The Fourth Republican Revolution

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Introduction				1				
A Half Century Age	0			2				
What Hap	pened Around 1970		2					
The Seeds		3						
More on t		5						
Tł	5							
Tł	The Great Disruption to Our Social Order 6							
	esign for Regaining Societal Balance	7						
The Releva		9						
Ui	nderstanding Reality	10						
Ca	auses of The Great Recession	12						
La	ck of Epistemological Modesty in the Recovery	12						
Gi	ross Deficiency in Knowledge and Ethics	13						
The Three Republican Revolutions								
-	Republican Revolution in the Early 1980s		14					
	ne Powershift Dimension	14						
Tł	ne Fiscal Dimension	14						
The Gingri	ich Led Republican Revolution		14					
Tł	ne Fiscal Dimensions	14						
Po	ower Pursuit Dimensions	15						
George Walker Bush Republican Revolution								
	ne Fiscal Dimensions	16						
	ower and Policy Dimensions	17						
The Trumpian Tak			20					
The Fiscal		21						
	ne Ratio of National Debt to GDP	21						
	esidential Policy on the Pandemic	22						
	ne Fiscal Significance Presidential Policy	22						
	d Policy Dimensions		23					
	ne Intended Design Not Being Realized	23						
	ne Coming End of the Fourth Republican Revolution	23						
The Grand New Re				24				
It Is This o	<i>r That Time</i> Again		24					
The <i>This o</i>	r That Time Goes the Other Way		25					
Power Addiction or Our Common Purpose								
Restructuring American Democracy								
	of the Next Administration		26					
The Fifth F	Republican Revolution		27					

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Introduction

The timing of the failure of the *fourth Republican Revolution* is uncertain. However, seeds of the *Fifth Republican Revolution* have been sown. The plant is taking root, but it is not likely to flower until the last half of the decade of the 2020s. The political parties are organic, as is our American Democracy, with the D in Democracy capitalized because it is the name of what is also known as The *Great Experiment*.

The Great Experiment evolved from a rebellion protesting the tyranny of King George III, that was manifested in the Declaration of Independence of thirteen states that had been colonies, but as a result of the first American Revolution they became a confederation. The evolution to a federation, with the adoption of a constitution, has been called *America's Second Revolution*. That great experiment is in great danger. [Link to Great Danger Emerges] The danger is arising from power concentration, its abuse, and the insufficiency of societal control through proper representation and societal discipline. It is not a matter of law enforcement, it is a matter of the system being gamed; resulting in a maldistribution of power, and a failure for the operation of the system provide fairness in the reciprocity of the economic and political systems. It is now time to decide [booklet one] if you want to live in a free society.

Binary choices may provide *an option for selecting the better choice*, or only *one that is not as bad as the other*. Options for the best choice may be among three more. If you really want a good option, *consider designing one*!

The relevance of this carefully chosen wording is that in the 2016 presidential election we were faced with what many voters considered to be a binary choice where "one that is not as bad as the other." This was in the context of a rejection of the establishment. It, along with whatever, resulted in placing Donald Trump in the world's most powerful leadership position, the presidency of the United States of America. The result, as of this writing, is that our nation is in the worst shape it has been in over 100 years, and our American Democracy, *The Great Experiment*, is in serious danger of failing.

The constitutional design was for a separation of powers among three branches of government; legislative, executive, and judicial. What evolved was a system of two main political parties. The merits of the political party system have long been under question. What is clear, is that two parties are better than one. It is the processes that are used by the parties that is our focus.

The basic proposition here is that the political system is an organism in which the processes influence the structure, and the structure in the context of the environment influences the process. The organic system is evolutionary so that the power structure changes over time. If the power is concentrated in the structure, and the separation of powers within the structure, fail to accomplish their purposes, the system fails. However, if the power is concentrated in the processes, and the processes fail, the system will fail; but the electorate is in a better position to the discipline of the processes that it is on the structure.

Our structure is failing us because there is an extensive abuse of power, and that abuses been increasing especially because the president of the United States is focusing on his retention of power and not on the welfare of the country as a whole. If the clues of his separating children from parents for political purposes were not sufficient, the death of over one hundred thousand people in the United States that could have been prevented is a clue that the vast majority of the electorate is not missing.

The design of the system advocated here focuses on the design of the processes. The structure that emerges will be the emergent phenomenon; and they will call for variation from the existing constitutional structure. It is time for its amendment, and that will take a two-party agreement unless you want tyranny, which is to where you will be taking in a one-party system.

The approach being advocated here calls for improving the design of the election process and electorate's exercise of discipline with representatives. It also calls for electing representatives of greater <u>integrity</u> for fulfilling their responsibility to the public. The excessive concentration of power is destructive representation of the interest of the electorate.

The paradigm for this approach calls for an <u>analytical system</u> that integrates the nascent disciplines into an interdisciplinary approach that blends the disciplines developed by the reductionist perspective. This means using the lens of complexity, a perspective frequently used by leaders that do not even identify it as being a part of complexity science, network science, or other evolving components of an interdisciplinary approaches.

Because that lens of complexity goes beyond the linear analytics focused on cause and effect, it has to deal with the uncertainty of what others will do as the environment changes. That may be approached, as will be discussed later, when "Republicans, who'd hope to gain seats in the 1998 midterms, lost them."

A Half Century Ago

About a half a century ago, each of our two major political parties began a strategical shift. For the Democrats, it was a leadership choice in the context of a transition from the last hundred years of the Industrial Revolution to what was emerging to become the Information Revolution.

What Happened Around 1970

For what happened around 1970, consider the following excerpt from Jill Lepore's 2018 book, *These Truths: A History of the United States:* "but in the early 1970s, while the Republican Party was courting blue-collar white men, especially men who'd lost their manufacturing jobs, the Democratic Party began abandoning blue-collar union workers, especially white men, in favor of a coalition of women, minorities, and we had come to be called "knowledge workers," engineers, scientists, and analysts who were wore white collars and The way at desktop computers technological firms., Universities, consulting firms, and banks [see page 693]. Now consider the following excerpt from the trilogy's first book, *Common Sense Revisited: America's Third Revolution*, Appendix E (*The Integrity of American Democracy Undermined*) to the trilogy's first book, *Common Sense Revisited: America's Third Revolution*,

The Equality of Representation of the Electorate

What has emerged beginning in the last quarter of the 20th century, may in part be attributable to how the Republican Party supporters responded to avert what was reportedly feared by James M. Buchanan. Buchanan's position is expressed, according to a book review by Heather Boushey, by her writing "So Buchanan came to a radical conclusion: Majority rule was an economic problem. 'Despotism,' he declared in his 1975 book, 'The Limits of Liberty,' may be the only organizational alternative to the political structure that we observe." The reviewer continues in the next paragraph with "Buchanan therefore argued for 'curbing the appetites of the majority coalitions' by establishing ironclad rules that would curb their power. [See pages 271-2.]

For the reader's convenience, the entire appendix is linked as follows: Appendix E -The Integrity of American Democracy Undermined. Also, the book's citation index includes the following: "BON10 Boushey, Heather. "Nancy MacLean's book, Democracy in Chains: The Deep History of the Radical Right's Stealth Plan for America." New York Times (New York), August 20, 2017. See pages 85, 121, 163, 266, 272, 293, 298. The entire text is in the review and comment stage for the authors and selected others. The first chapter has been revised; but revision appears only

in in the section available to the public without a password.

A great deal evolved for the Democratic Party over that period of time, especially adjusting to the transition from dominating national leadership for almost four decades. Although some Republicans never got over "that man in the White House," others may have felt simply neglected.

The missed opportunity for the Democrats was in the failure to learn from the experience of the G.I. Bill. That program facilitated a transition to urbanization and a rising standard of living as participation in substantial economic growth. In short, there was rising expectations for the youth to earn more than their parents. Now Democratic Party has figured out, it needs a bigger tent.

The Seeds of the Republican Revolution Was Around 1970

The seed of the *Republican revolutions* started about a quarter century after we emerged victoriously from World War II. As the global leader in the world's free societies, led the way building global institutions that fostered global expansion of democracies. Also, as a nation, we experienced substantial economic growth, and then reduced the National Debt as the percentage of Gross Domestic Product (GDP) to 35%. During that quarter of a century, except for the first two years (1953-55) of the Eisenhower administration, the Democrats controlled the House of Representatives.

As background, the shifts of leadership in the House of Representatives can be significant in one of two ways. Consider that members of the House of Representatives serve two-year terms, presidents serve four-year terms, and Senators serve six-year terms. It can be part of a modest wave formation, or it can be an early warning signal that a storm is brewing.

Historically, in the 1920s leading up to the Great Depression all the speakers of the House of Representatives were Republicans, as were the presidents. The Great Depression started in 1929, and the results of the elections in 1932 a Democrat in the Oval Office from January 1933 for the next 20 years. General Dwight David Eisenhower, a war hero, serve two four-year terms, 1953-1961. During the first two years (January 3, 1953 January 3, 1955), Joseph William Martin Jr. a Republican served as speaker. For the next x six years of President Eisenhower's term of office, Sam Rayburn, a Democrat served as the Speaker of the House.

