Sustainability
- Quantity ---> Quality
- Domination ---> Participation

Other developments: "The Great Dialectic" p125

Two Systems Schools von Neuman input-output, information processing
Norbert Wiener cybernetics, self-organizing

page two

Other Paradigm Shifts

- Zwicky-McLuhan Multiple Model Approach
 - Listen to more than one composer's music
 - Mystery does not allow an orthodoxy
- Parallel Computing
 - The end of linear, sequential, mono thinking
 - The end of monotheism (---> pan-entheism)
- Pluralism
 - Tolerating and valuing differences
- Facetism, Complementarity, Aspectism,
 - Defacetize vs. generalize and abstract
- Whyte's Patternism
 - Pattern, Structure, Process
 - Information, Matter/Energy, Will
- Einstein's Absolutes ---> Invariants
- McLuhan's Suspended Judgement
- Thompson's Juxtaposition

■ THE ROLES OF ANALOG AND DIGITAL
 PLATOONING (e.g. clothes-washing)

April 10, 1991

We may take it as manifestation that our social order has truly been transformed if some day we shall see a monument erected to the memory of the collective thinkers who synthesized what is now known as "Cybernetics". A monument somewhat in the vein of the marines raising the flag on Iwo Jima, but celebrating a triumph of human collaboration in creativity rather a triumph of human collaboration in destruction.

Aside from the revolutionary epistemological value itself which is inherent in the concept of cybernetics, there are two other noteworthy features associated with its emergence. There is its creation through the operation of a "group mind" involving men and women from diverse specialties transcending their individual limitations and synthesizing a whole greater than the sum of the parts. And there is the fact that this is an American contribution to human knowledge and culture. By American is meant Pan-American, not United States. The work was done in the shadow of ancient Teotihuacan, Teotihuacan, and in some very real sense expresses at long last an epistemological statement about the world made by, as well as in, this hemisphere. Clearly in the concept of cybernetics is something that departs radically from the worldview of the Greeks and their European successors. Cybernetics opens the door on a new way to think about the world and its contents, not only a new way to think about classical questions, but to introduce and think about a new and different genre of question.

But in spite of this emergence of an American epistemology, as different from classical western ideas as is Chinese thought, Americans are indifferent and ignorant of it. Again it is the Europeans who have recognized the philosophical significance of cybernetics and co-opted into their thinking. But in any event we may say that there are now three great traditions of thought on our planet: The Far Eastern, The Near East-European, and now the American. It is our challenge, in the spirit of what has long dwelt in this continent, to develop this alternate way of seeing the world.

There exists also a distinctive sub-saharan great tradition in Africa

Am I a North American chauvinist?

Those at the Founding of Cybernetics

Gregory Bateson

Margaret Mead

Warren McCulloch

Norbert Wiener

...

Cybernetics also has broken the stranglehold linear thinking has had in the west, with a re-introduction of loop thinking. Leading to iteration, or recursion,

Modern man is alienated from the earth. But it is not only technology, urbanization, and the worldview of science that have alienated us, our religions which once intimately related us to the world have become imperiously man centered. Humanism has become the universal religion of civilized man. Even traditional religions claiming a basis of divine revelation have substituted the social for the spiritual and have become but sects in the religion of humanism. In "Man is the measure of all things", religion has chosen to forget that there is more to creation than humanity.

Today there is general worldwide acceptance of the social gospel. Judaism, Christianity, Humanism, and Atheistic Marxism are all in agreement with its ideals, (but not necessarily on the mode of implementation). What is wrong with the social gospel is it has inherited the chosen people attitude of a more primitive religion. This time around the chosen is not a tribe or a race but a species. The result of this self-centeredness has been that humanity has become disconnected from both the earth and the world of spirit. We no longer need gods, has come to mean we ourselves are the reason that there is a universe. The latest version of this self-centeredness is called the Anthropic Principle. The argument is made that since all of the constants of nature have values critically precise for our being here, then we are the reason that the universe was made as it was.

However, there is an evolution in our ability to identify with larger and larger congeries. We start with our individual selves, then with our family, our kind, our country, and finally with humanity in general. Recently we have become conscious of the environment, of animal rights, and the rights of the earth. Perhaps in time we shall identify with all creation, then we shall truly be the image of God.

THE
SECOND
REPUBLIC

+

META -

CONSTITUTION

The Constitution of the United States

Many agree that the Constitution of the United States is a document of wisdom. That it has been widely studied and copied by peoples everywhere and used as a paradigm for other constitutions demonstrates the respect it commands as a contribution to the structuring of viable human societies. But if it is held that the Constitution is a document of wisdom, it is important to know wherein its wisdom lies. What deeper truths does it articulate? What general principles of society and social systems does it reflect? What fundamental concepts are contained in its specific articles? Instead of the current focus of the courts on what the Founding Fathers intended in the wording of particular passages, is it not more to the point to focus on the general concepts which they sought to articulate. And is it not more to the point to refine and extend those general ideas and others of like import so that we be not mere idolaters of past wisdom but worthy inheritors, extenders and transmitters of the wisdom they have bequeathed us. The period for testing the validity of the concepts contained in the Constitution has passed. It is now important to review and extend the ideas. To do this the Constitution must be assessed against experience more general, more comprehensive, and more up to date than that incorporated in its original composition. We are thus faced with the question, what yardsticks can we use to measure a standard meter?

THE SECOND REPUBLIC

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Pluralism and variety are the safeguards of survival and evolution. Our differences are our wealth and should be cherished.

^{Each}
~~Every~~ person has an inalienable right to participate in the deliberations and decisions whose consequences affect them. ~~him or her~~

The state has the right to protect its existence against those who would destroy it, but does have the right to perpetuate itself against the justly considered wishes of a majority ^{who} ~~which~~ wishes ~~to~~ to replace it.

Just as citizens can be punished for doing what is illegal, the state can be replaced for doing what is illegitimate, and those accountable for such acts can be removed from office and punished.

THE SECOND REPUBLIC--INTRODUCTION

If I were to try to capture the quintessential element of America in one idea, I do not think I could do better than the editors of Mad Magazine did some years ago. On the cover of this particular issue was a photo of a Krushchev look-alike tearing up Mad Magazine and saying, "This we bury first". Nothing is more American than self-criticism and self-ridicule. No right is more precious to the future of America than the right to dissent, for dissent lies at the heart of pluralism, and pluralism lies at the heart of cultural, economic and political evolution.

Today, most Americans seem to have no concept of what is special about our country. What we hear on all sides is that America must be Number 1. Our greatness and destiny must be measured by being first: first in wealth, first in military might, first in GNP, first and biggest in everything. But America was not founded to be in a race with the planet or with the other nations with whom we share this globe. America was not founded to be a modern Sparta, outdoing the military might of all others. Nor was America founded to inherit the role of the British Empire and become the world's policeman. America was founded as an experiment in a different type of government, and if that experiment succeeded, it was ~~founded~~ ^{to be} an example that others might ~~wish~~ ^{be fit} to copy. There would be no need to proselite nor to export its ideas by force of arms. America needed only to develop and perfect its ideas, and if successful, the ideas would spread ~~automatically~~ of themselves.

The docilization of America

The Korean 95% / 5% story

Have ^{all} the 5% joined Secor, Singlaub, Shackley, Hakim

America does have a destiny, not the "manifest destiny" of the 19th century jingoists, but a higher destiny, one relating it to purposes beyond the material. Manly Hall tells a story:

It was during the evening of July 4, 1776. In the old State House in Philadelphia a group of men were gathered for the momentous task of severing the last tie between the old country and the new. It was a grave moment and not a few of those present feared that their lives would be the forfeit for their audacity. In the midst of the debate a fierce voice rang out. The debaters stopped and turned to look upon the stranger. Who was this man who had suddenly appeared in their midst and transfixed them with his oratory? They had never seen him before, and did not know when he had entered, but his tall form and pale face filled them with awe. His voice ringing with a holy zeal, the stranger stirred them to their very souls. His closing words rang through the building: "*God has given America to be free!*". As the stranger sank into a chair exhausted, a wild enthusiasm burst forth. Name after name was placed upon the parchment: the Declaration of Independence was signed. But where was the man who had precipitated the accomplishment of this immortal task-- who had lifted for a moment the veil from the eyes of the assemblage and revealed to them a part at least of the great purpose for which the new nation was conceived? He had disappeared, nor was he ever seen again or his identity established.

(I)

THE SECOND REPUBLIC

It is proposed that we look at our country from a five hundred year rather than a four year perspective. From the Iriquois Confederation to the Rainbow Coalition what themes of human community have been evolving in this hemisphere? To many it appears that we have reached a singular point in history, a moment of decision whether to repeat the past or to iterate into a new future. If we hold that the future is open ended and that the pinnacle of political wisdom was not reached 2500 years ago, 200 years ago or 70 years ago, what changes and strategies of change can we imagine for improving the body politic? What experience and new knowledge since the founding of our country can we call on to enhance our political and social institutions? What new modes of change can be designed to take us to a better society without inviting disorder or violence? What refinements can we make to the "American Dream"? Two hundred years ago a dialog was begun in the coffee houses and taverns of the colonies. This dialog spread to the town meetings and state houses and finally resulted in a new nation. Such dialogs themselves are an important part of what we are about on this continent. Perhaps it is time to take up this dialog anew.

A META-CONSTITUTION

Many agree that the Constitution of the United States is a document of wisdom. That it has been widely studied and copied by peoples everywhere and used as a paradigm for other constitutions demonstrates the respect it commands as a contribution to the structure of viable human societies. But if it is held that the Constitution is a document of wisdom, it is important to know wherein its wisdom lies. What deep truths governing human community has it articulated? What general principles of society and systemics does it reflect? What fundamental insights are contained in its specific articles? Instead of the current focus of courts on what the Founding Fathers intended in particular passages, is it not more to the point to focus on the fundamental principles which they sought to incorporate into social practice. And is it not more to the point to refine and extend those principles and formulate others of like import so that we be not mere idolaters of past wisdom but worthy torch bearers of the wisdom they have bequeathed us.

The period of testing the validity of the concepts contained in the Constitution has passed. It is now important to review, critique and extend its ideas. To do this the Constitution must be assessed against principles more general, more comprehensive, more profound than those it contains. To implement this we are faced with the task of the design of a standard meter against which all meter sticks can be calibrated. Our standard meter must be designed around the basic physical, biological, ecological, psychological, systemic, and metaphysical laws that mankind has discovered in the course of history. This standard meter is a meta-constitution.

Pfaff in the 5/15/87 LA Times writes about flaws in the American system. His point of departure is that Europeans cannot understand why events like Watergate and Contragate are such big flaps in Washington. Secrecy and even dirty tricks etc are legitimate instruments of government. Those selected to run the government should not be hamstrung by such restrictions as permission from Congress. The way our government is set up limits the ability to exercise power in a way that is inappropriate for a great power. Our Constitution has become an inhibitory idol standing in the way of doing what needs to be done. No wonder executives are forced to circumvent it.

Europe was not the model for our republic. But its centuries of struggle against the arrogance, folly and corruption of rulers and popes was not wasted. Divine right of Kings was an assumption to be abandoned. Having a check on what rulers wanted to do was felt to be more important than efficiency in how they did it. A system had to be designed that would allow doing whatever was needed, but took from the ruler the historic right to be sole judge of what was needed. Two approaches were available: One would be to set up criteria to guide the selection of what was needed, the other would be to go one level beyond and establish a process to arrive at the criteria. The Founding Fathers selected process. Efficiency has become an important criteria in modern times, and many are prepared to sacrifice traditional safeguards against absolutism in its name. So it is well that final recourse is not to criteria, but to process.

The flaw in our system is not the inefficiency that results from our placing restrictions on how our rulers operate, but that we still lack adequate control over what they select to do.

An important ingredient in this approach to limiting the power of rulers was implicit in the Reformation and the earlier challenges of Wycliff and Huss. When Huss was brought before the Inquisition for preaching heresy, he said he would recant if any present would be so good as to point out explicitly where his teaching was contrary to Holy Scripture. His appeal to authority was to the Bible, not to the hierarchy. Huss was burned at the stake but his challenge took root and a century later the idea that an authority wiser and more stable than the fluctuating whims and expedencies of each generation of rulers led to the Reformation. Three centuries later the supremacy of The Book over ^{the} prince^s was paradigmatic in the minds of the Founding Fathers and the Constitution became to the state what the Bible had become to the church))a higher authority over any holder of office.

Although we have rejected "divine right of kings" as the basis of authority, we have frequently suffered under the

illusion that in throwing out the kings we also threw out the divine right. In both Watergate and ~~Contragate~~^{Conragate} we have seen many instances of members of both the executive and legislative branches bestowing divine right on the elected official. For them the protection of the 'king' rather than the constitution is primary. In one of the greatest traumas in English history Charles I was taken to the block. A lesson was taught, a lesson that Jefferson warned will have to be repeatedly taught. Hence as distasteful as it may be, whenever The Book is betrayed or circumvented, each generation must be prepared to take the ruler to the block. The ~~enduring~~^{lasting} of a temporary ~~weakening~~^{negotiation} is the price that must be paid for the ~~restoring~~ of enduring strength.

THE SECOND REPUBLIC

ISSUES AND QUESTIONS

SECREPQ, WS5

The question of right to make policy:

The congress has hit a snag on the ratification of the INF treaty. They wish a clause to be included which would disenable the executive from reinterpretations of the treaty. Objections are posed that this would be an unconstitutional restriction on the powers of the executive.

What is at issue here is that in normal legislation whenever a matter of dispute arises between the law and some party, such as a private citizen or corporation, the matter is settled by some authorized legal body such as a court. In the case of the ABM treaty, the legal body was some lawyer advising the Assistant Secretary of Defense for ... But a treaty is not this sort of legislation, made by one body without the direct involvement of those who may subsequently be involved. It is made between two sovereign, autonomous bodies, neither of which has a sole right to reinterpretation. The confusion of handling a treaty as a normal piece of legislation is the result of power trips more than of logical dilemma.

No clauses are needed. It is a clear and simple matter that every treaty in which a subsequent matter of interpretation arises is to be settled by the parties negotiating the original treaty. The executive, with the advise and consent of the Senate, and the foreign power. The entire issue is a policy struggle between two branches of our government, both of which are wrong in concluding that reinterpretation is their right without the concurrence of other parties to the treaty.

The Question of Pluralism:

The Civil War showed that Union could not sustain pluralism. The nation could not exist half-slave and half-free. The value of union took priority over the value of pluralism. The issue of slavery should have been resolved from higher criteria than union. Pluralism was violated by the enslavement of any single person. Another issue was that there did not exist a sunset clause in the Constitution. A matter which should have been decided by the deliberations of legislators, was ultimately decided by the sacrifice of 600,000 lives.

The Question of the Relation between Economy, Culture, and Rights.
(Rudolf Steiner)

The O'Connor Supreme Court Decision re Indian Burial Grounds

THE SECOND REPUBLIC

"BUY AMERICAN"

The contributions of America to Social Contracts

The earth is sacred. One cannot own the air, the sea or the land itself. We must return to it that which we take from it and be thankful.

Hopi, Navajo, and Nuhuatl peoples all have myths of successive creations and destructions, each resulting in emergence at a higher level.

The god replaced by his avatar

The Iriquois Confederation: an American paradigm.

(The Swiss Confederation evolved from a defense league of 3 cantons in 1291, to a formal confederation in 1648. The Iriquois and Swiss independently evolved the concept of confederacy.)

In the Iriquois Confederation, the men held office, but only the women could vote.

The meso-American 52 year cycle of renewal. (cf. the Jubilee).

THE SECOND REPUBLIC

PROPOSALS

We need a "House of Sages" to debate and propose policy. The discussion and decision functions should be related in the "advice and consent" manner. The membership of the house would be elected from a qualification slate, a position which must be earned. Terms would be for 7 years. The Delphi method would be used. The present two houses of congress are too much alike.

There should be two species of courts.

- 1) Courts of Law, past oriented and experience based.
- 2) Courts of Impact, assessments of where decisions will lead, side effects, and impact analyses.

Jointly, the task is to provide stability and allow change.

Reorganization on the basis of bio-regions.

