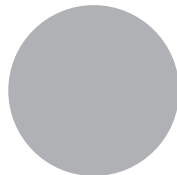


**AMERICAN
DEMOCRACY:
THE DECLARATION,
PURSUIT, AND
ENDANGERMENT**

by Maury Seldin LLC



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AND ENDANGERMENT**

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CHAPTER 1: THE DECLARATION AND THE OTHER INVISIBLE HAND



INTRODUCTION

America's Declaration of Independence as a Strategic Decision

America's Declaration of Independence recorded one of Western civilization's greatest strategic decisions of how some people and a society of colonists chose to live. Arguably, it may have represented one of mankind's greatest strategic decisions. In any case, the disorder that is rampant in the world today and the malignancy in the structure of America's political-economy with its societal injustice may be setting the stage for a *Declaration of Reform*.

The Declaration emerged from ideas in the Age of Enlightenment and set forth ideals that did not comport with the reality of the then existing structure, though in time it got closer; then it regressed. "America is on the road to becoming a dystopia! The ideal of liberty and justice for all is being eroded by the trend in the distribution of income and wealth being skewed more and more to the right and the middle class losing faith in the system." That is the opening sentence of an essay titled "Liberty and Justice for All Some." [See Appendix A of Book Three of the Trilogy]

Now it is time for an encore declaration based on another innovative strategic decision; one that utilizes knowledge from blended disciplines, especially nascent disciplines.

The Declaration of Independence recorded "a decision on the part of the colonists to break from Britain."ⁱ It bravely "gave birth to a new political entity in four concrete steps: declaring reasons, presenting facts to witness, declaring independence, and making pledges."ⁱⁱ The pledge that concludes the Declaration is worded as follows:

And for the support of this Declaration, with a firm reliance on the protection of Divine Providence, we mutually pledge to each other our Lives, our Fortunes, and our sacred Honor.

The Declaration in giving “birth to a new political entity”ⁱⁱⁱ was part of a process that altered the structure of the thirteen colonies to become the “United” States. It was a manifestation of the American Enlightenment with the watershed of the American Revolution. It altered the course of history, not only in the North American continent, but for all of Western civilization.

Its declared reasoning had as its foundation the unalienable rights of man. The key quote is:

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. [Emphasis added.]

Equality as the Essence

The word equal in that key quote is the focus of the Danielle Allen book, *Our Declaration: A Reading of the Declaration of Independence in Defense of Equality*. My summary of her five facets of the ideal (which she presented on pages 268-269) is as follows:

1. Equality of the people of the United States with all other sovereign governments means that the nation as such is free from domination.
2. Each person is the best judge of her or his own happiness and is entitled to equal access to the tools of government.
3. The communities’ knowledge is an emergent property from the crowd-sourcing process, not solely relying experts to determine the course of events.
4. Reciprocity, the mutual responsiveness in the societal structure, goes beyond freedom from domination to equity in the responsiveness.
5. Equal ownership in creating and recreating the community by virtue of mutual commitment to the political order.

The equality in the newly created United States was an **ideal**, **not a reality**. The Native Americans and the black people residing

in the newly formed country were denied equal rights in many dimensions. It took centuries to rectify many of those denials. It also took a long time for women to get the right to vote, as well as other aspects of equality. That is part of the evolution story.

Evolution and Organic Systems

The Declaration was an outcome of an evolutionary process engendering the power of ideas in societies as organic systems. Organic systems, by their nature, grow and decline but are amenable to regeneration in a variety of forms. America, as an organic system has entered a stage of decline, at least in a relative sense of its hegemony in Western civilization, and certainly in the element of equality.