During the quarter of a century between the end of World War II in 1970, although there was economic prosperity, there is also the Korean conflict in the Vietnam debacle. The Korean conflict, and ongoing battle between North and South Korea, both claiming legitimate governance for all of area did McGovern's produce a two-year war (1951-53) that involved American Armed Forces. The Vietnam war (1955-1975) coupled with the Korean conflict provides dissatisfactions among significant segments of American society. In 1970, a book authored by Charles A. Reich, *The Greening of America,* was published. It became a bestseller. The box that follows is excerpted from the trilogy's first book, *Beyond Common Sense: America's Third Revolution*.

Chapter 3 A HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE

The Concept of America's Third Revolution

The concept of what might be called America's Third Revolution was introduced in 1970 by Charles A. Reich in what looks somewhat like a long subtitle to the soft cover edition of his book, The Greening of America. The cover reads as follows:

"There is a revolution coming. It will not be like revolutions of the past. It will originate with the individual's culture, and it will change the political structure only as its final act. It will not require violence to succeed, and it cannot be successfully resisted by violence. This is the **revolution of the new generation**." [Emphasis added.]

Reich's Perspective of Structural Change

Reich's perspective deals with structure. An excerpt is as follows:

"What is the machinery that we rely upon to turn our wishes into realities? In the private sphere, the market system. In the public sphere, the public version of the market system: voter democracy, or democratic pluralism. In both spheres, a system of administration and law, resting ultimately on the Constitution. Could it be that the American crisis results from a structure that is obsolete? All of the other machinery we use becomes obsolete in a short time. A social institution, which is, after all, only another type of machinery, is not necessarily immune from the same laws of obsolescence. The ideals or principles of a society might remain valid, but the means for applying the principles could lose their effectiveness." [Reich, Charles A. The Greening of America, New York, Bantam Books, Inc., 1970, page 10.]

The shift in 1970, marked by the election of Richard Nixon, who, except for Dwight David Eisenhower, was the only Republican president since the expiration of the term of Herbert Hoover at the beginning of 1933. That result from 1932 election was certainly influenced by Great Depression, marked by the Wall Street crash in October 1929.

More on the Environmental Change

The environmental change in the last half-century may be viewed in the context of the evolution of Western civilization over a longer range. A snapshot perspective may be taken utilizing reference to a few books and some cryptic comments. It is simply background for the discussion of recent events and for the potential of what may emerge.

<u>The Industrial and Information Revolutions</u>. If we only go back as far as *Scientific Revolution*, we will start in the early 1600s. That, however, will also take us to the start of the *Enlightenment*, also known as *The Age of Reason*. Then, in the last quarter of the 18th century we had beginning of *The Great Experiment* of American Democracy, and the end of the Enlightenment with the death of Marquis de Condorcet on March 29, 1794.

From the <u>first chapter of the third book</u> of the trilogy we have the following excerpt:

The French Revolution and the End of Enlightenment

The French Enlightenment was a great contrast to the Scottish Enlightenment. It had picked up on the concept of the right to think independently and express the views. In its 27 August 1789 proclamation, the *Declaration of the Rights of Man and Citizen*, Article 11 (using Mirabeau's phrasing) it affirmed the "free communication of ideas and opinions is one of the most precious rights of man." But as Israel wrote in his *Democratic Enlightenment*, "But his [Mirabeau's] and Volney's efforts to ensure the law could never restrain freedom to speak, write, and print were overruled (rather ominously for the future) [page 908]." What resulted was that Article 6 in the final Declaration opened with the doctrine that the "law is the expression of the general will [p. 907]." Further, Israel went on to write that Article 10 included the proviso "that with the freedom accorded the individual 'accepts responsibility for any abuse of this liberty set my law.' [Israel continues with] Everyone understood what this meant." His explanation referred to "..."the possibility of restoring the Church's authority at some future point [page 908]." But, as it turned out, the combination of article 6 on general will and Article 10 on holding the individual responsible for divergence from the general will resulted in the death of Condorcet and the end of the Enlightenment...

... This information is a segue to some quotes from Edward O. Wilson's remarkable book, *Consilience: The Unity of Knowledge*. In summary, Condorcet was among those who provided the intellectual strength of the French Revolution. At first its "vision of secular knowledge service of human rights and human progress" made a great contribution to Western civilization, but then for France it came to an end. The end came with the death of Condorcet as a result of the efforts to deny the right for an individual to think independently and express those thoughts. It was rooted in the concept of the "*general will*." Wilson puts the end of the Enlightenment as March 29, 1794, the date of the death of the Marquis de Condorcet. The imposition of "the general will" had left no room for reasonable differences.[the endnote is as follows: " After the French Revolution, when the general will overran the rights of the individual, it was the tyranny of the majority that led to the death of the Marquis de Condorcet. When Alex de Tocqueville wrote *Democracy in America* he expressed concern that there would be a tyranny of the majority. See chapters 16 and 17. In my notes for a presentation at <u>Books and Ideas on January 18, 2011</u> the following is included; The centerpiece of discussion Tocqueville's *Democracy in America* considers America as a complex adaptive system, viewing its dimensions with an interdisciplinary perspective. His concern was with in democracy leading to the danger of tyranny of the majority, discussed in chapters 15 and 16."

We shall return in this discussion of *more on the environmental change* after a very quick look at the Industrial Revolution that was spanned by the eras just noted. Now let us take a quick look at the 1916 book by Robert J. Gordon, *The Rise and Fall of American Growth: The US Standard of Living Since the Civil War.* This quick look is as follows:

Robert J. Gordon, in his book *The Rise and Fall of American Growth*, takes what appears to be a pessimistic position on the future of American growth. The final chapter, "and the other had been: long-run American economic growth slows to a fall" processes for handling summarized as follows: lighting equality was been spending on the bottom 99%e our educational attainment in recent decades as a source results of rising inequality; the smaller proportion of the population in the workforce reducing the number of hours worked, per person; the calculation based upon for our (including non-workers); and; the burden of the federal debt and obligations. ¶ The following week in the seminar (11 a. M.) A broader view of the future will be discussed.

That was an April 12, 2016 note to the LLC founder's colleague. The comment that that presentation four years ago probably went along the lines that there was evolving a structural change in the nature of production. The new structure of production rather than being focused on domestic manufacturing is likely to be formed with an increasing shift to globalization with the production and distribution technology that relates to communication.

More will be discussed the future, but for now let's turn to another book; one that takes a different discipline perspective.

<u>The Great Disruption to Our Social Order</u>. the great disruption to our social order is discussed in a 1999 in a Frances Fukuyama book, *The Great Disruption: Human Nature and the Reconstitution of Social Order*. The second paragraph from the flyleaf serves well for the introduction of the excerpts shortly discussed. That paragraph is as follows:

The *Great Disruption* begins by observing that over the past thirty years the United States and other developed countries have undergone a profound transformation from industrial to information society; knowledge has replaced mass production as the basis of wealth, power, and social interaction. At the same time, Western societies have endured increasing levels of crime, massive changes in fertility and family structure, decreasing levels of trust, and the triumph of individualism over community. Just as the Industrial Revolution brought about momentous changes in society's moral values a similar great disruption in our own time has caused profound changes in our social structure.

That book is extensively quoted in the timely trilogy's first book, *Common Sense Revisited: America's Third Revolution.* What follows is excerpted from a page of the book's second chapter, The Paradigm Used. Endnotes are excluded in the excerpt. The link to the chapter is <u>Paradigm Used</u>.

Application of the Concepts in the Twenty-First Century

The social capital concept is used by Francis Fukuyama in his 1999 book *The Great Disruption: Human Nature and the Reconstitution of Human Order.* In it, social capital is defined as "a set of informal values or norms shared among

members of a group that permits cooperation among them [p. 16]."vi Two pages earlier, he notes the following:

"Indeed, social scientists have recently begun to refer to a stock of societies' shared values as *social capital*. Like physical capital (land, buildings, machines) and human capital (the skills and knowledge we carry around in our heads), social capital produces wealth and is therefore of economic value to a national economy. It is also a prerequisite for all forms of group endeavor that take place in our society..."

That quotation is in a paragraph that followed a discussion of how both the Left and the Right wanted to "free the individual from restrictive rules."

For the Left it was a variety of traditional values; for the Right it was limitation on what they could do with their property. The paragraph from which the excerpt was taken started off as follows:

"As people soon discovered, there were serious problems with a culture of unbridled individualism, where the breaking of rules becomes, in a sense, the only remaining rule. The first had to do with the fact that moral values and social rules are not simply arbitrary constraints on individual choice; rather, they are precondition for any type of cooperative enterprise."

Regaining the balance between individual and communal interest is discussed in the third subsection on environmental changes in values. It starts now.

<u>Design for Regaining Societal Balance.</u> Our discussion of a design for regaining social balance is going to provide varied attention to a few books. The first is a 2015 book by Kees Dorst. It is titled *Frame Innovation: Create New Thinking by Design.* The following flyleaf excerpt sets the stage: "Today's problems are a new breed - open, complex, dynamic, and networked - and require a radically different response." The book discusses a generic approach that utilizes the perspective of the lens of complexity; very same lens that is discussed in the timely trilogy, *American Democracy Endangered*.