Alternate channels to authority.

Media, talk shows etc as ombudsman
The value of satellite photos
The 4th estate
Oprichnina

ISE as a paradigm for change

Levels of citizenry, based not on wealth or property, but on record of contribution. Whereas there should be equality of rights, there should be an elitism of responsibility (not of privilege). Office holders must earn certain levels of citizenship to be eligible for office. (This sounds an awful lot like party membership in the USSR)

CONST B

B. What Is A Meta-Constitutional Convention.

"Meta" is an overworked Greek prefix that is sometimes translated to mean "above" or "beyond". In this case it refers to a convention that would explore the deepest issues, conflicts, potentials, and design alternatives that might contribute to the design of a national constitution. This debate would occur at a level much more general, much more fundamental than is characteristic of normal political inquiry. It would be nearer to the general level of design that founding fathers such as Jefferson utilized. The participants would probe "beyond" immediate concerns into the "generative" and process-oriented characteristics of human values and organizational structures; the place where carefully constructed solutions promise more lasting and widely applicable solutions. This type of meta-look at designing a constitution is exactly what occurred in the composition of our present document.

METACONS

META-CONSTITUTION

The Federalist Papers--Installment II

Purposes of a Meta-Constitutional Convention:

Look anew at the infrastructure of all constitutions and covenants.

Restate the principles which have proved most productive in guiding the collective relationships within and between societies.

Construct a normative framework on which specific constitutions may be based and from which they may be derived.

Look at law and government from a level above where the viewpoints of special interests and influences may be perceived and formulated.

The constitutional convention arises as much from the need to re-affirm principles as from the need to reform procedures; as much from the need to rediscover the wisdom in our institutions as to remove the cancerous growths in them.

A constitution as expression of the normative cannot be like the Soviet Constitution--a show piece--ignorable when expedient to some hidden normative, which is usually the whim of the ruling cult. The fluctuating aspirations of men and committees can never be taken as the normative in an effective cybernetic system, which is what government must aspire to be. That is, the avowed normative must take precedence over all other motivational vectors.

"Those societies which cannot combine reverence to their symbols with freedom of revision, must ultimately decay either from anarchy, or from the slow atrophy of a life stifled by useless shadows."

Alfred North Whitehead

PROCONST

DOCUMENT FOR THE META-CONSTITUTION PROLOGUE

I. BACKGROUND STATEMENT.

A. The Question - Why and Why Now?

① The stresses of high and fast living over the past several decades are beginning to manifest themselves in cracks in our social institutions. Even our Constitution has lately been challenged in its ability to guide a society that has so radically changed since its ratification. Many have pointed out that the Constitution was never meant to become another idol in a pantheon of national gods, nor a magisterial presence to remain totally unchallenged. It is ironic that today a misplaced patriotism threatens the efforts of that historic group of intellectual iconoclasts who attempted to fashion the document precisely to avoid this outcome. The sheer growth in size and complexity of our nation, in fact, its very success, seems to have created an inertia in the intended change-processes built into the Constitution. The result has been a relative unresponsiveness to the challenges of some of our most pressing national problems. The time has arrived when no piece-meal approach to these central problems is sufficient. Only a deep look and re-examination of the very principles and tenets contained in our Constitution will satisfy the needs of the next decades of our nations' evolution. Decades which promise to contain more rapid change than we have even experienced to-date.

② Anticipatory thinking is neither difficult nor unusual for individual humans, but as exercised by governments staggers falteringly. Many of tomorrow's societal problems that might be resolved readily today simply with courageous and imaginative thinking will, if left alone, in a few years require for their resolution vast expenditures of effort, resources and

possibly blood. Unattended problems have a way of developing into demanding crises and with the inability of governments to incorporate longer time spans and broader perspectives into their decision making, rule-by-initiative is replaced with rule-by-response. Thus we must never look for government to heal itself. But private citizens acting in the spirit of anticipatory thinking must articulate and solve those problems arising from government's increasing inability to cope with our times. There is justifiable suspicion that the solutions to many of our problems are not to be found within the constraints imposed upon and by our present institutions. The problem runs deep and reaches to the philosophical foundations on which the edifices of government are built. Again what is called for is a review of designs and a reassessment of the principles which have proved in the past most productive in guiding the collective relationships that obtain within and between societies.

③ It is not surprising that the most farsighted of the political

For more substantial and lasting solutions to the problems of the past few decades the opposing wisdoms of the alternatives proposed by our two political parties has proven powerless in attacking societal problems at their foundations (a result that suggests that the ideas behind each party are posed on a level too superficial to intersect with the roots of the problems.) In any case, in recent years there have been several calls, sometimes from the right, sometimes from the left, for the summoning of a second constitutional convention. Whereas these calls usually originate out of the frustration of special interest groups in their failures to push favorite causes through conventional channels, (which is in general a good thing), the probability of such a landmark event actually happening in the next decade is increasing.

② Divisive rhetoric, media manipulation and a display of political maneuverings that would overshadow even those of our presidential elections could be expected to accompany the convening of any constitutional convention. Critics have rightly suggested that disastrous results could easily ensue if special interest politics were allowed to dissect and rebuild our constitution. Indeed, the power of special interest politics is one of the unanticipated developments that threatens government's ability to serve the national interest and points to a serious flaw in the Constitution.

③ Reminding ourselves of the nature of the participants and the conditions under which the writing of the original constitution took place suggests that the critics may indeed be correct in their concerns. It was not professional politicians that designed our Constitution, but rather men who were at the same time men of letters and pragmatic individuals who looked with a skeptical eye at the ability of humans not to succumb to the temptations of political power. Jefferson, for example, was a practical landowner and amateur scientist. He skillfully combined intuitive and rational approaches to the design of institutions as well as to the design of buildings and machines. It may well have been the combination of such educated experience and innate wisdom, coupled with a shared atmosphere of skepticism, that enabled the founding fathers to craft a document that has served remarkably well through two centuries of change. But the key was that these men were far more than professional politicians, and while governing may be properly delegated to political specialists, the design of government, (like war being too important to be left to the generals), is too important to be left to mere

politicians. Since historically, the architects of successful political structures have been men of diverse professions and perspectives, we might justly expect that in any current reexamination of our political edifices, we would trust that concerned persons from many fields and persuasions outside of politics would come forward to offer their talents to the present task. Consequently, the decade preceeding any call for a constitutional convention would best be spent in debate within the ranks of pragmatists and intellectuals on what overriding and fundamental concerns must be addressed in the design of a constitution for the next period of our nations development. Men who understand natural systems and how they are designed to work successfully and yet progressively for 13 billions of years, and men who are skeptical of human-nature-at-work will undoubtedly expose and anticipate shortcomings in institutional plans faster than those practiced at promising a populace unattainable rewards in order to gain popular influence.

CONST1

DOCUMENT FOR THE META-CONSTITUTION PROLOGUE

BACKGROUND

① Anticipatory thinking is neither difficult nor unusual for individual humans, but is exercised by governments only under duress. Many of tomorrow's societal problems that might be resolved readily today simply with courageous and imaginative thinking will, if left alone, in a few years require for their resolution vast expenditures of effort, resources and possibly blood. Unattended problems have a way of developing into demanding crises and with the inability of governments to incorporate longer time spans and broader perspectives into their decision making, rule-by-initiative has been replaced with rule-by-response. It is in the spirit of anticipatory thinking and the taking of initiatives that we, as individual citizens, articulate one of today's problems, and tomorrow's crisis, that our governing institutions are increasingly unable to cope and come up with answers to the problems of these times. There is even suspicion that the solutions to many of our problems are not to be found within the constraints imposed upon and by our present institutions. The problem runs deep and reaches to the philosophical foundations on which the edifices of government are built. What is called for is a review of designs and a reassessment of the principles which have proved in the past most productive in guiding the collective relationships that obtain within and between societies.

era

② While governing may be properly delegated to political specialists, the design of government, (like war being too important to be left to the generals), is too important to be left to the politicians. Historically, the architects of political structures have been men of diverse professions and perspectives and in any reexamination of our political edifices, we would trust that concerned persons from many fields and persuasions would come forward to offer their talents to the present task.

③ In recent years there have been several calls, sometimes from the right, sometimes from the left, for the summoning of a second constitutional convention. Usually these calls originate over some frustration of a special interest or single issue group in not pushing their pet dogma through conventional channels. Which is in general a good thing.

DOCUMENT FOR THE META-CONSTITUTION PROLOGUE
I. BACKGROUND STATEMENT.

A. The Question - Why and Why Now?

(9) The strains of high and fast living over the past 200 years are beginning to show on our social institutions. Just as a reigning paradigm in science is subjected to the challenges of a growing list of shortcomings, so also our constitution has lately been challenged for its ability to support a society that itself has changed so radically since the Constitutions' ratification. Many have correctly pointed-out that it was never meant to become another idol in a pantheon of gods, or a magisterial presence that went unchallenged, although misplaced patriotism and current insecurity are raising the danger that this may indeed be the ironic outcome of the efforts of the group of intellectual iconoclasts who fashioned the document precisely to avoid this outcome. The sheer growth in size and complexity of our nation, in fact, its very success, seems to have created an inertia in the intended change-process built into the Constitution. The result has been a relative unresponsiveness to the roots of some of our most pressing societal problems. No piece-meal solution to these central problems is sufficient. Only a deep look at the very tenets and structures contained in our Constitution will satisfy the needs of the next 200 years of our nations' evolution; two centuries which undoubtedly will contain more rapid change than we have experienced to-date.

era (10) It is not surprising that the most farsighted of the political community, as well as many deepthinking citizens-at-large, are both calling for more substantial and lasting solutions to our societal problems. Over the past few decades the opposing wisdom of both of the alternative political parties has proven powerless at attacking societal problems at their foundations (a result that suggests that the ideas behind each party are not general enough to encompass the roots of the problems, especially since their worldviews of the problems cover the entire "field" of possible responses at their level of discourse precisely because their philosophies are in opposition). In any case, learned journals and popular newspapers alike have taken up the call for a constitutional convention. The probability of such a landmark/watershed event happening in the next decade is increasing.

era (11) High expectations, much rhetoric, and an immense amount of political jockeying for position and influence would accompany any convening of a constitutional convention. Yet critics have rightly suggested that disastrous results could easily ensue if special interest politics was allowed to dissect and rebuild our constitution. Indeed, special interest politics is one of the unanticipated developments in our nation (at least in terms of its intensity) that is currently threatening our togetherness as one people under one constitution.

(12) Simple analysis of the participants and the context of the writing of the original constitution suggests that the critics may indeed be correct in their concerns. It was not professional politicians that designed our Constitution, but rather men of letters, pragmatic individuals, who looked with a skeptical eye at humanity, but who had an abiding trust of natural systems and their built-in balance of powers. Jefferson was a practical landowner and amateur scientist. He took very seriously a combination of intuitive and reasoned approaches to the design of machines and farms, as well

as institutions. It may well have been the combination of his educated experience and his natural wisdom, coupled with the atmosphere shared by all the founding fathers of immediate and skeptical experience with how governments did not work, that led to the advances our Constitution exhibited with those of the time. It was not then, nor would it be now, the political maelstrom and tensions surrounding the designers that led to the advances. These were merely the impetus for some change. The nature of the wisdom contained in the changes they suggested came from elsewhere; from a deep reservoir of knowledge, a willingness to look deeply into the causes behind events, perhaps even a meditative separation from immediate practical concerns that paradoxically maintained a practical respect for the fact that those concerns must be answered and would best be answered at a deep level.

(13) Consequently, the decade preceeding any call for a constitutional convention should also be spent in debate within the ranks of pragmatists and intellectuals on what overriding and fundamental concerns must be addressed in the design of a constitution for the next period of our nations development. Men who understand natural systems and how they are designed to work successfully and yet progressively for 13 billions of years, and men who are skeptical of human-nature-at-work will undoubtedly expose and anticipate shortcomings in institutional plans faster than those practiced at promising a populace unattainable rewards in order to gain popular influence.

What is needed, clearly, is a META-CONSTITUTIONAL CONVENTION.

MISC.

GOVT

CHRGST.WP6

October 9, 1995

SEPARATION OF CHURCH AND STATE

In 1962 the atheist Madalyn Murray O'Hair filed a lawsuit that led to the Supreme Court ban on prayer in schools. This ruling in effect gave atheism the position of the preferred religion in the United States. Instead of placing atheism in its proper place along side a multitude of other religious persuasions, it was given a position of equality to the totality of all other persuasions. Its particular dogma concerning God was placed in adversarial confrontation to the entire spectrum of other religious beliefs concerning God.

The Court's reasoning in this case defies basic logic. We are presented with a set of positions or beliefs, which according to our Constitution the State has no right to weigh or evaluate, nor to give preference to any member of the set. But this is exactly what the Court did. It singled out from the set $\{A_1, A_2, A_3, \dots, A_n\}$ a particular member A_1 and formulated the issue as

A_1 vs. $\{\{A_1, A_2, A_3, \dots, A_n\} - A_1\}$

If the selected doctrinal division had been the Pope, Predestination, Reincarnation, or some other dogma, instead of the existence of God, would then some other A_j have been placed in equal status with the remaining set? The lawyers become authorities in theology! This clearly illustrates that the Constitution is "what the Court says it is" cannot be an acceptable addition to the Constitution. [Where in the Constitution does it say the Constitution is what the Court says it is?]

This approach to separation of church and state is the wrong one. The right one is the explicit statement in the first amendment:

Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof.

To this should be added

Nor shall the courts interpret the laws in such a manner as to prohibit the free exercise thereof.

The Supreme Court decisions regarding prayer in school etc, have given disproportionate leverage to certain minorities (e.g. atheists)

Democracy: The rights of all are to be protected but this is not effected by giving

SLOW leverage to minorities
SCHOOL AHEAD

NO PRAYER ZONE

AUGSUM.WPW

DISK: WORK02

August 10, 1993

SOME AUGUST THOUGHTS

August is the month of the end of beginnings and the beginning of ends. The end of beginnings with the final end of a series of Roman Empires with the termination of the Holy Roman Empire (1806), the end of the 'era of enlightenment' with the invasion of Belgium beginning World War I (1914), the finale of Watergate (1974). Also the beginning of ends with the beginning of the end of World War I with the "Black Day of the German Army" (1918), the beginning of the end of World War II at Hiroshima (1945), the beginning of the end of 'we know not yet what' with the invasion of Kuwait (1991). August is indeed the month of the initiation and consummation of change. It is fitting that the Feast of the Transfiguration, which is the profound symbolizer of all change, should occur in August.

After weeks of summer interruptions, I return today to look at the world. The view is an August view-- depressing if we eschew change. From whatever perspective, personal, local, national, global, the developments are changeful and distressful. Personal: health matters, teeth, ears, eyes. Family: Art out of work and having to sell house, Nan out of work, Suz in job bind, bookstore depressed, Clayton in marriage dilemma. Local: Judy in cash flow crunch with health problems, Amory's bicycle stolen, all stressed out, everybody working harder, earning less, traffic vicious and dangerous, opaque school boards, unbending clerics and parishioners. National: crime ubiquitous, violence everywhere, greed rampant, downsizing, joblessness, drugs, homelessness, partisan and me-first politicians, general indifference, shoddy standards and values, egos on power trips. Global: floods, hurricanes, ozone depletion, wars, fragmentation, intolerance, one set of rules for me another set for you. Indeed, All of creation seems to groan with suffering.

More specifically:

- Ronald Reagan's and Al Neuharth's America: the American Dream as the sacred right to get rich. This version of the American Dream is Socrates' royal lie. It violates that other America, the America of the Constitution and bill of rights.
- The randomizing of time: The dephasing and desynchronizing of clocks and calendars. Invoices and billing, days notice, charges and payments instead of occurring at fixed intervals are increasingly occurring at odd intervals.
- Rights without obligations, e.g. the media. The Media are a third power with the checks and balances largely underdefined. Who sets the agenda, the government or the media?
- Rights destroy obligations, guaranteeing the handicap certain rights should not relieve the rest of us from our obligations.

