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Equity Management

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EM-P: Promoting Positive Populism is the only Way to Save Liberal Democracy in America and Worldwide

White Paper: 005

ABSTRACT

This white paper explains the difference between “positive populism” and “negative populism” and their impact on the state of liberal democracy in America and worldwide. It then gives a short history of the tension between the two according to what is called a “populist dialectic” as it has played out in America. Further, it makes the case that negative populism is to be avoided, positive populism is the only approach that can save liberal democracy in America and worldwide. Then, it demonstrates the fact that EM-P is rooted in positive populism, and that by adopting it, we can save liberal democracy in America and worldwide. Finally, it issues a “call to action” to all democracy-loving people everywhere to join in a global movement to embrace EM-P and help save liberal democracy everywhere.

[Dr. Charles A. Washington](#)

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EM-P: Promoting Positive Populism is the only Way to Save Liberal Democracy in America and Worldwide

Introduction

America's Founding Fathers had a utopian, positive populist vision when they founded our democratic republic and codified our social contract in the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution. Pursuant to that utopian vision, America has formulated and implemented three previous democratic republics, all of which failed. At this moment, we are living in the aftermath of the failure of the Third Democratic Republic and its attendant social contract. The major cause for the failure of the first three democratic republics was at no time did American "democracy's reality match its rhetoric," resulting in all types of inequalities and vulnerabilities. As we enter America's Fourth Democratic Republic, a new social contract must be formulated and implemented, one that finally allows America to live up to its creed, to live up to its utopian (aspirational) vision or America we long for will be out of reach, and the America we have could cease to exist. Further, if liberal democracy is to survive in America and worldwide, the exemplar must come from an America willing to fight back against negative populism with a positive populist vision and determined to save itself and its way of life.

The Nexus between Liberal Democracy and Populism

The modern notion of a real-world functioning liberal democracy was birthed in America with the signing of the Declaration of Independence in 1776 and the signing of the Constitution in 1787. From America, this ethos has spread to more than 100 countries. It became the bedrock of the liberal democratic world order that since the end of World War II has kept the peace, promoted growth and development, and kept the forces of numerous strains of authoritarianism at bay for the last seventy years. However, today liberal democracy everywhere is again under siege from the forces of authoritarianism. The weapons being employed by today's authoritarians against democracies are not legions of troops, tanks, planes, and nuclear bombs, but the inner workings of "democracy itself," particularly its failure to ensure that its "realities match its rhetoric." Which side will win this new existential battle? History has proven that formerly great countries and empires rarely fell due solely to assaults from outside forces alone. They usually fall prey to internal rot and decay first. Democracies once thought to be strong and stable around the world are now plagued by a plethora of internal problems that work collectively to subvert liberal democracy. Liberal democracy has devolved to the point that for it to be saved, it must be reimaged and reinvented. It lies in fixing the inequalities and vulnerabilities it has spawned over time. This fight to save liberal democracy will be a close-run thing. Democracy-loving people everywhere must engage in this fight. To retreat from authoritarians or to offer complacency in the face of authoritarian aggression means allowing all we hold dear to die.

What is "liberal democracy," and why is it proving to be vulnerable to the machinations of the forces of authoritarianism? To begin with, we need first to answer the question, what is "democracy?" Democracy is a governing ethos that posits that the locus of power lies with the people (*Demos Kratis*), where "demos" means the "people" and *kratis* means "rule" writ large, that means that government actions should reflect the "will of the people." America was designed to be a (positive) populist experiment wherein ultimate power lay with the people and was expressed through a system of representative government. Democracy is, by definition, a populist concept. Nowhere is this reflected more so than in America. America's dedication to popular sovereignty is reflected in its (the first) codified constitution, by the first three words that are emblazoned in bold relief on that document, "We the People." The populism implied in the

American Constitution is "positive populism" and not the "negative populism" that tends to pervade governments worldwide today.



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Populism and democracy are related concepts, but there are differences. Both speak to the people rising up to voice their displeasure with established elite and the workings of the social, economic, and political systems, and the elites that dominate them. Populism means the marshaling of the people to push back against the system that appears to be rigged in favor of the elite or establishment who take an outsized share of societal benefits to the detriment of the larger masses of the people. Dee Shneiderman, in an article entitled "The Relationship Between Democracy & Populism," finds that while democracy and populism are similar and related concepts, they can be antithetical to each other, and populism can actually be damaging to democracy. Populist politicians are professing to work for the people and looking to implement the general will, and many actually have a secret agenda to continue promoting the will and benefit of the elite.

What is this "populism" that causes trepidation for liberal democracy-loving peoples worldwide? How does populism relate to liberal democracy? what if anything can be done about it? The following quote from The Free Dictionary defines populism thusly:

In politics, [populism is] In a movement or political strategy that purports to endorse the will of the common or ordinary people, especially when distinguished from and opposed to a corrupt political or economic elite. Often sparked by social and economic disruption, populism typically involves a call by a charismatic leader for the people to assert their will and sovereignty and restore themselves to their rightful place in society, and the prevailing political and economic power structure is typically criticized for having displaced, neglected, or obstructed the people. Populist leaders tend

to promote themselves as political outsiders, generally rejecting pluralism and basing their legitimacy on the shared values and strength of the group from which they derive their support. Populist movements and leaders, which can be on the left or right politically, often function as warning signs of a political crisis and force the established political order to respond to issues they might otherwise ignore. In the United States, President Andrew Jackson is usually recognized as an early populist leader, but the widespread use of the term "populism" dates to the 1890s and the formation of the Populist party, an alliance of agrarian interests against urban bankers and industrialists.

According to [The Free Dictionary](#), The concept of populism is often applied to political movement actions of political parties, as shown below:

populism political movements or political parties which reflect a major disillusionment with conventional political parties and which have, or present themselves as having, the objective of returning political POWER to the mass of the people, e.g., the Narodniks in Russia in the late 19th-century, and the People's Party in the US in the same era. Populist movements have often been anti-urban, anti-industrial movements, and often also anti-big business. Sometimes they have been associated with CONSPIRACY THEORIES. In the 20th-century, the term has been applied to many political parties and to tendencies within political parties, which may be either left-wing or right-wing, e.g. the Peronist movement in Argentina, based on the urban working class, or FASCIST movements such as NATIONAL SOCIALISM in Germany.

Some political strategies employed by political parties may also be described as ‘populist,’ even where the party as a whole would not usually be referred to as populist, e.g., in Britain, aspects of the strategy of the modern Conservative Party under THATCHERISM.

The two types of populism have different foci, objectives, and processes. Positive populism seeks to unify the people, and it sees the system as being rigged, etc. Negative populism seeks to divide the people, and it sees the system as being rigged. The difference is who they see as being the villains. Who caused the problems that beset the people? Positive populism blames the establishment and the corporations (a class-based argument), and negative populist uses scapegoating to blame immigrants and people of color for the people’s problems (a race-based argument). Positive populism seeks to resolve the issue by fixing the system to make it work according to the principles and values of liberal democracy. Negative populism seeks to solve the distributive justice problem by bending the system to the benefit of the rich (the one percent and corporations), and their supporters and to the detriment of those who do not support them. Positive populism seeks to give power back to the people, and it seeks to solve the distributive justice problem by bending the machinery of the system to the benefit of the well-to-do. Negative populism seeks to give power to a “paternalistic strong man” who claims to be the “voice of the people” and to govern on their behalf. Positive populism seeks to empower the people and to rule on their behalf genuinely.

The table below shows a comparison of the orientations, foci, and objectives of positive populism and negative populism.

A Comparison of Positive Populism and Negative Populism		
	Positive Populism	Negative Populism
1	Idealism and inclusion	Scapegoating and exclusion
2	Reform	Reaction
3	Forward looking	Backward looking
4	Disdain for elites	Disdain for elites
5	Believe the system is rigged	Believe the system is rigged
6	See the country in decline	See the country in decline
7	Unify the country	Divide the country
8	Use hope to mobilize adherents	Use fear to mobilize adherents
9	Prioritize the concerns of the 99%	Prioritize the concerns of the 1%
10	Give power to the people	Give power to a strong "paternal leader"
11	Reform liberal democracy to make it work	Dismantle liberal democracy

A Comparison of Positive Populism and Negative Populism

While the world's attention is focused on negative populism and not enough on positive populism, it is important to understand the benefits and detriments of the two types of liberal democracy. James Miller, in an article for the Guardian, entitled "Could Populism Actually be Good for Democracy? Miller finds the following:

We have also seen the election of demagogues who can appeal to the visceral impulses of ordinary citizens, and the emergence of political parties vehemently hostile to remote elites – even as most of these elites retain their grip on power, and a super-rich minority keeps getting richer and more insulated from the accidents of fate that define everyday life for the remaining 99% of the globe's population.

So it is perhaps not surprising that our world has also witnessed, in virtually every country, poor or developed, socialist or communist, autocratic or liberal, a fitful, sometimes futile series of popular uprisings and protests, when crowds of ordinary people unite to demand a fairer share of the commonwealth – and to claim for themselves a larger share in more truly democratic institutions. These revolts against remote elites are essential to the vitality, and viability, of modern democracy – even as (and precisely because) they challenge the status quo, destructive though that challenge may be.

Ultimately, negative populism can result in the unwinding of democratic processes and institutions and the entrenchment of power of the strong man and those surrounding him. While negative populism takes advantage of the democratic process to attain power, they ultimately attempt to weaken democratic processes and institutions to entrench themselves in power longer than ordinarily allowable in a functioning liberal democracy. Alternatively, positive populism can be a corrective to a system wherein the establishment has not shared the benefits of the system with the majority of the people, and the people see the system as being rigged. "We the People" is the essence of positive populism. Positive populism, if pursued appropriately, can yield system reform and unity among the people. The key is how political and economic elites respond to popular discontent and how they try to harness the popular discontent.

Dee Shneiderman maintains that negative populism can be damaging to liberal democracy as it can lead to the rise of authoritarianism and the decline of liberal democracy.

Extreme populism works against any limitations on the manifestation of the public will. The majority must rule with no exception for the rights of individuals or concern for the repression of minority groups. Much populist rhetoric includes xenophobic, nationalistic and exclusionary language. The core members of the movement use the tools of democracy -- elections and town-hall meetings -- to consolidate their authority and eliminate dissenting voices. This can lead to racial intolerance and violence against those seen as outsiders by the “native” citizenry. The populist regime will distance itself from those acts, often accusing the victims of the violence of being the disruptive influence.

In an online article by Stanford University entitled “[When Does Populism Become a Threat to Democracy?](#)” examined the impact of positive populism and negative populism on liberal democracy with a view to determine when populism becomes a threat to (liberal) democracy. Their examination goes on to suggest that a certain form or degree of populism (positive populism) can be functional or “good” for liberal democracy when the following conditions pertain:

1. Conditions of rising and extreme inequality are actually, objectively, pitting a narrow, privileged elite against the bulk of the population;
2. The established political institutions are no longer working to address this and other pressing policy challenges; and
3. Grassroots mobilization for social, economic, and political reform proceeds in a democratic spirit, which values pluralism, opposition and the underlying norms (what Levitsky and Ziblatt call the “soft guardrails”) of democratic life;
4. The leaders of popular reform organizations or movements model democratic behavior and understand the ultimate need ultimately to work through and not over or around democratic institutions to achieve change.

In other words, “good” populism is not purely populist, even in the above four respects, but may combine a passionate, populist tone and style with other elements of democratic pluralism and pragmatism, including an absolute commitment to democratic proceduralism and minority rights.

Alternatively, the Stanford University examination that populism can be really bad for liberal liberal democracy when it goes beyond the foregoing four positive elements. It then can turn from a potentially positive influence on liberal democracy to an existential threat to liberal democracy:

5. Anti-pluralist (hegemonic): Populism becomes a danger to democracy when it rejects democratic pluralism and posits that its leader and party are the only true, legitimate expression of the popular will.
6. Illiberal: Populism becomes a danger to democracy when it seeks to restrict the rights of political, racial, ethnic and other minorities, or simply seeks in general to erode freedom of thought, information, and expression, or the ability of people in society and the media to criticize the elected populist leader.
7. Nativist: Populism is at risk of mutating into an illiberal threat to democracy because it targets a certain social group: immigrants.

As in the case of the Stanford University examinations of whether populism is a threat to liberal democracy, in an online article entitled “[Five views: Is populism really a threat to democracy?](#)” In the same online article on the Stanford University website entitled “[When Does Populism Become a Threat to Democracy?](#)” Larry Diamond summarizes his analysis with the following statement.

To summarize my argument so far, populism becomes a threat to liberal democracy (at least when it is culturally exclusionary (not to mention racist); when it yields to its hegemonic pretensions, exhibiting contempt for pluralist notions that intrinsically respect differences and opposition; and obviously when it seeks to restrict basic freedoms of the press, association, and so on. But because populism is intrinsically majoritarian and plebiscitary, it poses some intrinsic dangers for democracy, even when it is not peddling prejudice against cultural minorities. These can be exacerbated by populism's suspicion of established institutions and its tendency to want to work around them or blow them up. Populism presents some dilemmas for democracy, and this is one: Sometimes democracies grow stale and occluded and need reform, but if populist reform sentiment runs amok, it can so damage the existing institutions that it destabilizes democracy itself.

In an online article by LSE, they explored one of the existential questions of our times, "...is populism really a threat to liberal democracy or is the term simply used by mainstream politicians to dismiss the legitimate concerns of citizens? In an online article entitled "Five Views: Is Populism Really A Threat to Democracy?" LSE asked five noted academicians to opine on this question. Below are quoted on this issue from three of those academicians.

In the LSE examination, Chantal Mouffe spoke to the following question: "The only way to save liberal democracy is to promote a 'progressive populism.'" One of his major points on the issue was the following:

The only way to do this is by promoting a progressive populism that, through the construction of another 'people' would be able to mobilise common effects towards equality and social justice. What is at stake is the establishment of a political frontier between us and them that does not pit some dominated groups against others, as does right-wing populism which presents immigrants as being responsible for the problems of the popular classes, but instead constructs an 'us' that articulates resistance against the post-democratic regression caused by the hegemony of neo-liberalism.

The objective of a 'left populism' should be to establish a synergy between a variety of social movements and progressive political forces and federate the multiplicity of democratic aspirations in order to orientate them toward the recuperation and radicalisation of democracy. Contrary to the view of populism as a perversion of democracy, that all the forces defending the status-quo are trying to impose, left-wing populism constitutes in today's Europe the most adequate political force to recover and expand democratic ideals.

In the LSE examination, Yannis Stavrakakis spoke to the following question: "Anti-populism may be the real threat to liberal democracy." One of his major points on the issue was the following:

If this is, however, the case, then, while populism may or may not be a threat to democracy, depending on its inclusionary or exclusionary character, unequivocally denouncing populism as a threat to democracy, sometimes as the only threat, clearly constitutes a threat to a truly pluralist and agonistic democracy. This is not only because it neglects the immense variety of progressive populist projects, but also because by demonising them and sabotaging their egalitarian political impact, institutional anti-populism indirectly allows fake authoritarian variants to present themselves as the only force able to ostensibly challenge an increasingly unequal, unjust and disconnected status-quo.

In the LSE examination, John Fitzgibbon spoke to the following question: “populists are not anti-democratic; they are anti-liberal democracy.” One of his major points on the issue was the following:

As Cas Mudde has pointed out on many occasions, populists are not anti-democratic, they are anti-liberal democracy. This point may seem pedantic, but it is extremely incisive in understanding the precise nature of the populist ‘threat’ to democracy. Populists see liberal democracy and its core values of the rule of law, representative democracy, and protection of minorities as the root cause of their *bête noir*: perceived national degradation. Whereas previous less sophisticated incarnations of populism were indiscriminate in their labeling of who, and what, was part of the elite; the success of contemporary populism has been in its more precise identification of the critical institutions of liberal democracy as the elite.

In short, there is growing cultural gap across democratic states being exploited by populists that transcends economic divides. The narrative of populism has moved into opposition to the institutions and actors who they perceive facilitate policies – austerity, immigration, pro market reforms – that they oppose. It remains to be seen if these liberal democratic institutions have the wherewithal to galvanise public support to counter this populist ‘threat’.

Finally, regarding the impact of negative populism on liberal democracy, Shneiderman maintains that negative populism can lead to the rise of authoritarianism and the decline of democracy.

Extreme populism works against any limitations on the manifestation of the public will. The majority must rule with no exception for the rights of individuals or concern for the repression of minority groups. Much populist rhetoric includes xenophobic, nationalistic and exclusionary language. The core members of the movement use the tools of democracy -- elections and town-hall meetings -- to consolidate their authority and eliminate dissenting voices. This can lead to racial intolerance and violence against those seen as outsiders by the “native” citizenry. The populist regime will distance itself from those acts, often accusing the victims of the violence of being the disruptive influence.

In the wake of the rise of populism, elites, the establishment, the government, and the system can respond to the rise of populist sentiments, by promoting positive populism and ultimately a reform of the system to make liberal democracy work as it should, or they can promote negative populism and seek to dismantle liberal democracy and solidify authoritarianism and oligarchic rule. In an online article entitled “Populism and Democracy: Friend or Foe? Rising Stars Deepen Dilemma,” Benjamin Moffitt outlined the positive effects of populism, thusly:

1. Populism can make politics more accessible, comprehensible, and “popular.”
2. Populists’ embrace of the language of “the common man” is often seen as demagogy. It the common (disenchanted or disinterested) man often find it engaging, which is vital to a healthy democracy.
3. Populism acknowledges that modern politics is not just a matter of putting forward policies for voters to deliberate rationally upon as some kind of *Homo politicus*. Rather, it appeals to the people with a full performative “package” that is both attractive and relevant.
4. Populist actors also have the ability to include previously excluded identities within their performances of “the people.”
5. Even right-wing populists can include previously marginalized voices in their conception of “the people.”
6. Populism has the ability to expose the dysfunctions of today’s democratic systems.