The following quote from page 51 of the Dorst book is the key: "The word paradox is used here rather loosely, in the sense of a complex thing consists of two more conflicting statements (Dorst 2006). All the statements that make up the paradox are (possibly) true or valid in their own right, but they cannot be combined for logical for pragmatic reasons." The design approach, rather than focusing on differences, focuses on commonality of interests that provide the foundation for the organic process from which the results will emerge. Thus, by starting the design with common ground, and the agreement upon process, the design framing facilitates the emergence of structure that is acceptable to the parties that started their approach with a specific structure in mind; each preferring a different structure.

For an introduction to the lens of complexity in the case at hand, you may link to the booklet, <u>American</u> <u>Democracy Endangered</u>: Restructuring American Democracy. It presents an overview of the three books devoted to conveying an understanding of the system upon which our quality of life depends. The opening paragraph of the preface is as follows:

The Trilogy Presents an Understanding of the System

The body of American Democracy is an array of organs interacting. Organs include the economy, the political structure, and the societal structure. They are best understood using a lens of

complexity. An analogical approach may be used to understand the body of American Democracy using the same principles as are used to understanding the human body.

You may hone in on the relevance of all this by considering the excerpt that follows. It is from pages eight and nine of the <u>same booklet</u>.

Process and Structure

Cultural change is an evolutionary process. The culture is a structure at a point in time; but it is the process in the biological system of the society that alters structure. That biological system of society is a complex adaptive system marked by inflection points in process that lead to changed characteristics in structure. The changed characteristics and structure are alterations of the environment; a condition that may impact process. As the processes adapt to the changed environment, so the changing environment is altered in successive iterations. As the process continues, the culture changes. The changes that have been occurring in recent decades have led us to a divisiveness that is a direct attack on mutual dependence. The conventional wisdom is to view the co-evolution of the electorate and the culture as though it had an appropriate correlation dealing with an equality in the rights of representation in the government that are actually expressed in the operation of the republic.

The electoral process distorts the representation of the interests of the voting public on numerous accounts...[Although the timely trilogy presents substantial discussion of the point, a 2019 book by Lawrence Lessig, *They Don't Represent Us: Reclaiming Our Democracy*, is devoted to the issue. Here is the opening paragraph from the flyleaf: "Along many dimensions, a single flaw -- unrepresentativeness -- has detached our government and the people. And as a people, our fractured partisanship and ignorance on critical issues drives our leaders to stake out evermore extreme positions.]

What we have been building to is the presentation of an understanding the evolutionary process, and the use of *frame design* to get our nation back on the pursuit of the <u>ideals articulated the Declaration of</u> <u>Independence</u>. *The Great Experiment* of our societal structure utilized the design of the separation of powers in order to avoid tyranny. Furthermore, it provided for a pluralism in societal structure in which the representation of the electorate is facilitated through political parties representing the electorate.

A key element in the use of political parties to represent the electorate is at the source of authority is the electorate. Additionally, the design is that the electorate exercises discipline of the system, especially by the use of the voting power. The remarkable characteristic of the system is the peaceful transition of power based upon the results of the election. Any threat to that is cancerous to our society.

The relevance of the *framing by the design* goes beyond dealing with differences between the parties by the use of the *"this or that,"* the binary choice. It also goes beyond compromise. The tribalism that has emerged is cancerous to the health of the society because it destroys commonality that is essential for the health of society. The framing of choices is built upon a commonality of interests that contribute to the social capital needed for the health of the system.

That commonality starts with an interest in freedom. The essence of our society is pluralism so that our rights are protected by the Constitution that is designed to protect us from tyranny, including the tyranny of the majority. The price of pluralism is the protection of the rights of others, in that it is the same pluralism that protects our rights. The design framing comes into play through the equality of

rights alluded to in the Declaration of Independence. It calls for a *fair and representative* system as essential for the health of our society.

This means that there is a rule of law. However, that concept has been abused. Aside from the abuse of law by those in authority, which is a serious problem that we have been facing, there is an abuse of the **role of law**. The maldistribution of power in the construction of the law is an abuse of the system. Add to that, the gaming of the system, the result is a rule of law with the intention to deny rights of others for one's own personal and/or professional interests.

The abuse of authority, with (the July 2019) unwanted federal troops in cities that are experiencing substantial legal protests, appears to be a political move by the president to not only energize his political base, but to provide a distraction from the COVID-19 pandemic for which he was ill-prepared, initially denied, and has horribly mismanaged. His behavior, in this case and numerous other cases, appears to value his reelection above all else, including the thousands unnecessary deaths from the pandemic, and compromising national security. That behavior may well be deemed as cancerous to the health of society and the future of our democracy.

The next book, *Emergent Strategy: Shaping Change, Changing Worlds* (2017), is by Adrienne Maree Brown. It is focused on small scale organizational change, and so serves as a guide to the process. The quote selected here (from the introduction) is as follows: "Here you are, in the cycle between the past and the future...[we]... Can learn from the world around us how to best collaborate, how to shape change." That book focuses on small-scale interaction. The next book focuses on the big picture akin to what was just discussed utilizing quotations from the great disruption book by Frances Fukuyama.

The concluding book for the subsection is by David Brooks. It is titled *The Second Mountain: The Quest for a Moral Life* (2019). The key sentence may be in the flyleaf, "On the second mountain, life moves from self-centered to other centered." However, for the line of reasoning being developed we need to go to page 191 and then on to page 201.

In the middle of the 191, most of the large paragraph, and the small next paragraph, is as follows:

...It occurred to me that the projects had been designed by sociologists who had the best intentions -- to raise the old tenements and replace them with something shiny and new. They didn't realize that when they tore down the old tenements, they were also tearing down the invisible webs of support that people had built to make their lives bearable. The builders had made the neighborhoods materially better for time, but sociology worse. They lacked epistemological modesty. [They did not understand the whole system, and did not know that it was the case.]

It occurred to me that this was exactly **what Burke warned about** [emphasis added]. I went back and read *Reflections* and was transfixed by it. I didn't buy everything Burke was selling, but I now begin to see some wisdom in this thing called conservatism.

Now fast-forward to page 201 to the concluding paragraph of the 19th chapter, **Intellectual Commitments.** It is as follows: "But ultimately joy is found not in satisfying your desires but in changing your desires so that you have the best desires. The educated life is a journey toward higher and higher love.

The Relevance of All This

The relevance of all this is that the voting public, in general, lacks. "*epistemological modesty*." And what is even worse, the elected representatives lack "*epistemological modesty*." Furthermore, the idea that what we don't know gets us into trouble has some merit, but what we think we know that isn't so can get us into worse trouble. Essentially, human beings are a dysfunctional species, some of whom believed that we were at the top of the food chain, only to lately discover that nature is providing evidence that the coronavirus is a serious contender for at least constraining our control, as presumably we have been exercising over the animal and vegetable hierarchies.

From the <u>fifth chapter of the third book</u> we have the following:

Its relevance [the discussion of educational innovation in <u>Unity Counts</u>] is indicated by the third paragraph of the essay, *Unity Counts* as follows:

All of this exists is in an environment in which the dysfunctionality of the human species, and the dysfunctionality of *The Great Experiment*, American Democracy, has placed us in two crises. The first crisis is the pandemic. Globally, an excellent overview of how the world is doing is provided in a couple of pages in the Sunday Review section of the New York Times, May 31, 2020. It is authored by Thomas L Friedman, and titled "The World is Broken: Greed and globalization set us for disaster." The four parts are titled as follows: (1) Sept. 11, 2001; (2) The Great Recession; (3) Covid-19; & (4) Climate Catastrophe.

The intent here is to better enable all Americans to exercise their unalienable rights to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. The process may require a paradigm shift from the misconceptions prevailing as to the nature of things, especially among the regulators and those of substantial influence through access. Furthermore, it may require a mode of language capable of communicating complex ideas in understandable form not only to those in the regulatory structure and with substantial access, but also to the populace so as to better empower them to making wise decisions.

DEEP (Declaration Era Educational Press) is designed to provide a higher education at the lowest possible cost. It may be blended with accredited institutions of higher learning, but considering that learning is one's own responsibility, it can be pursued in many ways. Reading is one of the most powerful ways, and integrating a diversity of disciplines is exceptionally powerful for dealing with complexity. Because of the complexity, and interdisciplinary approach may be necessary. Team formation is especially helpful when dealing with a great diversity of ideas.

In any case, it is highly recommended that the readers acquire a copy of Chris Rohmann's book, A World of Ideas: A Dictionary of Theories, Concepts, Beliefs, and Thinkers, and read the one page that discusses epistemology. An ordinary dictionary will not be satisfactory for conveying an essential part of the relevance of this educational mission. For the motivated learner, would be especially helpful in delving deeper in order to better understand reality.