- There are increasing numbers being excluded from access to the market place. Two things must be remembered: 1) Those with no investment in or access to the existing order *may even welcome* do not fear its destruction. 2) "Those who oppose peaceful stepwise change make violent change inevitable"-- John F. Kennedy

- When it comes to productivity and jobs, productivity per technology prevails. The unquestioned premise in our culture is that, whatever the social consequences, technology must always march on.

- There exists ^{a curious} an economic engine driving car crimes. Cars are stolen and chopped, the parts resold at a greater price than the car would bring. This is a result of the costs of car repairs and the insurance structure. It is curious to have any whole valued at less than the sum of its parts. Here we have an economic anomaly generating the social anomaly of car crime. (cf the bounty on rats)

Gov
09-04-88 SECREPB.WS5
"BUY AMERICAN"

The contributions of America to Social Contracts

The earth is sacred. One cannot own the air, the sea or the land itself. We must return to it that which we take from it and be thankful. --The Iriquois Confederation: an American paradigm. (The Swiss Confederation evolved from a defense league of three cantons in 1291, to a formal confederation in 1648. The Iriquois and Swiss independently evolved the concept of confederation.) In the Iriquois Confederation, the men held office, but only the women could vote."

09-04-88 SECREPIN.WS5
THE SECOND REPUBLIC--INTRODUCTION

If I were to try to capture the quintessential element of America in one idea, I do not think I could do better than the editors of Mad Magazine did some years ago. On the cover of this particular issue was a photo of a Kruschew look-alike tearing up Mad Magazine and saying, "This we bury first". Nothing is more American than self-criticism and self-ridicule. No right is more precious to the future of America than the right to dissent, for dissent lies at the heart of pluralism, and pluralism lies at the heart of cultural, economic and political evolution."

09-04-88 SECREPM.WS5
THE SECOND REPUBLIC
META-PRINCIPLES

The question of the purpose of the state leads to fundamental philosophical questions regarding mankind, life, and the cosmos. Since these are open-ended questions for which we must never assume we have final answers, the state must never impede the pursuit of deeper understanding by adopting as dogma any particular world view. It must protect the right of its citizens to a free choice in their religions, their educations, their modes of healing, their associations and their life styles. The right of conscience in all matters must be respected."

09-04-88 SECREPP.WS5
THE SECOND REPUBLIC
PROPOSALS

We need a "House of Sages" to debate and propose policy. The sages would be elected from a qualification slate, a position which must be earned. Terms would be for 7 years. The Delphi method would be used. The present two houses of congress are too much alike.

09-09-88 CNSTITN1.WS4
META-CONSTITUTION

Many agree that the Constitution of the United States is a document of wisdom. That it has been widely studied and copied by peoples everywhere and used as a paradigm for other constitutions demonstrates the respect it commands as a contribution to the structure of viable human societies.

09-04-88 CNSTITN1.WS5
THE SECOND REPUBLIC

It is proposed that we look at our country from a five hundred year rather than a four year perspective. From the Iriquois Confederation to the Rainbow Coalition what themes of human community have been evolving in this hemisphere?~

09-04-88 CNSTITN2.WS4
CONSTITUTION AND EUROPE
05/15/87

Pfaff in the 5/15/87 LA Times writes about flaws in the American system. His point of departure is that Europeans cannot understand why events like Watergate and Contragate are such big flaps in Washington. Secrecy and even dirty tricks etc are legitimate instruments of government..~

09-04-88 SECREP1.WS5
SECOND REPUBLIC ONE

The congress has hit a snag on the ratification of the INF treaty. They wish a clause to be included which would disenable the executive from reinterpretations of the treaty. Objections are posed that this would be an unconstitutional restriction on the powers of the executive..~

09-04-88 SECREPA.WS5
APHORISMS

Whether it be a work of art or a significant scientific achievement, that which is great and noble comes from the solitary personality. The most important kind of tolerance, therefore, is tolerance of the individual by society and the state. The state is certainly necessary, in order to give the individual the security he needs for his development. But when the state becomes the main thing and the individual becomes its weak-willed tool, then all finer values are lost.
--ALBERT EINSTEIN~

GOVT

ON NON-CONFORMITY

THE NON-CONFORMIST MANIFESTO

Those Americans who made a sacrament of pursuing non-conformity were Marxists in the thirties but had become Buddhists by the eighties. The Life of non-conformity was to be lived like a flat spinning stone skimming over the surface of a pond, touching the world only long enough to be propelled upward again in the flight to freedom.

*Hippies
were strict
conformists*

But there is a question whether the non-conformist is pursuing freedom or liberty. Liberty is getting others off your back, while freedom is getting yourself off your back. Perhaps the pursuit is for both. There are those like Yevtushenko who were free even where there was no liberty, and there are millions of Americans who are not free in the land of liberty. De Toqueville noted this a century and half ago. (1831) Americans, he observed, would suffer no tyranny from government but readily succumbed to the self created tyranny of conformity. This is why here the distinction between liberty and freedom has long been obscured.

But conformity itself is currently being challenged from another source. The issue, usually phrased in terms of the rights of immigrants, is whether to continue to subscribe to the traditional dominant heritage or encourage a diversity built of minority heritages. If the pluralistic view prevails then the tyranny of conformity will come to an end, or at least we shall have the paradox of 'choices of which conformity'. All of which makes the task of the non-conformist more difficult, for eclecticism among conformities does not constitute non-conformity. In the future Marxism, Buddhism or any other non-domesticism will no longer be a refuge for the non-conformist. To non-conform in the twenty first century one must create original alternatives, blaze entirely new trails, ~~and~~ which will require high levels of both imagination and courage.

*a choice
among
conformities*

*It is becoming increasingly difficult
to be "way-out".*

GOVT

LIBFREE1.WP6

July 4, 1995

LIBERTY AND FREEDOM

Liberty is getting others off your back: the Feds, the IRS, your parents, mother-in-law, creditors, ...

Freedom is getting yourself off your back: your habits, desires, prejudices, aversions, blind spots, ...

Liberty is taking responsibility for the establishment and protection of the rights of others (all sentient beings);

Freedom is taking on personal responsibility as a citizen and a human being.

Liberty is to have a vision

Freedom is to have a conscience, a clear one.

Liberty is to have higher identifications.

Freedom is to serve the highest identification.

GOVT

power01.p51

April 23, 1993

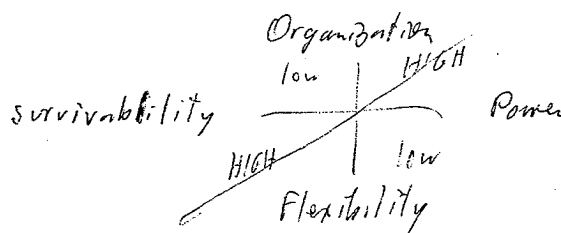
Power and its exercise is a function of level of organization. The degree of organization, even with other things not being equal, manifests itself as power in competitive situations.

Survivability, on the other hand, is a function of flexibility and adaptability. Total effectiveness therefore depends on a high level of organization, but which at the same time is "meta-organized" for change.

Granting the above, the question is how do we measure the level of organization? The physical world, the German Army, and the Mormon Church are examples of highly organized systems, all seem to have displayed effectiveness and so far survivability.

The constitution of the United States has certainly contributed to the effectiveness of this country, and its capability of being modified has allowed it to survive for over 200 years, somewhat of a political record for modern times. But American's strength has always lay in their ability to organize. Whereas the Germans are perhaps better, they handicap themselves by being frozen into a certain inflexibility.

The story is told of an international scientific meeting held some 25 years after World War II, in which at a lunch some American scientists and German scientists were sharing the same table. It developed that one of the Germans and one of the Americans had both been in intelligence in their respective armies. After talking it was learned that they had been opposite each other during an important engagement. They began to reminisce the details of the battle and what lead up to it. It turned out that both sides knew the exact battle plans of the other side. The American asked, "If you knew all of that about our plans, how is it that we won that battle, you had the superior forces. The German replied, "I know that, the difference was that we Germans always carry out our plans, but you Americans never do, you each seem to do what you damn please and our command couldn't cope with that."



THE POLITICAL PHILOSOPHY OF JOSEPH STALIN

*"Those who cast the votes decide nothing;
those who count the votes decide everything". –Stalin*

*"One death, two deaths, that is a tragedy.
One million deaths, two million deaths, that is a statistic". –Stalin*

*"Ideas are more powerful than guns.
We would not let our enemies have guns,
why should we let them have ideas?" –Stalin*

"History is what I write it to be". –Stalin¹

While Stalin must be given credit for many important contributions to the Standard Handbook for Dictators, his ability to articulate the essences of political control and his fearlessness in disclosing esoteric spin secrets makes him the 20th Century's outstanding Dictator. Why he should be willing to disclose his tools of spin might seem strange, except that Stalin knew the 'herd' would not believe in their existence nor understand them if they did.

However, Stalin did take several of his ideas from predecessors. For example, the idea of two governments, one visible and nominal, a front and facade for the other that was the real seat of power. For decades the Soviet government was a front for the governing center, the Communist Party. Stalin was the Party's Secretary General, a behind the scenes puppeteer for Kalinin, the Soviet President, and other members of the visible government. But this concept goes back to Ivan the Terrible. Ivan set up a secret parallel government, the Oprichnina, that spied on the open government. But both the government and the Oprichnina reported to Ivan. Stalin updated the idea, making the Communist party the 20th Century version of the Oprichnina.

On closer inspection, even in western democracies, a political party is a parallel government. The essential difference between the Soviet system and the west is that in the west there must be no party monopoly, there must be competitive parties. However, in spite of Constitutions and the "rule of law", a major portion of political power resides in the winning party. But even with competing parties, if both report to Ivan, democracy becomes but a facade and front to deceive the people. The political evolution of democracies, including that of the United States, shows that the ideas of Jefferson and Madison over time are invisibly replaced with those of Ivan and Stalin. Specifically, most of the major corporations in the US contribute to both major parties, and to candidates in both parties, thus assuring whichever side wins an election will be beholden to those who financed their election. A subset of corporate America has become the United States' Ivan, to whom the government reports..

Perhaps, after all, Krushchev was right: Ivan has buried us.

¹Stalin must have been part of the inspiration for Orwell's 1984, wherein it says, 'Who controls the past, controls the future. Who controls the present, controls the past.'

PROPOSITIONS AND THESES

There is a need for a “*responsibility* task force” or “*responsibility* swat team” to restore balance and equilibrium to the world, cleaning up after all those who irresponsibly exercise their *rights*.

In view of the issues created by technological advances there is need for a “meta-morality”, a set of criteria by which a morality that fits the current status of human capabilities can be determined. Past moral teachings, such as “Be fruitful and multiply”, “Subdue the earth”, have become antithetical to what is appropriate today and can no longer be considered moral. With issues such as sources of stem cells, cloning, and other new capabilities created by technology creating contradictions with traditional moral principles, a new morality is urgent. But how is a morality consistent with current capabilities to be decided? The changing context of human life has shown that morals can no longer be considered as absolutes. However, there may be a meta-morality that is independent of technological and other contexts that could be considered absolute. Can such a meta-morality be abstracted from human experience? Whence its source?

Technological changes have created contradictions on the legal level as well as the moral level. The advent of broadcast public media, –radio, TV, internet–, has effected dysfunctional consequences in the exercise of constitutional rights. For example, freedom of speech should take into account the time, place, and audience, corresponding to what the courts have maintained in the case of the free exercise of religion; which has been decreed must take into account time, place, and audience. A meta-constitution as well as a meta-morality is needed.

There are some who challenge the freedom of technological advance. Is technology the ultimate sacred cow to which all else –law, morality, and social order– must pay obeisance? Ozbekian’s Law, which holds that if humans can do something they will do it, seems to be valid. The freedom of technology should depend on our ability to transcend Ozbekian’s Law. Can we acquire power without the compulsion to exercise it? Can we gain knowledge and not misuse it? If not, and technology is our basic change agent, then we need to change the change agent.

Forgive or forget, both or neither? Some say that in order to become free from the past we must forget slavery, holocausts, and other parts of human history. Others have said to not know or to forget the past dooms us to repeat it. Still others feel that to forgive, but not to forget, is how to escape the past. The law of Karma says you may forgive or forget or both, but you will not escape the past. Perhaps in this dilemma we see the reason for mortality. Old wrongs die only when their perpetrators and victims die. However, some still seek immortality for our crimes. When there are so many answers, perhaps there are several unformulated questions to be asked.

LIBERTY VERSUS FREEDOM

Men are qualified for civil liberty in exact proportion to their disposition to put moral chains upon their own appetites. Society cannot exist unless a controlling power upon willfulness and appetite be placed somewhere, and the less of it there is within, the more there must be without. It is ordained in the eternal constitution of things that men of intemperate minds cannot be free. Their passions forge their fetters.

—Edmund Burke

Liberty has to do with the restraints of the collective. Freedom has to do with the restraints within the individual. However there is this Paradox:

Liberty ↑, the collective constraints ↓
Freedom ↑, the individual constraint ↑

That is, the less collective constraint, the more liberty;
but the more individual constraint, the more freedom.

- | | |
|----------|---|
| CASE I | Democracy: The collective constraints decrease to come into balance with individual constraint. Free individuals earn liberty.
- Collective constraint ↓
Individual constraint ↑ |
| CASE II | Totalitarianism: The collective constraints increase to where the level of individual constrain is of no consequence. When liberty is entirely gone freedom becomes meaningless. Col ↑, Ind ↔ |
| CASE III | Revolution: Instability sets in with unbearable collective constraint and reduced individual constraint. Col ↑↑, Ind ↓ |
| CASE IV | Anarchy: Instability sets in with no collective constraints and no individual constraints. Col ↓, Ind ↓ |
| CASE V | Ant hill: Stability in which there are both intense collective and individual constraints. Col ↑, Ind ↑ |
| CASE VI | Organism: Stability in which collective and individual constraints merge and coordinate. Col ↑↑, Ind ↑↑ |
| CASE VII | Platonic Society: Individuals with total freedom, have total liberty.
Col ↓↓, Ind ↑↑ |

LIBERTY AND FREEDOM

"Only those who have found freedom have earned liberty"

There is an important distinction to be made, one which is generally lost in English usage: the difference between liberty and freedom. Liberty is getting the King George, the bureaucrats, the busy bodies, off your back. Freedom is getting your fears, your *ignorance*, resentments, your desires off your back. In short liberty is getting oppressive institutions and persons off your back, while freedom is getting your ego and *hormones* off your back.

Americans are well aware of the threats to their liberty and have guarded it for over two centuries. Perhaps it would be better put to say that Americans are alert to external threats to their liberty, but have been mollified into ignoring the internal threats. This not only the threat to liberty from continuing intrusions of government, but equally important the threat to liberty from the pervasive pressures of conformity and uniformity. Early in the life of the nation, de Tocqueville noted that Americans had replaced the tyranny of a royal sovereign with the tyranny of a home grown conformity. Evidently liberty was recognized as being too dangerous for those who have not acquired freedom. That is why there are jails.

We view freedom as doing what we want when we want, going where we want when we want, and saying what we want when and where we want (so long as it isn't yelling "fire" in a crowded theater), but this is confusing freedom with liberty. The first amendment has to do with liberty of speech, not freedom of speech. It refers to the constitutional provision that the government is not to proscribe what we say. But recently Larry Flynt sought in the courts to extend this sector of liberty, to include not only government off your back, but Jerry Falwell off your back, that is, public opinion in general off your back. In this he sought to break the home grown tyranny of conformity, but only succeeded in confusing the issue further. Did he break the back of the conformity heritage, thereby extending liberty, or was the result an unwarranted extension of the Constitution to take away the right of the people to censure in order to stabilize society, thereby reducing liberty? Remember, the Constitution refers only to the government.--"all other rights are reserved to the states and the people". But all of this has to do with liberty, getting other parties, the government, the public, and those advocating such restraints as ethics, morality, etiquette, good taste, etc. off your back. It reveals that in America while we are consumed with liberty we still have little understanding of freedom.

What then is freedom? A story told by Robert McNeil illustrates the existence of freedom in a place where there has been no liberty. At the time of the beginnings of Glasnost in the former Soviet Union, McNeil interviewed the poet Yevtushenko. He asked, "Now that free speech is coming to the Soviet Union, what do you think?" Yevtushenko, was thoughtful, then replied, "When free speech comes, I only hope that I shall have something worthy to say."