The degeneration of equality in America, as discussed in an essay, *Divisiveness in America* (Appendix IA in BOOK 1 and Appendix B of BOOK 3] is a matter of recent decades. Here are a few quotes:

“...America is coming apart at the seams — not seams of race or ethnicity, but of class.”^{iv}

“We are not skilled at balance anymore... ...we have lost our gift for reasoning together.”^v

“...the inequality is cause and consequence of the failure of the political system, and it contributes to the instability of our economic system, which in turn contributes to increased inequality...”^{vi}

Understanding the process by which the evolution of thought led to (1) the American Enlightenment, (2) the Declaration of Independence, and (3) the American Revolution, may be enhanced by integrating some nascent disciplines and contemporary research results into an interdisciplinary approach that utilizes biological analogies. That approach may also be applied to better understanding the progress that has been made since 1776, but which has regressed in recent decades.

As a start in understanding the evolution of ideas relevant to the issues at hand, consider a comparison and contrast of the American Enlightenment and Revolution with two other cases: (1) the Scottish

Enlightenment in the wake of the Glorious Revolution; and (2), the French Enlightenment and its Revolutions.

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.^{vii}

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.

David Hume as a Central Figure. David Hume (1711-1776) was a central figure in the Moderate Enlightenment. As a philosopher he is best known for his empiricism. He was a skeptic, including on theological matters. He saw passion as trumping reason and ranked prevailing mores highly. Hume was philosophically conservative with a “social, moral, and political orientation” in reasoning including “the advantages of the status quo...Precisely this, first from a philosophical and then an economic, moral, political and historical standpoint, was Hume’s towering achievement as an Enlightenment thinker and commentator.^{viii}

Adam Smith is a Special Case. Among the many other philosophers having an impact on the Enlightenment was Adam Smith, a special case. He was clearly with Hume on a number of accounts. (1) “...the cultivation of virtue ... anchored in the pursuit of happiness;” and, (2) tradition and actual usages is the only sound basis for developing our moral doctrines...”

He introduced the metaphor of the *invisible hand* in his first book, *The Theory of Moral Sentiments*. He used it again in *The Wealth*

of Nations to explain the benefits of free trade in his opposition to mercantilism. It led to his perspective of a political-economy that became part of the foundation of economics as a discipline. But it has been greatly misunderstood.^{ix}

The *invisible hand* was a metaphor for what is now known as *emergence*.^x That as discussed earlier in this treatise, may be viewed as a follow-up to a series of my presentations at the seminar.^{xi}

Smith was appointed as a Professor of Logic, University of Glasgow, in 1791, but then immediately recruited to fill-in for Professor Craige, a Professor of Moral Philosophy. Smith's position, as noted by Israel, was that morality's "rules are ultimately founded upon experience of what in particular cases our moral sense approves or disapproves of."^{xii} He differed with his mentor, Hutcheson, on the role of motives — a concept leading to his use of the metaphor.

Smith wrote his first book as a moral philosopher espousing the pursuit of self-interest by individuals as beneficial to society as whole. He introduced the "invisible hand" metaphor in the following sentence:

"They are led by an invisible hand to make nearly the same distribution of the necessaries of life which would have been made had the earth been divided into equal portions among all its inhabitants; and thus, without intending it, without knowing it, advance the interest of society, and afford means to the multiplication of the species."^{xiii}

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. In its 27 August 1789 proclamation, the *Declaration of the Rights of Man and Citizen*, Article 11 (using Mirabeau's phrasing) affirmed that 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 by law.’ [Israel continues:] 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.

Israel also noted, earlier in his text [page 905] that “...Condorcet [the Paris municipality envoy to the Assembly at Versailles] had formulated his own first draft of a Declaration in June, having advocated the need for a philosophical declaration of inalienable ‘rights’ of Man well before 1788.”

This information is a segue to some quotes from Edward O. Wilson’s remarkable book, *Consilience: The Unity of Knowledge*.^{xiv} 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.^{xv}

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.

MORALITY AND INTERACTION

The Invisible Hand

Smith's *invisible hand* was a metaphor for an *emergent* process that produced and distributed goods and services. In later years, political economics delved deeper into discussion of production by considering the process as a combination of land, labor, and capital. Then, attention turned to the morality issues related to equitable compensation attributed to the contributing resources.