<u>Understanding Reality</u>. Understanding reality is becoming increasingly difficult because the pace of change has accelerated, as has complexity of the system. What we think we know can be better understood with a background in philosophy, especially epistemology and logic. That understanding is undermined by President Trump utilizing conspiracy theories as political weapons. It is a significant danger to the survival of American Democracy. [See CNN SPECIAL REPORTS - • <u>Special Report: Donald</u> <u>Trump's Conspiracy Theories. Aired 9-10p ET.</u>]

Epistemology is the study of knowledge, including role of truth in our understanding of reality. The key single sentence from the Rohmann book, for our purposes is as follows: "Perhaps the most common definition of knowledge is *true, justified belief*: I know something I believe it to be true, and that belief is justified [page 118]. It appears that a substantial portion of Trump's base have accepted Trump's gross misrepresentations of reality as true, when the reality is that what he says is designed to generate reaction favorable with interest, and to do so without regard to reality, or the undesirable consequences that are generated in the public interest. His behavior with regard to COVID-19 from preparation (or lack thereof) to denial, and then to management appears to be designed to favor his reelection; it turns out that his gross incompetence and/or amorality cost more than 100,000 lives of innocent people, and is causing excessive damage to the quality of life the vast majority of Americans through a recession that will be deeper and take longer for recovery than would have been the case had he acted responsibly.

President Trump falls short in his use of logic because the relies on a zero-sum game approach, without adequate consideration of the complexity of valid reasoning, and/or his reasoning is designed to enhance his reelection, irrespective of the other consequences, as long as he can get away with it. The catastrophe of pandemic in the United States will be his downfall.

The concern here is with fostering valid reasoning on behalf of the voting public. That is what logic is about. The case of Donald Trump, and what has turned out to be Republican Party's Fourth Revolution, simply an example of understanding reality on the way to the discussion of the Fifth Republican Revolution. If that fifth revolution establishes a Grand New Party, with conservative values a better understanding the reality of the processes of market and societal discipline, the American political economy can restore its health as a free society back on the path towards the ideals articulated the Declaration of Independence.

Part of Trump's success in getting support is a substantial portion of the base is searching for certainty in explanations, and is willing to accept explanations that have no relationship to reality. They, along with Trump believe that they know more than actually know, except the idea that everything is someone else's fault. The reality is that nature is inherently uncertain because contingencies occur in the emergence from the interactions of the nodes in the system are not able to predict reliably where the nodes in the system will do. As will be discussed, the best we can do is to deal with patterns and strategy.

For patterns, a book that explains the process for checkers and neural systems is by John H Holland. It is titled *Emergence: From Chaos to Order* (1998). The basic concept is that even a few basic rules or laws can generate systems of great complexity. Consider chess games in which the early patterns of moves that the structure that sheds light on has to be pursued and likely outcomes. Our concern is with organizations that have participants who have a good understanding of rules and/or laws, and how their interactions will produce patterns leading to better outcomes.

The discussion that turns to the point that even in science, many of us have excessive confidence in what we know, and how we know it. We've been focusing on linearity in analytics because the

predictive ability is better when the systems are not involving. When the systems are evolving, we need nonlinear analyses that are designed to deal with uncertainty.

As a case in point illustrating that we are all suffering from excessive confidence in what we know, and how we know it. We believe that we can strategize with sophisticated models and come up with the forecasts of outcomes. That is the problem because there is no way of knowing what others will do for the environment changes, and it continues to change. The best we can do is to pick patterns for minimax strategy that suits our propensity for risk.

At this point, will attempt a very brief discussion of some of what we have failed to learn, and the shortfall in our ethical behavior. We will start with a very brief discussion of the causes of The Great Recession, moving on to a "Lack of *Epistemological Modesty* in the Recovery," and then discuss the existence of a *Gross Deficiency in Knowledge and Ethics*.

<u>Causes of The Great Recession</u>. There were many causes of The Great Recession that evolved from the burst of subprime lending and the capital market freeze. The subprime lending had been modest until the late 1990s. It was fostered by a well-intentioned act of Congress, especially with the encouragement of Fannie Mae and Freddie Mac facilitate the financing process. What was missing was an appropriate regulation of the system, especially by the excessive use of derivatives.

From the mortgage lending side, it was like finding gold in the streets. That was because the incentive was to make loans without regard to repayment. That was facilitated by packaging loans, and slicing them into priorities of claim. Geographical diversification would reduce market risks, but diversified garbage, was still garbage.

The sliced segments were then bundled with a new priority of claim. The bundling institutions selected the rating agencies, and the rating agencies either didn't know the risks for didn't care. Even some of the borrowers really didn't care that they weren't going to be able to repay, because they could take occupancy, default, and it was still cheaper than rent.

The regulatory system totally in adequate. A house of cards was being built, but the markets were free from sufficient regulation. By the way, there are contemporary segments still build the exposure in what can turn out to be a house of cards.

Lack of *Epistemological Modesty* in the Recovery. The Long-Term Capital Management debacle, a decade earlier and sent the message that too big to fail was a problem. The regulators apparently had not received the message, and when the bubble burst, they went in to save surviving institutions.

If they had really learned about utilizing the discipline of the market to let profit-seeking institutions fail, the structure of banking would have been different. Additionally, in the recovery, the borrowing side with not only neglected, it was abused. The terms of the contracts and the foreclosure procedures were not equitable. Additionally, the administration with the derivatives was such that there was insufficient knowledge of who owed what to whom.

Then, in the recovery, the run-up of the National Debt as a percentage of gross domestic product had been rising, especially in the preceding administration, and during the administration of the Republican Party that was supposed to value fiscal conservativism. It would have been wise to use physical expenditures for capital improvements, especially since the infrastructure was in need of repair and modernizing. The endangerment of collapse of bridges send signals that apparently were not received. The heavy reliance on monetary policy Job interest rates way down. That put many government retirement programs predicated on defined-benefit plans in great trouble. As a recalibrated what they needed in investments to pay the obligations, and interest rates were low, there were consciously put under pressure. The stock market recovery was of help in the defined-benefit plans, but many baby boomers ready for retirement were moving to more conservative balances between debt and equity, and they were hurt. In many cases, retirement was postponed.

If there was a design for the balance of societal interests, it didn't seem to work. Except, there was a record long recovery that ran for about a decade.

<u>Gross Deficiency in Knowledge and Ethics</u>. While the economy was still doing well in the year the 2016 elections, the administration changed with Republicans having a majority in both the House and the Senate, and the election of a Republican president. The election results were surprising, except that the establishment in general was not in favor by the public. It appeared that they would elect almost anybody, and some believe that they did.

We will shortly continue with the evolution of that Republican Party that wound up with the presidential candidate, who for some seem to bully his way into the nomination. At first there was a rejection of his autocracy tendencies, but did not take long until vast majority of the elected Republican representatives, in the House and Senate, where doing his bidding.

In his first year of service, the only significant major legislation passed was a so-called tax reform bill. The procedure used was a process designed for modification that require only a simple majority in the Senate rather than a 60% majority. The assumptions made were unrealistic. Furthermore, the legislation was initially put together so that it took years to sort out some details the results of which were supposed to go to the press localities, but resulted in some luxury developments.

The economy did not need a boost, but it appears that the president considered rewarding his supporters with a tax reform bill which the vast majority of the benefits went to the wealthy. As a result, the ratio of public debt to gross domestic product was increased at a time of prosperity when conservatives believe that it should've been reduced.

As discussed elsewhere on this website, the administration was not prepared to deal with a pandemic with results that by any reasonably judgment, United States of America found itself among the worst performance of nations, not only among advanced economies, that among all nations.

So the last 50 years and sent us some messages, we have not learned enough, and/or behave with enough justice to be prepared for the double debacle which we are now facing. A pandemic not under control, with an uncertain future, and the recession also with an uncertain future. Furthermore, our ratio of federal debt to gross domestic product is increasing, and there will be a great strain on the ability of the federal government to leave the recovery.

The Three Republican Revolutions

The idea of three Republican revolutions, as discussed in this essay, was triggered by an article authored by Fareed Zakaria. It is in the *Time Magazine* November 4, 2010. The brief article is available by linking - <u>The Republican Revolution: Real This Time?</u> It is short. For your convenience, here is the opening paragraph:

We are watching the third Republican revolution unfold — the third time the Republican Party has come to power promising to fundamentally alter the relationship of the U.S. government to society. If the past is any guide, the Republicans are going to have a tough time fulfilling their pledge. If they do not deliver yet again, the American people, at some point, will surely conclude that they are hypocrites.

The article focuses on the deficit, but includes but includes reference to power shifts. The line of reasoning being developed here is focusing on power shifts, but considering Republican policy with regard to deficits as an evolutionary factor. We are building to the design of a system in which a binary choice between the two political parties will produce "an option for selecting the better choice," rather than "one that is not as bad as the other."

That that design is predicated on the reformation of both major political parties as a result of the co-evolution of the electorate and the processes by which a democracy operating through a representative government, as a republic. The strategic approach is built upon framing the issues in which there is a sufficient commonality for cooperative efforts in resolution of differences necessarily reside in a pluralistic society. Without pluralism, we will lose our freedom. In short, the current tribalism is cancerous to our freedom.

The design is a matter of process producing structure, so that the focus is on designing the process and adhering to the standards of truth in representation of facts, and balance between self-interest and community interest. Although this section is focused on the four decades of events between 1970 and 2010, we will follow up with a discussion of events in the 21st century.