Those who understand freedom have said:

- ▶ Who overcomes himself, his freedom finds.
Goethe, Die Geheimnisse
- ▶ Only without desire or aversion are we free.
For whatever we have either desire or aversion
has power over us.
The Buddha
- ▶ Serving one's own passions is the greatest slavery.
Thomas Fuller, 1654-1734
- ▶ O God, who art the author of peace and lover of concord, in knowledge of whom
standeth our eternal life, **whose service is perfect freedom**: Defend us, thy humble
servants. . .
Book of Common Prayer

Because of the trade-off between external restraint and liberty, we presume there is also a trade-off between internal restraint and freedom. Not so. Paradoxically, our freedom increases with the restraints that allow us to escape the dominance of our ego. When we "do what we want to do", we are deceived. We are doing what that petty master, the ego, wants. In a kindergarten the children were given paints and allowed to do what they wanted, the result was paint everywhere, including the ceiling. One of those same children entering into a disciplined study of color, form, perspective,.. later in life acquired freedom, creating an inspiring mural in a capitol building. This was the freedom to express his inner truth, his fullest being.

That which is a matter of law, what is legal or illegal, is clearly a matter of liberty. But the Larry Flynt question remains: Is what is moral, what is ethical, what is good manners, etc., a matter of liberty or of freedom? Flynt was in part right. Morality, ethics, etc even when not imposed by law, are societal impositions restricting our liberty. However, if the source of morality and ethical behavior is not social pressure but is an inner choice, then morality is freedom.

COPIED
FROM 1998

44
See 1997 #1
1995 #47

LIBFRE2.WPD

October 24, 1998

LIBERTY VS. FREEDOM

In confusing liberty with freedom great mischief is done. While the component of rights is preserved, the component of responsibilities is lost. As Edmund Burke said:

Men are qualified for civil liberty in exact proportion to their disposition to put moral chains upon their own appetites. Society cannot exist unless a controlling power upon willfulness and appetite be placed somewhere, and the less of it there is within, the more there must be without. It is ordained in the eternal constitution of things that men of intemperate minds cannot be free. Their passions forge their fetters.

It must be understood that liberty has to do with the external restraints and freedom with the internal restraints. Burke speaks of a trade-off between the restraints of liberty and those of freedom, but paradoxically inner restraints enhance rather than inhibit freedom. This is a paradox that is almost universally misunderstood. But the allowing of liberty through the self imposition of inner restraints is quite secondary to the winning of freedom from the tyrannies of desire and aversion, ^{and for one angle} that emerges from the adoption of those same inner restraints. The mastery of self is thus a win-win proposition. It wins liberty for the social order, freedom for the individual. When humans can achieve perfect freedom, then and only then can there be true liberty. Only those who are perfectly free have the right to seek anarchy as the ideal form of government. Those who are slaves to greed and avarice have no right to seek deregulation of those public restraints that reduce everyone's liberty. ^{then} ~~they~~ claim deregulation will lead to freedom. Wrong! It is freedom that will lead to deregulation. **Deregulation can be had only when there is complete freedom.** It is seen that the paradoxical nature of this slogan arises out of our illicit equating of freedom with liberty.

A drug addict when released from prison will gain liberty. The real question is, will he gain freedom?

THE LEVELS OF FREEDOM

- ① Liberty Removal of the restraints imposed by kings, customs, and tradition.
- ② Freedom of the spirit Release of the imagination
- ③ Freedom from the ego from desire and aversion
- ④ Freedom from the rational from conditioned ways of thinking, from ignorance
- ⑤ Freedom from the archetypes, from the natural order, from Brahman

Per intellect ^{only} know God apophatically
Per Imagination we can know what GOD IS

trans-rational
for Foucault's
"madness"

July 4, 1995

1995 47
see also
1998 #44
1997 #1

LIBERTY AND FREEDOM

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Freedom is to have a conscience, a clear one.

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POLITOFF.WPD

August 20, 1998, September 30, 1998

ON POLITICAL OFFICE

THOSE WHO WISH TO HOLD POLITICAL OFFICE SHOULD AUTOMATICALLY BE
DISQUALIFIED. --- CONFUCIUS

Confucius is noting that those whose ambition for power and renown through the acquisition and possession of political office are most likely to lack the wisdom required to make socially constructive decisions. Further, those with the means or skill for acquiring power usually lack the skills required for administering power. Either way, only rarely in history has a wise leader emerged. Humanity, in its social organizations, seems to have selected tests for qualifying one to be a decision maker that have little to do with decision making capabilities.

The test for acquiring a position of power, which usually is synonymous with the position of decision maker, has run the gamut of brute physical strength, skill with some weapon, military skills, skill with words (oratory, rhetoric ranging from demagoguery to inspiration), skill with manipulating persons, skill with receiving and carrying projections, skill with manipulating information, skill with getting votes, skill with interpreting polls, skill with acquiring money, or finally being the heir of one with such skills or just being in close proximity to one of the above.

Sometimes having outstanding appearance, intellect or character has led to the position of decision maker, but more often such become authorities or celebrities rather than rulers. While those with such outstanding attributes may possess considerable influence, they rarely acquire direct decision making power.

At the outset it should be recognized that there are two distinct classes of decisions: Decisions regarding conflicts of interest, and decisions regarding allotment of resources. The first of these is based primarily on judgement, the second primarily on perception. Decisions of judgement are based on precedent and are past oriented; perceptual decisions on the other hand are based on anticipated situations and are future oriented.

The first category, that dealing with conflict of interest, has long been recognized as a function of political authority. Indeed most political entities have set up procedures, courts and laws to handle this type of decision making. Further, most cultures have a professional class specially trained in this type of decision making. The second category, dealing with the optimum allocation of resources for anticipated needs, has usually been delegated to parliamentary bodies whose members lack training in this type of decision making. In fact professionals skilled in the first type of decisions constitute the majority of those making decisions of the second type, there being no professional class trained in future oriented decision making. In both cases

the skills required for power administration have very little to do with the skills of power acquisition.

What then, if not the skills of power acquisition, are the skills required for successful decision making?

First, what qualities and criteria are involved in making good judgements?

- An understanding of values, especially a feel for justice.
- A grasp of the context in which the judgement takes place.
- An ability to identify the side effects that the judgement will have.
- A knowledge of history and precedents for the judgement.
- An understanding of all the parameters involved in the judgement.
- Flexibility and adaptability of the general to the specific.

Second, What is involved in clear perception and needed for decisions concerning the future?

- An understanding of values, especially a feel for the whole.
- A grasp of the context and prognosis of its probable paths of change and evolution.
- An ability to identify side effects of the decision.
- A knowledge of history and the nature of change.
- An understanding of all the parameters involved and the spectrum of choice.
- An understanding of the nature of risk.

While there is considerable overlap in the required background for the two types of decisions, there are some important differences. Foremost is identifying with the present and future well being of the whole (type 2), as against seeking balance [or special privilege] within the whole (type 1). Second is thinking in terms of probabilities (type 2) instead of in terms of black and white, guilty or not guilty, (type 1). Third is thinking in terms of both preferences and possibilities (type 2) instead of in terms of fixed rules and inherited traditions (type 1). Finally, replacement of the adversarial world view (type 1) with an open ended holistic world view (type 2)

CONSTITUTIONAL CONFLICTS

There are times when we are led to ask did the framers of the constitution intend to establish a democracy or to place limits on a democracy. There are repeated instances in which the constitution, at least the way the courts interpret it, appears to stand as a wall against the will of the people. For example, the decisions of the Supreme Court in the Bush vs. Gore case regarding recounts of ballots in Florida. However, most Americans choose to believe, along with Lincoln, in a government of the people, by the people, and for the people. Nonetheless, in a nation that claims to be ruled by law, we often find we are ruled by men who interpret the law to their own ends.

Since ancient times, in every state, there has been the equivalent of deification of some symbol of the state. In ancient Egypt, the Pharaoh was a god, or became a god upon his death. In Rome, the emperor was divine, and compulsorily worshiped. For centuries, the king, if not an actual deity, at least ruled by divine right. We might conclude that in order for there to be such a thing as a state, there must be some sanction of divinity upon it. In this sense, "Church" and State can never really be separated. In America "deification" has been bestowed upon the constitution. While there are those who would deify the flag and make it a matter of lese majesty to defile it, and there are some who in their need to worship would deify the President, the closest thing in America to a deity is the constitution itself. Like the ancient Hebrews whose deity was the law given by Moses, the Torah; our deity is the law given by the founding fathers, the Constitution. And as throughout history, power does not reside in the deity itself, but in the priests who represent that deity before the people. In America, this power resides not in the law itself but in the courts where the law is interpreted for the people.

Let us examine a few instances, where interpretations appear not to serve the intent of the law. The first amendment to the constitution explicitly says: "Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof; ..." While congress has not passed any laws that would be forbidden by this article, the article has been so interpreted by the courts that it is forbidden for people to have prayer in schools, or at certain public gatherings and to place religious symbols in public places or in public buildings. In short forbidden the free exercise of their religion.¹ Perhaps the constitution should also have included: "Nor shall the courts interpret this law in such a way as to violate its intent." But at the time of drafting of the constitution it was not foreseen that the courts would seize powers not allotted them. It was in 1803, *x vs y*, that the supreme court without authority declared itself to be the sole and final interpreter of the constitution. It is not what the law says that counts, it is how it is interpreted, and the courts preempted the power of interpretation which had not been assigned by the framers of the constitution.

Paraphrase Stalin

¹ The courts did not wish to favor one religion over another, but were confused in their logic, taking a single element from the class of religions, namely no belief, ^{or secularism} and placing it in juxtaposition with the class of all religions. Thus ruling in favor of a particular element of the class, namely, atheism.

secularism [or atheism]

CURRENT ISSUES

- 1) GOD AND THE CONSTITUTION
Intent vs Interpretation vs Changing Desiderata
- 2) EVOLUTION AND INTELLIGENT DESIGN
Levels of randomness
Constructing an elephant
- 3) MAJORITIES AND MINORITIES
Melting Pots
Parts and wholes, module size
- 4) FREEDOM AND REGULATION
Rights and responsibilities
Source of regulation
- 5) INTERNET ISSUES
Profit, privacy, political control
- 6) CLONING ISSUES
Theological, medical, Ozbekian
- 7) EDUCATIONAL ISSUES
Alternatives, tax support, control

also 2001#27, 1995#75

RE THE PLEDGE OF ALLEGIANCE

The current dispute about the appearance of "under God" in the pledge of allegiance is misdirected. The problem is not with the noun, God, but with the preposition, under. Americans are all for pluralism so there is a simple solution. Have a different pledge for each view. For atheists and members of the Judicial Branch, their pledge will be, "One Nation without God". For religious fundamentalists and members of the Legislative Branch, their pledge would say "One Nation with God". Corporate CEO's and members of the Executive Branch can continue to pledge "One Nation above God". And just plain citizens who recognize that America is a part of larger contexts, geographical, human, ecological and other, may be permitted to say, "One Nation under God".

The above view of the Pledge is a *structuralist* view. It claims that the links (symbolized by prepositions in the present case) are more basic than the entities that are linked (opinion holder and God in the pledge case). The traditional view of focusing only on the entities usually devolves into a binary formulation of problems, such as here on the existence or non existence of an entity. Whereas the structuralist view, in looking into the *variety* of linkages that exist, makes manifest the web of both links and entities whose parts are permitted to possess various levels or types of existence. (For example, the relationship of love exists, but does not have the same type of existence as two beings who may be linked by love).

Returning to the pledge. The result of the interpretation that the courts have given to separation of church and state is not separation of church and state but *replacement* of church with state. [Note that this is also exactly what happened in the late Third Reich and late Soviet Union. The flag (or the swastika or red star) is brought out as the symbol for what is to be "worshipped".] But even *separation of church and state* is itself a particular interpretation of the First Amendment., which explicitly states, **"Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof; or abridging the freedom of speech, or of the press, or of the right of the people peaceably to assemble, and to petition the government for a redress of grievances."** This explicitly prohibits the government from interfering in matters of people's beliefs, but does not and cannot preclude people's beliefs playing a role in the matters of government. For this reason church and state cannot be separated, and the courts have moved off on a particular un-constitutional interpretation that has inverted the meaning implied in the First Amendment. [Perhaps the First Amendment should have been worded, **"Congress and the Courts shall make no law"**]¹

But much more on this subject remains to be said. Especially concerning the illogic in the courts interchanging sub-sets with sets, and using the "protection of minorities" to quash the wishes and values of majorities.

¹This addition to the amendment was unforeseen, because the Constitution did not give the power of interpretation to the courts. The Supreme Court seized this power, declaring itself to be the ultimate interpreter of the Constitution, in 1803 in the case of Madison vs Marbury.

BUSH

OUR LEADERS IN GOVERNMENT, SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY

The Bush Administration is making very clear to many what a handful have perceived for centuries: Rulers, kings, emperors, dictators, presidents, groups at the top, historically have been the primary cause and reason for war. This is because their will to power, their egos, become insatiable. Having arrived at the position of head of state where does ambition lead next? Beyond the borders. The ego cannot stop. It has acquired momentum and must continue on. And where does it go? For the immortality of a name inscribed in history, that is, to conquest and war.

Bush's demand for a regime change, ridding Iraq of Saddam, the source of evil, is telling it like it is. However, pointing out that another ruler is a dangerous egoist is an unusual bit of honesty on the part of a head of state (perhaps just a verbalized projection). But it is not only about Saddam, but potentially about any head of state, any who become obsessed with power. The founding fathers, those who wrote our constitution, were aware of this mental disease that frequently afflicts those who rise to positions of power. They sought to mitigate it by requiring that the decision to go to war be not entrusted to the one, the president, or to the few, the cabinet, but to the most numerous group that participates in heading the government, the congress. [One wonders if even larger groups should have the responsibility for deciding to go to war.]

But why do people, the ones who always bear the suffering and losses, go along with those who call for war? The ambition vectors of a population at large are pointed in far too many diverse directions for the people to organize for war on their own. Only a small group with similar ambition vectors can effect an **oriented vector force**. And if this group is in charge of a government they can readily publicize their vector force. Hence, the answer may be that a vector force attracts other vectors, adding to its own strength. So it is only necessary to create a vector force of a certain critical mass in order to launch a self-organizing momentum to war.

In addition to those with political power, there is another group who seek power and frequently go mad with power. This group consists of those scientists and engineers whose god is technology. They create new technologies with neither consciousness nor conscience as to whether their creations enhance or jeopardize human well being and survival. Their ego trip may be based in Ozbekian's Law, "To see if we can do it". But in effect what they do is to release from the bottle technological genii that have wills and lives of their own, creations that overrule their creators and operate ^{why} completely independent of human values and considerations. It is very difficult to understand ~~how~~ well educated and brilliant persons can design chemical, biological, and radiation devices for the sole purpose of killing other humans. And it is only well educated and brilliant persons who can do this.

When Winston Churchill heard of the success of the first atomic explosion near Alamogordo, New Mexico in 1945, he said "They have given a box of matches to small children." The science-political team, together with the gods they worship, is humanity's real enemy.

There should be two species of courts.
Courts of Law, past oriented and experience based.
Courts of Impact, assessments of where decisions
will lead, side effects, and impact analyses.
Jointly, the task is to provide stability and allow change."

05/27/88 SECREP1.WS5
THE SECOND REPUBLIC
ISSUES AND QUESTIONS

The question of right to make policy:

The congress has hit a snag on the ratification of the INF treaty. They wish a clause to be included which would disenable the executive from reinterpretations of the treaty. Objections are posed that this would be an unconstitutional restriction on the powers of the executive.