The goods and services were generally considered to be those outputs that traded in a market. It is the market process that is critical in that markets are the emergent properties of individual transactions. In contemporary advanced economies, the measure of *Gross Domestic Product* is used for outputs, but it is based on outputs traded in markets, excluding contributed volunteer production of goods and services.

Markets of a sort also exist in the absence of financial transactions. The use of public spaces without fees is a form of market, in that the interactions of use provide a vitality that may enhance quality of life. Assistance to the less fortunate is a form of market, in that the individual transactions produce an enhanced environment. These are the same concepts that apply to financial markets.

The societal structure greatly influences the characteristics of the emergent properties resulting from the interactions of market and non-market activities, partly because it influences the decisions that give rise to the nature and existence of the transactions. In Communist societal structures, as illustrated with North Korea in contrast to South Korea, incentives and other behavioral aspects of production of goods and services produce remarkably less output than in South Korea as a matter of societal productivity.

Modern economies, with heavy reliance on markets, monopolies and a variety of other structures that do not produce a level playing field, balanced information, and other characteristics of efficient and equitable markets, provide inequitable outcomes. The mainstream models generally assume linear characteristics rather than the reality of nonlinearity of organic systems. A new paradigm could provide more realistic models.^{xvi} The pursuit of self-interest works best for societies as a whole when the organic structure is built upon a quality of social capital that operates for team enterprises. Examples can range from football and other athletic teams to ancient primitive cultures that required a team effort in hunting game.^{xvii} The great difficulty is in large scale societies where individuals can exploit the system, especially with inequitable rules.

The nature of social capital is built upon the character and extent of shared values and the observance of those values in market and non-market transactions. The level of trust in a societal system influences the quantity and quality of social capital, which in turn impacts the productivity and the equity of the political economy. So, aside from looking at the system from a regulatory perspective designed to structure the system to best capitalize for society on the pursuit of self-interest, **there is another perspective**, building social capital as an *emergent property* of the *other invisible hand*.

The Other Invisible Hand

This other perspective is built upon a variety of disciplines including some nascent disciplines, but has a foundation of morality. In Antonio Damasio's book, *Looking for Spinoza: Joy, Sorrow, and the Feeling Brain*, we get a foundation for individual action. He discusses Spinoza's Ethics.^{xviii} We can use it as input to the networks producing social capital in contemporary democracies.

The Realm of the Other Invisible Hand. The other *invisible hand* operates in the realm of evolution of **societal structure** as an organic entity with its self-organization producing a changing level of social capital as an emergent process. It goes well beyond goods and services, going to relationships of commonality of values and interests. Hopefully, the emergent characteristics move to a higher level of morality as civilization evolves, but in the case of the drug cartels in Mexico and other gangs further south, a lesser level has evolved. The level is affected by the morality that balances self-interest and community interest. It comes in two forms: production of virtue as an emergent property of society and the exercise of virtue by the populace in its interactions.

The Self as the Generating Network. The self as the generating network is the foundation for individual action. The *other invisible hand* underlies Smith's invisible hand and goes beyond market transactions to include the building of social capital.

As just noted, Antonio Damasio discussed a foundation for individual action. In his discussion of Spinoza's *Ethics*, Damasio, a neuroscientist, wrote the following in his 21st century book, *Looking for Spinoza: Joy, Sorrow, and the Feeling Brain*:

The importance of biological facts in the Spinoza System cannot be overemphasized. Seen through the light of modern biology, the system is conditioned by the presence of life; the presence of a natural tendency to preserve that life; the fact that the preservation of that life depends on the equilibrium of life functions and consequently on life regulation; the fact that the status of life regulation is expressed in the form of effects — joy , sorrow — and is modulated by appetites, emotions, and the precariousness

of the life condition can be known and appreciated by the human individual due to the construction of the self, consciousness, and knowledge-based reason...**And for all the reasons outlined above the concern overflows from the self to the other...[the knowledge turns]...it into concern [p.174]**” [Emphasis added.]