Reagan's Republican Revolution in the Early 1980s

<u>The Powershift Dimension</u>. The powershift dimension "The first Republican Revolution was the Reagan one, which promised to roll back Lyndon Johnson's Great Society." So wrote Fareed Zakaria in the *Time Magazine* November 4, 2010 article, *The Republican Revolution: Real This Time*?

<u>The Fiscal Dimension</u>. The fiscal dimension is discussed in the rest of paragraph and the ensuing paragraph. The opening paragraph continues as follows:

"In its place, Reagan proposed a low tax, small-government America. The first part happened, with a historic reform of the tax codes, bringing marginal rate tax rates way down and eliminating hundreds of loopholes. But the spending cuts never took place. The result: from 1981 to 1985, the federal budget deficit more than doubled as a percentage of GDP, and declined slightly in Reagan's second term only because he agreed to tax increases. Still, the basic pattern was set. If the old Democratic paradigm was tax and spend, the new Republican one was borrow and spend."

As background, Carter's one term in office preceded Reagan's two terms. In Carter's last two years in office (1979-1980), the National Debt as a percentage of GDP was 31% and 32%. In Reagan's first five years the percentages were as follows: 31%, 34%, 37%, 38%, and 42%. In Reagan's last three years (1986, 1987, 1988) the percentages were as follows: 46%, 48%, and 49%. The numbers are in the endnotes to first chapter of <u>Common Sense Revisited</u>] That chapter discusses the so-called tax reform passed in December 2017 when the percentage had already risen to over 100%.

The Gingrich Led Republican Revolution

<u>The Fiscal Dimensions</u>. The Gingrich led Republican Revolution is what we are calling *the second* of the Republican revolutions. It is what was identified by Zakaria in the article cited. The quote Is as follows: "Round 2 was the Gingrich revolution." The rest of the paragraph (in his very brief presentation) and the ensuing paragraph, sheds light on the rising deficit. Noted was that the Gingrich Second Republican Revolution took place during the Clinton administration; a Republican revolution during a Democrat's presidency.

The Zakaria article focuses on deficits. As background for our discussion that is delving deeper, the ratio of the National Debt to the Gross Domestic Product (GDP) during Clinton's eight years in office (1993-2000) were as follows: 64%, 65%, 64%, 62%, 58%, 58%, 855%. That is compared to the previous four years of the George Herbert Walker Bush administration (1989-1992), 50%, 54%, 59%, & 62%. So, the debt burden in the Clinton's eight years in office started with a first four years higher than that of the previous administration, but then declined in the next four years to where it was below the final year of the previous administration by seven percentage points. The Democratic administration had lowered the debt burden late in the 20th century. We will shortly see what emerged from the Republican fiscal policies, so far the 21st century. First, let us consider the power pursuit dimension of the Gingrich led Republican Revolution.

<u>Power Pursuit Dimensions.</u> Power pursuit dimensions during the Second Republican Revolution will be discussed with reference to a few books. The recently published book, *Burning Down the House: Newt* Gingrich, *the Fall of a Speaker, and the Rise of the New Republican Party* (2020), authored by Julian E. Zelizer has an advertisement as follows: "The story of how Newt Gingrich and his allies tainted American politics, launching an enduring era of brutal partisan warfare."

Continuing with this brief background for system design, intended to result with better binary options, we have a book review by Geoffrey Kabaservice in the New York Times, July 19, 2020. The opening paragraph of the review refers to "March 1989, when the maverick Republican representatives Newt Gingrich rose to power..." The long paragraph continues with reference to paving the way "for the establishment of Presidency of Donald Trump." From the web, we have the entire first paragraph in the box that follows.

When did American politics take the wrong turn that led to our present era of endless partisan warfare and hyperpolarization? According to the Princeton University history professor Julian E. Zelizer, politics went pear-shaped in the period from January 1987 to March 1989, when the maverick Republican representative Newt Gingrich rose to power, which culminated in the forced resignation of Democratic House Speaker Jim Wright. Zelizer makes a convincing case that Gingrich not only "legitimated ruthless and destructive practices that had once been relegated to the margins," he also helped to degrade Congress's institutional legitimacy and paved the way for the anti-establishment presidency of Donald Trump.

As further background, Gingrich became Speaker of the House of Representatives in 1995 as a result of the midterm elections in 1994. Tom Foley, a Democrat who served as speaker of the House of Representatives during 1993 and 1994, lost the reelection in his district to a Republican in the 1994 midterm elections. That was a year in which the Republicans won 34 seats that had been held by Democrats during 1993 and 1994.

Available on the web is linkable item, *How Newt Gingrich Shaped Republican Party* July 7, 2020 by Jeremy Hobson. Here are two items: (1) "The hyperbolic descriptions President Trump has used to

describe his political opponents — <u>"the radical left, the Marxists, the anarchists"</u> — come straight out of the playbook of former House Speaker Newt Gingrich." & (2) Historian Julian Zelizer makes that case in his new book, <u>"Burning Down The House: Newt Gingrich, The Fall Of A Speaker, And The Rise Of The New Republican Party,"</u> which chronicles Gingrich's rise as a young and unknown congressman who utilized cable television to shape the Republican Party in ways still seen today."

Before returning to the fiscal dimensions in the evolution of revolutions in the Republican Party, in the box that follows there is a paragraph from Jill Lepore's book, *These Truths: A History of The United States* (2018). It is from page 711-712, in the fifteenth chapter, titled "Battle Lines."

The nation lost its way in the politics of mutually assured epistemological destruction. There was no truth, only innuendo, rumor, and bias. There was no reasonable explanation, there was only conspiracy. The White House hired private detectives to find dirt about Starr and other investigators. Voters found the investigation as reprehensible as Clinton, or more so. By a margin of two to one, women had thought the press coverage had gone too far. Still, they blamed Republicans for making a spectacle of the presidency. Republicans, who'd hope to gain seats in the 1998 midterms, lost them. After the election, House Speaker Gingrich, who was already on his second wife, learned that his own affair with a congressional aide twenty-three years his junior was about to be exposed, and resigned, blaming "cannibals who had 'blackmailed' him into quitting [endnote providing sources is provided].

Before moving on to the discussion of the third of what is presented as five Republican Party revolutions, here is a note about the digital platform.

This website digital platform will be hosting the discussion of the evolution of events as they materialize. This applies to both resection of the Democratic Party as well as Republican Party. The history that is being provided, supplies some clues as to patterns that may emerge. It is up to the motivated learners and the thought leaders in this website is provided to share what they've learned and to put on the table discussion the expectation of what could reasonably unfold, and ideas for helping to shape better alternatives to whatever **this or that** binary choice emerges.

George Walker Bush Republican Revolution

<u>The Fiscal Dimensions</u>. The fiscal dimensions of the George Walker Bush occupancy of the presidency for the years 2001 through 2008 may be summarized with a continuation of the percentages of the National Debt relative to the Gross Domestic Product (GDP). The numbers were 55%, 57%, 59%, 60%, 60%, 61%, 62%, 68%. The change in the national debt depends upon the size of the deficit for the surplus. The deficit occurs when expenditures exceed revenues.

As noted earlier, "The successor president, Barack Obama (a Democrat) had to use both monetary and fiscal policy for the recovery. The percentages in the ratio for his eight years starting in 2009 are as follows: 83%, 90%, 95%, 99%, 99%, 101% 99%, & 104%. During the recession revenues drop. The data for federal deficits, from the Economic Report of the President, puts these and additional members into the table that follows:

Selected Data as Percentage of GDP {source Presidents Annual Report] George W. Bush Administration Barack Obama Administration

Fiscal	Receipt		Surplus	Fiscal	Receipt	Outlay	Surplus
Year	S	Outlays	or	Year	S	S	or
			Deficit				Deficit
2001	18.8	17.6	1.2	2009	14.6	24.4	-9.8
2002	17.0	18.5	-1.5	2010	13.6	23.4	-8.7
2003	15.7	19.1	-3.3	2011	15.0	23.4	-8.5
2004	15.6	19.0	-3.4	2012	15.3	22.1	-6.8
2005	16.7	19.2	-2.5	2013	15.8	20.9	-4.1
2006	17.6	19.4	-1.8	2014	17.5	20.3	-2.8
2007	17.9	19.1	-1.1	2015	18.1	20.5	-2.4
2008	17.1	19.2	-3.1	2016	17.7	20.9	-3.2

From a fiscal perspective, the three Republican revolutions, starting with Ronald Reagan in the early 1980s, did not pursue balanced-budgets. Instead we got an increase in the amount of federal debt relative to GDP. What it appeared to pursue, as a matter of policy, is the reduction of taxes and an increase in the public debt. So, what has been the trend in the political ideology of Republican Party?

<u>Power and Policy Dimensions</u>. This takes us back to the opening sentence of the Zakaria article that triggered this essay, "We are watching the third Republican revolution unfold – the third time the Republican Party has come to power promising to fundamentally alter the relationship of the U.S. Government to society." So, what is the ideology of the Republican Party with regard to the *relationship of the U.S. Government to society*?