What is at issue here is that in normal legislation whenever a matter of dispute arises between the law and some party, such as a private citizen or corporation, the matter is settled by some authorized legal body such as a court. In the case of the ABM treaty, the legal body was some lawyer-

THOUGHTS ON OCTOBER 8, 2001

As many have said, the world changed on 9/11. And I find that my thoughts have been wondering in strange and unfamiliar places ever since. One change that 9/11 effected was to open us up to alternatives that were invisible on 9/10. This I would say is good, but only if we are prepared to risk the alternatives. However, what has happened in the intervening three weeks is that we have chosen to travel once more the road that for centuries has returned us to the same pit from which we started. We either lack the courage or imagination to risk an alternative. Or perhaps it would be more accurate to say that leadership, those who make the decisions for us, lack the courage and imagination to do something untried. For there seem to be thousands of plain citizens who have articulated realistic alternatives that would allow us to escape the loop of revenge and counter revenge. We are again faced with the ancient Confucian paradox that those who want and seek power are the least qualified to exercise it.

The "first war of the 21st century" is a "framing war". A fight over who will define the issue for the public's frame of mind, and thus permit other pertinent issues to be downplayed or ignored. In other words, how to simplify a complex tangle of conflicting historic trends, interests and motives in order to seize the moral high ground for a particular agenda and thus compel God to choose sides. Or in cowboy terms, how to create a frame that makes us the good guys and them the bad guys. The Bush Administration is drafting the frame: Freedom and Peace against Terrorism. Osama bin Laden is seeking the frame: Islam and Justice against American Imperialism. A neutral, but moral, alien from Venus or Mars would agree and disagree with both frames and wonder why the avoidance of the real issues. The same aliens know that all frames are not only wrong, but obstruct and preclude understanding.

Two days after the 9/11 assault on the American homeland, President Bush established a cabinet level department of Homeland Defense. Most of us thought we already had a department of defense. But we have learned that this so called Department of Defense can do little to protect the lives of Americans either at home or abroad. The real department of defense turned out to be the fire and police departments of various communities. In these departments were the heroes who gave their lives defending America. But what is this multi-trillion dollar Department of Defense that we have been supporting for decades under the illusion it could defend us? If we look at some of the weapons it has bought to defend us we find: B-52H Stratofortresses, range 8,800 nautical miles carrying cruise missiles; B-1B Lancers, range 5,600 nm with bombs, cruise missiles and cluster bomblets; B-2 Spirit stealth bombers, range 6,300 nm with cruise missiles and guided bombs. And C-17 Globemaster cargo planes, range 3,225 miles, which can carry three Apache helicopter gunships, 100 paratroopers, or a mobile 155mm howitzer. Do these ranges sound like these weapons were designed to defend the home land? Rather it appears, the bombers and globemasters were designed to command distant parts of the globe. We have been deceived. We do not have a Department of Defense. We have a Department of Colonialism.

Imperialism

There seem to be some things that Osama bin Laden knows that American leadership has either forgotten or not grasped.:

First, Colonialism.

History has shown that the peoples of the colonized parts of the world have overwhelmingly rejected colonialism, from the Minute Men of 1776 to the Viet Cong of 1976. The take over of foreign lands and peoples by Western powers which began with Portuguese explorers in the 15th century, reached its peak in the 19th century, but was then eroded by two great wars fought between colonial powers in the first decades of the 20th century. Following World War II global unrest and uprisings forced the colonial powers except for the Soviet Union and the United States to abandon colonialism. The United States sought indirectly to replace the French in Viet Nam and the Soviets sought to sovietize Afghanistan. Both actions were part of a struggle for global dominance, (colonialism, that is) labeled "The Cold War".¹ Both colonial wannabees were defeated, not by each other, but by indigenous peoples. Finally, in 1991 the peoples in the Soviet Empire from the Baltic to Central Asia threw off Soviet colonialism leaving only the United States to continue to play the colonial power game, specifically with the Gulf War and numerous "incidents" in such places as Granada, Panama, and Somalia. While American neo-colonialism is more economic than political, like the old colonialism, it requires military presence in far parts of the globe. But indigenous peoples resented a return to colonialism in any form and it did not require an Osama bin Laden to create the awareness that there was a new generation of exploitation at hand. The United States formed a tentative and fragile alliance with local rulers, but the peoples of the region stand ready to oppose all who represent foreign dominance and exploitation. It is this wide spread resentment that bin Laden hopes to mobilize to his own purposes by morphing it into a jihad.

Kipling's
"Great Bom"

Second, Random Warfare

The first war of the 21st century is not a war. Sun Tzu and Clausewitz would not recognize it. From the days of Alexander's phalanxes to America's nuclear aircraft carriers military might has resided in the concentration of force. The rules of war were for force to meet force head on to decide outcomes. But over the years there were annoying exceptions to the rules. Such as, General Braddock upset by "cowardly" Indians shooting from behind trees instead of facing off man to man. Or, German outrage in three wars at the cowardly franc-tireur, civilian snipers shooting at troops from windows and roof tops. Although guerilla groups have plagued legitimate warriors for centuries, they never were sufficiently effective as to force a change in the rules of war—UNTIL NOW. And what has happened to render the guerillas sufficiently effective? Technology! With modern technologies the few can now overcome the many. A "cowardly" handful with modern weapons, nuclear, chemical, biological, can destroy the multitude. And as was demonstrated on 9/11, the handful did not need to make or own the weapons, they could convert the technology of their enemies into weaponry. Box cutters converting commercial aircraft into guided missiles. But the technological dimension is not the only dimension that has scrapped the traditional rules of warfare. The chess board of traditional war has been replaced by the spin of the roulette wheel and the random toss of dice.

¹ Soviet colonialism flew the banner of world communist revolution. American colonialism flew the banner of free markets and anti-communism.

What today we are calling cowardly is not hiding behind trees or shooting from windows but skill in exploiting the properties of randomness: Attacks at random times in random places with random weapons against random targets. The result –random and paralyzing fear, with the overriding question, ‘What must we change in order to fight a random war?’ To fight such a war, we have to ask: Who is the enemy? Where is the enemy? What is he up to? Who is helping him? The answers are again random. He could be anybody, He could be on the plane, in the ballpark, in the supermarket. He could be part of a terrorist network based in Afghanistan, agent of a drug cartel in Columbia, member of an disaffected local minority, or just plain wacko. He could be laying land mines in golf courses, launching computer viruses, spraying anthrax, fitting out a truck bomb, putting together a nuclear weapon. And who is helping him? A network of laundered transfers from difficult to trace anonymous accounts. Or he might just be acting alone on his own funds. How do we protect against the randomness of all of these possibilities? We try to create targets by saying if the enemy resides in your country then you become the enemy. This might allow us the satisfaction of employing our traditional weapons in the traditional way, but does very little in the war against randomness, except possibly to create more enemies. Military leadership is beginning to glimpse the nature of random war. The Secretary of Defense, Donald Rumsfeld, now says that neither the air war nor a ground war will put a quick end to terrorism. “This war may take a long time.”² So it may turn out that the solution to terrorism is not war.

stealing a
pipeline

It may be that the first war of the 21st century will not be a religious war as bin Laden hopes, but will be the war that finally puts an end to colonialism. A war demonstrating that history cannot be defied and that is not in the interest of any nation, even a “super-power”, to dictate unilaterally to the world. I do not wish to conclude that Osama bin Laden will have two powerful allies on his side—the power of randomness and history itself. But if we do not understand these factors he might coopt them to his advantage. We should remember,

“Whom the gods would destroy, they first make mad with power.”

² If it turns into a religious war, a jihad, as bin Laden wishes, it could take a very long time. We should recall that the last religious war lasted 30 years [1618-1648] and some of those before that [e.g. the Crusades] lasted for centuries.

SOME DECEMBER THOUGHTS

Today we are celebrating the attack on Pearl Harbor which occurred 60 years ago this date. I wonder why we celebrate the beginning of a war instead of its ending. Everyone knows December 7, few know the date the war ended. Once there was a brief exception, We celebrated Armistice Day, November 11, 1918, the end of World War I. But that did not last long. We changed the celebration of that date from the ending of a war to the honoring of veterans. It is fitting we honor those who make sacrifices, but I find it a paradox for a nation that proclaims to hate war to celebrate the start of wars instead of their termination.

I also find it paradoxical, when we are repeatedly told that everything changed on 9/11, that it has become politically incorrect to question why politicians and the military are doing everything the same old way. Why hasn't their thinking changed? They are trying to force unprecedented situations into obsolete molds.. The random nature of terrorism cannot be forced into opposing lines of trenches or besieged cities just so the traditional practice of warfare can be employed. Instead of facing up to the new nature of the challenge and designing a way to oppose it, current leadership has put its energies into an attempt to bend the new challenge to fit old solutions. And it is not working. Furthermore, removal of Osama bin Laden, Saddam Hussein, Arafat, and their successors will not put an end to terrorism. The genie is out of the bottle and CVN's, F16's, gun ships, tanks, or troops cannot put him back in. The department of defense is not constituted to protect America against this kind of threat. Yes, many things have changed since 9/11, but not our way of thinking.

While reviewing the happenings of the past few weeks, four points about the nature of terrorism should be made:

- 1) Technology has disrupted traditional power balance. Now a handful can successfully take on an entire nation.
- 2) The random nature of terrorism has rendered the traditional force-against-force type of warfare ineffective in opposing it.
- 3) Terrorists are not motivated by greed, aspiration to power, or "winning". They are motivated by hatred. This leads to irrational and unconventional attacks.
- 4) Since terrorists are suicidal, they have little to lose physically against what they can destroy physically. And they have little to lose morally against what those who combat them can lose.

The imbalances noted in points 1) and 4) have made traditional security and stability procedures obsolete. Pretending we are in a conventional war, rather than confronting this new and different species of threat with the innovative thinking and action it requires, is inviting disaster. Those leaders and institutions that were made obsolete on 2001-9-11 are the ones who are in a war. They are waging a war against having to change, a war to preserve obsolete thinking and business as usual. But the price for the survival of ^{their} inflexibility is not one humanity can be expected to pay.

THROUGH THE LOOKING GLASS

Sometime about the beginning of the new millennium this country decided to follow Alice's adventures and pass through a looking glass into a different world. We find in this looking glass world much that is familiar, but we also find that some of the basic principles by which we have traditionally oriented ourselves have become reversed. While the earth's magnetic field has remained the same, the earth's political field has somehow reversed poles. What used to be considered absurd we are now told makes good sense, and what used to make good sense is now proclaimed absurd.

A partial list:

Cutting taxes to remove a deficit
Cutting taxes while planning for war
Making policies that don't work permanent

Downsizing, creating unemployment to boost consumerism
Political favors to reward those who destroy pensions and jobs
Corporations going bankrupt while their CEO's walk away with millions.

Broadcasting fear to create confidence.
Adopting totalitarian proscriptions to preserve freedom.
Proclaiming a doctrine of Preemptive Unilateral strikes as the basis for world peace

The heads of state in some countries resemble, ^{the} "Off with their heads" Queen of Hearts.
The heads of state in other countries talk with Humpty Dumpty's "Words mean just what I choose them to mean, nothing more, nothing less"
The heads of state in other countries are competing with history to see if they can set a new Guinness record for being above the law and for arrogance.
The heads of state in still other countries are competing with history to see if they can set a new Guinness record for monuments to themselves. [e.g. Mother of All Battles Mosque in Baghdad]

But we cannot say it is just heads of state. We glibly follow them.

We are left with some basic questions:

In going through the looking glass, have we blundered into Alice's world of absurdity or into Orwell's world of doublethink? Or did we blunder into some combination of the two?
And, how long do we have to stay here?
Can we find a way out?
And maybe it would be useful to ask: How did it happen that we went here?

AMERICA'S GANG OF FOUR

This age will be known as the age of investigations. Congressional investigations, Department of Justice investigations, Independent investigations, on and on. Of course some of these investigations are purely for PR, there being no intention of getting at the facts, or at least no intention of revealing any facts. But the genie is out of the bottle and many incriminating facts have already been leaked.

The corporate pattern that is emerging is that CEOs and CFO's having outwitted or intimidated their boards of directors have made hundreds of millions from inside information and manipulation. In the resulting bankruptcies, the stock holders have lost billions, and the employees have lost their pensions and their jobs. The interests of the corporation, its employees and stock holders are no longer the interests of the top officials who see the corporation only as an instrument for lining their own pockets.

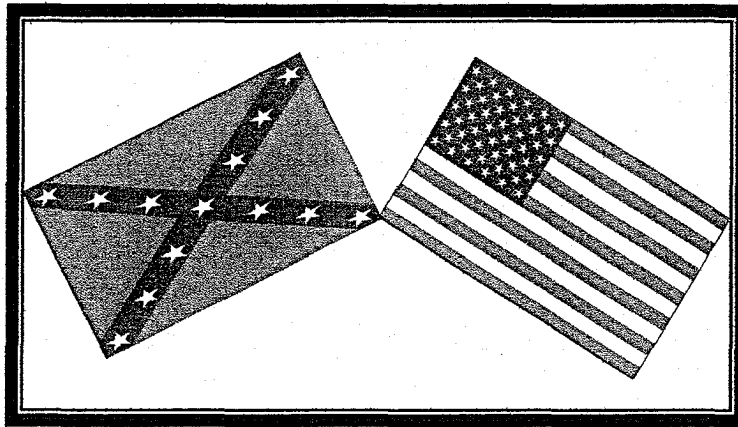
That is the corporate scene. The government scene is quite similar but with the difference that the corporate CEOs go for the money, while government CEOs go for the power. The same patterns of secrecy, cover ups, and intimidation used on the corporate scene are also being used by the government CEOs. Like the intimidations of the boards of corporations, the Congress has been intimidated by patriotic spin into supporting the White House's personal agendas. It may not be fair to accuse the top people in government –**Bush, Cheney, Rumsfeld, and Ashcroft**– of having advance information regarding 9/11, but it is clear they are using the attack so much to their political advantage that they could well have planned it. It was made to their order, while maybe not in on the planning, they were quick to seize it and divert it for their power agendas.

Corporate bankruptcies and corruption and the government's failures and cover ups have all contributed to a broad climate of distrust and lack of confidence. Economic recovery has been obstructed by weekly announcements of imminent terrorist attacks, and that the present "war" will last for decades. All of this is more destructive of America than what the terrorists have done. Since the "elected" leaders are more given to preserving their political power than to finding genuine solutions to the terrorist and terrorism problems, we suspect that America now has its own "gang of four" –**Bush, Cheney, Rumsfeld, Ashcroft**– that are setting us back as did the original gang of four who wreaked havoc in China with their cultural revolution.

We have viewed the corporate scene and the government scene as having similarities and parallels. But in reality it is one and the same scene. More than that, the corporate CEOs and the government top officials are even the same people, just wearing different hats. In their corporate role these people put their greed for money above the livelihoods of their employees, and in their government role they put their greed for power above the lives of the citizenry.

E PLURIBUS UNUM

THE FLAG OF UNION AND THE FLAG OF PLURALISM



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DISK:CONSTITUTION

February 1, 1994

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MORE ON THE CONFEDERATE FLAG

The recent demonstrations in Atlanta and other southern cities against the incorporation of the Confederate Battle Flag in the state flag disclose that there are still vestiges of the Civil War that remain unresolved. This is not surprising, since main stream historians have simplified the modern perspective of that war to the issue of slavery. However, that this was not a one issue war, nor at that time was slavery the principal issue, keeps alive the tensions and disagreements that center today on the symbols of the Confederacy.

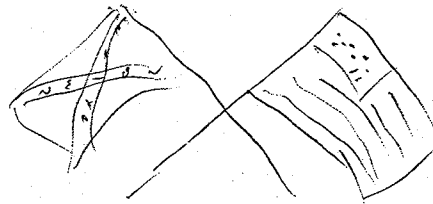
As with many Americans, I am a descendant of both those who fought with the Union and with the Confederacy. In my blood is the blood of New Englanders who fought with the Meade and Grant and of Alabamans who fought with Johnson and Lee. I honor both sides and know that in reconciliation both contributed to a higher vision of what this country is about.

The motto on the Great Seal of the United States is "E Pluribus Unum": Pluralism and Unity. The deeper issue of the war was how to make possible both pluralism and unity. And this is an issue that is unresolved today. The South felt pluralism was impossible within the Union. The North felt that pluralism must be restrained for the sake of Union. Today, the issue still focuses on cultural pluralism versus economic unity. Everywhere in the world people want the benefits of economic union, but fear the loss of cultural heritages that appear to be the price of these benefits. Are culture and economics examples of Niel Bohr's complementarity? At one level contradictory, at some higher dimensionality reconcilable? Any higher dimensionality has yet to be discovered.