Additionally, Damasio wrote in a later work, *Self Comes to Mind: Constructing the Conscious Brain* the following:

1. “In brief, the *conscious mind emerges within the history of life regulation*. Life regulation, *a dynamic process known as homeostasis* for short, begins in unicellular life creatures, such as a bacterial cell or a simple amoeba, which do not have a brain but are capable of adaptive behavior. It progresses in individuals whose behavior is managed by simple brains, as in the case of worms...” [From page 27, but emphasis added.]
2. “The time will come when the issue of *human responsibility*, in general moral terms as well as *matters of justice* and its application, will take into account the evolving science of consciousness. Perhaps the time is now.” [From page 30, but emphasis added.]
3. “*Cultures arise and evolve from collective efforts of human brains, over many generations, and some cultures even die in the process*. They require brains that have already been shaped by prior cultural effects. The significance of cultures to the making of the modern human mind is not in question. Nor is the dignity of the human mind diminished by connecting it to the astonishing complexity and beauty to be found inside living cells and tissues. On the contrary, *connecting personhood to biology is a ceaseless source of awe and respect for anything human*.” [From page 31, but emphasis added.]

As will be the focus of the third chapter, “An Analogical Model Using Human Biology of Society,” we will explain the use of the

concept of consilience in the analyses. This is supplemented by Appendix C: **Consilience: A Biological Example** (<https://tinyurl.com/y5usrvzq>) in the third book of the trilogy. However, we are starting with so doing now by using the same principles in moving from the individual level to the societal level.

Moving from the Individual Level to the Societal Level

Building Social Capital. Building social capital is a matter of building the balance between self-interest and community interest, be it based on faith or reason, or even both. Furthermore, emotions and other behavioral tendencies including peer pressure and being part of the twelfth man, as in being a spectator in a football stadium, impact the prevailing values and actions.

At the extreme of self-interest there is, aside from the possibility of chaos, very low productivity. Productivity increases through specialization and cooperative efforts as in team enterprises. At the other extreme, only community interest, the erosion of incentive is so great that productivity is extremely low. The optimal balance will vary by the combinations of the people in the system and their values.

The Role of Virtue. The prevailing level at which balance for societies and segments thereof may be achieved is the result of evolution in which networks of people and organizations evolve with varying nodal strengths and ranges of contacts. Social media have revolutionized the process, providing dramatic shifts in leverage and momentum.

Smith's invisible hand in his first book was as simplistic as the behavior of bees, probably because he drew from Mandeville's poem.^{xix} His idea was supported by later research as applied to bees. When he used the metaphor in *The Wealth of Nations*, he was advocating a particular level of balance in international trade in opposition to the mercantilism that had a lower level of what we now call social capital. He was using the metaphor as applied to a particular level of *social capital*.

That exercise of virtue by the populace in its interactions constitutes the driving force of this *Other Invisible Hand*, which instead of

producing goods and services for a market, produces virtue, or the lack thereof, in terms of how to live as a person. It affects the societal structure, the environment, which in turn affects individual actions. The concept of virtue “[among the [ancient] Greeks and Romans, as well as early Christians ... was generally seen as that part of character that allowed one to live a good life — indeed, without which the good life was impossible.^{xx} The issue is individual’s choices, and the self comes to mind.^{xxi}

Society’s Choice of Culture. When Antonio Damasio’s book, *Looking for Spinoza: Joy, Sorrow, and the Feeling Brain* is viewed as espousing Spinoza’s thinking as ahead of his time,^{xxii} we get a foundation for individual action, discussed in Spinoza’s *Ethics*, as an input to the networks producing social capital in contemporary democracies. However, Spinoza’s *Theological-Political Treatise* moves to the societal level. In short, Seymour Feldman in his introduction to the *Treatise* writes as follows: “Spinoza has specified the conditions for establishing and preserving a society free from internal conflict.” [p. xxxvi]

The issue is how to raise the level at which the balance is made. The Scots picked a moderate level of individual rights, and the choice still survives after more than three centuries. The French picked an exceptionally high level, but lost the balance, and it did not survive. The American Declaration of Independence articulated an ideal, making great compromises in order to get a balance that worked for the time, but evolved to come closer to the ideal with events such as the outcome of the Civil War and the extension of the right to vote beyond white males who reached the age of 21 and owned property.