7. Populists can also offer effective critiques of the structural shortcomings and inefficiencies of democratic systems.
8. Populists can shine a light on democratic systems not living up to their full potential and demand increased accountability of representatives to their constituents.

Bill Moyer echoes the existence of the populist dialectic in America in an article he wrote for Popular Resistance.org, entitled “The Tug-of-War between Negative and Positive Populism.” Like Hilton, Moyer calls for a populist revolution to return power to the people.

Disdain for the status quo in the US is nearly universal – AND – given the complexity and chaos of our times, change is inevitable. But who will define what “change” looks like? This dissatisfaction and inevitability represent our greatest opportunity and greatest challenge of our time. We must dislodge this *Deep State* and channel the energy of inevitable change toward a just and sustainable society. But our opponents are consolidating their power through treaties such as the TPP, institutionalizing their rule with the *Deep State* Mike Lofgren describes, and feeding a violent faux-populist arm of racists thugs to draw energy away from a populism that could actually deliver a future worth living for.

Moyer maintains that empowering the people will require the development of a social movement wherein alliances are expanded, and the cohesion and resolve of the people are deepened. Moyer’s notion of a positive populist revolution requires that people (and groups) build a robust and positive program of “conviviality” around “...what they hold in common and cherish, it must appeal to what is best in people, not what is worst, and it must seek to unite the people rather than divide them. Finally, Moyer’s notion of a positive populist revolution.”

James Hilton, in his book, “Positive Populism: Revolutionary Ideas to Rebuild Economic Security, Family, and Community in America,” shows how populism can be a positive force for improving lives, with revolutionary ideas to restore the economic security that working Americans took for granted, and rebuild the ties of family, community, and the nation that have been ripped apart by decades of policies that favored by government, big business, and the powerful. Hilton maintains the following:

1. Until now, populism has been defined by the people who don’t believe in it. It has been characterized by elites on the left as “nativist,” even “racist,” by elites on the right as “unconservative” or “anti-capitalist.”
2. [T]here are good reasons for today’s establishment’s insecurity in the present, anxiety about the future, and impatience for change...But anger without an agenda leads to self-pity and further frustration.
3. [T]hat’s why the populist revolution needs to be fashioned into a coherent and positive political philosophy, one that understands and respects today’s anti-elite sentiment but channels its way from any dark ends toward a constructive and lasting transformation of our economy, society, and government.

Hilton further says that the positive populist revolution that he is proposing would be characterized by the following elements, all of which he sees as being practical:

1. It is a pro-worker economic agenda left ... standard and reduce economic anxiety...
2. It is a social policy agenda.

3. [It is a] Social policy agenda that aims to repair our torn social fabric, focusing in particular on the breakdown of family and community.
4. It is an agenda of political reform about decentralizing power and fighting corruption.
5. Further, by appealing to universal values and ambitions, positive populism seeks to lift up the most disadvantaged citizens and those struggling to keep pace with the rapid changes all around.

In an online article entitled “Populism and Democracy: Dr. Jekyll and Mr. Hyde,” a series of researchers and authors examined the benefits of positive populism in the saving of liberal democracy. Among the author's findings are the following.

...redistribution was called “democracy”, or “welfare state”, or “socialism”. And in contrast to the 19th-century populist politics of enfranchisement, today’s populism has exclusionary effects. The dēmokrateo of it all isn’t stoppable by anodyne calls for “dialogue”, or false hopes populism will somehow burn itself out. What’s needed is something more radically democratic: a new politics of equitable redistribution of power, wealth and life chances that shows populism to be a form of counterfeit democracy.

In “Populism and Democracy: Dr. Jekyll and Mr. Hyde,” Cristóbal Rovira Kaltwasser, of Diego Portales University we get the following quote.

Populists are real experts in politicising these and other issues ignored by the political establishment. This is why policy makers and scholars need to avoid falling into the populist trap: portraying themselves as the good and smart fighters against bad and stupid populists. The best way of dealing with populists is to engage them in honest dialogue and to propose solutions to the problems they seek to politicise.

In “Populism and Democracy: Dr. Jekyll and Mr. Hyde,” Jan Zielonka of University of Oxford, we get the following quote.

The borders between democracy and autocracy, civility and barbarity have become blurred. No wonder voters are searching for alternatives. Ruling elites should look at themselves in the mirror before blaming others.

In “Populism and Democracy: Dr. Jekyll and Mr. Hyde,” Thamy Pogrebinschi of Social Science Research Centre Berlin (WZB), we get the following quote.

In both cases, however, the appeal to popular sovereignty exposes the deep tension between democracy and capitalism. We should therefore care less about definitions, and ask the real question: is representative democracy now so overshadowed by capitalism that it is no longer able to make room for the popular sovereignty upon which it was founded?

In “Populism and Democracy: Dr. Jekyll and Mr. Hyde,” Ulrike Guérot of Danube University Krems we get the following quote.

Hatred for democracy stems from the fact that opportunity remains a fiction for many people. Hence Étienne Balibar's warning: since there's no such thing as freedom without equality, the right to rebel and change a political order is a human right, especially when "equaliberty" and dignity are quashed. Populists know this.

In "Populism and Democracy: Dr. Jekyll and Mr. Hyde," Wolfgang Merkel, of Humboldt University, we get the following quote.

Right-wing populism is thus a rebellion of the disenfranchised. The establishment parties have arguably committed serious political errors. It's high time that they leave their fortress of normative arrogance and grant a democratic voice to the non-represented. If they fail to do so, right-wing populists will transform our democracies: they will become more parochial, intolerant and polarised.

In "Populism and Democracy: Dr. Jekyll and Mr. Hyde," Yu Keping, of Peking University, we get the following quote.

But populism has its limits. Not only does it ignore the role played by elites in making historical progress, by emphasising the need for mobilising the general population, it also calls for absolute obedience to the passions and will of the people. That is why populism often manages to manipulate and control people in highly centralised ways. Populism can thus easily lead to autocracy, and to anarchy.

Dee Shneiderman also sees positive populism as a possible corrective to the failings of liberal democracy by the following.

When the populace is frustrated with their perceived inability to affect legislation and regulate governance, they find populism encouraging. Leaders of an anti-establishment faction will often take a populist approach, rallying the followers with promises that the movement will address the wrongs committed against them by the ruling class. This can serve as a warning that the system is not working properly or is weakened. A populist movement may compel the establishment to make changes that benefit the lower and middle classes, including giving them more influence in government.

Shneiderman says that populism (positive populism) can effectuate a return to idealized democracy. Populist leaders may rouse the people with rhetoric of political rebirth: the return to sovereign rule by the people, which is how they define classic democracy. The emergence of populism, however, can result in populist leaders acquiring more and more power and subverting the very democratic traditions they profess to uphold. Assurances of dismantling elitist politics can then lead to a highly authoritarian and centralized rule.

In an online article entitled "America is Not A Democracy," published in the Atlantic Magazine, by Yoscha Mounk states that mitigating the impact of negative populism will require changes to the institutional

structures and processes of the government and other systems to make them more responsive to the demands of the people.

We don't need to abolish all technocratic institutions or merely save the ones that exist. We need to build a new set of political institutions that are both more responsive to the views and interests of ordinary people, and better able to solve the immense problems that our society will face in the decades to come.

...The United States is now at an inflection point of its own. If we rigidly hold on to the status quo, we will lose what is most valuable in the world we know and find ourselves cast as bit players in the fading age of liberal democracy. Only by embarking on bold and imaginative reform can we recover a democracy worthy of the name.

Another online article entitled, "The Past Decade and the Future of Governance and Democracy: Populist Challenges to Liberal Democracy," Vivien Ann Schmidt makes the following assertion regarding what the "new paradigm" that replaces the liberal world order will look like.

We are left with a number of questions. Is this a moment of great transformation, in which a new paradigm will emerge out of the ashes of the liberal order, with neoliberal economics, social liberalism, and political liberalism succumbing to the closing of borders to immigrants, rising protectionism, social conservatism, and illiberal democracy (itself an oxymoron)? Will the more balanced and tolerant institutional commitments of political liberalism prevail, along with a perhaps modified economic liberalism in which open borders and free trade are moderated by more attention to those left behind? For the moment, we cannot know. What we do know is that when populist leaders gain power, they try to make good on their promises, to the detriment of the liberal democratic consensus.

In another online article for The Guardian by James Miller, entitled "Could Populism Actually be Good for Democracy," the following inciteful prescription to resisting negative populism and saving liberal democracy are proffered.

If leftist parties are to undergo a political revitalization, they will need once again to offer voters a clear picture of what they stand for. In Portugal, because the Socialists came to power with the help of other leftist parties rather than as part of a grand coalition, they were able to highlight the differences between the left and right on economic issues. This reminded voters that democracy offered clear choices and helped maintain economic issues as the main axis of political competition. Success both for the left and for democracy will also require injecting optimism back into politics... "What sets democratic politics apart from populism is that democratic politics does not tap into fears. ... Democratic politics feels people's problems, combating fears and angst and give[s] hope back to people in their future." Hope is what will restore people's "trust in democratic institutions and ... belief in the European Union."

If the left can once again offer distinctive and convincing economic policies that promote greater opportunities...

for all, the appeal of divisive social and cultural messages will diminish. This will decrease support for populist parties (or provide an incentive for such parties to moderate their positions), and

politics will become less polarized and less of a zero-sum game. These are the necessary conditions for democracy once again to thrive.

In an article entitled “The Upside of Populism” ”The Upside of Populism,” Daron Acemoglu and James A. Johnson made the following assertions regarding the possible benefits of positive populism:

1. To achieve its objectives, progressivism had to compromise to build a big enough coalition to reform the system.
2. Squeezed between the despotic state and the impaired one, however, we find a narrow corridor, a small path on which liberty can rise.
3. As in the Gilded Age, people suspect that institutions have turned against them or, at the very least, have ignored their plight.
4. A key difference between the progressive era and the Trump era is that this time populism started with the one step back instead of the two steps forward.
5. Differences between the two sides are, of course, formidable, but there is much to learn from past successful populist movements here.

Acemoglu and Johnson make the case that populism requires that the broadest compromises possibly are made in order for the underlying discontent inherent in populism can be dealt with, and to bring as many contending groups together as possible.

Daniele Archibugi and Marco Cellini proposed four ways to minimize the negative effects of populism on liberal democracy in their article entitled “How Dangerous is Populism for Democracy?” that is found on the online website, global-e. Their four proposals follow.

1. [In order to combat the tendency for authoritarianism wrought by “strongmen” in the implementation of negative populism,”] ...the first proposition is to complement representative democracy with other methods of political participation. Deliberative democracy, in its various forms, seems the obvious answer to respond to the populist challenge. However, it has so far remained an academic exercise with very limited applications. It is vital that new forms of consultation with citizens are introduced and that elected officers seriously engage with them.
2. The second proposition is a radical change in the attitude of elites, especially in their capacity for delivering public policies and services. The top-down approach is dead, but the attempt to give fake responses just to please the crowds is equally useless. A genuine involvement of citizens in public policies is needed, with an effort to be more transparent about policy options. Without sincere attempts to respond to the criticisms and concerns of citizens, it is unlikely that the populist wave will ever retreat.
3. The third proposition focuses on the need to introduce serious welfare and job creation programs. These programs should have been at the very core of any democratic country and it is surprising that so little innovation has been carried out in the last forty years.
4. The fourth proposition concerns economic globalization, which is, more and more, a ticking bomb in our societies. Trade flows, financial flows, and foreign direct investment have grown exponentially over the last 40 years, while the development of political institutions which should govern them has been almost non-existent at the world level. ...National political institutions should therefore adopt explicit policies to redistribute these benefits but also to provide visible and legible institutional responses. Direct forms of participation in world politics should be attempted, also as a way to address the global democratic deficit.

In an article entitled “The Populist Challenge to Liberal Democracy,” written by William Gladstone, which was published in the online Journal of Democracy, the author identified four elements of a liberal-democratic response to the populist challenge. The fourth is particularly salient to the discussion contained herein.

- 4) It is time to abandon a myopic focus on economic aggregates and work instead toward inclusive growth—that is, the kind of economic policies that improve well-being across all demographic lines, including those of class and geography. As recent decades have shown, no mechanism automatically translates economic growth into broadly shared prosperity. Allowing the well-off strata of society to commandeer the lion’s share of gains is a formula for endless conflict. So, too, is allowing the concentration of economic growth and dynamism in fewer and fewer places.

William Gladstone maintains that liberal democracy is fixable because, unlike all other political forms, it contains within it the capacity for self-correction. It has internal mechanisms to protect its citizens against tyrannical concentrations of power and to channel public grievances and unmet needs into effective reforms. While Gladstone acknowledges that the current situation is dire, it can be overcome by leaders that possess the intellectual clarity, political will, and the willingness to take risks to serve the long-term interest of the country. With the right plan and the right leaders, the fervent demand of the populace for policy changes that offer them a better future can be achieved. Absent these positive interventions, “their demands could evolve into pressure for regime change, a fate that must be avoided.”

Finally, In an online article for The Guardian entitled “Could Populism Actually be Good for Democracy,” James Miller determined that it is possible for democracy to stage a comeback in the wake of the rampant onslaught of negative populism by doing the following:

1. If leftist parties are to undergo a political revitalization, they will need once again to offer voters a clear picture of what they stand for.
2. Success both for the left and for democracy will also require injecting optimism back into politics.
3. “What sets democratic politics [positive populism] apart from [negative] populism is that democratic politics [positive populism] does not tap into fears. ... Democratic politics [positive populism] feels people’s problems, combating fears and angst and give[s] hope back to people in their future.” Hope is what will restore people’s “trust in democratic institutions...”
4. If the left can once again offer distinctive and convincing economic policies that promote greater opportunities for all, the appeal of divisive social and cultural messages will diminish. This will decrease support for populist parties (or provide an incentive for such parties to moderate their positions), and politics will become less polarized and less of a zero-sum game. These are the necessary conditions for democracy once again to thrive.

The foregoing elucidation constitutes nearly universal issues as they relate to populism. America is not immune to the issues presented. In fact, many of these issues are more pronounced in America than in other countries. The following exposition will explore these issues as they have played out in America, the implications of them, and what can be done about populism in America.

Virulent Majoritarian Democracy vs. Representative Consensus Democracy: The “Populist Dialectic” in America

A “toxic soup” of injustice, unfairness, racial, gender, and class inequality has been festering in America for decades. Its extent and portent have gone unappreciated. Although the seeds of these negative circumstances and sentiments have been festering in America for decades, in the 2016 Presidential Election season, the nature and extent of these problems exploded onto the national stage and the national consciousness. The popular response to these problems was sentiments characterized by rabid populism, anti-establishment furor, and right-wing authoritarianism, nativism, and Identity Politics. Of these problems, the ones that garnered the most attention were the alarming levels of racial, gender, and class-based inequality which had risen so much that the middle class, the poor and the nation itself were at risk. Daron Acemoglu and James Robinson have found that often, nation-states fail because they rot from the inside as inequality becomes rampant, thus making them vulnerable to internal populist political insurgencies and the machinations of external anti-state actors. Martin Gilens and Benjamin Page have found that the process of “rotting” has begun in America that an oligarchy has taken control of the American government and is siphoning off the lion’s share of societal benefits to the detriment of the masses.

A large body of literature has found that the causes of these inequalities range from blaming the victims to blaming rigged political and economic systems. For example, the explanations for racial inequalities range from purported genetic and cultural deficiencies of black and brown peoples to discrimination against them by whites. The explanations for gender inequalities range from purported genetic and cultural differences of females to male domination. The explanations for class-based inequalities range from technology and globalization to oligarchy. In response to the alarming levels of inequality, a wave of nationalistic populism swept the world. Everywhere the masses seem to be rebelling against “establishment economics and politics” as they sense that the political and economic systems are “rigged” in favor of corporations and the rich. Populists believe this because they see the lion’s share of the benefits of their societies were going to the top percentile(s), although many of those same wealthy individuals and corporations pay little to no taxes at all. A growing majority of Americans believe that globalization, technology, oligarchy, bad trade agreements, deindustrialization, loss of jobs the system combine to “rig” the political, social, and economic system. The notion that the system is rigged leads to three essential questions, who rigged it? How? Moreover, for whom?

An alternative explanation for the causes of the various inequalities in America (and elsewhere) lies in the realm of “politics.” The current America democratic ethos is characterized by the deleterious combination of Majoritarian Democracy combined with zero-sum politics and economics (often called “winner-take-all politics”). In the American political system, the winner of political contests, those who get 50.01 percent of the vote, gets to define the agenda of the state. Adding Identity Politics to the mix makes a bad situation worse. This worsening of the situation is caused by unscrupulous politicians who seek to combine Identity Politics (race, gender, and class) with unprincipled efforts to manipulate the political process to rig the system to the benefit of their particular reference group (defined by race, gender, or class). When pursued in this manner, Majoritarian Democracy is driven by what is called the “Base-Plus” electoral strategy. The Base-Plus Electoral Strategies require its purveyors to solidify support from one’s base and then seek to draw support for other groups by advocating policies that appeal to them to put together a winning coalition (50.01 percent of the electorate). Embracing a Base-Plus” Electoral Strategy requires that signals of fidelity be sent to one’s core constituents (base) to keep them energized and motivated to go to the polls at election time and by adding discrete deliverables aimed at enticing voters that

normally do not vote with one's base. Both the Democratic Party and the Republican Party have used Identity Politics" as an electoral strategy for a very long time.