Those who want the state flag changed insist on a particular interpretation of the issues of the Civil War and of the Confederate symbols and demand that all others accept this interpretation. These same people want, rightly, to preserve their cultural heritage. But pluralism requires that others be allowed their interpretations. After all cultural differences are basically different interpretations and emphases of human experience.

The African Americans who object to the symbols of the Confederacy are in agreement in interpretation with the skinheads and members of the Klan. All look on the Confederate flag as a symbol of racism. Skinheads and the Klan parade the Confederate flag along side the Nazi swastika. Their seizure of these symbols and juxtaposing them does great violence to historic truth. But in a pluralistic society, the Klan has a right to its interpretations too. It is only when we demand that our

particular interpretation be universal that we violate "E Pluribus Unum". The Klan has taken the Latin Cross, a Christian symbol, and by burning it on peoples front lawns given it a totally unchristian meaning. Are we to demand that crosses be removed from all churches because the Klan has appropriated the cross? Today we fight over possession of symbols. They cannot be owned nor can a symbol (in Jung's sense) be tied to one meaning. An essence of cultural pluralism is let people have the right to their interpretation of symbols. The swastika still belongs to the American Indian. The Nazis own it only if you give it to them.



PLURALISM

UNITY

= PLURIBUS UNUM

MY INTERPRETATION

NEXT

MELTING POT & PLURALISM

JEWISH NOTE:

The Diaspora and the
Melting Pot are
directly opposed

Symbols cannot be ^{legislated} ~~possessed~~ - They may mean quite different things to different persons.

The Confederate Soldier
was fighting for his home

for what was local (not Global)

rather than imperial (i.e. union)

for freedom (of self) state

and above all for pluralism

and the right to be left alone

Emancipation
saved the war
for the North
The character
of R. E. Lee
saved the war
in the South

Courts cannot
rule on ~~whether~~
a symbol must
be interpreted.

If the 1st amendment
is about ^{freedom of} speech

The 14th amendment
is about ^{freedom of} thought

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DISK: LOSTATE VJ491

January 25, 1993

RECAPTURE THE CONFEDERATE FLAG

In an age of dawning understanding, we can say that in every conflict both sides are right and both sides are wrong. In the triumph of one side, the right as well as the wrong in the defeated is vanquished and the wrong as well as the right in the victor is confirmed. To truly learn from history we must disavow the premise that might makes right and search out the right we have vanquished and the wrong we still enshrine.

In many a county, in many a state, in the court house square stands a statue to a soldier who fought in years long past for a cause called lost. Those who bother to stop and gaze upon the statue wonder how he could have fought for a cause we now abjure. We who have been conditioned, not by history, but by those who have written history, cannot place ourselves in his shoes. For us his cause was not only lost, it was wrong.

To the victor belong the spoils. And the most important spoil of all is custody of the record, the power to reshape what has happened in order to shape what will happen. The victor rewrote the lost cause into an ignoble cause. The victor rewrote his own cause into a lofty cause. That is why as we stand in the court house square today we cannot perceive what was in the heart of those who sacrificed all for what we have been told they fought for.

(Georgia?)

Today in a great state in the South a debate wages over whether to change that state's flag, to remove from it the portion that preserves the emblem that was the battle flag of that lost cause. It is argued that only 1.5 percent of that state's history was lived under that flag. And that is not what that state is about today. All of which is true. But the deeper reason for seeking this change is that the flag of the lost cause was left unprotected and it was stolen by bigots who rewrote its meaning to conform to their own ^{agendas} purposes. For each generation rewrites the meaning of its symbols in order to render them useful and understandable to its own agendas.

That there is contention over possession of this flag proves that it is still an energizing symbol. Even though less than two percent of that states history was lived under that flag, the devoted sacrifices of that time made that small percent one of the state's finest hours. The cause has died, ^{but} the flag still lives. ^{Moreover} And this flag belongs to all Americans, not to bigots who would distort it into a racist symbol. The flag stands ^{should} to remind us that while we remain united, we must ever oppose ^{over} centralization and homogenization. These values ^{are the} ^{of} the defeated's ^{that new their} right values, and should speak today for cultural diversity and local selfhood as the victor's values ^{continue to} speak for our unity and equality of opportunity. All of our history is our precious heritage.

O. J.

I have long felt that the fundamental problem facing the United States is the 'melting pot' problem. This is the deeper problem underlying our racial tensions and such questions as immigration, affirmative action, multi-language use, etc. We must ask, Is a melting pot possible? If so, what kind of melting pot do we want? Most opinions converge around two polar positions: Let all who come here adapt to our historical heritage from Albion, our British rooted world view; or let a pluralistic culture evolve reflecting contributions from the heritages of all our minorities. Extremists range from racial and cultural purists to abolitionists of all persuasions.

Historically we have China as an example of a melting pot of the first variety, immigrants and even conquerors adapting to the existing culture. Two generations after the Mongol conquerors came they were asking mandarins if poetry they had written was worthy of consideration. Mexico affords an example of the second sort, where the result was a blend of the native and conquistadors' cultures, weighted heavily to the conquerors. If any conclusion can be drawn, it is that when unequal the 'stronger' culture will prevail.

The United States does not seem to have reached a stable position yet. The values enunciated in the Declaration of Independence, the constitution, and other documents, allow the dominant heritage to be modified by the inputs of minorities. This is the basis of the present polarization. In extending the liberties to everyone, including to those who either do not understand them or who disagree with them, we place ~~them in~~ *the liberties in* jeopardy. The example currently before us is the jury system, the right of one to be tried by a panel of peers.

The present criminal justice system depends on procedures that not only require an understanding of what is and is not evidence, but also on a certain logical way of thinking. Jurors who nullify these procedures either from inability to understand them or for opting to replace them with their own agendas definitely erode the traditional culture. The O. J. Simpson trial and verdict has caught up almost everyone because we all sense the presence of issues that affect us publicly and even personally. Our traditional system is not on trial but it is being tried by a minority. The court is used as a stage for assault on the system.

But there is the question of whether the jurors were looking for any excuse to say 'not guilty' [I have seen white scientists do what the jurors did, throw the baby out with the bath water because there was a minor readily correctable flaw in the evidence] or that they really didn't understand the evidence. Granted that the ins and outs of DNA

chemistry are esoteric, do we have the right to completely ignore evidence because it requires effort to understand it. Years ago, I attended a scientific meeting in which the results of some extensive genetic research were presented, which indicated some important racial diversities. A black scientist rose at the end of the presentation and shouted, "That research doesn't mean anything. It's white man's research". With the jurors giving the Black power salute, ignoring evidence, and the crowds cheering and denouncing the black prosecutor as an Uncle Tom, we begin to ask, is a melting pot possible?

There is much discussion today of the importance of one official language to preserve the state. But it is now clear that even more important is devotion to the standard of a rational way of thinking* which should be inculcated in all our children. The melting pot question turns to what sacrifice of 'everyone doing it his way' must be made in order to have a society at all. This is not a problem of race, it is a problem of cultural interface, a replay of the archetype of Cortez and Moctezuma.

written 1 1/2 yrs before Ebonics

I fear a major white backlash to all of this. A reporter in the courtroom sitting next to a black when the verdict was announced heard him say, "Boy, are we going to pay for this."

In the past few weeks, the entire country has been taken with General Colin Powell, a thoughtful leader of great promise. Here is the opportunity for having the healing administration of a first black president of the United States. Did the O.J. jurors trash this opportunity to save a suspected murderer, just because he was black.

**"white man's thinking"*

97/02/05 WHAT THE O.J. TRIALS HAVE SHOWN
IS THAT THE JUSTICE SYSTEM IS
MORE CLASS BIASED THAN RACE BIASED.
A RICH BLACK MAN CAN BEAT THE
SYSTEM AS WELL AS CAN A RICH
WHITE MAN. FOR THE REST OF US
THERE IS ~~A~~ RACE BIAS.

THE BASIC CHALLENGE

The historian, Arnold Toynbee, has compared human history to the efforts of a group of mountain climbers struggling up the face of a steep cliff. For safety in the event someone slips, all are roped together. There are lead climbers, the most experienced, who climb ahead testing the rock and searching for possible routes of ascent. It is very important that those ahead be not given too much length of rope, for if they slip they will have acquired so much downward momentum that when the rope pulls taut all will be jerked from the cliff.

My mood today reflects that our lead climbers have been allowed too much slack and have gone too far above the rest of us. It now appears they have made a miscalculation and we are watching the start of a plunge and know that when the rope goes taut we shall all be wrenched from the cliff. And we have no one to blame but ourselves for feeding out too much rope for them.

As an unprecedented kind of war is about to begin, a pall of gloom, like the mist of some bio-weapon, hangs over us. We feel a defeat that no military victory can assuage. No physical weapon has the power to correct the errors and flaws in the way we think. Today we stand face to face with the failure of our most boasted attribute, the one that separates us from all *inferior* animals, our intellect. We note that we devote most of its efforts to one topic: how to protect ourselves from each other. What other species is its own most dangerous enemy and poses the greatest threat to its own survival? What other species designs tools of mass death and views them as insurance for survival. What kind of intellects do we have? Evidently not the kind that supports our own interests. We are reminded that Einstein warned a half century ago,

*WE SHALL REQUIRE A SUBSTANTIALLY NEW MANNER OF THINKING IF
MANKIND IS TO SURVIVE.*

Perhaps hope lies in the assumption that the flaw is not in our genes but in our memes, not in our biology but in our ways of thinking. And hopefully this is something that we still have time to correct.

THE MELTINGS IN THE MELTING POT

Whatever the causes of the rudeness, vulgarity, and aggression in today's society, the results manifest an excess of wealth and power in the hands of novices, adolescents, and ignoramuses. The undisciplined and irresponsible actions range from drivers having no understanding of the dynamics of auto traffic and the underlying laws of physics, to media giants whose only criteria for choosing what TV shows and movies to produce is the bottom line. And not to forget politicians who use weapons of mass destruction as cards in a global game of political ^{chicken} one upmanship. All speak to an immature society possessing far more power than intelligence to use it. It is useful here to remind ourselves of one of Beard's truths of history: "Whom the gods would destroy, they first make mad with power".

Within the United States one possible contributing cause to our regression to immaturity is the melting pot. The price of cultural co-existence is superficiality. This trade-off is seen as true from the level of chat at a cocktail party to the level of difficulties encountered at international negotiations. Globally we share only the most basic emotions and values: security, control, esteem, greed, sexuality. Our visions and ideals may be so different from others as to not be mutually communicable nor understandable. Achievement of understanding requires suspension of our cultural prejudices and transcending our cultural memes. It requires we explore the identity bases of others. But to do this, we must first discover our own identity--and here we face a paradox. The understanding of others begins with understanding of self, and the understanding of self only comes from interactions with what is different from self. A melting pot becomes both a challenge to understand others and an opportunity to understand ourselves. And from these explorations of self and others through an increasing interaction with what is different, an emergence occurs. Something that is neither self nor other is born out of what was both self and other. Maybe this is what a true melting pot is about. And the shadows implicit in today's behavior presage an era of tolerance and respect for tomorrow.

KINGS.WPD

OCTOBER 19, 2000

CROWNED AND UNCROWNED HEADS OF STATE

Our last crowned head of state was George III. If we had chosen to designate our presidents as the British designate their kings and queens, we would have:

George I	Washington
John I	Adams
Thomas	Jefferson
4 James I	Madison
James II	Monroe
John II	Quincy Adams (son of John I)
Andrew I	Jackson
Martin	van Buren
9 William I	Harrison
John III	Tyler
James III	Polk
Zachary	Taylor
Millard	Fillmore
Franklin I	Pierce
James IV	Buchanan
16 Abraham	Lincoln
Andrew II	Johnson
Ulysses	Grant
Rutherford	Hayes
James V	Garfield
Chester	Arthur
Grover (1)	Cleveland
Benjamin	Harrison (grandson of William I)
Grover (2)	Cleveland
25 William II	McKinley
Theodore	Roosevelt
William III	Taft
Woodrow (or Thomas II)	Wilson
Warren	Harding
Calvin	Coolidge
Herbert	Hoover
Franklin II	Roosevelt
Harry	Truman
Dwight	Eisenhower
John IV	Kennedy
36 Lyndon	Johnson
Richard	Nixon
Gerald	Ford
James VI	Carter
Ronald	Reagan
George II	Bush
William IV	Clinton
George III	Bush (son of George II)

So we are now back where we started.

ELECTION 2000

Also see 2000 #83

AN INTERPRETATION OF THE RESULTS

**When toss of coin end standing on edge
message is: not head, not tail. Li Kiang**

It has been said that "Emergence is at the verge", meaning that innovation takes place at the interface where opposites meet. So long as the position is on either side of the verge a continuing polarization ensues. Interpreting this in terms of an election, whenever there is a clear "winner" and "loser" business-as-usual polarization with all its paralyzing side effects continues. But when a vote moves to the fulcrum of balance, the verge, with no clear winner, there is opportunity to escape to a new level. However, in order to take advantage of this moment of release, both parties to the contest must be flatly rejected. Instead, the action usually taken is to ignore this special opportunity and seek a decision, find a winner, renew polarization. While many see that the verge calls for termination of the polarization, only a few see the need for rejecting both candidates.

It is interesting that some of the media pundits have tangentially referred to Li Kiang's wisdom of the verge. Here are some media quotes:

"The will of the people", wrote Thomas Jefferson, "is the only legitimate foundation of any government." **Can it really be just an accident that the people, given two such inadequate choices, have willed to select neither?** Plunging the presidency into a crisis of legitimacy may end up exposing the illegitimacies that lurk beneath the surface of our orderly, prosperous "best of times"

Arianna Huffington, L.A. Times Nov 13, 2000

Deep in our hearts, there lurks the satisfying feeling that the outcome is what the candidates deserved. The nation may be divided down the middle, but we're all withholding our love. **The 50-50 impasse feels almost like a protest vote.** The American people have a right to fervor in presidential races and Gore and Bush trampled on that right. They were lackluster, so we were lukewarm.

Maureen Dowd, N.Y. Times, Nov 14, 2000

We are in a "teachable moment"

Ellen Goodman, Boston Globe, Nov 15, 2000

And the opinions of the public:

"If those two guys can't get together and solve this mess, neither deserves to be president."

Reported by Leon Panetta, Press Democrat, Nov 15, 2000

In my opinion both candidates should be disqualified.

R. van Bebbes, Press Democrat, Nov 15, 2000

ELECTREM.WPD

DECEMBER 15, 2000

See also 1999 #79
2000 #71**ELECTION NOTES****Philosophical Note:**

The more that goes on in these ballot fights, the more I am persuaded of the wisdom of Confucius. He maintained that anyone who wanted political office should automatically be disqualified.

Historical Note:

It is interesting that whenever a presidential candidate is a descendant of a previous president, there is an electoral crisis. In 1824, Andrew Jackson had the largest popular vote, but three other candidates including John Quincy Adams, the son of the second president, John Adams, divided the electoral vote so that no one had a majority. The House of Representatives gave it to Adams. In 1888 President Grover Cleveland had the largest popular vote, but a third candidate in the contest resulted in Benjamin Harrison, the grandson of William Henry Harrison, the ninth president, winning the electoral vote. In 2000 Al Gore won the popular vote, but George W Bush, the son of George Herbert Walker Bush, the 41st president won in the electoral college. [Or more accurately, won in the 5-4 decisions of the Supreme Court.] The electoral winner in each case was a descendant. The popular winner, the loser. It seems the majority votes against dynasties, while the political system supports them. And in all three cases a third contender catalyzed the outcome. A Henry Clay, a James Weaver, a Ralph Nadar. [This note does not say that if an electoral crisis occurred then a descendant of a president is involved. It says that if a descendant of a president is involved then an electoral crisis occurred. Beside the three crises involving descendants, two other anomalous elections occurred. In 1800 Jefferson and Burr both received the same number of electoral votes. The congress picked Jefferson. In 1876 Tilden won the popular count, Hayes the electoral count.]