Society’s virtue increased as a result of this dynamic balance that evolved over time. But it took the other invisible hand to raise the morality that fostered balance between individual interests and community interests, facilitating the evolution of the societal structure. The problem is that the direction is being reversed in recent decades, and the injustice is a cancer in the society.

Morality as the Critical Element. The virtue produced is at the level of the society as a whole. It is an emergent property resulting from the acts of individuals and organizations in which the pursuit

of self-interest is in accord with the balance expected by the moral standards of the society.

The critical element in the character of an individual is morality, the source of which was among the topics debated in the Scottish Enlightenment. Adam Smith, as a moral philosopher, saw pursuit of self-interest as the action which through the *invisible hand*, what we now understand as the emergent process, contributes to economic well-being. What is called for now is the pursuit of higher levels of balance, something Congress seems to find difficult to pursue.

Destroying Social Capital. As will be obvious, the shaded box section that follows was not in the original manuscript of 2015 used for the wiki site under construction, but not released to the public. But, as noted in the prologue to BOOK 1 on page xx, The discussion of this event is a “pivotal point for American Democracy.”

By chance, on November 15, 2019, the date the first bound copy of the paperback [of BOOK 1] was delivered preparatory to printing the first distribution to cited authors for their review and comment, the first week of open hearings in the House of Representatives was concluded. It included the testimony of the former ambassador to Ukraine, Maria Yovanovitch. While she was testifying, President Trump was tweeting derogatory claims in what appears to be an attempt to intimidate a witness. Here is a quote from the web by Nick Wadhams’ (<https://tinyurl.com/teqfotd>) November 15, 2019, 4:47 PM EST posting “Less than an hour after Ambassador Marie Yovanovitch began testimony before the House impeachment inquiry on Friday, Trump weighed in with a tweet that assailed her three decades of service in the U.S. diplomatic corps and singled out her time in one of the world’s most difficult posts.”

The next morning the *Wall Street Journal’s* biggest front-page headline was “**Fired Ukraine Envoy Says She Felt Threatened by Trump’s Comments.**” The opening paragraph of the article by Rebecca Ballhaus is as follows:

WASHINGTON — The former ambassador to Ukraine, who was fired this spring, felt threatened by disparaging comments and President Trump and was alarmed by the state departments failure to defend her, she testified in the second public impeachment hearing.”

The *New York Times* headline, also on Saturday, November 16, was “EX-ENVOY ‘DEVASTATED’ AS TRUMP VILIFIED HER.” The opening paragraph of the article titled “President Serves Up Fresh Attack Amid House Hearing,” by Cheryl J Stolberg starts off with the following paragraph:

“WASHINGTON — The former United States ambassador to Ukraine told the House impeachment inquiry on Friday that she felt threatened by President Trump and “shocked, appalled, devastated” that he vilified her in a call with another foreign leader, as Mr. Trump attacked her in real time on Twitter, drawing a stern warning about witness intimidation from Democrats.”

Please note that this box is an add-on to the second appendix of the trilogy’s first book, *Common Sense Revisited: America’s Third Revolution*, and that the text of that appendix is the first chapter of what is now the trilogies third book, *American Democracy: The Declaration, Pursuit, and Endangerment*. That book was written in 2015 and only published in draft form on a wiki site under construction exploring educational innovation. Further, please note, this boxed item appears in the major section titled, **Morality and Interaction**, in the subsection titled **Moving from the Individual Level to the Societal Level**. In this updated version, some paragraph headings were added. This box is placed within the text of the paragraph with the heading titled “Morality as the Critical Element.”