As a start, is the ideology of the Republican Party conservatism? That depends upon two things. The first is *what is conservatism*? The second is, *what is the Republican Party ideology*? If the reader scrolls back to page 9, and rereads the discussion of the David Brook's book, *The Second Mountain* (contained in the subsection Design for Regaining Societal Balance), there is reference to "…*what Burke warned about."* The next sentence refers to the Burke book, *Reflections*.

Edmund Burke (1729-1797) has been considered to be the founder of *conservatism*. The Burke book, *Reflections*, refers to "*Reflections on the Revolution in France* (1790) in which he condemned the French Revolution, even before it entered its radical stage, as a dangerous experiment that can only lead to chaos and war [see page 51 Rohmann's A World of Ideas]." The Rohmann book is subtitled, A Dictionary of Important Theories, Concepts, Beliefs, and Thinkers. On page 78 there is a discussion of **conservatism**. The opening sentence is as follows: "Political and social outlook that seeks to preserve systems and institutions that have been tested by time; the opposite of RADICALISM and often LIBERALISM. Words in uppercase indicate that elsewhere discussed in the Dictionary of Ideas.

We shall shortly go to the Trumpian takeover of the Republican Party as the fourth Revolution of the Republican Party. However, before moving to that section, consider that the four decades covered from the discussion that started with a focus on the 1970s and proceeded through the first decade of the 21st century presents a case that the Republican Party has been more of a *pursuit of power than of ideology*. The case may be made on the basis of the fear of tyranny of the masses.

What Burke feared, may be reflected in in his *Reflections,* "… In which he condemned the French Revolution, even before its RADICAL stage, as a dangerous experiment that can only lead to chaos and war. The revolution, he wrote, threaten the traditional order by attempting to reshape society according to idealistic notions such as "the RIGHTS of man." [See Rohmann page 51.]

The contrast between Scotland and France reflects the fears that Burke had that reflects the dangers of dramatic change. The American Revolution was in the middle ground. The box that follows provides a series of excerpts from the <u>first chapter of the third book in the trilogy</u>. As indicated, that entire chapter is linked.

THE TWO CONTRASTING CASES

The Scottish Enlightenment in the Wake of the Glorious Revolution

The Scottish Enlightenment was led by moderate enlighteners, the major exception being John Millar, a professor of civil law in Glasgow from 1761 to 1801. His views were the closest to representing the ideals in the American Revolution.

The Glorious Revolution of 1688 paved the way for Scotland in 1707 to become part of Britain — a Britain that had acquired a structure that was a limited monarchy. Under the new structure there were added protections of individual rights including some legislative representation. It paved the way for the moderate philosophical solution. The rights accorded to the citizens were lesser than those claimed by the American colonists in their Declaration of Independence...

...Morality, the principles of ethical behavior, came into play into the views of the Scottish Enlightenment. We now turn to the case of the French Enlightenment.

The French Revolution and the End of Enlightenment

The French Enlightenment was a great contrast to the Scottish Enlightenment. It had picked up on the concept of the right to think independently and express one's views..... But as it turned out, the combination of article 6 on general will and Article 10 on holding the individual responsible for divergence from the general will resulted in the death of Condorcet and the end of the Enlightenment...

...This information is a segue to some quotes from Edward O. Wilson's remarkable book, Consilience: The Unity of Knowledge. In summary, Condorcet was among those who provided the intellectual strength of the French Revolution. At first its "vision of secular knowledge, service of human rights and human progress" made a great contribution to Western civilization, but then for France it came to an end. The end came with the death of Condorcet as a result of the efforts to deny the right of an individual to think independently and express those thoughts. It was rooted in the concept of the "general will." Wilson puts the end of the Enlightenment as March 29, 1794, the date of the death of the Marquis de Condorcet. The imposition of "the general will" had left no room for reasonable differences.

According to Israel in Democratic Enlightenment, "...The Declaration of the Rights of Man and the Citizen was finally proclaimed on 27 August, its ringing phrases owing something to the American example but most to radical philosophique literature [p.908]." There was a difference however in the circumstances fostering the American Declaration and the French Declaration. America's Declaration was a protest against the abuses of the colonies' rights by Britain's then king, not "necessarily past ones." The French Declaration "spoke of wholly natural rights that needed to be enshrined in laws yet to be made...For the first time in history, freedom of thought and expression for everyone was enshrined as a basic principle and right of enlightenment and morally justified human society, the very bedrock of democratic modernity was in place [p. 908]."

The critical concept is that in the pursuit of an ideal, the societal system does better for the people when there is a balance between the rights of the community as a whole and the rights of the individual. Where that balance point is may vary widely by society. It was missed in the case of France, ending the Enlightenment. For some Scots, it fell short in the case of Scotland. Then in the 2014 referendum advocating Scotland's independence from Britain, the referendum lost by a vote of 55% to stay with Britain against 45% for independence. Further study of the morality of the invisible hand in the context of nascent disciplines, especially network science and complexity science, will help in finding a path to liberty and justice for all.

Fear of the tyranny of the masses is a recurring theme. After the French Revolution, when the general will overran the rights of the individual, it was the tyranny of the majority that led to the death of the Marquis de Condorcet. Then when, in the early 1800s, Alex de Tocqueville visited America to pick up ideas that indicated that the American Revolution survived, but there was instability in his native France; he wrote *Democracy in America*. In it, he expressed concern about a tyranny of the majority. See his chapters 16 and 17 (and Maury's notes for a presentation at <u>Books and Ideas on January 18, 2011).</u>

Given the background that has been presented starting with what happened around 1970 (discussion starting on page 3), particularly in the lengthy quotation from the section, *The Equality of Representation of the Electorate,*"...

What has emerged beginning in the last quarter of the 20th century, may in part be attributable to how the Republican Party supporters responded to avert what was reportedly feared by James M. Buchanan. Buchanan's position is expressed, according to a book review by Heather Boushey, by her writing "So Buchanan came to a radical conclusion: Majority rule was an economic problem. 'Despotism,' he declared in his 1975 book, 'The Limits of Liberty,' may be the only organizational alternative to the political structure that we observe." The reviewer continues in the next paragraph with "Buchanan therefore argued for 'curbing the appetites of the majority coalitions' by establishing ironclad rules that would curb their power. [See pages 271-2.]

Now let's take a quick recap the three Republican revolutions.

1. Reagan's Republican Revolution in the Early 1980s

<u>The Powershift Dimension</u>. The powershift dimension "The first Republican Revolution was the Reagan one, which promised to roll back Lyndon Johnson's Great Society." <u>The Fiscal Dimension</u>. ... The opening paragraph continues as follows:

"In its place, Reagan proposed a low tax, small-government America. The first part happened, with a historic reform of the tax codes, bringing marginal rate tax rates way down and eliminating hundreds of loopholes. But the spending cuts never took place. The result: from 1981 to 1985, the federal budget deficit more than doubled as a percentage of GDP..., If the old Democratic paradigm was tax and spend, the new Republican one was borrow and spend."

2. The Gingrich Led Republican Revolution

<u>The Fiscal Dimensions</u>. The Gingrich led Republican Revolution is what we are calling *the second of the Republican revolutions…* Noted was that the *Gingrich Second Republican*

Revolution took place during the Clinton administration; a Republican revolution during a Democrat's presidency...

... As background for our discussion that is delving deeper, the ratio of the National Debt to the Gross Domestic Product (GDP) during Clinton's eight years in office (1993-2000) were as follows: 64%, 65%, 64%, 62%, 58%, 58%, & 55%. That is compared to the previous four years of the George Herbert Walker Bush administration (1989-1992), 50%, 54%, 59%, & 62%. So, the debt burden in the Clinton's eight years in office started with a first four years higher than that of the previous administration, but then declined in the next four years to where it was below the final year of the previous administration by seven percentage points...

<u>Power Pursuit Dimensions.</u> Power pursuit dimensions during the Second Republican Revolution will be discussed with reference to a few books._The recently published book, *Burning Down the House: Newt* Gingrich, *the Fall of a Speaker, and the Rise of the New Republican Party* (2020), authored by Julian E. Zelizer has an advertisement as follows: "The story of how Newt Gingrich and his allies tainted American politics, launching an enduring era of brutal partisan warfare..."

3. George Walker Bush Republican Revolution

<u>The Fiscal Dimensions</u>. The fiscal dimensions of the George Walker Bush occupancy of the presidency for the years 2001 through 2008 may be summarized with a continuation of the percentages of the National Debt relative to the Gross Domestic Product (GDP). The numbers were 55%, 57%, 59%, 60%, 60%, 61%, 62%, 68%. The change in the national debt depends upon the size of the deficit for the surplus. The deficit occurs when expenditures exceed revenues...

<u>Power and Policy Dimensions</u>. This takes us back to the opening sentence of the Zakaria article that triggered this essay, "We are watching the third Republican revolution unfold – the third time the Republican Party has come to power promising to fundamentally alter the relationship of the U.S. Government to society." So, what is the ideology of the Republican Party with regard to the *relationship of the U.S. Government to society*?

In summary, the idea that the Republican Party is a party for fiscal responsibility does not stand the test of data as revealed by their behavior at least since the Reagan era, a period of three decades. In particular, the focus is been on reducing taxes, especially for buyers in brackets. Additionally, the party has pursued tribalism in an effort to reduce welfare expenses for the masses.