"The longer this continues to play out, the less legitimacy the winning candidate will have"

—Leon Panetta 00/12/09

"This election should be determined by a careful examination of the votes of Florida's citizens, and not by strategies extraneous to the voting process". —Florida Supreme Court

"Preventing the recount from being completed will inevitably cast a cloud on the legitimacy of the election" —United States Supreme Court Justice John Paul Stevens.

"Although we may never know with complete certainty the identity of the winner of this year's presidential election, the identity of the loser is perfectly clear. It is the nation's confidence in the judge as the impartial guardian of the law. The courts action can only lend credence to the most cynical appraisal of the work of judges throughout the land". —Justice John Paul Stevens

INDEPENDENCE vs INTERDEPENDENCE

Whom the gods would destroy, they first make mad with power.

—Charles Beard

Today is the 225th anniversary of independence from Britain. What we celebrate today is not independence, but a world view and life style that we attribute to independence. But stripped of its flag wrapped protections, it is apodictic that there is no such condition as *independence*. The severance of particular political linkages cannot create independence. But the fiction of independence has over time created in these United States a world view of arrogant individualism and illusory self sufficiency. That is, go-it-alone independence on the national level has trickled down to me-me individualism on the personal level. On the national level this attitude leads to the concept of “master race”. On the individual level it leads to a self centered mental disease called megalomania.

Today we celebrate our independence but deny our hypocrisies and our fallacies. We celebrate our heritage of liberty, ignoring our history of slaughter of native Americans, enslavement of Africans, suppression of women and minorities, and attempts at colonialism. . We praise our property rights, our right to free speech, to freedom of religion, and freedom to possess weapons. [And the not mentioned in the bill of rights, freedom to get rich.] We ignore the environmental responsibilities that go with property, the appropriateness of where and when to say what; ignore the morality that must link every church and any state; bypass the maturity that is required in the possession of a gun. [And turn our legislative backs on the homeless and the abused] We celebrate our rights while ignoring and denying our responsibilities. The cornerstones of this nation were not liberty, as proclaimed, but liberty for white, male, landowners. Not “all men are created equal”, as proclaimed, but a stratified structure of racial and ethnic elitism.

Today we see in the rest of the world, particularly in Europe, movements toward consolidation, which is recognition of *interdependence*. Our reaction to this has been to go along with economic globalization, but to make it globalization American style. In attempting to take over the globe, rather than to merge with the globe, we somehow can delay facing the fact that we are not self sufficient. But our arrogance in rejecting the Kyoto accord, biological warfare accords, land mine accords, and the World Court, has reversed the respect that the world once had for us. What it was that once made America a paradigm for the oppressed throughout the world, the ugly American has erased.

So here we must ask, what, —in spite of all our abuses of liberty, in spite of all the inequalities of opportunity and access—What has made this nation a great nation? I believe it is not a matter of who and what we are, but an ongoing vision of who and what we can become. On this anniversary of “independence” let us then not celebrate a cosmetic past nor a glossed over present wrapped in the flag, but let us rededicate ourselves to our one great heritage which has inspired all on this globe: The Vision of freedom and equal rights for all.

America

MELTPOT1.P51

DISK:HISTORY

May 3, 1991

MELTING POTS AND FREEDOM

Europeans came to this continent for freedom. Too long had they lived under political and ecclesiastical tyrannies. But they came to get freedom, not to give freedom. They came not for freedom as a principle but for freedom for themselves. For centuries the intolerance in New England replicated that in Old England. The burning of witches, Roger Williams flight to Rhode Island, "Henry, what are you doing in there?" "Ralph, what are you doing out there?" all indicators that freedom and tolerance were for us not for you.

But after living in America for a couple of centuries the idea of freedom as principle began to seep through. Whether this was absence of European custom ^{association with Indians} or the permissiveness of the broad continent or both ^{all} is arguable. In any event this concept was finally articulated and imbedded in the documents of the republic. This was to be the infrastructure for the future.

Its appeal resounded back across the sea and millions came to America for freedom.

Give me your tired, your poor,
Your huddled masses yearning to breathe free,
The wretched refuse of your teeming shore,
Send these, the homeless, tempest-tossed to me:
I lift my lamp beside the golden door!

Emma Lazarus

But like the first pilgrims, they came for freedom for themselves, not yet understanding the American version of freedom. Even in 1988 a candidate for president of the United States was impressed most with an America in which the son of an immigrant could have the opportunity to be such a candidate.

There are those who fear freedom. Those who fear giving freedom to others, such as the Ku Klux Klan, and those who fear having freedom for themselves, who conform and disappear into the homogenous mass. They have somehow, in a free society, become like the denizens of Nazi concentration camps who march in the middle, not near the front, not near the rear, not on the left, not on the right. They fear to exercise their freedom and of course they have lost it. Jan Bijl

In the great melting pot of America have those, conditioned in the old world, who have come here afraid of freedom begun to create a docile society that jeopardizes the principle of freedom itself? What is the melting pot doing to freedom? We are not the generation of 1775 risking death for liberty. Today we put up with things that would have had them at the barricades. Is it because we cannot realize that threats to our liberties, to the roots of our inheritance, can come from ourselves. We spent trillions to keep at bay external threats to our liberty, and meanwhile let it be stolen by those the founding fathers warned us against.

FLAGBURN.P51

DISK:CONST

April 14, 1991

In the United States there is no living symbol of the country. Nations which have both a prime minister and a president or prime minister and a King, have both an executive and a 'head of state'. We have the executive and head of state combined into one office. This has led to honoring the flag or the constitution, (or even Uncle Sam) as symbolizing the state. We have projected on these symbols what in many lands is projected on the king. Thus we have the, strange to other peoples, proposal of a law making desecration of these symbols tantamount to lese majesty, an assault on the person of the king.

But there are other Americans who do not project the state onto these symbols. Instead they retain the notion of the divine right of kings and project it onto the president. Our oaths of office project the state onto the Constitution, not onto the President. But there are those, like Oliver North, who confuse the president with the country. They resemble those who in Nazi Germany took the oath of allegiance, ~~to the Fuhrer instead of to the Reich.~~

[^]not to the Reich, but

Truman made a strong point of
differentiating Harry Truman
from the job he held: President of the U.S.

W. Bush alleges the two - wanting
all the "divine right" he can acquire

I HAVE A DREAM

Today is Martin Luther King Day, one of three national holidays commemorating specific Americans. It is fitting that King along with Washington and Lincoln be recognized as having made a basic contribution, not only to American government, but to the human social imperative.

What explicitly was King's contribution? King is remembered primarily for three things: 1) His persistent struggle and sacrifice for human rights; 2) His method of non-violence; and 3) His dramatic formulation of his dream. He was a leader whose opponents were not only those who disagreed with his objectives, but also those who disagreed with his methods even though they shared his goal. His double courage in persisting both in the pursuit of his goals and in loyalty to his method can be understood through his recognition of the inseparable nature of ends and means.

There is currently much discussion about how to celebrate a national holiday dedicated to Martin Luther King and his work. Fire works, festive dinners, or exchange of gifts are not in order. Parades and ceremonial gatherings come closer, but fail to fully make the point. Some have suggested this holiday be a day in which we all volunteer to do some work of social improvement, a day on instead of a day off. That is coming close, but let us return to the dream.

It is our dreams and visions that are the ultimate inspiration from which our values, our actions, and our rules for living derive. It has been noted that the real way, and perhaps the only way, to change our social order is to change our dream. King understood this and more: **You do not change a dream with violence.** Then, how do we change the dream? How did King change the dream? When we review King's life we see that his personal dream changed step by step and evolved from accepting existing notions of the social order to formulating alternate notions based on such ideals as justice and equal access. Then through his commitment and sacrifice King's dream began to suffuse society. And as Gandhi said, "Transformation begins when a vision that belongs to one person becomes one that belongs to many". Today King's dream is on its way to shaping a new American dream, but we still have much overcoming to do.

How to celebrate this holiday? Take the Dream out of its ideological residing place and bring it before the multitudes and let them examine it, critique it, and modify it, then let them pledge allegiance to it. Let Martin Luther King's Day be the day in which we review our national vision and upgrade it. Let us reexamine where we are and where we want to be. Let us note all that we do that is moving us toward realization of the Dream and note all that we do that is blocking us from the Dream.

Let this day be a day in which "I have a Dream" becomes "We have a Dream"

ENABLING ACTS

A democracy by its nature does not launch unprovoked attacks against its neighbors. People are too busy working on their own immediate problems to look abroad for someone to fight. Only when a democracy is subverted by some megalomaniacal political or military figure who convinces the country that its troubles are due to some foreign cause does the democracy invert its priorities and subscribe to aggression.

In 1933 under pressure of the newly elected Chancellor, Adolf Hitler, and his Nazi Party the Reichstag of the Weimar Republic passed the so called "Enabling Act", bestowing dictatorial powers on the Chancellor. This act in effect demolished the republic and converted Germany into the political property of Hitler. In the following years Hitler established an iron rule over the country by placing the blame for Germany's problems on "internal enemies" [eg dissenters, Socialists, and especially Jews] Later, with most of the problems still unsolved, the blame was placed on foreign powers, particularly the signatories of the Versailles Treaty. Then began the buildup of military armaments [which restores full employment] followed by launching attacks on neighbors. At first the attacks were cautious and arguably carried some degree of justification: eg, the re-annexation of the German Rhineland. Next came the questionable Austrian Anschluss, Then the bold thrust, the Sudeten Land, which in order to prevent outright war was acquiesced to at Munich. With momentum up Hitler then went beyond Munich, The seizure of Czechoslovakia brought consciousness to the world of the dangers implicit in the type of megalomania that accrues to those who are given such extensive power. When Poland was invaded the world by then had caught on and responded. Never did Hitler need to be provoked in order to launch an attack. His doctrine was unilateral preemption.

In looking at subsequent events in the 20th century we see several parallels to the above "dedemocracifying" of a country by a leader's pressuring a legislative body for special power. In 1964 Lyndon Johnson pressured Congress for an enabling act in order to attack Vietnam. In passing The Gulf of Tonkin Resolution the congress abnegated the Constitution by turning over to the executive its sole power to declare war. In 1991 the Congress for the second time abnegated its constitutional power granting to George Bush the power to wage war in the Persian Gulf. And now, October 11, 2002, for the third time Congress passes an enabling act granting to W. Bush unrestricted power to wage war against Iraq.

Contrary to the foregoing, after a sequence of provocative naval acts against American interests, in 1917 President Woodrow Wilson went before congress and asked for congress to declare war on Imperial Germany. In 1941 in response to the attack on Pearl Harbor by Imperial Japan, President Franklin Roosevelt went before congress and asked for a declaration of war, declaring the unilateral preemptive attack by Japan would live forever as a day of infamy. These two wars were defensive wars responding to attacks and were declared legitimately and constitutionally. In contrast, America's wars that required enabling acts, were not defensive, but imperialistic, as were the wars of Hitler.

It is difficult to accept that in a country whose government was carefully designed to prevent the concentration of power in limited hands that the Constitution can be so easily subverted. The guilt of treason does not lie so much with the megalomaniacal pursuer of power as with the spineless illiterates who claim to represent the people.

THE CURIOUS CASE OF ELIAN GONZALES

Since the arrival in Florida of the shipwrecked Elian last December the unfolding of events which have occurred in the United States invite comparison to a portion of the myth of Jason and his quest for the Golden Fleece. In the myth a dragon was slain and Jason was to plough a field and sow the teeth of the dragon. As soon as sown, the teeth quickly sprouted into armed warriors who rushed on Jason to seize him. But Jason had a magic rock which he threw into the midst of the warriors, one of whom thought a nearby warrior had assaulted him and began a fight. This fight spread among the warriors, who forgot Jason, and who in the end all slew one another.

The dragon of communism was slain, and the teeth were sown in the collective unconscious, but only with the coming of Elian-Jason, did the agenda-warriors spring forth. The magic rock was the innocence of a child, it brought forth a divisiveness among the warriors that revealed the depths of their uncertainties and the shallowness of their commitments. While all of this has provided a media circus, opportunities for political posturing and publicity, the basics that drive the story lie in the mythic archetype. Something present, but asleep in each of us, has been tapped.

As each agenda emerges it is attacked and slain. There is no complete case pro or con regarding what is to be done with or for Elian. The universal importance of family, the comparison of life styles, the rule of law and which law, the fulfillment of the intent of a tragic voyage, the fitness or unfitness of various parties, all encased in a container created by the dragon's teeth.

What has been brought to light is the great variance in our values. While pluralism in the ordaining and ordering of values must be standardized by a rule of law, we find that underneath we are living in an axiological disorder fabricated on inconsistencies, contradictions, and hypocrisies. The test of interchange has shown this clearly. Interchange the US with Cuba, interchange father with mother, interchange child first with family first. With every interchange an advocacy collapses. What is revealed is that we support one set of rules for me, a different set for you. This is at the level of organisms that have not succeeded in fabricating a social order. Frankly it is frightening to look into this mirror. It appears that good and evil are only magnetic poles to which to attach my opinion and your opinion. Reality is created by labeling. And how do we solve equal justice under law, the same set of rules for all of us, against the fact that each person and every event is unique. Without this uniqueness being taken into consideration, law and justice are incompatible.

The Jason-Dragon Seed archetype, (which elsewhere is called a cross-dialectic) destroyed the monopoly of the Papacy in the 16th century, destroyed the Soviet Union in the 20th century, and may destroy the illusions of the United States in the 21st century. In the gift of this small boy, our search for the Golden Fleece may have been rendered successful, but only after ~~we can slay~~ the agenda-warriors. *are slain.*

April 22, 2000

THE CASE OF ELIAN PART II

This morning at 5:00 am federal marshals broke into the Miami home of Elian's uncle and took the boy and flew him to Andrew's Air Force Base in Washington where he was to be reunited with his Father. The crowds were hostile and angry shouting that they never expected to see this kind of activity in the United States. It was just like Castro's Cuba.

It is time to remind these refugees from a Communist tyranny that their actions are very much like Communist Party tactics in France, Italy, and other countries. These Cubans, while having a different ideology, have adopted Communist tactics. After all, in this country it is primarily this kind of tactics we oppose rather than particular abstractions of social and political ideologies. In the United States ideologies win or lose in the market place of ideas, in their acceptance or rejection by the people, not in their being forced on us by street battles. [As in the original communist take over in Petrograd in 1917] Communism has a record of prevailing through violence, never in winning through legal processes. [Allende in Chile was one exception] These Cubans chose to oppose the law of their adopted land and import the tactics that they claim to be refugees from. They would prevail by setting up a situation of black mail forcing the government to use force. They fled Cuban Communism but brought with them its methods, and project onto the Government of the United States the lawlessness that is in reality their own doing.

Not only these people, but all of us need to differentiate the necessity of law, legal process and order from whatever our political and ideological preference. This is what America is about: Open ended in ideas, restrained in process; Respect for minorities, but not to be defied ~~by~~ *and assaulted by* minorities. Here even process may be amended, but again only by process, not by disobedience. This may be too slow for some, but it avoids impulsive emotional actions to be regretted later. Ultimately what is involved is the selection of the right rate of change for what is to be changed.

My final conclusion is that most people, Americans, Cubans, those living wherever, place family above politics.

A157
AMERICAN

20CENT01.P51

DISK:HISTORY

January 29, 1990

April 6, 1991

THE TWENTIETH CENTURY: ABOUT AMERICA

In the United States this has been the century of the cowboy. While the cowboy himself disappeared with the previous century, his macho mentality ^{continued to} suffused the nation. It began with Teddy and lasted through Ronnie; Roosevelt's Yellow Peril to Reagan's Evil Empire. The destiny America has chosen for itself is to be "Number One". And being Number One is taken to mean, "I can whip any hombre in the house". This includes Nicaragua, Grenada, Panama, and anyone else too small or too far away to hit back. And being Number One means having the biggest and mostest weapons. But our weapons have threatened our economy, cheated our children, endangered our environment, and generally weakened our moral stance. And being Number One means to be the leader of the imperialist pack. Yet while senators debate where to spend borrowed money to look like a leader, Japan is buying us out and going to the moon to boot. Only a vestigial moral and idealistic momentum from the founding principles of the nation preserves the hollow shell from collapse.