While Majoritarian Democracy is not by definition tyrannical, the way it has operated in America since the inception of the Republic has often been tyrannical as it has often included a heavy dose of zero-sum politics and economics. In its American expression, politicians who are adherents of Majoritarian Democracy seek to garner as many benefits for their followers and to deny as many benefits to the others as possible. There is a belief that the winner will gain control of the levers of government and rig the system in favor of its supporters and against those who did not vote for them. Therefore, winners and losers often end up being defined by race, gender, and class. The possibility of a spectacular win or a catastrophic loss has turned American politics into a "blood sport." Majoritarian Democracy is inextricably linked to "Identity Politics," and it functions in the midst of a hyper-partisan and polarized environment. Opposing sides in these contests seem willing to do almost anything to achieve victory and even more to stay in power once power has been gained. Some even seem prepared to repudiate the values of liberal democracy itself, break laws, subvert the Constitution, and embrace America's enemies so long as they win.

For most of America's history, the "majority" was coterminous with the white race. However, due to demographic changes, by 2043, whites will no longer be in the majority. It is unlikely that they will want to continue to play Majoritarian Politics under those conditions. The other two alternatives are to make a deal (a new social contract) while it is still possible to make one or to make one last push at gaining control of the machinery of government and rigging the system to hold back the demographic tide. The former is a long-term strategy, but it requires a willingness to share power and societal benefits. The latter is a short-term strategy and doomed to failure. The struggle over which strategy will be predominant is polarizing and alienating. We have been on this path for so long, it may be difficult to change course, but there is a need to unify the country because as the two groups become more equivalent in size, the tensions will increase. The change in the demographic makeup of America is a time bomb that is invariably destined to detonate. It will go off. Therefore, the transition must be managed with great care, or it could result in catastrophic collapse into anarchy. Therefore, we entered the 2016 election cycle left with three options pursue one the following: Type 2 Majoritarian Democracy (a combination of Virulent Majoritarian Democracy and oligarchic rule), the ethos of Representative Consensus Democracy, or Anarchy.

While this is not the way America's Founding Fathers envisioned the system, they invented working, Americans, having experienced it for so long, have come view it as the norm. There is an old expression in American Politics that "elections have consequences." However, America is undergoing a demographic transition that will alter the nature of the "majority" for the foreseeable future. Fear of the "other" and desire to promote the interest of one's group even at the expense of the others is not a winning strategy in this time of transition. If we maintain the status quo, we could spark internecine warfare, the likes of which America has not seen since the 1860s. It could tear the country apart as each offense would spark retaliation from the offended group(s) looking for some "payback." The political coalition that supports the Democratic Party is ascendant, and the coalition that supports the Republican Party is on the decline. These demographic changes are immutable and inevitable. Identity Politics leads to discrimination and racial, gender, and class

inequality. To continue down the path risks escalating from harassment to confrontation to violence. Our norms, laws, Constitution, and liberal democracy are at stake.

This bleak prognostication need not be inevitable. There is a way out of this miasma. In 2004, an unassuming black man with a strange name, a life story that bespeaks a willingness to persevere in the face of adversity, and a varied and impressive skill set, exploded onto the national and world stage. That man, Barack Hussein Obama's debut in the limelight, was in 2004. He gave the Keynote Speech at the Democratic National Convention. That speech would catapult him all the way to the White House, and it presaged what would become his electoral and governing mantra: America should embrace Majoritarian Democracy and embrace Representative Consensus Democracy, and it should embrace justice, fairness, and inclusion. It is notable that President Obama was among the first to appreciate that Majoritarian Democracy, when combined with populist sentiments and Identity Politics, leads to zero-sum politics and economics, which are divisive and at the end of the day, are deleterious to our liberal democracy. Dating from the time he first ran for President (2008), Barack Obama has called for making the changes necessary to make American institutions work for all Americans per the principles of Representative Consensus Democracy, justice, fairness, and equality.

A large body of literature has found that the American social, political, and economic systems are beset with inequalities of all types, and these inequalities (racial, gender, income, wealth, representational, etc.) are causing tremendous unease among the American population. America's social, political, and elites have shown little inclination to address this popular discontent in a positive manner. Instead, there is much evidence to support the notion that America has taken the opposite tack; They are promoting negative populist agenda in an effort to divide the populist and deflect the populist energy away from themselves and toward scapegoats. Because of the levels of inequality, the causes of these inequalities range from blaming the victims to blaming rigged political and economic systems (see Chapters 1 and 2 of *Ensuring Justice, Fairness, and Inclusion in America*). For example, the explanations for racial inequalities range from purported genetic and cultural deficiencies of black and brown peoples to discrimination against them by whites. The explanations for gender inequalities range from purported genetic and cultural differences of females to male domination. The explanations for class-based inequalities range from technology and globalization to oligarchy. In response to the alarming levels of inequality, A wave of nationalistic populism swept the world. Everywhere the masses seem to be rebelling against "establishment economics and politics" as they sense that the political and economic systems are "rigged" in favor of corporations and the rich. Populists believe this because they see the lion's share of the benefits of their societies were going to the top percentile(s), although many of those same wealthy individuals and corporations pay little to no taxes at all. A growing majority of Americans believe that globalization, technology, oligarchy, bad trade agreements, deindustrialization, loss of jobs the system combine to "rig" the political, social, and economic system. The notion that the system is rigged leads to three essential questions, who rigged it? How? Moreover, for whom?



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America has its roots in populism, and populism has been one of the major dynamic forces that have guided its development for the last 233 years. In his book, *Positive Populism: Revolutionary/evolutionary Ideas to Rebuild Economic Security, Family, and Community in America*, Steve Hilton states that “...Each generation of Americans has fulfilled the legacy of the Founding Fathers with its own American revolution. Populists peopled the West, extinguished slavery, and fought for women’s suffrage. They won two world wars, established civil rights, and built the greatest economy in the history of the world.”

Populism has been an anathema to the establishment since the Civil War. Prior to the Civil War, populism was a positive force in America. It fueled populist uprising after the Civil War. During this populist uprising, freed slaves and poor whites in the South came to realize that they had more in common with each other than either group had with the slaveholding and commercial class. Therefore, in a wave of positive populism, they sought to come together and ply their collective fortunes in opposition to the elites. They feared the collective power of poor whites and poor blacks working in concert with each other and in opposition to Southern elites. Southern elites responded to the threat of an energized population of poor people by seeking to throttle the positive populist wave and drive a wedge between poor whites and poor blacks that had arisen organically and to harness the populist furor by interjecting state-sponsored whole-of-society driven negative populism rooted in a virulent form of Majoritarian Democracy, zero-sum politics, and economics, injustice, unfairness, exclusion (racism, sexism, homophobia, and xenophobia). Throughout most of American history, this negative populism has been opposed by a positive populism rooted in

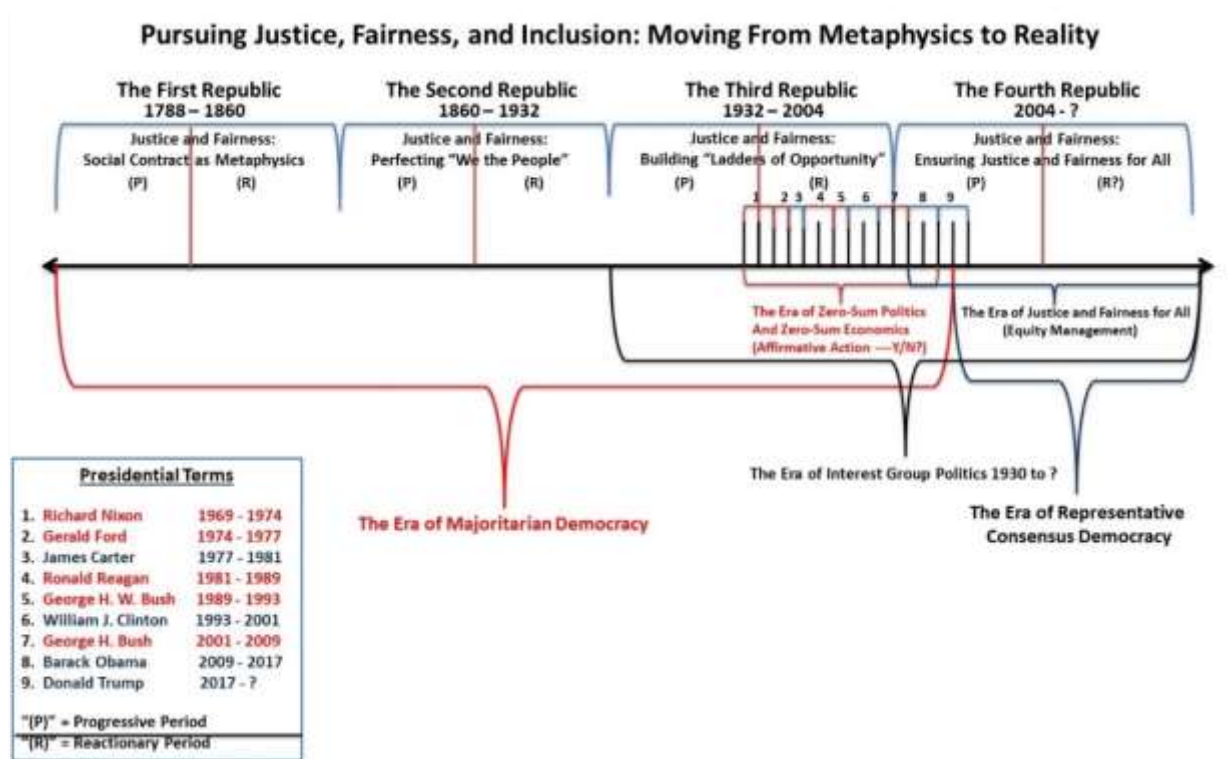
Representative Consensus Democracy, win-win politics and economics, justice, fairness, and inclusion. The result of this process was to enshrine a system of institutionalized and systemic white supremacy that would pervade the American political, social, and economic systems to this day and become one of American society's defining characteristics, and an opposing cohort of the disenfranchised, dispossessed, and disadvantaged putting pressure on the system to create a more just, fair and inclusive society.

Virulent Majoritarian Democracy	
1	Negative Populism
2	Type 2 Majoritarian Democracy
3	Injustice
4	Unfairness
5	Exclusion and national division
6	Zero-sum politics and economics
7	Identity politics
8	Use fear to mobilize adherents
9	Subvert liberal democracy
10	Promote authoritarianism and oligarchy
11	Implement a system to ensure these results

Characteristics of Virulent Majoritarian Democracy

It also set in motion a “populist dialectic” centered around an ongoing racial and class socio-economic struggle for political, social, and economic equality for all Americans vs. a system of white supremacy. The populist dialectic is characterized by the dynamic interplay between two conflicting forces, positive populism, and negative populism, and the dynamics that define their continuing interaction in America. Chapter 2 of the book, *Ensuring Justice, Fairness, and Inclusion in America*, traces the dynamics of this populist dialectic from 1787 to 2017, and it sets the stage for the proposed positive populist revolution/evolution, driven by Equity Management-Plato, outlined in Chapter 3 through Chapter 8.

America has been at a social and political impasse for so many years that the social, political, and economic sectors have become polarized and partisan. We are at an impasse on nearly every front. The social contract that held the country together, albeit tenuously, since the 1930s is now moribund. Americans have divided themselves off into competing tribes, each unwilling to suffer the other, and all are looking for complete advantages over the other. Theodore Lowi, Bruce Ackerman, James DeLong, and Michael Lind have found that America has gone through several distinct democratic republics. The work of Lind is particularly illustrative in that it makes the case that America is now entering its fourth democratic republic and that each republic is around 77 years long. Using Lind's typology as an example, metric yields the following: Democratic Republic periods: (1) 1777–1860; (2) 1860–1932; (3) 1932–2014. Each republic had two halves, a “Progressive Era” (or half), which sought to promote justice, fairness, and inclusion, followed by a “Regressive Era” (or half) in which the forces of reaction sought to roll back progress as shown in the schematic below.



A Timeline Showing the Historic Tension between Positive Populism and Negative Populism in America

There have been attempts to rectify the shortcomings associated with America's original social contract. There have, in fact, been two comprehensive attempts to expand its original social contract to facilitate justice, fairness, and inclusion. The first was the 1860s after the Civil War, during the Reconstruction Era, in which the blacks were freed from slavery by the 13th Amendment, granted the right to vote by the 14th Amendment and granted the rights of full citizenship by the 15th Amendment. The elevation of blacks provoked a furious backlash from southern whites who used every means at their disposal, including resorting to violence, to undo black advances. Extremely violent groups like the Ku Klux Klan sought to intimidate and blacks through beatings, destruction of black-owned property, murder, lynching. Black subjugation was further ratcheted up through virulently discriminatory laws. At the end of the Civil War, the North enforced the rights of blacks and protected their property and persons billeting Northern soldiers in the south who kept reactionary forces at bay. Ultimately, Northerners lost interest in protecting blacks in the South, and they cut a deal with Southerners that gave Northerners the Presidency in exchange for the withdrawal of the Northern Army from the South. Without Northern protection, white supremacy reasserted itself throughout the South, and Blacks found themselves in a social, political, and economic situation not too far removed from slavery.

The second effort to expand the social contract to facilitate justice, fairness, and inclusion came almost 100 years after the first. Beginning in the 1960s, in the wake of the Civil Rights Movement, American lawmakers promulgated affirmative action. As with Reconstruction, affirmative action provoked a furious backlash from whites and the Republican Party as they sought to ban the policy

sector by sector in the courts and comprehensively state by state through plebiscites, which called for amending state constitutions to ban the policy. Pro-affirmative action contested these banning efforts, as well as they could, but they were fighting what was, at best, a holding action. The current state-of-play finds that affirmative action in America is no longer considered to be fully legal, moral, or ethical. A raucous debate has erupted over the ultimate disposition of affirmative action policies. Both sides of the debate agree on the policy “ends”—color blindness and the level playing field.” However, they have vehement disagreements about the best method of achieving these ends. The affirmative action problem is no longer a legal or constitutional problem; recent court rulings have defined the policy parameters that affirmative action must conform to, and that is the requirements of “strict scrutiny.” Thus, the affirmative action problem in America is now a “management problem.” It is a problem of “means.” It is a problem of “how to do” what the courts say we must do.

As stated above, using the Lind schema, America is entering its Fourth Democratic Republic (2014 - ?), and even though America elected its first black President, Barack Obama, twice, we are not living in a post-racial society. There is strong evidence that racism, sexism, xenophobia, homophobia, and so forth, are alive, well, and on the rise in America and that the American social contract continues to break down. The fight for justice, fairness, and inclusion is at its core a fight over “what will be the nature of distributive justice in America as we enter the Fourth Democratic Republic. The answer to this question ranges from “reparations,” which will not happen, on the far left to white supremacy, which is objectionable to the vast majority, on the far right. For those who have endured centuries of subjugation and discrimination, the answer to this question is of paramount importance. Some have enjoyed the benefits of a system that gave them every advantage, all the while resisting having to share the benefits of American society equally, and they are not keen to give up their advantage. A question of paramount importance is, can we agree upon a system that distributes societal burdens and benefits justly, fairly, and inclusively?

Given the legal fights over affirmative action, where are we now? “Multiculturalists” support affirmative action, which is of dubious constitutionality. Those on the radical left support reparations, which are political non-starters.” Conservatives support “Absolute Color Blindness,” which is unconstitutional as well. Those on the radical right support “White Supremacy,” which is also unconstitutional. Given the revelations concerning the increases in the amount of racism, sexism, homophobia, xenophobia, we must find a new solution to the problem of distributive justice in America. With no legally viable or societally acceptable distributive justice option, among those currently available, what do we do? William Chip, citing Michael Lind, offers these sobering words:

Eurocentrism (White Supremacy) is dead, and Multiculturalism is dying. Whoever fills the void will define the political, social, and economic sectors of America for the majority of the 21st Century.

The “bonds” that should hold the American people together (our social contract) are fraying to the point of breaking. Among the most important questions of our time are: “If we are to remain a single country in which we live together in peace, respect, and love for each other, and if American society is not to devolve into internecine tribal warfare, where do we go from here?” How do we seal the breach? What would be the nature of a new social contract for America?

Lind also makes the case that during each democratic republic, the social contract associated with it was never accepted by all the people. Carole Pateman offers one major reason why America's original social contract and all the subsequent iterations of it were problematic. She says it is because the first social contract did not include women, and subsequent ones did not correct the shortcomings of the first. Similarly, Per Charles W. Mills maintains that America's original social contract did not include minorities, and subsequent ones did not correct the shortcomings of the first. In America's original social contract, and in subsequent ones, the white men to have enjoyed the full panoply benefits that society has had to offer. Of particular interest to us now is Lind's assertion that the social contract that tenuously bound the republic together during the Third Democratic Republic is showing signs of being rent asunder.