What started about a half century ago, as a protection from what was visualized as a danger of tyranny of the masses, turns out to set the stage for the fourth Republican revolution, a tyranny of the wealthy. That appears to have started a path towards an autocracy. This takes us to the fourth Republican Revolution, the takeover of the Republican Party by Donald Trump.

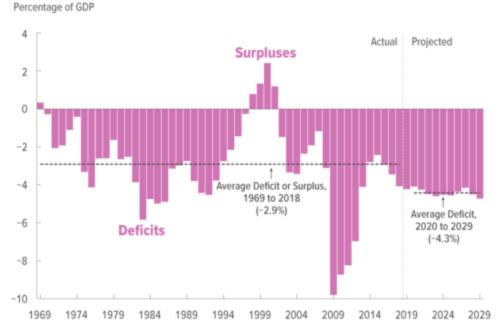
The Trumpian Takeover of the Republican Party

The Trumpian takeover of the Republican Party may be viewed the fourth Republican Revolution. We may not have needed another clue, but there was one on Friday, July 31, 2020, in the form of the New York Times op-ed item titled "We Created the G.O.P Demise." It is authored by Stuart Stevens whose book, *It Was All A Lie: How the Republican Party Became Donald Trump*, is scheduled for publication this coming Wednesday, August 5, 2020. However, there are ample reviews already available; one of which is exceptionally lengthy. But we need not rely on the Stevens presentation. We have just discussed the power pursuit dimensions of the Gingrich led Republican Revolution (see pages 15 and 16).

In some respects, the Trumpian takeover of the Republican Party through the nomination process in which Trump attacked his fellow Republicans, is simply an adoption of the playbook of Newt Gingrich as discussed in The Gingrich Led Republican Revolution. In other respects, in concept, it "is a continuation of *winning at any cost*." In the latter case, instead of it being the political party winning any cost, it appears that in the case is about Donald Trump, as an individual, *winning at any cost*. That certainly appears to be the objective of his behavior as president of United States. And, as of the time that this is being drafted, one may make the case that his failure to properly pursue the interests of the nation in the case of the pandemic, because he prioritizes his reelection, is in some measure at the cost of the premature death of over 100,000 Americans.

The Fiscal Dimensions

<u>The Ratio of National Debt to GDP</u>. Starting with budget projections, consider that under the pre-pandemic conditions in early 2019, the Congressional Budget Office report of May 2, 2019, the CBO's projections were as represented in the chart that follows:



Updated Budget Projections: 2019 to 2029.

CBO projects a deficit of \$896 billion for 2019—\$1 billion less than the deficit it projected in January. Federal debt held by the public is projected to grow from 78 percent of gross domestic product in 2019 to 92 percent in 2029.

The first chapter of the first book of the trilogy contains a chart, on page 10, titled "Federal Debt Held by the Public." It is preceded by the two paragraphs as follows:

The burden of the federal debt relative to the Gross Domestic Product (GDP) rose greatly during World War II and declined substantially by the end of the third quarter of the twentieth century. Then during the Reagan era there were two major tax cuts; the economic recovery act of 1981 and the tax Reform Act of 1986. The burden of the federal debt increased during the 1980s while Reagan was present and continued almost to the end of the century. It was low during the period of prosperity, up until the financial crisis morphed into the Great Recession.

That chapter discusses the presidential policy on fiscal matters that resulted in the only major legislation passed in 2017, the so-called *tax reform*. The major benefactors of that reform were the wealthy. It used an expediting structure that permitted the tax cut based upon calculations as revisions, using unrealistic estimates of future revenues.

It may be argued that the policy was designed to reward political supporters and to foster reelection efforts, rather than a public interest motivation. In any case, the 2019 Congressional Budget Office report indicated expectation of a rising deficit about an additional 1% over the coming decade (see the previous page 21).

<u>Presidential Policy on the Pandemic</u>. The presidential policy with regard to preparation for an epidemic, and his response to clues for the pandemic in the form of COVID-19, were negligent based upon a series of actions and inactions. These are discussed elsewhere. Our focus here is on a recent estimate of the ratio of national debt to gross domestic product, and expectations for the future.

A recent estimate of the ratio of national debt to gross domestic product, as provided on the web by Kimberly Amadeo, updated July 30, 2020, is as follows: "The debt-to-GDP ratio compares a country's <u>sovereign debt</u> to its total economic output for the year. Its output is measured by <u>gross</u> <u>domestic product</u>.¹ In the second quarter of 2020, the U.S. debt-to-GDP ratio was a record 136%. That's the \$26.5 trillion <u>U.S. debt</u> as of June 30, 2020, divided by the \$19.4 trillion <u>nominal GDP</u>.²

So far this year, billions have been budgeted for dealing with the pandemic and its consequences. The comparison of our national policy with policies of other nations, in dealing with containment and mitigation of the pandemic, reflect unfavorably on what we have done.

It may be argued that, presidential policy has been focused on his reelection rather than health of the nation.

<u>The Fiscal Significance Presidential Policy</u>. The fiscal significance presidential policy should not be underestimated; it is a significant source of power. This is in part because, as a practical matter, historically, the administration has been invading the legislative power of the congressional branch of government, and the current president has been carrying it even further.

Aside from the delaying the dispersal of funds authorized by Congress for aid to the Ukraine, while asking for a favor, an action that led to his impeachment by the House of Representatives, there have been attempts to reallocate national defense funds for building a wall of the southern border.

The trend towards concentration of power in the administrative branch has facilitated mismanagement of preparation for an epidemic, the slowness to respond to early signs, and the mismanagement of federal responsibility in dealing with is causing America's greatest tragedy in over 100 years.

The trillions of dollars allocated by Congress, thus far in dealing with the fallout from the pandemic, have pushed the national debt to become greater the gross domestic product. It is too soon to tell how large it will be when the pandemic is under control. Furthermore, it is uncertain as to what it will do to the

credit rating of United States government, and its cost of future debt. It is clear, however, that recovery from this recession that is currently getting worse, is going to be significantly impaired by the impediments to using fiscal policy for the recovery. Furthermore, with interest rates close to zero, our nation will have less opportunity to use monetary policy than was present with the last recession, the Great Recession of 2008-09.

Power and Policy Dimensions

The key phrase for this discussion is "the relationship of the US government to society." The relationship concept is predicated on *what society values*, and *the necessity of the processes and institutions that it will use to have an environment in which the individuals are free to pursue their interests*. The shortest statement as to what our society values may well have been stated in the Declaration of Independence; "We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all Men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable Rights, that among these are Life, Liberty, and the Pursuit of Happiness." That is discussed in the opening chapter (<u>Restoring Your Rights in American Democracy</u>) of the trilogy's second book (<u>Perspectives for a Sense of Place</u>: Voter Empowerment).

There are, however, differences of opinion as to the nature of "the necessity of the processes and institutions that it will use to have an environment in which the individuals are free to pursue their interests." The design of American Democracy, a representative government, as a federation of sovereign states intended to protect against the concentration of power, it was predicated on avoiding a concentration of power that would result in a tyrannical regime. The <u>separation of powers</u> was designed for that protection.

<u>The Intended Design Not Being Realized</u>. The intended design of the federation, with the delegation of authority by the sovereign states, was for the national government to serve in a capacity of a central authority that could more effectively manage common interest of the sovereign states, but one whose powers were distributed among three branches of government in order to lessen the risk of tyranny. The electorate's confidence in the national government's has been low, and is seriously deteriorating during this administration. Additionally, the risks of tyranny have been increasing as a result of the events that have just been discussed.

As of the date of this drafting, the second paragraph of an editorial appearing in the New York Times on August 3, 2026 simply states the case. The editorial is by Charles M. Blow and is titled "Trump Forecasts His Own Fraud." The second paragraph is as follows: "Trump is a win at all costs kind of operator. For him, rules are like rubber, not fixed but bendable. All structures -- laws, conventions, norms -- exist for others, those not slick and sly enough to evade them, those not craven enough to break them."

<u>The Coming End of the Fourth Republican Revolution</u>. The Trumpian Republican Party started fracturing during the rise of the pandemic early in the third quarter of 2020 as Trump's gap in the polls was rising enough to push him into desperation. The widening was causing concern by many Republicans, especially Republican legislators who will be standing for reelection on November 3, 2020.

President Trump's floating the idea of postponing the election was repulsive to some Republicans, especially because he does not have the power to do so, and never in history of our national elections has a presidential election been postponed. The markers of destruction of democracies include leadership having been elected to power, who then change the rules so as to permit extension of power beyond the established term limits.

The reduction of the ability of the Postal Service to be able to expeditiously handle mail-in ballots may well become another straw that will lead to the breaking of Trump's power. In a June 16, 2020 article on the web (by Ahiza García-Hodges), it is reported that the new USPS Postmaster General and CEO Louis DeJoy "took office Monday." In the next paragraph is reported that "...CEO Louis DeJoy has been a top donor to Trump and the Republican National Committee..." Other sources, report that within a few weeks of the new leadership taking office, rules were changed that resulted in a slowdown of delivery by the Postal Service. Putting all of this in context takes us back to the New York Times editorial by Blow on August 3, 2026. From that op-ed item (titled "Trump Forecasts His Own Fraud") starting on the fourth paragraph, we have the following:

"Trump has been on a rampage over voting by mail. Last week he tweeted:

'With Universal Mail-In Voting (not absentee Voting, which is good), 2020 will be the most INACCURATE & FRAUDULENT Election in history. It will be a great embarrassment to the USA. Delay the election until people can't properly, securely and safely vote???"