We shall shortly see unfolding great drama influencing the course of American Democracy as the Great Experiment. This trilogy, *American Democracy Endangered*, is designed as a demonstration case for educational innovation. Serendipitously, it is catching the wave of what I have called *The Other Invisible Hand*. Riding that wave, and realizing that the focus is on understanding democracy as a complex adaptive system, in which the paths of future change are highly uncertain, the Maury Seldin LLC is going to engage in some outrageous speculation as to what may unfold; but is doing so in a form designed to explain the role of morality coupled with critical thinking as an approach to improving outcomes. This is in contrast to what we have just regarded as the amoral conduct of the President of the United States, and a test on the critical thinking of the sitting members in the United States Senate who will be called upon to test their critical thinking and morality, especially as it comes to their choice as where to place their priority when it comes to country and political party, or being intimidated by a president who is leading the country towards an autocracy.

We shall not try to resolve this in what is a remarkably long box insert, but rather to posit some potential paths of what may emerge, and leave the readership to choose whatever the individuals choose to believe; however, reminding the readers that they would be well advised to consider Appendix 1C - Empowerment Through More Effective Learning [see BOOK 1], and start at the very beginning of that essay.

So, here are some outrageous speculations built upon some assumptions or interpretations of what has been happening. The House of Representatives' leadership expecting that the Republican-controlled Senate would not convict the president of the article(s)' of impeachment, had to weigh the political risks against the oversight responsibility with which they are charged as a matter of

separation of powers in order to avoid tyranny. Apparently, enough has happened to move to open hearings, with the question being a choice between speed of action and breadth of coverage of articles impeachment.

The best guess for the Maury Seldin LLC with its personhood supported by the Supreme Court's decision on *Citizens United* regarding powers of nonhuman entities, is that the House of Representatives may well go to three separate articles of impeachment. The first will arise from what may be characterized as bribery of a foreign official to utilize his office to undermine a political competitor in the forthcoming presidential elections and/or extortion by withholding dispersal of congressional approved funding; a withholding of what was funded to aid foreign-policy for national security, but withheld in order to obtain a favor in a domestic political competition.

The second set of items in an article of impeachment will be built around the obstruction of justice. That may will start with the eleven instances noted in the Mueller report, where, but for Department of Justice policy of not indicting a sitting president, an indictment may have well been made, in at least some of the instances. It would continue with use of the concept of *executive privilege* being used to thwart the legislatures efforts to fulfill its obligations in oversight matters.

A third set of items may well be in articles of impeachment related to abuse of power. Contenders for a place in that set of articles is a reallocation of defense budget for the wall on the southern border, intimidation sitting Congress persons and personnel within the administrative branch, and whatever else will fall within behavior unbecoming of the nation's leader.

In short, the morality of the President of the United States certainly has the appearance of falling short of what a free society can reasonably expect. When the indictment ensconced in the impeachment process reaches the United

States Senate for the 100 senators to act as jurors, we can debate whether their actions have been sufficiently influenced by morality and/or reason; in short, will they abdicate their oversight responsibility by succumbing to the intimidation process apparently frequently used by President Donald Trump.

The next test will be that of the voting public. They have elected senators to represent their interests and if they expect to live in a free society, they will have to decide on their morality, their esteem for truth, and the cognizance of *shadows on the wall*. Our intention here is to provide sufficient education for at least recognizing the significance of Plato's allegory of the cave, with or without formal education. Failure to live up to the responsibilities of having a source of authority of the electorate will result in the diminution of the ability to exercise the public's rights, and the individuals will no longer live in a free society. It is sad enough for those who do not rise to the occasion of doing the right thing — they will lose their rights because of an insufficiency of morality and/or critical thinking. But it will be even more tragic, if others are also dragged down in the failure of the *Great Experiment*, the failure of American Democracy by moving through a plutocracy to a single party system and a tyrannical regime.