As shown in Chapter 2, of the book, *Ensuring Justice, Fairness, and Inclusion in America*, there have been two major positive populist attempts to devise and implement progressive correctives to America's unjust policies and institutions, and each was invariably met with a vigorous negative populist regressive backlash from those who did not want to expand rights and opportunities to all the citizens. The most recent attempt to devise and implement institutional and public policy correctives, which were promulgated during the Third Democratic Republic, affirmative action, has also been met with a powerful regressive backlash such that affirmative action, as will be shown below, is all but moribund. If America is to live up to its creed, if it is to meet its aspirational goals, if it is to break the Vicious Cycle of Poverty, it must decide to adopt a democratic ethos (positive populism) and a system of distributive justice that is equal in power, but opposite in terms of causal impetus to (negative populism) Virulent Majoritarian Democracy sequence. Fortunately, America's Founding Fathers enshrined in our founding documents solutions to both problems, Representative Consensus Democracy; win-win politics and economics; and justice, fairness, and inclusion.

If you are concerned about the state of affairs in America and around the world and want to do something about it, you need to attend the official introduction of a newly published book and the launch of a revolutionary/evolutionary strategic plan designed to solve these problems. Come and explore the concepts in the new book (*Ensuring Justice, Fairness, and Inclusion in America: Managing Equity in the 21st Century*) and in the revolutionary/evolutionary strategic plan (*Equity Management-Plato*) designed for saving liberal democracy, unifying peoples, and resisting authoritarianism worldwide.

An alternative explanation for the causes of the various inequalities in America (and elsewhere) lies in the realm of "politics." The current America democratic ethos is characterized by the deleterious combination of a virulent form of Majoritarian Democracy combined with zero-sum politics and economics (often called "winner-take-all politics"). In the American political system, the winner of political contests, those who get 50.01 percent of the vote, gets to define the agenda of the state. Adding Identity Politics to the mix makes a bad situation worse. This worsening of the situation is caused by unscrupulous politicians who seek to combine Identity Politics (race, gender, and class) with unprincipled efforts to manipulate the political process in order to rig the system to the benefit of their particular reference group (defined by race, gender, or class). When pursued in this manner, Virulent Majoritarian Democracy is driven by what is called the "Base-Plus" electoral strategy. The Base-Plus Electoral Strategies require its purveyors to solidify support from one's base and then seek to draw support for other groups by advocating policies that appeal to them to put together a winning coalition (50.01 percent of the electorate). Embracing a Base-

Plus” Electoral Strategy requires that signals of fidelity be sent to one’s core constituents (base) to keep them energized and motivated to go to the polls at election time and by adding discrete deliverables aimed at enticing voters that normally do not vote with one’s base. Both the Democratic Party and the Republican Party have used Identity Politics” as an electoral strategy for a very long time.

While Majoritarian Democracy is not by definition tyrannical, the way it has operated in America since the inception of the Republic has often been tyrannical as it has often included a heavy dose of zero-sum politics and economics. In its American expression, politicians who are adherents of the virulent form of Majoritarian Democracy seek to garner as many benefits for their followers and to deny as many benefits to the others as possible. There is a belief that the winner will gain control of the levers of government and rig the system in favor of its supporters and against those who did not vote for them. Therefore, winners and losers often end up being defined by race, gender, and class. The possibility of a spectacular win or a catastrophic loss has turned American politics into a “blood sport.” Majoritarian Democracy is inextricably linked to “Identity Politics,” and it functions in the midst of a hyper-partisan and polarized environment. Opposing sides in these contests seem willing to do almost anything to achieve victory and even more to stay in power once power has been gained. Some even seem prepared to repudiate the values of liberal democracy itself, break laws, subvert the Constitution, and embrace America’s enemies so long as they win.

For most of America’s history, the “majority” was coterminous with the white race. However, due to demographic changes, by 2043, whites will no longer be in the majority. It is unlikely that they will want to continue to play Majoritarian Politics under those conditions. The other two alternatives are to make a deal (a new social contract) while it is still possible to make one or to make one last push at gaining control of the machinery of government and rigging the system to hold back the demographic tide. The former is a long-term strategy, but it requires a willingness to share power and societal benefits. The latter is a short-term strategy and doomed to failure. The struggle over which strategy will be predominant is polarizing and alienating. We have been on this path for so long, it may be difficult to change course, but there is an urgent need to unify the country because as the two groups become more equivalent in size, the tensions will increase. The change in the demographic makeup of America is a time bomb that invariably destined to detonate. It will go off. As mentioned above, as we entered the 2016 election cycle left with three options to pursue one the following: Type 2 Majoritarian Democracy, the ethos of Representative Consensus Democracy, or Anarchy.

While this is not the way America’s Founding Fathers envisioned the system, they invented working, Americans, having experienced it for so long, have come view it as the norm. There is an old expression in American Politics that “elections have consequences.” However, America is undergoing a demographic transition that will alter the nature of the “majority” for the foreseeable future. Fear of the “other” and desire to promote the interest of one’s group even at the expense of the others is not a winning strategy in this time of transition. If we maintain the status quo, we could spark internecine warfare, the likes of which America has not seen since the 1860s. It could tear the country apart as each offense would spark retaliation from the offended group(s) looking for some “payback.” The political coalition that supports the Democratic Party is ascendant, and the coalition that supports the Republican Party is on the decline. These demographic changes are

immutable and inevitable. Identity Politics leads to discrimination and racial, gender, and class inequality. To continue down the path risks escalating from harassment to confrontation to violence. Our norms, laws, Constitution, and liberal democracy are at stake.

This bleak prognostication need not be inevitable. There is a way out of this miasma. In 2004, an unassuming black man with a strange name, a life story that bespeaks a willingness to persevere in the face of adversity, and a varied and impressive skill set, exploded onto the national and world stage. That man, Barack Hussein Obama's debut in the limelight, was in 2004. He gave the Keynote Speech at the Democratic National Convention. That speech would catapult him all the way to the White House, and it presaged what would become his electoral and governing mantra: America should embrace Virulent Majoritarian Democracy and embrace Representative Consensus Democracy, and it should embrace justice, fairness, and inclusion. It is notable that President Obama was among the first to appreciate that Virulent Majoritarian Democracy when combined with populist sentiments and Identity Politics leads to zero-sum politics and economics, which are divisive and at the end of the day are deleterious to our liberal democracy. Dating from the time he first ran for President (2008), Barack Obama has called for making the changes necessary to make American institutions work for all Americans per the principles of Representative Consensus Democracy, justice, fairness, and equality.

After his election, the principles of Representative Consensus Democracy, justice, fairness, and equality seemed to be the North Star for President Barack Obama and his administration. His administration has promoted legislation and put in place executive orders designed to pull the American economy out of the Great Recession while also ensuring that as many Americans as possible benefited from and contributed to that growth and development. If not for historic levels of Republican obstructionism, President Obama may have more fully realized his vision for America. Moreover, if that had been the case, the effect of this strategy could be profound. We would be on our way to addressing many of the problems we gnashed our teeth and pulled our hair over in 2016. Despite the obstruction, there is a reason to believe that Barack Obama's message will cut through the "political fog," and they were/are profound enough to persist for a long time. Representative Consensus Democracy, justice, fairness, and inclusion, and the repudiation of Identity Politics is what the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution call for and are what the American people are demanding.

Despite how popular these ideas may be among the American people; our two major political parties have been slow to make full-throated avocations of these principles or put them center-stage in their electoral and governing strategies. The reason why both the Democratic Party and the Republican Party seem to be floundering regarding what they stand for and what comprises their agenda is the core electoral and governing agendas of both parties have been hollowed out, have become irrelevant, and are no longer tenable. Neither party's agenda is salient to where they can continue to run on them. They are out of sync with the people's needs and demands and are out of synch with popular sentiments in this populist age. Both parties seem unwilling to do the hard work to reform their parties and adjust their agendas to the new realities. Both parties now run campaigns characterized by more than a little obfuscation, and if they win, they declare that they have a mandate to do whatever they want. Playing "bait and switch" between one's electoral and governing mandates flies in the face of the whole notion of "representative government," which advocates that one's "electoral agenda" should equal one's "governing agenda" for there to

be a mandate. Therefore, there is a wave of populism in the United States and around the world. Representative Consensus Democracy has broken down in many countries, including America if it ever existed at all. Neither political party has an agenda they can profess and run on without turning off the at least one-half of the American people. The core of each party's electoral agenda lies in how to handle distributive justice "equality," treating everyone the same, "need," giving special treatment to those most in need," and "equity," treating some differentially, only "for cause."

In the same vein as the Stiglitz book cited in the previous section, in their book, *Why Washington Won't Work: Polarization, Political Trust, and the Governing Crisis*, Marc J. Hetherington and Thomas J. Rudolph find that America has become extremely polarized, but not so much on policy.ⁱ There is amazing unanimity on policy objectives, the average Republican and the average Democrat want essentially the same thing. They find that polarization exists at an unprecedented level; they do not "like or trust one another." This dislike translates into intransigence and a refusal to work with one another such that major governing institutions such as Congress are deadlocked, and productivity is often non-existent.ⁱⁱ Creating the required consensus, the ability, through mutual trust, to persuade some portion of the other party to come to an at least minimal agreement on a singular vision, seemingly no longer exists. Without trust, consensus fails to develop, and compromise does not occur. Political trust increases, for example, when the public is concerned with foreign policy—as in times of war—and it decreases in periods of weak economic performance. On domestic economic policy, mutual trust is directly proportional to the level of domestic economic strength. Mutual trust diminishes, and the consensus is less likely as domestic economic strength declines, and mutual trust increases, and the potential for consensus commensurate with the level of economic growth.ⁱⁱⁱ

In their book, *Polarized America, The Dance of Ideology and Unequal Riches*, Nolan McCarty, Keith Poole, and Howard Rosenthal also found that in recent decades America has become increasingly polarized politically.^{iv} The authors found that this political polarization has been closely accompanied by fundamental social and economic changes--most notably, a parallel rise in income inequality. The authors find that polarization and income inequality fell in tandem from 1913 to 1957 and rose together dramatically from 1977 to the present. They show that Republicans have moved right away from redistributive policies that would reduce income inequality.^v In "the choreography of American politics," inequality feeds directly into political polarization, and polarization, in turn, creates policies that further increase inequality.^{vi}

In a "true democracy," the preferences and needs of all citizens deserve equal consideration. Equal consideration is only possible with an equal citizen voice. In their book, *The Unheavenly Chorus: Unequal Political Voice and the Broken Promise of American Democracy*, Kay L. Schlozman, Sidney Verba, and Henry E. Brady convincingly demonstrate that American liberal democracy is marred by deeply ingrained and persistent class-based political inequality.^{vii} In a massive study, he finds that well-educated and affluent have an outsized "political voice" when compared to their numbers. Well-educated and affluent Americans engage in political participation to a far greater degree than their less well educated and less affluent fellow citizens. The well-educated and affluent have a more powerful and more persistent political voice than even organized interest groups such as unions, professional associations, trade associations, citizen groups. and they can make their voices heard in ways that the less advantaged individuals and

groups could not. *The Unheavenly Chorus* reveals how far we are from the democratic ideal and how hard it would be to attain it.^{viii}

Renown American Political Scientist, Alan I. Abramowitz, in his groundbreaking book, *The Disappearing Center: Engaged Citizens, Polarization, and American Democracy* echo Schlozman et al. as he offers a similar take on the nature of the divide in American politics.^{ix} He maintains that divide is not between left and right but rather between citizens who are politically energized and engaged and those who are not politically energized and engaged. He maintains that these energized and engaged citizens are the most polarized. In another of his works on the issue on the polarization in America, entitled *The Polarized Public: Why American Government Is So Dysfunctional*, Abramowitz examines this seemingly irreconcilable divide from the perspective of partisan politics (between Republicans and Democrats) and finds that the divide does indeed have a partisan incarnation. In his book, *The Polarized Public*, Abramowitz maintains that bipartisanship remains elusive, not because of politicians in the capital, but because of the American public and their fixation on party membership and loyalty.^x

Abramowitz does not necessarily see polarization as having to be harmful to liberal democracy. Regarding why our government does not respond to the needs of the people, Abramowitz makes a “squeaky wheel gets the grease” argument. He says that the government is responding to the politically energized and engaged segments of the population, and to some degree that is the way the system is supposed to work by presenting voters with clear choices; polarization can serve to increase the public’s interest and participation in politics and strengthen electoral accountability.^{xi} Finally, Larry M. Bartels, in his book, *Unequal Democracy*, challenges conventional explanations for why many voters seem to vote against their economic interests, contending that working-class voters have not been lured into the Republican camp by “values issues” like abortion and gay marriage, as commonly believed, but that Republican presidents have been remarkably successful in timing income growth to cater to short-sighted voters.^{xii}

There is a difference between the impact of polarization on the energizing and marshaling of supporters for the purposes of winning elections and the impact of polarization on the distribution of societal benefits after the elections and during the process of governing. Do you govern for all the people, even those who do not support you or do you or do govern in a “winner-take-all,” “zero-sum” manner, and accord disproportionate shares of societal benefits to your supporters to the detriment of those who did not support you?^{xiii} In his book, *Culture War? The Myth of a Polarized America*, Morris P. Fiorina delves into one of the major questions of our time: “What is the cause of oft-reported and analyzed “polarization” of the American body politics?”^{xiv} In *Culture War?* Fiorina offers a vigorous and compelling counter-narrative that debunks the widely held belief that Americans are deeply divided in their fundamental political views. He finds that on a variety of the hot-button issues (such as homosexuality and abortion) that define the American political landscape, there is far less polarization and more agreement than the conventional wisdom would have us believe.^{xv}

If polarization is not necessarily a bad thing, and the American people do not necessarily hold irreconcilably opposed views on the hot-button issues of our time, then what explains persistent, immutable inequality in so many of the sectors and aspects of American life? Jacob S. Hacker and Paul Pierson take an innovative approach to explain inequality in their book, *Winner-Take-All Politics: How Washington Made the Rich Richer and Turned Its Back on the Middle Class*.^{xvi} In their book, they maintain that it is the rise of a “winner-take-all” economy that dates to the late 1970s when, under a Democratic president and a Democratic Congress, a major transformation of American politics occurred. In response, big business and conservative ideologues organized themselves to undo the regulations and progressive tax policies that had helped ensure a fairer distribution of economic rewards, to roll-back deregulation, to lower taxes for the wealthiest individuals and corporations. This new coalition decisively defeated the left-leaning coalition labor in Washington, and it transformed politics in America.^{xvii} The transformation continued under Ronald

Reagan and the Bushes and, surprisingly, under Clinton as well. From the 1990s onward, both parties catered to the interests of those at the very top. Hacker and Pierson's gripping narration of the epic battles waged during President Obama's first two years in office reveals an unpleasant but catalyzing truth: winner-take-all politics, while under challenge, is still very much with us.^{xviii}

For Hacker and Pierson, political inequality and economic inequality are tied together in that the rich have hijacked the political system in America so that they can ensure that the political and economic systems responded to the few and the well connected.^{xix} The notion of winner-take-all ("zero-sum") economics has sparked a debate among economists and top one percent apologists as to whether the economy can be "Zero-Sum" at all.^{xx} There are those who maintain that because the economy is elastic, it can "grow." There is not a finite amount of stuff to be fought over. Their argument seems to be a theoretical one. Resources are being funneled into the economy, growth is taking place, productivity is increasing, and all are sharing in the increased prosperity. The American economic system is Zero-Sum in its nature. Inequality between the top one percent and the rest of Americans is engineered into the system, and the system of Zero-Sum Politics serves to reinforce and protect the advantages that the rich have. The well to do rig the system to ensure that the lion's share of benefits goes to them. While fighting to enlarge the percentage of societal benefits that accrue to themselves, the rich, corporations, and their political allies vigorously fight any effort to increase the wages, benefits, and services that go to the help of the middle class and the poor.

The engine that drives inequality between the upper two percent and the lower 98 to 99 percent (class-based inequality) and the engine that drives inequality between and among the lower 98 percent (racial and gender inequality) is the same, varying combinations of the following mechanisms:

1. The costs of elections
2. Virulent Majoritarian Democracy
3. Zero-sum politics and economics
4. Injustice, inequality, and exclusion

The cost of the election is a causal factor in inequality because America is a republic. We do not have a system of a direct democracy wherein all citizens cast their votes on all public officials or all public policy. Instead, we cast our votes for (we elect) representatives whom we charge with the responsibility of casting votes on our behalf for the things that "we the people" want or do not want. Although this arms-distant, remote control democracy has served us reasonably well for centuries, it has a potential "fatal flaw." That potential fatal flaw is an electoral process that challenges those who would represent us to stand for election on a periodic basis to find more and more each election cycle to finance their election campaigns.^{xxi} It is through this door that the rich pour their funds into the campaign coffers of "representatives" of their choice. The rich can easily outspend individual small donors, those who are elected owe their first loyalties to the monied interests who put them in office.