In this century we have left a trail not only of bullying, but of hypocrisy. In 1917-18, we fought a 'war to end war' opposing 'might makes right' with 'right makes might'. We at the same time supported 'self-determination' for those beyond our reach and Washington-determination where ever our reach could be extended. In 1945, we instituted the Nuremburg Trials and defined the concept of 'war-criminal'. Then we ignored or excused all our home grown war-criminals. We went to Korea to support the proposition that borders were not to be altered by force. Then as soon as we had a military advantage we crossed the 38th parallel. In 1964, we disavowed the war making provisions of our constitution by delegating war powers to a president who trumped up a phony assault on our ships 12,000 miles from our shores. And most recently we entered a 'just and moral' war to oust a dictator from a country he invaded, then turned our backs on the moral obligations arising in the wake of the destruction and suffering we inflicted in that war. Our announced objective was to create a 'just new world order', our real objective was to enable the establishment of a permanent military presence in the Persian Gulf. As for morality, it is our policy to use morality as a cover in pursuing our perceived self-interests wherever we feel them threatened and to ignore or abuse morality at other times. Our rhetoric has always been pro freedom and democracy, our practice has been one set of rules for us another set for the rest of you. We complain about a tilted playing field when others tilt it, but ignore the fact that we were first to institute tilting.

The time for an American perestroika has come. In the Eastern Bloc, the social order has failed the individual, In the United States, the individual has failed the social order. This not only through citizen neglect of domestic social interests, but by refusing to accept responsibility for those foreign actions of our elected government which would not be acceptable if applied to us here at home. Correction has begun in the East, when will it begin here?

while Russia
→ Glasnost
is
we → against Glasnost

"war is not an energy policy"

Kuwait

and
to assure
continuity
the military
big 5/12/1
of the econ

HIST

TYPOLGY1.P51

February 7, 1993

THE ROBBER BARON TYPOLOGY

It is unusual that four men of great drive and ability can work around their egos and form an effective team. This, however, is what Leland Stanford, Mark Hopkins, Charles Crocker, and Collis Huntington were able to do. This team developed (and exploited) California, set up railroads, banks, corporations, governed the state and later even founded a famous university and museum.

Stanford was a very fine lawyer, a successful politician, who loved dealing with people. Mark Hopkins was an expert accountant, very thrifty, who knew the value (and price) of everything. Crocker was an organizer, an executive, a driver of men. Huntington, the real boss, was a wheeler dealer who worked behind the scenes. [see American Heritage History of Railroads, p88]

From these four we can generalize to the basic typology for a successful American business: Lawyer-Politician, Accountant, Lobbyist, Executive. The glue holding the team together is diversity, respect for each other's skills, a shared vision and most important, the same value system. (Which in the case of the above four was a high regard for power and wealth, and a ruthless disregard of human values.) Ambition and ego were not constrained, only channeled.

Does this four-fold typology map onto the Jungian types and onto the Kalahari hunting party of chief, shaman, hunter, and clown?

It is oftentimes claimed that Americans do not resent the great imbalance in the distribution of wealth in this country. This is because the 'Royal Lie' is that you too can be rich.

The closest approximation to honesty in any writer of consequence remarking on the great princes of the rails was achieved by Ambrose Bierce who, on San Francisco morning in the ¹⁸nineties, was observed by a friend to be speculatively, even longingly, eyeing the fine swinging doors of Flood and O'Briens's Saloon in Sutter Street.

"There," sighed the noisiest crusader against vested corruption of his generation. "there, lapped in luxury and upholstered in Babylonish devisings, sipping rare vintages of great cost and plotting further brigandage against the toiling people, are those arch-thieves and conscienceless pillagers, Leland Stanford, Charles Crocker, Mark Hopkins, and Collis Huntington. Even now, no doubt, they scheme to loot more outrageously than ever the people and commonwealth of California! I wish I might be one of them!"

[Highball, A Pageant of Trains, Lucius Beebe, p5]

This is what preserves the system. Not the possibility of great wealth, which is an illusion, but the dream of the possibility, sustains the status quo.

"I could be one of them"

Lawyer
Lobbyist
Accountant
Executive

The team of the future will be different.

Researcher - Forecaster	shaman
Relator - Human values	clown
Executive	chief
Organizer - re-organizer	hunter

worked well
in a clearly
defined
opportunity
vacuum

ENABACT.P51

DISK:HISTORY

April 5, 1991

ON ENABLING ACTS

[also called disabling acts.
They enable dictators to
disable democracies]

Among the various devices to remove democratic powers from the governed is the enabling act. In earlier times the acquisition of power was by naked force or through sanctioning by some 'higher' authority, such as the pope. But with the coming of democracies and constitutions which delineated powers, in order for dictatorial powers to be taken by political leadership at least some charade of legitimacy had to be postured. In essence an enabling act is a device to restore power to the traditional king from whence it had been theoretically wrested by political philosophers such as Rousseau, Locke, Jefferson, Paine, etc., and practically wrested by popular uprisings and revolutions. It is the intermediate body of government, the one between the people and the executive, giving its constitutional powers to the executive without the consent of the people.

The most famous enabling act and the one which gives the genre its name is the one passed by the Reichstag in 1933 giving to the elected Chancellor, Adolf Hitler, dictatorial powers. The enabling act was in effect an abdication of the Reichstag since no time span was included in its fine print. Today, after a brief surge of democracy in the Soviet Union, we see the Soviet Parliament and the Russian Parliament vying in delegating dictatorial powers to their respective presidents, Mikail Gorbachev and ^{Seris} Yel'tsin.

The United States has its list of enabling acts, the most famous of which was the Gulf of Tonkin Resolution giving Congressional war powers to president Lyndon B. Johnson. The result was an undeclared war and widespread dissent. Whereas at the time few people sensed an aberration and only two in the Senate voted against the resolution, later the entire situation was protested. However, it was decades later that some members of the congress realized what they had done. Other U.S. enabling acts are the War Powers Act of 19xx, which is still on the books and held by many legalists to be unconstitutional. This act enabled Grenada and Panama without congressional approval, and was a lever in pressing the congress into the Persian Gulf war. The people of the United States apparently have little objection to enabling acts, which may result in destruction and loss of life abroad, until there is some domestic impact as there was through the draft during the Vietnam war.

It is not quite proper to view the restriction of rights after a declaration of war in the same terms as an enabling act, but there is much for defenders of democracy to be alert to during such periods. We have the red hunt by Attorney General Palmer under the cover of World War I's special powers. And we have the outrageous internment of our Japanese citizens during World War II. Human rights and democracy can be threatened from any quarter, even by those taking oaths to defend them. The founding fathers were concerned with this but their arrangements, good as they were, have not proven foolproof.

Postscript.
Yel'tsin's acts
autumn 1993

17157

REPSEC.WP6

October 16, 1994

SECESSION 1994 STYLE

It used to be, whether the duly elected president of the United States was a Democrat or a Republican, he was the president of the entire country and of all the people. Now we have Representative Armey (R, Texas) referring to the president of the United States as "your president", and senatorial candidate Oliver North (R, Virginia) saying the president of the United States, "is not my commander in chief". What are we hearing here? Are these men telling us that they have renounced their American citizenship or that like Texans and Virginians^{in 1860} in 1860, announcing that they are seceding from the Union?

The common factor here is not the South, it is the Republican Party. The Party of Lincoln which 130 years ago led the struggle to preserve the union now seems intent on leading a struggle to obstruct and fragment the union. These Republicans sound much more like Jeff Davis than like Lincoln. Because they do not like the incumbent president's policies, these Republicans no longer regard the duly elected president of the United States as their president. When Armey, North, and others abjure the president instead of just opposing his policies, we have reached the level of mentality that led to secession in 1860. "If we can't have it our way, then we'll take you down". If they have already mentally seceded from the union, these men have no business being in the House of Representatives or in running for the senate.

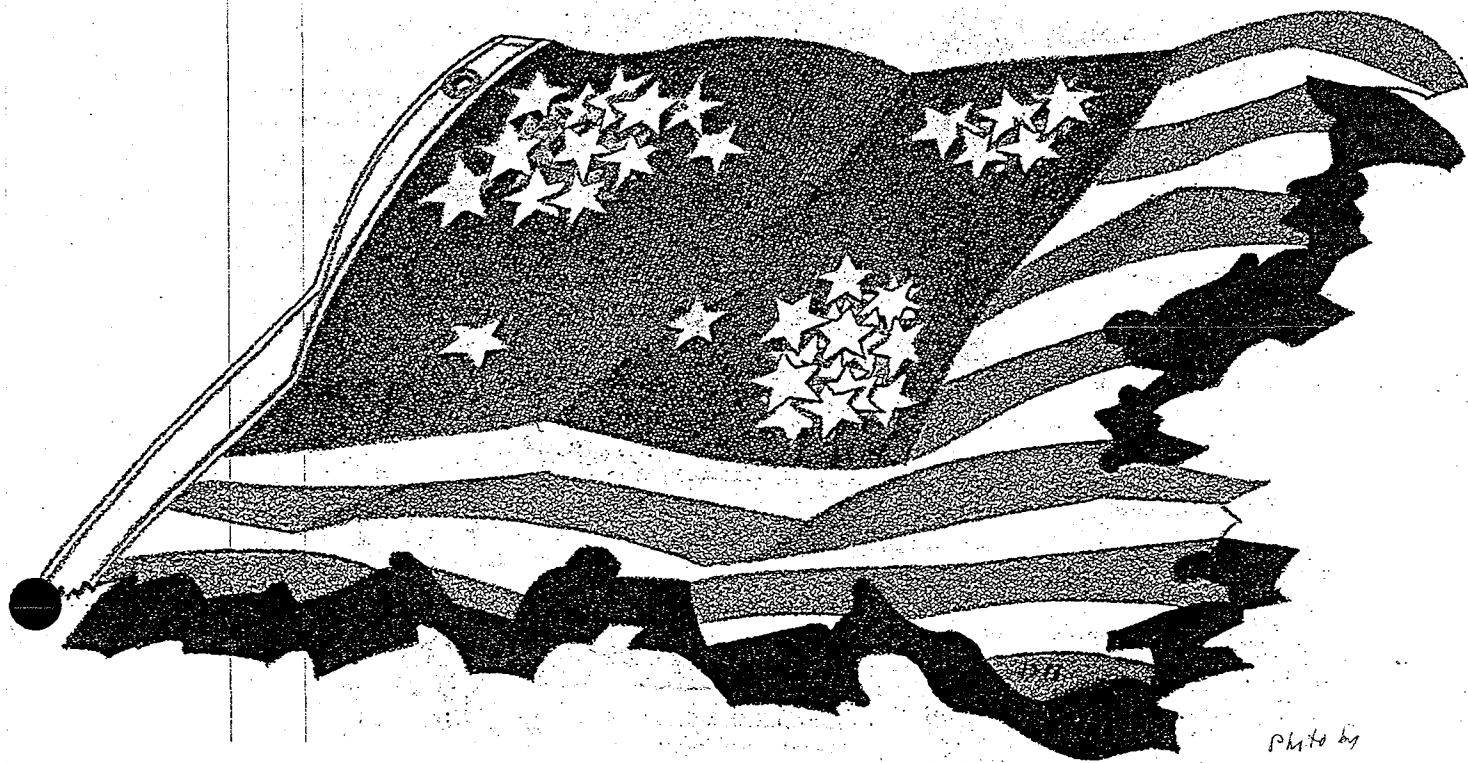


Photo by

D.B. JOHNSON/LOS ANGELES TIMES SYNDICATE

THE SECULAR RELIGION OF AMERICA

Responsibility is unAmerican. We have repealed the law of Karma. Or rather modified the law of Karma. No longer does every action have its consequence. We hold that the cause of any consequence never belongs to the individual performing the undesirable action but to some antecedent attributed to another: A parent, an abuser, a slur, This permits both blame and responsibility to be diffused.

In the teachings of most traditional religions, the path of growth is first to develop personal responsibility, then with maturity, increasingly to take on responsibility for the welfare of others. The secular religion of America, on the other hand, bypasses development of personal responsibility, concentrating on how to assign blame for anything ^{good} wrong onto others. This is mixed with an unlawful pity or compassion for wrong doers. While Buddhists, for example, stress compassion, they also hold the law of Karma inviolate. Compassion without Karma doesn't work.

The soft attitude of Christians is derived in part from their doctrine of forgiveness. They have interpreted the teachings of Jesus that so long as one confesses and says they are sorry, then they should be forgiven. The real teaching is that when one changes their ways they are to be forgiven. Saying "I'm sorry" is meaningless unless backed with genuine metanoia. Both the current interpretation of Christian doctrine and the secular religion derived from it render American society uncorrectable.

American society is soaked with the sense that with enough explaining, a good lawyer and the pressing of the right buttons of guilt and victimology, there is a way out of most things. Confession is a substitute for contrition and retribution.

Margaret Carlson

But it is not only our religions that are steering us to disaster, it is our entire legal structure. The American lexocracy is blocking the way to achieving its avowed goals. The law enhances lawlessness by creating an atmosphere of turtle retreat for fear of being sued for any act of correction. We cannot be our brother's keeper in this society. Crime is the price we are willing to pay in order to sustain the inequities of racism, sexism, drugs and unbridled capitalism. Until we replace poverty with hope, special privilege with opportunity, and prejudice with respect we shall continue down the road of violence and disorder. *to extinction*

Whistle blowing is the number one societal offence. It is an assault on Freedom

April 28, 1994

31

RICHARD MILHOUS NIXON

Yesterday was a day of mourning for President Richard Milhous Nixon, who passed away last week at the age of 81. I watched on television the funeral service at Yorba Linda. The rituals were the most expressive and emotional since the funeral of Nixon's rival John F. Kennedy, 32 years ago. All living presidents attended: Ford, Carter, Reagan, Bush, and Clinton. Former vice presidents, secretaries of state, defense, and others were also there to say farewell to Nixon. It was an emotional afternoon and a strange one. Certainly it was no ordinary presidential funeral, but Nixon was not an ordinary president.

President Clinton, in his remarks, stated that it is proper to judge a person by the totality of his life, not by some selected portion. And evidently most of the 1500 present and the thousands who queued to pay respects at his bier felt the same way, and further that, in the balance, Nixon's record came out on the positive side.

But there was a tension between the feeling that in the balance, here was a man who deserved to be honored and yet in specifics deserved our continued approbation. Americans were called on to choose between two of their values. To face hard facts, keep the record straight in order to avoid future repetitions of mistakes, or to forgive and absolve for the sake of purifying our history. This tension, which was at the heart of the sixties, resurfaced inwardly for many at the funeral. It is striking that while condemning Nixon for a political cover up, at the final hour Americans opted for a historical cover up. For now, let us ignore the vices and record the victories. Tomorrow let us forget the vices and remember only the victories. With such a recording of history, of what use is Santana's caveat: "Those who know no history are doomed to repeat it."

The only time I ever saw Richard Nixon in person was while waiting for a plane at the old L.A. airport, near the end of one of those long bleak narrow tunnels that were the forerunners of today's lounges. This was a few months after Nixon's defeat in his try for governor of California, and shortly after his speech, "You won't have Richard Nixon to kick around any more". There were only about a half dozen people in the tunnel, Nixon was alone, away from the group, leaning against the wall hands in his pockets and staring blankly at the floor. He seemed so unlike other politicians I had known, who would never pass up an opportunity to go around and shake hands. But Nixon couldn't do that, he was in pain. I could feel his pain but also could feel the formidable stone wall that he placed between himself and the rest of us. Finally someone (~~somebody said it was I~~) went up and spoke to Nixon and he relaxed, became animated and conversational. Perhaps what never happened nationally was that Nixon needed the people to come to him, for he could never go to them, apologize and ask to be forgiven. Yesterday afternoon at Yorba Linda the people finally came to him. (4200 paid respects)

* The politicians learned the lessons of history (Watergate)
(The people didn't)

Politicians learned how a proper cover-up should be done
by the time of Irangate

The Funeral is an act
of sealing. In
which we are told
how we are to think
about a person