The next three appendices in the first book of the trilogy deal with (1) empowerment through more effective learning; (2) restoring America's democratic resilience; and (3) an analysis of the undermining of American Democracy.

Changing societal outcomes is heavily impacted by changes in the morality and actions of individuals. However, those actions operate in a complex adaptive system — a system in which the actions change the structure and the new structure alters the ensuing round of actions. That is what produced the Age of Enlightenment, and that age produced revolutions.

Interaction for Enhancing Social Capital

Adam Smith had it right in advocating for free trade as compared to mercantilism, as well as the underlying concept of specialization and division of labor. It is the specialization and the interaction that facilitates the productivity gains that improve the quality of life. But, as Danielle Allen writes, according to my summary of the fourth of the five points on equality, reciprocity, the mutual responsiveness in the societal structure, goes beyond freedom from domination to equity in the responsiveness.

The key is in an individual's choosing a balance in one's own individual and community interests, but it is influenced by the choices others make. That is how complex adaptive systems work. The societal progress does best with diversity, a basic element in evolution along with selection and magnification. But in a societal structure, it is not just diversity; it is pluralism that accommodates differences in values. Pluralism can be a shared value.

Ideas and Events

The first introductory paragraph in this chapter is about the Declaration of Independence as a strategic choice by the colonists on how to live, and it is an expression of current concerns with what has evolved since then. The second paragraph alludes to the process of change, especially the role of ideas that change the choices on how to live.

As to choices on how to live, a key question is how to organize our society. The call is for *an encore declaration that deals with the reality that the American Declaration of Independence espoused an ideal used to rectify the injustice of the then reality*. The Scottish Enlightenment settled for a lesser ideal and the French Enlightenment went for a greater ideal; but in short order the French political system regressed, ending the Enlightenment.

The encore declaration needs to deal with a vision of a societal structure that provides some detail in the concept of liberty and justice for all, especially as concerns equality. It needs to extend the historical chain of thought that provided an ideal for the American Declaration of independence, but a reality that necessitated a compromise that it has taken centuries of policy battles to modify is

coming closer to the ideals expressed in the Declaration. In short, it calls for a new paradigm in the pursuit of the ideal, the subject of the companion chapter. What started as essays have been combined as chapters in this book. We now turn to Chapter Two, “The Declaration Encore Calls for a New Paradigm.”

ENDNOTES

ⁱ *Our Declaration: A Reading of the Declaration of Independence in Defense of Equality* by Danielle Allen. 90.

ⁱⁱ *Ibid* page 91.

ⁱⁱⁱ *Ibid* page 90.

^{iv} *Coming Apart: The State of White America, 1960 -2010* by Charles Murray, page 13.

^v *Our Divided Political Heart: The Battle for the American Idea in an Age of Discontent* by E.J. Dionne, page 5.

^{vi} *The Price of Inequality: How Today's Divided Society Endangers Our Future* by Joseph E. Stiglitz, p. xi.

^{vii} From *Democratic Enlightenment* by Jonathan I Israel, He urged

“...wide-ranging social reforms based on a broadly framed set of ‘natural rights’ carried from the state of nature into the state of society, becoming in the process inalienable ‘fundamental rights’. Millar conceived rank very differently than Hume, Smith, or Ferguson, subordinating social hierarchy to the idea of society as existing for the ‘utility’ and benefit of the majority with all of society’s members being deemed equivalent in status and interests. His approach thus aligns with the basic argument for democracy in Spinoza and Rousseau.”

^{viii} *Democratic Enlightenment* by Jonathan I. Israel, p. 209.