What do the rich and corporations want for their contributions? They want their representatives to bend the machinery of state to ensure that they, the rich and corporations, well-to-do see a finite amount of benefits in the marketplace, and they bend the machinery of state so that they get the lion's share of economic benefits that the state has to offer. Thanks to the SCOTUS ruling in

Citizen's United, money has become speech (equivalent to the vote), and corporations have become people. Elections are but sideshows; the votes of ordinary citizen votes are mere chips in the game and not the game itself; and finally, the people do not rule, they are ruled over—they have become mere pawns in the game. The real game is that which goes on in the back rooms and secretive hideaways where rich and corporations executive plot strategy and tactics for the next election. When the power in a state is vested in the hands of a few individuals (usually the rich), it is called “Elite Democracy,” “Oligarchy,” or a “Plutocracy.” Regardless of whether it is called Elite Democracy, Oligarchy, or Plutocracy, it is about as far away from the “Representative Consensus Democracy” that the founding fathers bequeathed the American people in the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution, as you can get.

Oligarchic rule typically plays out in the following manner. When politicians at all levels of government, Presidents, Senators, Congressmen, governors, and legislators assume office, they invariably see it as their first order of business to give tax cuts to the one percent and corporations. After giving the tax cuts, they suddenly discover that they have tremendous budget shortfalls that can only be made good by cutting services to the masses. The rich resist increasing giving more and better services to the masses and corporations while benefitting from increased worker productivity. At the same time, they resist increasing worker’s wages and benefits. Moreover, both the rich and corporations seek to avoid paying taxes by placing their money in offshore accounts. The tax code has been manipulated to allow the rich to keep a disproportionately lower percentage of their wages and wealth than the average taxpayer. Corporations have been offshoring jobs in search of lower wages, benefits, and fewer regulations while at the same time still relying on the American consumer as a primary generator of their sales and profits. Thus, the caustic impact of zero-sum politics and economic manifests itself as one of the engines of inequality. Moreover, in a society so constructed and in the absence of elites who have the greater good at heart, money flows upward, enriching those at the top and diminishing those at the bottom.

The next fatal flaw in liberal democracy, as it exists in America, is our slavish adherence to and perversion of Majoritarian Democracy. As an electoral philosophy, liberal democracy requires that the winning side get the most support (50.01 percent of the votes) from the electorate to carry the day and earn the right to rule. As a governing strategy, liberal democracy gives the winning side the right to set policy for the whole electorate. The critical question and potentially fatal flaw in a liberal democracy are who does the winner represent, all citizens or just the ones that voted for the winning side? For whom is a public policy designed, all citizens, or just the ones that voted for the winning side? America’s founding fathers recognized the potential for a tyrannical majority^{xxii} to oppress the losing minority, so they designed the American political system to be a democratic republic^{xxiii} that would be governed according to the rules of Representative Consensus Democracy.^{xxiv} Unfortunately, America has yet to live up to the founding father’s ideals. Instead of pursuing Representative Democracy, we have embraced Virulent Majoritarian Democracy in its most deleterious forms. In the American version of Majoritarian Democracy, winning is paramount, and the winner takes all and the loser, well—all participants in the game should do all in their power to make sure they do not lose. The American version of Majoritarian Democracy is considered “virulent” because it is also characterized by a combination of Majoritarian Democracy combined with zero-sum politics and economics, and Identity politics, racism, and sexism. Because of this, the system has been rendered dysfunctional and rife with corruption, abuse of power, and a powerful growth medium for inequality of all types.

Most Americans have come to believe that our political and economic systems are rigged and that it does not work for them. In its current manifestation, the system is rapidly losing legitimacy and will, if not set on a different path, soon begin to lose stability. No one wants to play a game that he or she cannot win. In a game characterized by Representative Consensus Democracy, justice, fairness, and inclusion, it is possible to lose a contest (election), policy debate, or a nominee confirmation fight and you would have only lost one contest (one game); there is nothing saying that the player will automatically be the loser in all subsequent contests. The player may win the next one and more after that. Moreover, in the totality of all games contested, where every contestant has an equal chance of winning, winning and losing could even out. The player could wind up with his fair share of the winnings. In such a scenario, there would likely be few protests from the contestants about the nature of the games or their outcomes. All contestants would continue to play the game, hoping for the time when he or she wins.

People will continue to play a game despite losing almost every time if they believe that the game is fair. On the other hand, in an environment characterized by Virulent Majoritarian Democracy with zero-sum politics and economics and Identity politics, racism, and sexism, the player risks losing every game. It is when the player suspects or find out that the winners and losers of the game were predetermined, and that the player had no chance to win in the first place that the player is faced with some very bleak options. He could do one of the following: (1) continue to play the game without complaining, (2) continue to play the game but under protest, (3) opt-out of the game altogether, or (4) seek to bring down the game and replace it with one that is just and fair. I suspect that most of the people would opt-out of a game or seek to replace it if they believed it to be rigged. The only real solution to the problem of the rigged game is to seek to fix the game so that there are no predetermined and perpetual winners and losers.

The best reaction to the current state-of-play is to go back and reclaim the original intent of our Founding Fathers, and the wording of our founding documents was to stay on the course of Virulent Majoritarian Democracy that has been on since the founding of America. Right now, there are four possible choices of organizing and governing ethos to choose from: (1) the ethos of Type 2 (Virulent) Majoritarian Democracy, (2) the ethos of Representative Consensus Democracy, and (3) Anarchy. What is “ethos?” We will move on to examine them for their feasibility and desirability. Some offer possible alternatives and others do not. We have entered a new phase in the life of our republic. There are three major factions in the country vying for a claim to the present and future of America.

One group is trying to change America into an oligarchy in which the rich and corporations rule America, and the people have little to no say. The second group wants to empower the people by having America finally realize the promise of America: Representative Consensus Democracy, an end to Zero-Sum Politics and Zero-Sum Economics. In any case, given the changing demographics, soon, whites will no longer be the majority. So, now we have three choices, continue business as usual, which will increasingly lead to losses at the polls in state-wide and particularly in national elections as whites lose their majority. Reactionary forces can try to pervert the system by creating barriers designed to limit the numbers in the New Majority who can or do vote, thus rendering whites a de facto majority being a de jure minority of the electorate. Finally, you can get rid of Zero-Sum politics and Zero-Sum economics of all kinds altogether because then

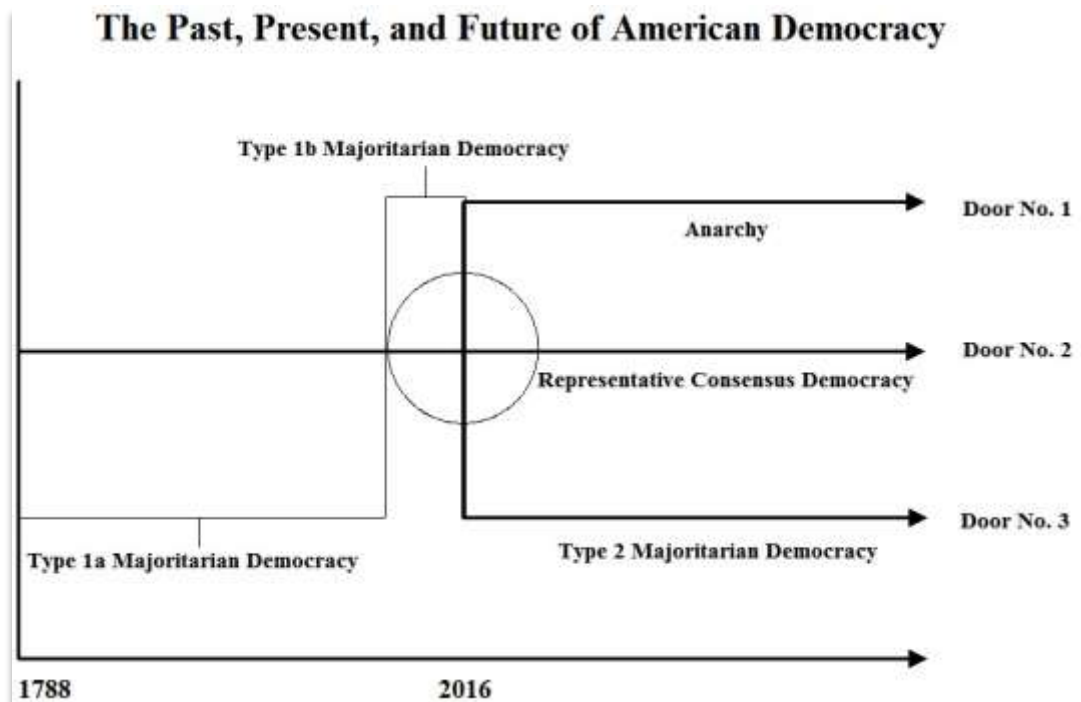
the top one to two percent and the 98 to 99 percent can begin to work together to create public policies and a society bent on bettering the lives of all Americans. It is possible to back away from this cliff; otherwise, America will face its “Thelma & Louise moment.”

America is at the point of decision as to what kind of country it wants to be in the 21st Century. We need to stop all this internecine conflict. We are in the middle of the bull’s eye (see Figure 1-17 below). We are looking for guidance in our decision making. One of the most interesting, if not the best, examples of making difficult decisions under pressure is illustrated by what is called the “The Monty Hall Problem” or “The Monty Hall Paradox.” The Monty Hall Problem is a brain teaser in the form of a probability puzzle (Gruber, Kraussand, and others), loosely based on the American television game show *Let's Make a Deal* and named after its original host, Monty Hall. The “problem” was originally posted by Steve Selvin this way, suppose you are on a game show, and you are given the choice of three doors. Behind one door is a car; behind the others, goats. You pick a door, say No. 1, and the host, who knows what's behind the doors, opens another door, say No. 3, which has a goat behind it. He then says to you, "Do you want to pick door No. 2?" Is it to your advantage to switch your choice?

Vos Savant's response was that the contestant should switch to the other door (Vos Savant 1990a). Under the standard assumptions, contestants who switch have a 2/3 chance of winning the car, while contestants who stick to their choice have only a 1/3 chance.^{xxv}

How is the Monty Hall Problem relevant to the current discussion? It is relevant because applying the logic of the Monty Hall Problem to our current political discussion yields the decision scenario illustrated in the figure below. When we view the current crisis in American liberal democracy through the lens of the Monty Hall Problem, we find that we have no one to blame but ourselves. We picked what is behind door number 3: “Elite Democracy” and “Identity Politics,” just like we voted for the only slightly less deleterious than the Virulent Majoritarian Democracy regime that preceded it. We voted for the folks who offered it up and who continue to sustain it even now. However, many are now having buyer’s remorse and have come to regret their choice. Fortunately, we are not stuck with it. In our decision scenario, Monty would now show us what is behind door number 1. It is “Anarchy,” which is defined in the Merriam-Webster Dictionary as: “a situation of confusion and wild behavior in which the people in a country, group, and organization are not controlled by rules or laws.”^{xxvi}

The oppressed peoples rose up to resist economic subjugation. We certainly do not want that type of Anarchy in America. In our scenario, Monty would then ask us if we are willing to trade our choice, what is behind door number 3 (our current choice), for what is behind door number 2. Is it to our advantage to switch our choice? Fortunately, we are better off than the contestants on “Let’s Make a Deal.” We cheated! We peeked behind the door. We have read the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution. We know what is behind door number 2. It is “Representative Consensus Democracy.” This choice makes itself. This decision scenario outlined above is shown in the figure below.



The Past, Present, and Future of American Liberal Democracy

Therefore, which organizing principle do we choose: Type 2 Majoritarian Democracy or Representative Consensus Democracy? This choice we are about to make is critical to America's future because only one of these doors hides an organizing and governing philosophy that leads to a stable and legitimate society characterized by justice, fairness, and inclusion for all, and that is door number two. If we pick what is behind door number one, Anarchy, then we consign America to a potentially brutal and calamitous death. If we pick what is behind door number 3, Elite Democracy and Identity Politics, then we consign America to "death by a thousand cuts," and we will be strangers in our own land. The only logical choice is to select what is behind door number 2, Representative Consensus Democracy. It is the path that our founding fathers wanted for us and tried to put us on per our founding documents. Now that we find ourselves at the point of decision, in our minds, as Americans, is Representative Consensus Democracy preferable to Elite Democracy and Identity Politics? If so, enough said, and the decision is made. If not, then we must learn to live with the known consequences of having chosen what is behind door number 3, economic inequality being chief among them. I believe Americans want the type of liberal democracy that our founding fathers bequeathed to us and that our founding documents promised to us and the type of liberal democracy that President Obama tried to help us achieve for ourselves. However, how do we, the American people, get what we want? We need a plan that is designed to work on the strategic, tactical, and operational levels that will deliver what we want. Equity Management-Plato is that plan. It is designed to be the antithesis of Virulent Majoritarian Democracy and the embodiment of positive populism, as shown in the table below.

So, in the parlance of the iconic television show, Let's Make a Deal!" There is a rapidly growing belief among the American people that our social, economic, and political "games" are rigged, that the deck is stacked and that the dice are loaded and that these games are all "Zero-Sum" in nature. Despite being armed with this belief, some Americans continue to play the games.

Some continue to play out of delusion; they drank the Kool-Aid. Some continue to play the game because they subscribe to Zero-Sum Politics and Zero-Sum Economics, which, for them, means to also get the “keys to the kingdom” and the “keys to the treasury” simultaneously. Adherents of Zero-Sum Politics and Zero-Sum Economics continue to play the game because they hope to get the lion’s share of the societal benefits that tend to accrue to the winners of the games, and they seek to avoid the potentially crushing losses that tend to accrue to the losers. In zero-sum games, the winners and losers are often predetermined. The potential for outsized gains, however ill-gotten, and the potential of devastating losses, however unjustly and unfairly apportioned, is not lost on the predetermined winner or the predetermined loser. The winner is often exuberant in his good fortune and attributes his winning to his superior ability to play the game. The loser is often distraught and attributes his loss to a corrupt game bent on diminishing him in some way or denying him some benefit for no reason other than who he is. We are finding that there are more and more games like this in America. As more and more Americans realize the futility of continuing to play games that they cannot win, the more they will cry “foul” and demand change. And absent change they may opt-out of the game, as many already have (see the 100,000,000 non-voters in the last presidential election) or seek to change the game altogether (see the members of the Resistance and the Tea Party).

On their face, many of the proposals seem reasonable, that is at a high theoretical level. Some are mere bromides that do not even treat symptoms, let alone the disease, but that dull the senses to the point that one can no longer feel the pain. What is needed are public policies on a broad front that addresses the problems at all levels. This volume will deal with what this broad policy attack needs to look like later, but first, there is a more pressing question with which to deal. Assuming you have devised a set of policies designed to fix the problem, how do you get the players in the current system to make the changes that you propose? You will be faced with problems of “vested interests” that some of the players have in maintaining the status quo. An anecdote can best explain this. My father once told me that, “If you see a condition or circumstance that seems bad to even the casual observer, yet it persists, it is because those in power have figured out how to make money out of it.” Why should we continue to support a system that is proving to be oblivious to our cries of anguish? Whether it is due to apathy or borne of futility, things are going to change. There are inexorable forces at work that make a change in the current circumstance inevitable.

Adopting the path that President Obama had been advocating while he was on to the national and world stage is inevitable in America. Going forward, his proposed plan (Representative Consensus Democracy and justice, fairness, and inclusion) is the only model of American liberal democracy that is sustainable over time. America will eventually get what was promised in the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution. I maintain that this is what is going to happen and that it will happen more sooner than later. Until our leaders yield to the inevitable, there will be increasing disillusionment and discontent with our elected officials, our government, our capitalist system, and our society at large. The situation is unsustainable over time and could ultimately be disastrous for America because of our liberal democracy and the social contract that undergirds it requires a critical mass of (if not unanimity among) America’s citizens for the country to remain legitimate and stable. Absent this minimum number of adherents, the continued existence of the state will be rendered problematic.

It is at this point that Charles Elliot can lend some wisdom to those of us who find ourselves searching for the answer. In his insightful book, *Patterns of Poverty in the Third World*, Elliott observes that the extent of poverty of the people in Third World countries is a result of the structural process arranged for the enrichment of the elites, who by their political and economic power, gear most of the resources of society towards their benefit.^{xxvii} However, to avoid the risk of potential questions about the legitimacy of such a skewed distribution, they regulate distributive channels in forms of new development interventions or reform measures to provide an image of competitive success for enrichment, while still maintaining a selective bias in competition. Through this strategy, they neutralize the potential revolutionary forces of society and increase societal confidence in their right and ability to rule. Elliott calls these actions designed to curry favor and support from the populace, "confidence mechanisms." They are used by elites to maintain continuity of support by society.

Confidence mechanisms are still being used today, even in America. I believe that if Charles Elliot was asked to comment on the current state of the political, social, and economic sectors in America, he would warn American leaders that if they continue to peddle the illusion of liberal democracy while not giving the people what they want; if they continue to operate in direct contravention to the public will and the public good, if they continue to allocate benefits to some while denying them to others purposively, all the while continuing to create "confidence mechanisms" designed to give the people sufficient belief that the game is fair when most perceive it is not, then they need to be very afraid!^{xxviii} Such leaders may look up one day and find that the "barbarians" are at the gate and that anarchy is a real possibility.

I and many others consider all this to be obvious. Despite how obvious I and others may find all this to be, many of our leaders are not listening to the people, or they just do not care. If they were listening, they would hear the American people exclaiming in a resounding voice: "We want what's behind door number two, Monty." The American people want their birthright; they want what is promised to them in the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution. They want Representative Consensus Democracy and an end to Zero-Sum Politics and Zero-Sum Economics. They want justice, fairness, and inclusion for all. Moreover, finally, they want the mitigation of if not the elimination of inequality." If our representatives are not prepared to give the American people what they want, then who do they represent? The world is watching America in order to see how it will deal with all of this. For decades, Americans have moved around the world chiding others for being better to minorities and women while at the same time, not being good to our own. We have withheld aid from countries that do not treat their minorities and women in accordance with the ideals espoused in their founding democratic documents. We have done all of this while not following our own founding principles and values. The rest of the world is puzzled and disillusioned by the blatant hypocrisy that we demonstrate. It is time for America to come out of the darkness and move into the light in the 21st Century.