Some Republicans are organizing to vote against Trump. Some are even openly saying they will vote for Joe Biden; a Democrat to become the next President of the United States. The *this or that* choice in 2016 that rejected *the establishment*, resulted in part because of the promise to *drain the swamp*. The outcome so far has not only been the absence of draining the swamp, it has provided an even worse infestation contaminating our constitutional democracy.

The Grand New Republican Party

It Is This or That Time Again

November 3, 2020 is *This or That Time* again. All of the preceding part (23 pages) of this essay was drafted three months before the November election. At that time, in early August, the author of this essay (the LLC with its personhood bestowed by the Supreme Court) there was too much uncertainty to go beyond the expectation that the Trumpian Republican Party was coming to an end, and it would be a fifth Republican Revolution, possibly returning to the traditional values rooted in the ideology of Edmund Burke, the founder of conservatism. Those traditional values relied heavily upon tradition and was risk-averse to major changes. The trilogy refers to an expectation of the fifth Republican Revolution leading to a *Grand New Party*, a Republican Party that not only valued tradition and fiscal responsibility, but pursued a model that hopefully went global. In the post-World War II democracies went global, but many failed. The American Democracy is in danger of failing on November 3, if Donald Trump is reelected.

The current administration has botched the preparation for epidemics, the use of intelligence on the arrival of the coronavirus, and the containment the spread of COVID-19. [link] The result is not only the worst performance from the human health and survival perspective of all the world's most advanced economies, but the onslaught of a recession that will rival the Great Depression. [link] Also, the

presidential motivation from start has been reelection as the top priority resulting in endangerment to your personal freedom. [link] Thus, if Donald Trump is reelected, the path towards more of a plutocracy than a democracy will continue towards an autocracy. The box that follows contains an excerpt from a revision of the lead article on the deep website platform for motivated learners,

What is on the ballot may be assessed by comparing what President Trump said in his acceptance speech and what Joe Biden said. The full text of the speech is available on the web. Also, on the web is available on number of accounts of lies spoken by Donald Trump and commentary on his attack on his opponent. The quote from his speech that may well be the most widely accepted, on both sides of the aisle, is as follows: "And yet, despite all of our greatness as a nation, everything we have achieved is now endangered. This is the most important election in the history of our country. At no time before have voters faced a clearer choice between two parties, two visions, two philosophies, or two agendas."

<u>A Commentary on Joe Biden's Acceptance of the Nomination</u> is posted on the website as a freestanding item on the Motivated Learners Platform. It is also the last item in the latest updated version of the third booklet, *Great Danger Emerges Great: Experiment Challenged*.

Your Vision of Democracy

Your vision of democracy will influence your vision of the future, and the choices you make. That is especially true not only of what you do between now and the election, and how you vote, but what happens after Tuesday, November 3.

That article was in the process of being revised on September 4 when the alarm went off raising the level of consciousness with the David Brooks article titled "What Will You Do If Trump Doesn't Leave?" His concluding sentence is as follows: "It's time to start thinking about what you would do."

The This or That Time Goes the Other Way

The presidency is likely to change in 2020, going the other way because of a rejection of the Trumpian Republican Party. David Brooks has a comprehensive article in the New York Times on Sunday, August 9, 2020, titled "Where Do Republicans Go From Here?" The possibilities range widely. However, they appear to be going far in the short run. We will return to that shortly.

The most alarming route Republicans might go is discussed in an article by Jamelle Boure in the New York Times on Sunday, August 30, 2020 is titled *"Kenosha Shows Where the GOP Is Headed."* It is the perspectives of the event that sounds the alarm.

The event was the shooting of 17-year-old counter protester, Kyle Rittenhouse, in an exchange of gunfire. According to the article, containing a great deal more detail, "... Rittenhouse is arrested the next day in Illinois. Authorities charged him with first-degree murder." There's a lot more detail in the article about what is obviously a tragedy; and that includes the reaction of the conservative media. The issue goes to justice in many dimensions and the role of government in the protection of the individual's rights and the abuse of power. The alarming route that the Republicans might go a continued abuse of law enforcement and the permissiveness of law enforcement looking the other way when groups are organized to take law into their own hands.

Some Republican leadership, and some other lifelong Republicans, are abandoning to be Republican Party on the road to an autocracy without regard to the fundamental values they see as effective in a

conservative movement. It is going to take some time for the conservatives sort themselves out and unite moderates and even liberals realize it is time to reinvent our American Democracy in process and structure for our common purpose in the pursuit of the ideals articulated the Declaration of Independence.

Power Addiction or Our Common Purpose

The fifth Republican Revolution is likely to take the better part of a decade, or even longer. As discussed, it was in the decade of the 70s Republican Party began its quest for power that led to the endangerment of an ongoing discipline of at least a two-party system so as to have voter control to avoid tyranny. The voter control has been abused not only by gerrymandering and voter suppression, but by a wide range of abuse of authority, especially in the administrative branch.

The First Republican Revolution was in the Reagan era centered around the 1980s. The Second Republican Revolution, led by Newt Gingrich, was in the 1990s. It was in the first decade of the 21st century that we had the Third Republican Revolution. The fourth Republican Revolution, was arguably started in the second decade of the 21st century when the Republicans in Congress for hardening their obstructionism to the norms of democracy with a high point in refusal to act on President Obama's nomination Supreme Court has an unprecedented political maneuver the quest for power.

The Newt Gingrich tactics that worked for the Republican Party works against the Grand Old Party when Donald Trump use them to gain the nomination for the presidency the 2016 elections. The Republican legislators showed some early resistance to being dominated by the newly elected president, but did not take long for them to fall into line on Donald Trump's autocratic ambitions.

Considering the six-year term for United States Senators, and staggered elections every two years, and the gross mishandling of the pandemic of the current administration, and the onslaught of a recession that will be deeper than the Great Recession, occurring in 2008-9, the Republican best chance to return to power is late in the decade of the 20's, and only if form a party that will work across the aisle.

That means a return to the pursuit of our common purpose, in some degree along the lines of the bipartisan report of the commission on the practice of Democratic citizenship published by the American Academy of arts and science. To start is already there.

Restructuring American Democracy

The Role of the Next Administration

The role of the next administration is to unify our country in our common purpose of a free society. That common purpose includes control of the coronavirus in such mutations that are likely to occur over time. It is also to lead the recovery from and an asset unnecessarily deep recession.

If Donald Trump were reelected, he would immediately start pursuing a change in the two-term limit of the presidency, if there's any credence to shouts of 12 more years, among the shouts for four more years, from his credulous supporters. He does not have the administrative competence or the caring for the nation necessary for successful performance of the responsibilities. He may well continue to lead a splinter group of Republicans, but that is likely to lead to isolation from the mainstream of power; it seems to be the most effective for terrorists and others.do not value the common good of a free society above tribal interests that pursue power at any cost.

The Democratic Party showed great wisdom in nominating a moderate with a track record of working across the aisle. The broad range of interests from progressives to conservatives can be accommodated in a more representative form of government. It is highly recommended that motivated learners utilizing this website and a hard copy of the American Academy of arts and sciences report, our common purpose: reinventing American democracy 21st century. It is also available in digital form. It contains six strategies and 31 recommendations. One does not need to subscribe to all strategies are recommendations; but civic engagement, the respective of party affiliation, if any, is essential for American Democracy to properly function. The tribalism does not work.

The Fifth Republican Revolution

A fifth Republican Revolution is in the interests of the survival of American Democracy, if instead of the power addiction of tribalism, it is motivated by traditional values that are at the heart of conservatism. It also requires a better understanding of the difference between free markets that are fair markets, and unbridled markets to exploit the public in many ways.

It will take two political parties to exercise the discipline for fair representation of the public interests, and the peaceful transition of power as a result of free and fair elections. Demagogues should not be welcomed. The fifth Republican Revolution calls for a morality of caring about others, and enough learning to utilize critical thinking in delving deep enough to deal with better outcomes through understanding of the system.

If a Fifth Republican Revolution fails to meet the standards of the common interests of American Democracy, is likely that the Democratic party was split between liberals and progressives as two separate parties, each of which would outnumber the remnants of the Grand Old Party. Such an evolution could reasonably occur. The great danger is that tyranny from the left is as dangerous as tyranny from the right.

It is time to design the restructuring of our democracy pursuing liberty and justice for all, not just some.

The intent of this educational endeavor is to better enable all Americans to exercise their unalienable rights to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. The process may require a paradigm shift from the misconceptions prevailing as to the nature of things, especially among the regulators and those of substantial influence through access. Furthermore, it may require a mode of language capable of communicating complex ideas in understandable form not only to those in the regulatory structure and with substantial access, but also to the populace so as to better empower them to making better decisions.