^{ix} Here is an excerpt from a book review by Paul Krugman of Jeff Madrick’s *Seven Bad Ideas: How Mainstream Economists Have Damaged America and the World*:

“Adam Smith used the phrase “invisible hand” only once in “The Wealth of Nations,” and he probably didn’t mean to say what most people now think he said. But never mind: Today the phrase is almost always used to mean the proposition that market economies can be trusted to get everything, or almost everything, right without more than marginal government intervention.

Is this belief well-grounded in theory and evidence? No. As Madrick makes clear, many economists have, consciously or unconsciously, engaged in a game of bait and switch.

On one side, we have elegant mathematical models showing that under certain conditions an unregulated free-market economy will produce an efficient “general equilibrium,” in the sense that nobody could be made better off without making anyone worse off. Yet as Madrick says, these assumed

conditions — including the assumption that people “are rational decision makers, and that they have all the price and product information they need” — are manifestly not met in practice. What, then, do the elegant models tell us about the real world? [Emphasis added.]...

...In other words, economists arguing for free markets and limited government try to have it both ways: They claim that their doctrine is a deep insight derived from first principles, but dismiss as irrelevant the overwhelming evidence that these assumed principles don't hold in practice.”

The link to the book review is <http://nyti.ms/1sv9AvN>.

^xEmergence is “the process between one layer of networks at a micro level and the next layer up, the macro level, that results in properties or characteristics not present at the micro level...” More is available on extended endnotes for chapter 1 (<https://tinyurl.com/w34xvc4>) in hyperlink format under **enlightenment**.

^{xi}The seminar is the *Seminar on Improving Strategic Decisions* at ASPEC (the Academy of Senior Professionals at Eckerd College), in recent years focusing on applications of complexity science.

^{xii}Israel, *Democratic Enlightenment*, page 260.

^{xiii}Smith, *The Theory of Moral Sentiments*, page 182.

^{xiv}A few of the quotes from *Cosilience* by Edward O. Wilson **shed further light on the end of the Enlightenment**. They are the second entry in the link to extended endnotes for chapter 1 (<https://tinyurl.com/yx795pqq>).

^{xv}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 Books and Ideas on January 18, 2011 (<https://tinyurl.com/r2amdok>) 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 equality in democracy leading to the danger of tyranny of the majority, discussed in chapters 15 and 16.

^{xvi}The following is an excerpt from the *Journal of Property Investment & Finance*, Vol. 29, # 4/5, 2011, “A new paradigm for real estate valuation?” by David Wyman, Maury Seldin, and Elaine Worzala, page 346.

“An alternative framework for analyzing the real estate market is in terms of Complexity Economics where an open, complex and dynamic displaces the closed system of (traditional) neoclassical economics. ...”

However, I like better what I last saw before publication:

“It is suggested that an alternative paradigm embraces real estate markets as an open, dynamic system composed of an emergent network of agents, who are subject to errors and biases (i.e. non-rational), and they adapt and learn over time. According to this paradigm, real estate is still analyzed through the lens of the market, but it recognizes that agents, networks and relationships are complex and subject to changing endogenous and exogenous inputs that may drive markets far from equilibrium.”

^{xvii}In contrast to prevailing American emphasis on individuals advancing themselves,

some primitive societies teach their children through play to pursue cooperation rather than individual winning and losing. See page 91 of *The World Until Yesterday: What We Can Learn from Traditional Societies?* by Jared Diamond.

^{xviii} Particularly note pages 173-175.

^{xix} The poem was titled “The Grumbling Hive: or, Knaves turn’d Honest.” See endnote 10 on *emergence*.

^{xx} The quote is from Rohmann’s *A World of Ideas*, page 421.

^{xxi} Damasio after having written his *Looking for Spinoza* wrote a book titled *Self Comes to Mind*. It is from the self that interactions arise and from which the emergence arises moving through layers of networks arriving at a societal structure. The quest is to better understand the process so as to move closer to liberty and justice for all.

^{xxii} See Antonio Damasio’s *Looking for Spinoza: Joy, Sorrow, and the Feeling Brain*, pp. 173-175.