Armed with the knowledge that America is experiencing an existential crisis of liberal democracy, politics, economics, inequality, and inclusion, the like of which it has not seen in a very long time, what do we do? Fortunately, there is a way forward that can contribute to resolving these issues to the benefit of all. I feel that the clear majority of Americans will insist on this change if they know that it exists. If the American people continue to be ignored by their elected officials, then there is a strong likelihood that at some point, the people will channel their inner Howard

Beale. Howard Beale, who was played by Peter Finch in the 1976 movie *Network*, was a worker at a news network who, when confronted by corporate greed and abuse, stood up and called for a popular uprising. “Beale’s appeal to the people galvanized the nation. He persuaded his viewers to go to their respective windows and shout: “...I’m as mad as hell, and I’m not going to take this anymore!”^{xxxix}

Elites must ensure that they do not provoke the people to the point that emulate Howard Beale. Preventing a popular (populist) uprising that could destabilize the nation and avoiding the Howard Beale scenario requires a “tri-partite solution,”^{xxx} one in which elites and their corporate allies, the Old Majority, and the New Majority come to together to fashion new rules to the game, a new social contract, a new *modus vivendi* in America designed to benefit all. The critical question is how do we get the players in the game, the elites, the corporate interests, the Old Majority (whites), and the New Majority (minorities, women, and others) to agree to come to the negotiating table? Obviously, those who see themselves as “winning” the game will not want it changed. Those who see themselves as losing the game could opt-out or, if left no choice, they seek to change it. And the nature of that change may not be predictable or necessarily peaceful. The key to saving a liberal democratic world order lies in establishing a new social contract, requires all parties to be at the negotiating table and lobby for their interests to be part of a negotiated solution. An oft-quoted saying in Washington, DC, politics goes: “If you are not at the table, you are on the menu.” It means that if you are not at the bargaining/negotiating table, you are probably being eaten (financially).

Clearly, the social, political, and economic systems in America are broken. Americans no longer have faith in the system as it is currently constituted and even less faith in the proposition that it can be corrected and perfected. For liberal democracy to work, citizens must have faith in the system, the public must participate in its processes, and they must be willing to accept the results of elections or the application of government power. Liberal democracy can no longer afford “free riders.” The populist era is not going anywhere. Issues have to be dealt with, and problems solved. What is needed is a bold, imaginative plan. The key lies in how the political system responds to it. Do you seek to suppress it or manipulate it to their advantage, then promote positive populism or negative populism?

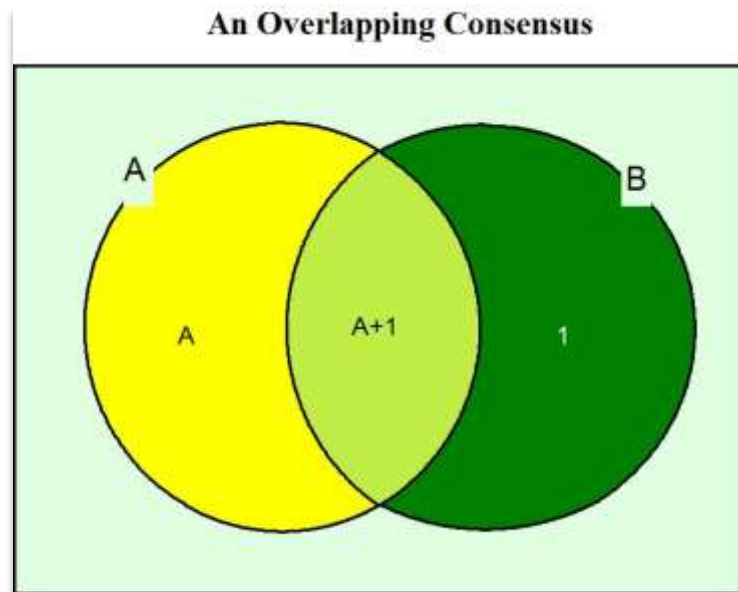
Building an Overlapping Consensus as A Foundation for Promoting Positive Populism

According to a website called “sensagent,” the idea of an “overlapping consensus” is attributable to the imminent philosopher, John Rawls. They offer the following definition of overlapping consensus.

Overlapping consensus is a term coined by John Rawls in *Theory of Justice* and developed in *Political Liberalism*. The term refers to how supporters of different comprehensive doctrines can agree on a specific form of political organization. These doctrines can include religion, political ideology or morals. However, Rawls is clear that such political agreement is narrow and focused on justice. This consensus is reached, in part, by avoiding the deepest arguments in religion and philosophy.

The overlapping consensus “depends, in effect, on there being a morally significant core of commitments common to the ‘reasonable’ fragment of each of the main comprehensive doctrines in the community” (D’Agostino 2003). The commitments as applied to a liberal society, for example, would be basic human rights and freedoms such as that of expression and religion, as well as abiding by notions of democracy and the rule of law.

The overlapping consensus is best conceptualized as a Venn Diagram. The following diagram shows the two competing groups depicted by circles (“A”) and (“B”). The two competing circles each have specific content. Circle A has (“A” plus (“1”) and Circle B has (“1”) plus (“A”). There exists the potential for the competing groups to come together and find common ground because both groups have (“A+1) in common. Thus, there is an overlapping consensus between the groups in Circle A and Circle B). As the groups in Circle A and Circle B to come to realize that the positions hold in common (common ground) can be the jumping off point to pursuing “common cause.” And in this case the common cause is using positive populism to save liberal democracy in America and worldwide.



Using A Venn Diagram to Depict an Overlapping Consensus

Chapter 3 of the book, *Ensuring Justice, Fairness, and Inclusion in America* shows how the process of developing an overlapping consensus would work as a critical first step in establishing a new social contract in America in the current age.

In an online article by the PEW Research Center entitled “How Americans See Their Country and Their Democracy,” A.W. Geiger maintained that the PEW found the following key findings regarding how Americans see “...the United States’ standing in the world and the state of its democracy.”

1. A majority of Americans believe the U.S. is one of the greatest nations in the world.
2. At the same time, nearly seven-in-ten Americans (68%) say the U.S. is less respected abroad than it was in the past.
3. Americans generally agree that democracy is working at least somewhat well in America, but many say that “significant changes” to the political system are needed.
4. Most Americans say they have achieved the “American dream” or are on their way to achieving it.

5. About two-thirds of Americans say the country's openness to people from around the world is "essential to who we are as a nation."
6. A majority of Americans say the U.S. is a better place to live as a result of its growing racial and ethnic diversity.

In an article by Dante Chinni entitled "Poll: Americans want government to Do More," While there is general belief that America works fairly well, an NBC/WSJ poll found that by a large majority, the American people wanted a more activist government to address and "solve" the problems of the people and to meet their needs as shown in the quote below:

The January NBC/WSJ poll found 58 percent of Americans agreed with the statement, "Government should do more to solve problems and help meet the needs of people," while only 38 percent agreed that "Government is doing too many things better left to businesses and individuals."

In an online 2017 article in The American Prospect, entitled "Most Americans Are Liberal, Even If They Don't Know It," Peter Dreier summarized the results of multiple surveys performed by multiple organizations found that there is a broad consensus on discrete policy issues that tends to lean center-left to the left. Numbers like those identified by Dreier would seem to indicate that there is a potential "overlapping consensus" (The first of the principles in John Rawls seminal theory, Justice as Fairness) that could be the basis of a redefinition of the political center in America. Dreier's article is so important in this context that it bears extensive quoting, complete with hyperlinks. Among the policy issues and their level of support found by Dreier are the following:

The Economy

- 82 percent of Americans think wealthy people have too much power and influence in Washington.
- 69 percent think large businesses have too much power and influence in Washington.
- 59 percent—and 72 percent of likely voters—think Wall Street has too much power and influence in Washington.
- 78 percent of likely voters support stronger rules and enforcement on the financial industry.
- 65 percent of Americans think our economic system "unfairly favors powerful interests."
- 59 percent of Americans—and 43 percent of Republicans—think corporations make "too much profit."

Inequality

- 82 percent of Americans think economic inequality is a "very big" (48 percent) or "moderately big" (34 percent) problem. Even 69 percent of Republicans share this view.
- 66 percent of Americans think money and wealth should be distributed more evenly.
- 72 percent of Americans say it is "extremely" or "very" important, and 23 percent say it is "somewhat important," to reduce poverty.

- 59 percent of registered voters—and 51 percent of Republicans—favor raising the maximum amount that low-wage workers can make and still be eligible for the Earned Income Tax Credit, from \$14,820 to \$18,000.

Money in Politics

- 96 percent of Americans—including 96 percent of Republicans—believe money in politics is to blame for the dysfunction of the U.S. political system.
- 84 percent of Americans—including 80 percent of Republicans—believe money has too much influence in politics.
- 78 percent of Americans say we need sweeping new laws to reduce the influence of money in politics.
- 73 percent of registered voters have an unfavorable opinion of the Supreme Court’s *Citizens United* decision.

Taxes

- 80 percent of Americans think some corporations don’t pay their fair share of taxes.
- 78 percent think some wealthy people don’t pay their fair share of taxes.
- 76 percent believe the wealthiest Americans should pay higher taxes.
- 60 percent of registered voters believe corporations pay too little in taxes.
- 87 percent of Americans say it is critical to preserve Social Security, even if it means increasing Social Security taxes paid by wealthy Americans.
- 67 percent of Americans support lifting the cap to require higher-income workers to pay Social Security taxes on all of their wages.

Minimum Wage

- 66 percent of Americans favor raising the federal minimum wage to \$10.10 an hour.
- 59 percent favor raising the federal minimum wage to \$12 an hour.
- 48 percent support raising the national minimum wage to \$15 an hour. (A survey of registered voters found that 54 percent favored a \$15 minimum wage.)
- 63 percent of registered voters think the minimum wage should be adjusted each year by the rate of inflation.

Workers' Rights

- 61 percent of Americans—including 42 percent of Republicans—approve of labor unions.
- 74 percent of registered voters—including 71 percent of Republicans—support requiring employers to offer paid parental and medical leave.
- 78 percent of likely voters favor establishing a national fund that offers all workers 12 weeks of paid family and medical leave.

Health Care

- 60 percent of Americans believe “it is the federal government’s responsibility to make sure all Americans have healthcare coverage.”
- 60 percent of registered voters favor “expanding Medicare to provide health insurance to every American.”
- 58 percent of the public favors replacing Obamacare with “a federally funded healthcare program providing insurance for all Americans.”
- 64 percent of registered voters favor their state accepting the Obamacare plan for expanding Medicaid in their state.

Education

- 63 percent of registered voters—including 47 percent of Republicans—of Americans favor making four-year public colleges and universities tuition-free.
- 59 percent of Americans favor free early-childhood education.

Climate Change and the Environment

- 76 percent of voters are “very concerned” or “somewhat concerned” about climate change.
- 68 percent of voters think it is possible to protect the environment and protect jobs.
- 72 percent of voters think it is a “bad idea” to cut funding for scientific research on the environment and climate change.
- 59 percent of voters say more needs to be done to address climate change.

Gun Safety

- 84 percent of Americans support requiring background checks for all gun buyers.
- 77 percent of gun owners support requiring background checks for all gun buyers.

Criminal Justice

- 57 percent of Americans believe police officers generally treat blacks and other minorities differently than they treat whites.
- 60 percent of Americans believe the recent killings of black men by police are part of a broader pattern of how police treat black Americans (compared with 39 percent who believe they are isolated incidents).

Immigration

1. 68 percent of Americans—including 48 percent of Republicans—believe the country’s openness to people from around the world “is essential to who we are as a nation.” Just 29 percent say that “if America is too open to people from all over the world, we risk losing our identity as a nation.”
2. 65 percent of Americans—including 42 percent of Republicans—say immigrants strengthen the country “because of their hard work and talents.” Just 26 percent say immigrants are a burden “because they take our jobs, housing and health care.”

3. 64 percent of Americans think an increasing number of people from different races, ethnic groups, and nationalities makes the country a better place to live. Only 5 percent say it makes the United States a worse place to live, and 29 percent say it makes no difference.
4. 76 percent of registered voters—including 69 percent of Republicans—support allowing undocumented immigrants brought to the country as children (Dreamers) to stay in the country. 58 percent think Dreamers should be allowed to stay and become citizens if they meet certain requirements. Another 18 percent think they should be allowed to stay and become legal residents, but not citizens. Only 15 percent think they should be removed or deported from the country.

Abortion and Women's Health

- 58 percent of Americans believe that abortion should be legal in all or most cases.
- 68 percent of Americans—including 54 percent of Republicans—support the requirement for private health insurance plans to cover the full cost of birth control.

Same-Sex Marriage

- 62 percent of Americans—including 70 percent of independents and 40 percent of Republicans—support same-sex marriage.
- 74 percent of millennials (born after 1981) support same-sex marriage.

Despite the broad consensus found regarding these policy issues among the American people, there has been little effort by the political class to address citizen desires/demands (“the general will”) in these areas. America’s two major political parties have been extremely slow to take them up, to make full-throated advocations of these policies, or put them center-stage in their electoral and governing strategies. The reason why both the Democratic Party and the Republican Party seems to be floundering regarding what they stand for and what comprises their agenda is the core electoral and governing agendas of both parties have been hollowed out, have become irrelevant, and are no longer tenable. Neither party’s agenda is salient to where they can continue to run on them. They are out of synch with the needs and demands of the people and are out of synch with popular sentiments in this populist age.

Both parties seem unwilling to do the hard work to reform their parties and adjust their agendas to the new realities. Both parties now run campaigns characterized by more than a little obfuscation, and if they win, they declare that they have a mandate to do whatever they want. Playing “bait and switch” between one’s electoral and governing mandates flies in the face of the whole notion of “representative government,” which advocates that one’s “electoral agenda” should equal one’s “governing agenda” for there to be a mandate. Therefore, there is a wave of populism in the United States and around the world. Representative Consensus Democracy has broken down in many countries, including America if it ever existed at all. Neither political party has an agenda they can profess and run on without turning off at least one-half of the American people. The core of each party’s electoral agenda lies in how to handle distributive justice “equality,” treating everyone the same, “need,” giving special treatment to those most in need,” and “equity,” treating some differentially, “for-cause.” A social contract could result from following the general will and taking up these policies with the intent to pass them into law in some form.

I wrote the book, *Ensuring Justice, Fairness, and Inclusion in America: Managing Equity in the 21st Century*, and I designed Equity Management-Plato is to provide a unifying vision for both major political parties and to replace their outmoded agenda and methodologies. I considered the agenda of both parties to be at best on life support, if not dead. In any case, they were both in need of a serious reworking. The Democratic Party is in the process of conducting an autopsy after the 2016 elections. They have expressed an intention to reexamine themselves at all three levels: strategic, tactical, and operational. Meanwhile, their base, the protestors in the street, want a progressive agenda rather than the centrist agenda of the Democratic Party, and they definitely do not want the reactionary agenda being pushed by the Trump administration and the GOP. They want the Democrats to push back more forcefully against the Trump/GOP agenda. They want the Democratic Party to voice a full-throated and forceful embrace of their progressive sentiments. The Democratic Party, caught between its liberal and centrist wings, is angling about for ways to bring the center and the left of their party together. The method I propose in this document is the only one capable of giving all that they want and giving it to them now. Achieving unity among the center and the left will be more easily achieved with all factions on the same page.

Democrats would also be wise to remember that while 138,884,643 (60%) of eligible voters out of a possible 231,666,622 total eligible voters voted in 2016, 92,671,979 (40%) did not vote. Clinton lost by less than 80,000 votes in three key states while winning the popular vote. Democrats and Republicans are roughly evenly divided in this country. Therefore, the future election will not be decided by a reshuffling of the deck in hand, but by which party has a vision, plan, and methods that will excite the people who do not vote to get engaged and go to the polls and vote on their behalf. Remember that are 92,671,979 potential voters. So, how do you get them excited? I firmly believe that those advocating a well-funded great idea will excite voters and non-voters alike and get them to the polls to out-vote those advocating a superbly funded bad idea. Think of each of these policy issues in terms of percentages of 215 million voters who want a given policy acted on by their “representatives.” Implementing Equity Management-Plato will have the effect of redefining “We the People,” redefining the political center in America, uniting the country, giving power to the people, giving the people a vision of a better world than that offered by authoritarians and purveyors of negative populism, laying out a strategic plan for saving liberal democracy worldwide.

The last group that this proposal is aimed at is Organizing for Action. It should be amenable to this proposal since it is headed by former President Barack Obama. Obama’s debut in the limelight was occasioned when, in 2004, he gave the Keynote Speech at the Democratic National Convention. His speech in 2004 presaged what would become his electoral and governing mantra: “America should endeavor to seek unification and avoid tribalism and balkanization (be one America and not a “red” America or “blue” America, etc.) President Obama was among the first to appreciate that Majoritarian Democracy when combined with populist sentiments and Identity Politics, lead to zero-sum politics and economics, which are divisive and ultimately deleterious to our liberal democracy. Dating from the time he first began running for President, Barack Obama has called for making the changes necessary to make American institutions work for all Americans per the principles upon which America was founded: “Consensus Democracy,” “justice,” “fairness,” and “equality.” After he was elected President, Barack Obama kept justice, fairness, and inclusion as the guiding principles of his administration. His administration has

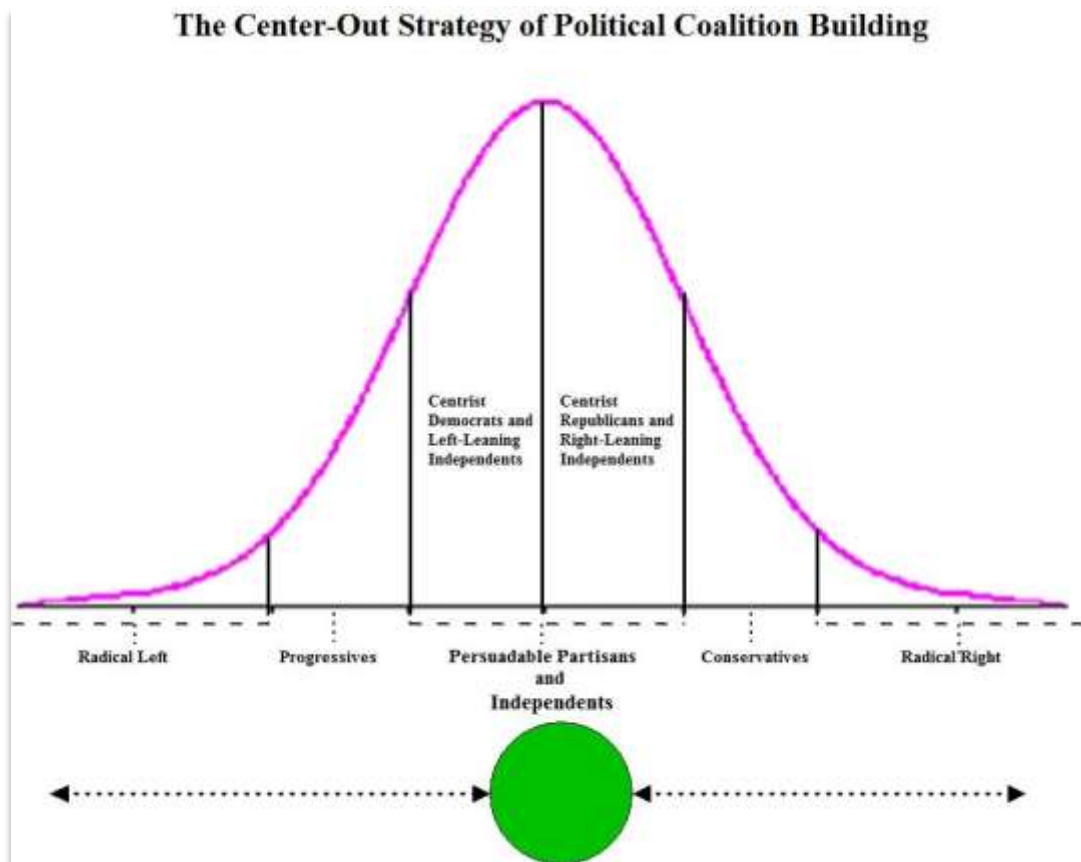
promoted legislation and put in place executive orders designed to move the country forward economically (growth and development), while at the same time attempting to ensure that all Americans had the opportunity to benefit from and contribute to that growth and development (justice, fairness, and inclusion). Was it not for the unprecedented obstruction by the GOP, preventing his vision from being fully realized, the effect of this strategy could have been profound?

In order for liberal democracy to survive the current onslaught from authoritarians and their negative populist strategies, liberal democracy-loving peoples need to make common cause worldwide to establish a new international coalition of conscience bent on saving the world order as we know it. While saving liberal democracy begins with “hardening” it (fixing its vulnerabilities), it ends with creating a benign yet robust ethos that is far more attractive than the authoritarian philosophies extant in the world today. This book is meant to help begin those processes. By making these necessary changes, democracies can reduce the appeal of these corrosive anti-democratic elements and shore up liberal democratic states. The strategic plan being pushed by Washington & Associates, Inc. and the solutions offered in EM-P were designed to help liberal democracies everywhere offer their citizens a positive alternative vision to the negative one being offered worldwide by forces of authoritarianism and virulent nationalistic populism. While this volume focuses specifically on the American experience, its definition of the problems that afflict liberal democracy-loving countries and “the solutions to those problems (EM-P) are, in fact, meant to be universal. With some modifications to account for localized circumstances, Equity Management-Plato is universal in its applicability. If affirmatively adopted and implemented, the solutions proposed herein book will result in the creation of Rawls’ “realistic utopias,” the saving of liberal democracy worldwide, and ultimately the creation of a “better world.”

They want their representatives to work on delivering the policy initiatives that they have asked for so long and as exemplified in the list above. They do not want the country to be united and not divided. They want the government to work and not be as dysfunctional as it is today. They want an end to hyper-partisanship. They want an end to racism, sexism, homophobia, etc. They want so much more than their current representatives are willing to give to them. In fact, what the people want, their representatives do not even consider them for debate. The people in a political, social, and economic system driven by positive populism could hold their votes in abeyance and guard them jealously, cease giving them away, but hold politicians accountable for failing to give the people what they want and not just be willing to accept what politicians are willing to give them. Promoting positive populism will create circumstances wherein voters no longer have to give away their votes in exchange for nothing or next to nothing, and political “representatives” (legislators and executives) are held accountable for how they respond to the general will. Thus a new majority, a new political center would be created that would change the manner of and the issues around which electoral majorities are aggregated, the agendas of political parties, and finally to break the hold of those trying to maintain the status quo on the machinery of government and economics. The empowered people need to make it known that they want a positive vision of America contained in the book, *Ensuring Justice, Fairness, and Inclusion in America*, and not the negative vision of America being put forth by some of today’s politicians.

The schematic below shows what an American electorate with a newly rebuilt political center would look like. The unimodal normal curve shows that the electorate would coalesce around the

center as opposed to the bimodal representation of the American electorate we have today. As we have seen in today's politics in America, the absence of a political center has led to a political system in which hyper-partisanship and polarization are the order of the day. Rebuilding the political center is important because it is in the center that consensus can be found, legislative coalitions can be fashioned, and policy deals can be made. Rebuilding the political center can only be done by promoting positive populism and embracing the general will of the people; see the list of policy issues desired by the American electorate above. It is also the only way that a new social contract for America's Fourth Democratic Republic can be fashioned. The need to fashion a new political center (an Overlapping Consensus) was the first and foremost of the principles elucidated in John Rawls' seminal theory, Justice as Fairness. The building of a new political center will also lay a solid foundation for the formulation of a new social contract and national unity for America in its Fourth Democratic Republic.



A Schematic of The American Electorate with A Rebuilt Political Center Powered by EM-P

If the people want a responsive government if they want their issues addressed, if they want government working for them and not just the special interests, they have to eschew their parties and all party affiliation and affirmatively declare that they will vote out of office anyone seeking, their vote, who will not agree to follow the people's agenda and look to build an America that works for all Americans and not just the privileged few. Because of the sheer number of the American people who support the items on the list, it would change the nature of American politics

by forcing political representatives to forsake their typical agenda and work for the people. They will vote for and support any politician regardless of the party that will support the vision in the book and the people's agenda listed above. White Paper No. 4, entitled "International Democracy Project," lays out how a positive populist movement based on the worldwide implementation of Equity Management-Plato would work.

So, what are the political and economic elites offering to the people instead of solving their problems and meeting their needs? America has been at a social and political impasse for so many years that the social, political, and economic sectors have become polarized and partisan. We are at an impasse on nearly every front. How have America's political parties fared with regards to the creation of Reasonable Citizens? The number one objective of a political party is to fashion a political agenda that defines what the party stands for, its strategic, tactical, and operational objectives. Dictionary.com defines political agenda in the following manner:

a set of policies or issues to be addressed or pursued by an individual or group; also, a set of underlying motives for political policy^{xxxii}

The WiseGeek maintains that "...In some cases, the cause that underlies the political agenda could be for personal gain, as is the case with politicians who are often accused of protecting key voting blocks. In other cases, that could be for more idealistic reasons."^{xxxii} Ideally, a political agenda is designed to meet the needs and aspirations of the people, and it moves the country toward the desired state upon which the people agree. The more voters agree with a party's agenda, the more likely they are to vote for the party. For a political agenda to prevail, several things have to happen. First, the proponent of the agenda must make a case as to why it is needed. Then, the agenda's proponent must amass a fair amount of support for it by a public relations and education campaign to explain to the voters it must be adopted.^{xxxiii}

If a group or individual is successful in getting a political agenda pushed through, they may still have to deal with the consequences of that situation. Why is this so, because a political agenda (like a policy or program) is a "theory" that must be tested over time to prove its validity or lack thereof. A political agenda essentially says that "if you adopt it and follow its dictums ("X") in time T₁, then a predicted outcome ("Y") will result in time T₂. Continued voter support is predicated upon the theory being proven to be true. If the theory is shown not to be true, then the party could lose support, and competing agendas will vie for the support of the disaffected voters, which could potentially displace our hypothetical party. In America, we have entered uncharted territory because both the Democratic Party and the Republican Party are experiencing an existential crisis regarding the viability of the core of their electoral and governing strategies. The Democratic Party's "Progressive Political Agenda," as we currently know it was developed during the Second Democratic Republic and has continued to the present.

The Progressive Political Agenda was fashioned during the New Deal, The Great Society, and The Civil Rights Era as an effort to promote justice, fairness, and inclusion. The Strategic Core of the Progressive Political Agenda, as shown in the figure below, included the following components:

1. Policies and Programs aimed at creating a "level playing field and economic redistribution"

2. Affirmative action as partial reparations to groups that had been excluded from the economic mainstream
3. Equality before the law
4. Commitment by the government to fight racism and sexism and thus open up society

The Progressive Political Agenda met with fierce resistance by reactionary forces who sought a return to a bygone era.

Conservatives have been relentless in the campaign that they have waged against the Progressive Political Agenda. It was waged in the political arena, in the courts, in popular discourse, anywhere and everywhere they could get an audience. By the 1980s, the forces of reaction had largely discredited the Progressive Political Agenda, and by 2014, they were close to rolling back many of the policies and programs associated with the Progressive Political Agenda, particularly affirmative action. Thus, today, we find that the core of the Progressive Political Agenda has been “hollowed-out.” It has crumbled under the relentless assault by the Conservatives looking to discredit the agenda and to unravel the policies and programs that made it up. Figure 3-6 (next page) shows the Progressive Policy Agenda.

Thus, Democrats could no longer run campaigns based on their Strategic Core with a view to expanding their support beyond their reliable center-left to the left constituency. They were forced to run campaigns on individual policies and to shore up their base voters with all of the negative implications that that entails.

The core of the Republican Party agenda has crumbled in the wake of the economic crisis of the “Great Recession” and the relentless assault by Democrats since. Conservatives attempted to develop a “permanent Conservative Coalition” during the 1980s. The promulgation of civil rights laws by President Johnson, which was largely implemented in the South, cleaved the Southern Democrats away from the Democratic Party. The Conservative Coalition brought together a conservative majority made up of Northern and Southern Republicans and the Southern wing of the Democratic Party. This Conservative Coalition became politically dominant owed in no small part to its opposition to civil rights policies and to any policies aimed at justice, fairness, and inclusion. The Strategic Core of the Conservative Agenda, as shown in the figure below, including the following components.



The Progressive Policy Agenda

1. Policies and Programs that made up a concept called “Trickle Down Economics” which maintains that the economy overall will benefit by giving tremendous tax breaks to the rich and corporations and that they will grow the economy and the benefits of that growth will trickle down to the rest of us.
2. Essentially the American Dream on steroids, the concept of “You Too Can Be Rich,” essentially says that by continuing to play the game, one day, you can become rich.
3. “First Among Equals” is an homage to their overwhelmingly white base whom they promise that they will go to the front of the line economically, socially, and politically
4. “Protect You from Others” essentially uses fear as a method of coalition building and voter mobilization

From the 1980s to 2008, the Republican Party held the White House and controlled Congress most the time. Republican Presidents, Ronald Reagan, George H. W. Bush, and George H. Bush vigorously pursued the Conservative Political Agenda. Moreover, even when they were not in power, their policy agenda was the dominant one. Even Democratic Presidents, Bill Clinton and to a degree Jimmy Carter, were moved right-ward by the gravitational pull of the Conservative Political Agenda. However, policy agendas, as do everything else in life, have a shelf-life (a “sell-by date”), and too much of anything is bad. Under the Presidency of George H. Bush, the Conservative Political Agenda began to show its flaws and vulnerabilities as the American people came to believe less and less in the Conservative Political Agenda. Right now, neither party has a policy agenda that can be reliably counted on to deliver electoral majorities.

Under the Presidency of George H. Bush, America was hit by a series of seismic economic events that brought on what has come to be known as the Great Recession. The Great Recession was brought on by massive unpaid-for tax cuts that were given to corporations and the superrich. Pursuant to one of the pillars of the Republican Party mantra, “deregulation,” the controls on Wall Street were loosened, and as a result, big banks began to speculate recklessly with their investor’s money. Additionally, America was prosecuting two wars, one in Iraq and the other in Afghanistan, with no provision having been made to pay for them. President Bush also pushed through Congress

and signed a massive expansion of Medicare, with the Part “D” provision, again with no provision having been made to pay for it. By 2009, it was clear that the American economy and, by extension, the world economy was on the verge of imploding. Many of the Wall Street banks that had helped precipitate the crisis were on the verge of going bankrupt. The American taxpayer was forced to pay for a bail-out of the big banks to the tune of nearly a trillion dollars because the banks were deemed too “big to fail” since it was believed that their failure would cause the collapse of the American economy. Finally, all these calamitous economic events caused the American economy to shed nearly 800,000 jobs a month from 2008 to 2009. Given that it was under Conservative stewardship of the economy that all of this happened, conservatives were largely blamed. The state of the economy played a large part in the 2008 Presidential elections, leading to the election of Barack Obama as President in 2008.



The Conservative Political Agenda

Post-2008, a national debate erupted around the causes of the Great Recession. This debate spurred debates on many other problematic social, political, and economic problems that were plaguing the country, such as the following:

1. Income and wealth inequality
2. The off-shoring of jobs
3. The lack of investment in America generally
4. The lack of investment in infrastructure
5. The perception that the economy and the tax system was rigged
6. The lack of effort to deal with climate change
7. The failure to take advantage of new sources of energy
8. The decline in the middle class
9. The assault on American liberal democracy caused by too much money in American politics

Conservatives found themselves on the wrong side of these debates and were largely blamed for many of these problems. The American people lost faith in the Conservative’s political agenda.

Thus, the Strategic Core of the Conservative Political Agenda has been largely discredited, and its overall agenda has been hollowed-out. They could no longer run campaigns based on the Strategic Core. They were forced to run campaigns based on an incoherent mix of policies designed to appeal to single-issue voters and Culture War issues with all of the negative implications that entail. Today, neither the Progressive nor the Conservative Political Agenda is viable politically. Moreover, even more importantly, they both have constitutional and legal problems as well.

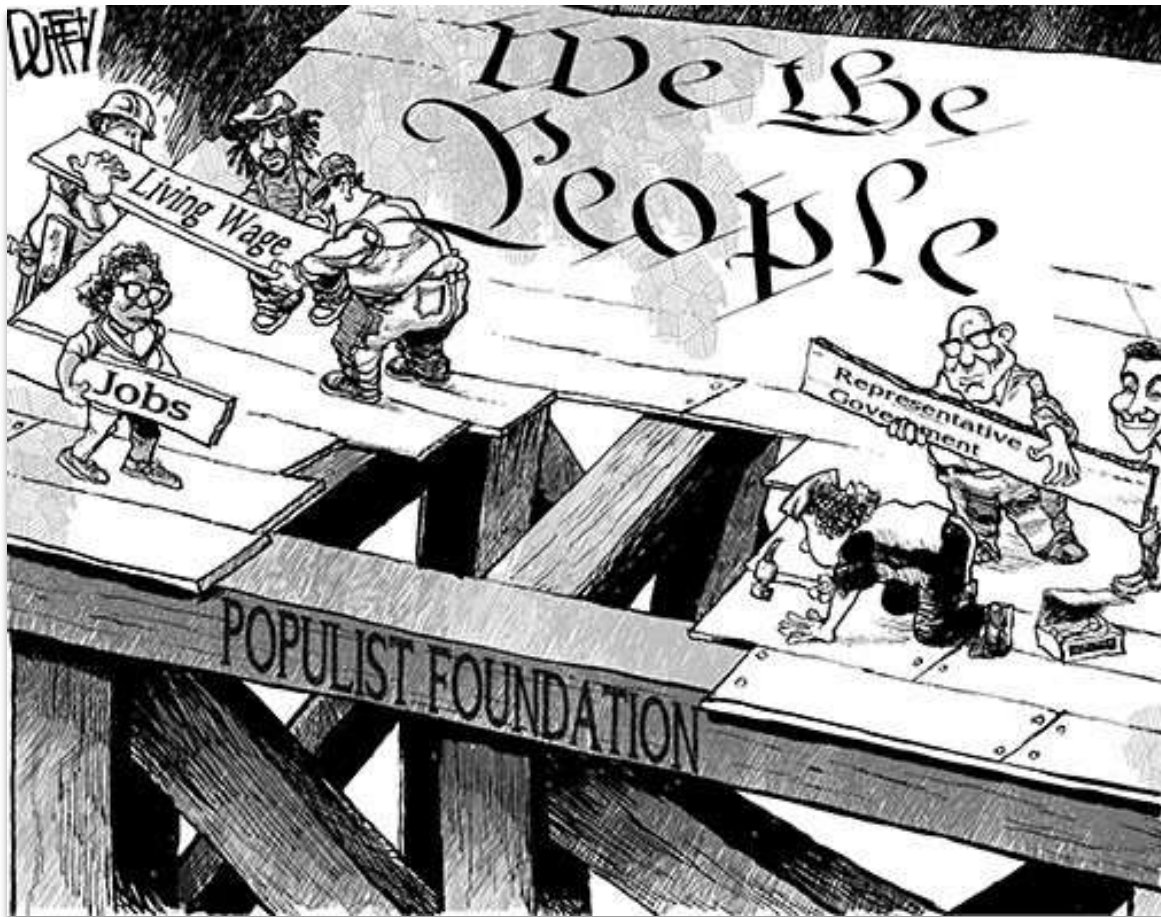
So, what are the political and economic elites offering to the people instead of solving their problems and meeting their needs? America has been at a social and political impasse for so many years that the social, political, and economic sectors have become polarized and partisan. We are at an impasse on nearly every front. The social contract that held the country together, albeit tenuously, since the 1930s is now moribund. Americans have divided themselves off into competing tribes, each unwilling to suffer the other, and all are looking for complete advantages over the other.

Over the last several decades, negative populism has been on the rise, and liberal democracy has been on the decline. Authoritarians around the world have figured out how to use the very tools, processes, and institutions of liberal democracy itself in order to weaponize the shortcomings of democracies and appeal to disaffected and the dispossessed persons in democracies to get them to distrust the system, institutions, the political, economic, and intellectual elite. Authoritarians make the case that liberal democracy's reality does not match its rhetoric and, therefore, should be abandoned in favor of fidelity to "strong man." Anti-democratic forces (authoritarians, terrorists, Nazis, and nativists) focus on this hypocrisy inherent in democratic states as proof that liberal democracy is a sham. As the oldest constitutional liberal democracy in the world and the paradigm of democratic values, norms, processes, and institutions, America is looked to by other pro-liberal democracy countries to set the standard for how liberal democracy is supposed to work. Unfortunately, neither America nor any other presumably stable and advanced democracies have shown themselves to be invulnerable to the challenges of negative populism since, throughout its history, its realities have never quite lived up to its rhetoric. America's dedication to popular sovereignty is reflected in its (the first) codified constitution, by the first three words of that document, "We the People."

Ultimately, negative populism can result in the unwinding of democratic processes and institutions and the entrenchment of power of the strong man and those surrounding him. While negative populism takes advantage of the democratic process to attain power, they ultimately attempt to weaken democratic processes and institutions to entrench themselves in power longer than ordinarily allowable in a functioning liberal democracy. Positive populism can be a corrective to a system wherein the establishment has not shared the benefits of the system with the majority of the people, and the people see the system as being rigged. "We the People" is the essence of positive populism. Positive populism, if pursued appropriately, can yield unity.

In an online article entitled "[Populism and Democracy: Dr. Jekyll or Mr. Hyde](#)," several of the foremost researchers and thinkers on the subject of populism and liberal democracy offer the following musings. John Keane of the University of Sydney maintains that it is a forlorn hope "...that dialogue or trying to wait for populism to burn itself out. ... will work. Keane maintains that what's needed is something more radically democratic: a new politics of equitable redistribution of power, wealth, and life chances that shows populism to be a form of counterfeit liberal democracy. Finally, Keane states that "Once upon a time, such political redistribution was called "democracy," or "welfare state," or "socialism." Cristóbal Rovira

Kaltwasser of Diego Portales University maintains that “populists are real experts in politicizing these and other issues ignored by the political establishment. This is why policymakers and scholars need to avoid falling into the populist trap: portraying themselves as the good and smart fighters against bad and stupid populists.” The best way of dealing with populists is to engage them in honest dialogue and to propose solutions to the problems they seek to politicize. See the list of issues outlined in the online PEW Research Center article “How Americans See Their Country and Their Democracy,” and the online articles entitled “Most Americans Are Liberal, Even If They Don’t Know It” by Peter Dreier. Both articles are cited above. The only way to save liberal democracy is making its realities match its rhetoric, which can only be done by promoting positive populism and positive policies.



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Thamy Pogrebinschi, Social Science Research Centre Berlin (WZB) maintains that “...the appeal to popular sovereignty exposes the deep tension between liberal democracy and capitalism. We should, therefore, care less about definitions, and ask the real question: is representative democracy now so overshadowed by capitalism that it is no longer able to make room for the popular sovereignty upon which it was founded?” Ulrike Guérot, Danube University Krems maintains that “Hatred for democracy stems from the fact that opportunity remains a fiction for many people. Hence Étienne Balibar’s warning: since there’s no such thing as freedom without equality, the right to rebel and change a political order is a human right, especially when “equaliberty” and dignity are quashed. Populists know this.” Wolfgang Merkel, Humboldt University, maintains that “Right-wing populism is thus a rebellion of the disenfranchised. The establishment parties have arguably committed serious political errors. It’s high time that they leave their fortress of normative arrogance and grant a democratic voice to the non-represented. If they fail to do so,

right-wing populists will transform our democracies: they will become more parochial, intolerant, and polarised.”

It is possible to use the current level of polarization in America to be to our advantage in the process of fashioning a new social contract. A useful starting point is a fact that Euro-centrists and Multiculturalists fear each other and what the other might do if given the reins of power. Given the realities of Majoritarian Democracy and winner-take-all politics, each side fears the other to the extent the elections in America have become a “blood sport” in which prevailing is as an almost life or death proposition. Fear of the “Tyranny of the Majority” animates both sides. However, the potential for “mutually assured victimization” can be mitigated by the “liberation of fear.” It is the fear of an equally armed adversary that kept the peace during the Cold War, and the same type of fear, fear of retaliation from a powerful political adversary, can help forge a lasting social peace in America today. Fear can drive all to come together and negotiate a deal, a new social contract. It can cause us to forsake Majoritarian Democracy, injustice, unfairness, and exclusion, Identity Politics, zero-sum politics, and economics and opt for Representative Consensus Democracy and justice, fairness, and inclusion in as many areas of public life as possible.

Both sides that are competing for control in American politics are so fixated on winning at all costs they cannot see that the positions espoused by both are losing legitimacy with the American people. The loss of legitimacy of the two major parties in America will have immediate and long-term negative ramifications for the country. Obviously, they need help in finding their way to unifying the country and forging a new social contract. The content of this book attempts to show the way to a new social contract that could heal the breach and bring unity to America. Any such proposal must be rooted in the concepts of Representative Consensus Democracy and justice, fairness, and inclusion for all, if it is to have the support of the masses. And any state must be based on Representative Consensus Democracy and justice, fairness, and inclusion, if it is to be legitimate and stable. With that as the starting premise, the foundation of a new social contract had to be John Rawls’ theory of justice, “Justice as Fairness.” However, using Rawls’ work as the cornerstone of a new social contract requires much work. Rawls is not an easy read. His work is even harder to decipher. Once deciphered, the next step regarding Rawls’ Justice as Fairness is to figure out how to operationalize it, which is a Herculean task. Rawls never tells us how to do any of this, but he does maintain that it is possible and that the exercise will result in the creation of what he terms “realistic utopias.”

Equity Management-Plato: The Positive Populist Solution

As mentioned earlier, a toxic soup of injustice, unfairness, racial, gender and class inequality, rabid populism, anti-establishment furor, and right-wing authoritarianism, Nativism, and Identity Politics are not limited to America. This panoply of corrosive circumstances and sentiments seem to be popping up all over the globe and threatening liberal democracy everywhere they surface. A case can be made that if countries around the world developed institutions, processes, and policies aimed at being more just, fair, and inclusive, they could reduce the appeal of these corrosive elements and shore up liberal democratic states. Equity Management-Plato was designed to serve that purpose. The process of operationalizing Justice as Fairness is advanced through the creation of Equity Management (management system) and companion software system (Plato) and

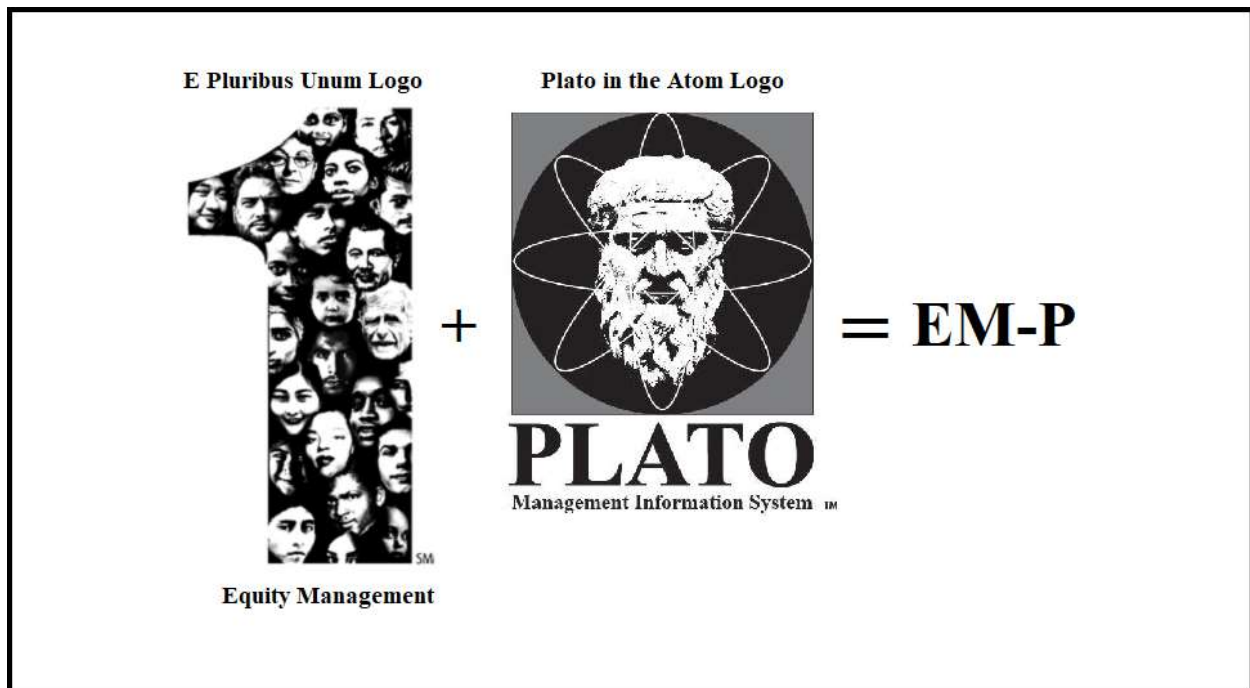
their collective logic model. Although in the book, Ensuring Justice, Fairness, and Inclusion in America: Managing Equity in the 21st Century, was written from an American perspective, the workings of Equity Management-Plato can be modified for application in virtually any venue anywhere in the world. They outline the organizational development and the structural and institutional changes necessary to achieve those goals. Taken together, the elements of this proposal is designed to empower the people to assert their will and influence over the affairs of men and their governments by promoting Representative Consensus Democracy, justice, fairness, and inclusion in their politics, economics, and societies over the world.

The book outlines how Equity Management-Plato can be used to manage public sector entities and agencies to create a level playing field and a just, fair, and inclusive environment for all Americans. Equity Management-Plato will be able to facilitate a solution to problems because it is the embodiment of the judicial evaluative principle of “strict scrutiny.” The Plato Software System, which is a web-based SaaS, is designed to be deployed to all (major) public-sector agencies and entities in each country license-free. While the context of the solution espoused herein is American, the problems are universal; therefore, the solutions can be universal as well. Therefore, the prognosis for countries adopting Equity Management-Plato is an attenuation of the attractiveness of Virulent Majoritarian Democracy (negative populism) by offering a positive populist alternative. The positive populist alternative will yield the following: the development of new social contracts, the adoption of Representative Consensus Democracy, justice, fairness, inclusion, reconciliation, the realization of E Pluribus Unum, a new coalition of conscience in America and globally. If affirmatively adopted and implemented, the solutions proposed in this book will result in the creation of Rawls’ “realistic utopias,” Martin Luther King’s “better world” and the saving of liberal democracy in America and worldwide. Ultimately, this will lead to the creation of a better world.

The Equity Management-Plato project will have three phases: (1) “Organizing for Change, (2) “Changing Policies and Basic Societal Structures;” and (3) “Institutionalizing Equity Management-Plato.” It will start in America where, through a series of analyses, demonstration projects, tests, etc., we will attain ‘proof of concept.’ In order to capitalize on the project through crowdfunding, all groups should strongly encourage their members to buy the book, *Ensuring Justice, Fairness, and Inclusion: Managing Equity in the 21st Century*. The book details a management model, Equity Management, and a related software package, Plato, which are the drivers of the new social contract, are the result of more than 32 years of study, modeling, testing, real-world implementations of project components, ideas in the book were tried and perfected. and the book has the vision, the plan, the management model, the tools to help promote Representative Consensus Democracy and to ensure justice, fairness, and inclusion are in pro-liberal democracy-leaning states around the world. And to restore Representative Consensus Democracy around the world. Given that this project is intended to promote Representative Consensus Democracy, justice, fairness, and inclusion, and to help Democrats and progressives organization organize, it seemed only fitting that it be funded through the vehicle of “crowdfunding. Also, since this project is intended to promote liberal democracy, it seemed only fitting that most of the revenue is coming from the purchase of the book be plowed back into organizations that have decided to become part of this project.

The next step in the process is to set about designing Equity Management-Plato using the philosophies and principles derived from John Rawls’ four major works: *A Theory of Justice*, *Justice as Fairness: A Restatement*, *Political Liberalism* and *The Law of the Peoples: with the Idea of Public Reason Revisited*. The central tenant of Rawls’ Theory of Justice is his concept of “Justice as Fairness,” which Rawls sees as being a theory of justice for a liberal society wherein

citizens are “free” and “equal” and society is “just,” “fair,” and “inclusive.” Rawls maintains that Justice, as Fairness is the most egalitarian, and it is also the most plausible interpretation of liberalism's fundamental concepts. Rawls sees his concept of Justice as Fairness as the only framework for the legitimate use of political power. For Rawls, legitimacy is only the minimal standard of political acceptability. A political order can be just, run in keeping with the law, and still not be fair. Laws must also be fair for the state to be legitimate and stable. In his theory of Justice as Fairness, Rawls has outlined a panoply of “tests” to which any society that aspires to be just, fair, and inclusive, should subject itself and all policies, programs, and “basic societal structures. Mostly, Rawls does not put these tests in any order or give any indication as to how to perform them. The objective of this book, Equity Management-Plato, the International Democracy Project, etc. are to solve the problems above.



The Equity Management-Plato Logo

If liberal democracy is to be saved, it must be saved by “We the People.” The saving of liberal democracy will not be a top-down process. Those at the top are invested in and committed to the status quo. The elites will not, of their own volition, give up the gains they gleaned from the operation of the political, economic, and social systems. The intent of the Equity Management-Plato “International Democracy Project” is to marshal all of the potential voters in each country that wants to save liberal democracy in their country. There is only one way to save liberal democracy. America’s two major political parties, the political and economic establishment, nor the one percent, or the corporations are going to do what is necessary to save liberal democracy. In America, that means engaging the 66,000,000 Democrats, the 63,000,000 Republicans, and the nearly 93,000,000 non-voters who are disaffected and looking for something to believe in, to get excited about and to vote for. The EM-P project will give them what they want. Therefore, the following groups and individuals will be engaged: both political parties (Democrats and Republicans), The Resistance, the Tea Party, Libertarians, Independents, the one percent, corporations, etc. This will make it possible to increase the voter turnout by nearly 93,000,000

current non-voters, who could come together to form a new “political center” that will drive the social, political, and economic agendas of the country for decades to come.

Bringing these disparate groups together will require pursuing a number of activities designed to strike at the heart of negative populism and its nativist and racist appeals by proffering a positive, hopeful, inclusive vision of America that can counter negative populism’s scapegoating, racism, exclusion, and division. The Equity Management-Plato solution calls for justice, fairness, and inclusion for all. It does this by revising affirmative action to make the policy applicable to all Americans, generally based on need (race-neutral application) and modified to address group-oriented discrimination (race-conscious) when and where necessary. This change in policy focus will create a level playing field, create an opportunity society, address the issues of the disadvantaged and dispossessed regardless of race, and it will eliminate the “zero-sum” focus of the American political social, political, and economic systems. Implementing Equity Management-Plato will convince the right to eschew Eurocentrism, and the left has to eschew Multiculturalism, and it will convince both sides to opt for unity (E Pluribus Unum) rather than division. In the near term, adopting Equity Management-Plato will empower the people to be able to demand that their representatives, from both political parties, listen attentively to the will of the people and pursue policies that the people can get behind. In the intermediate-term, the creation of a solid political center will compel the two political parties to either reform themselves to be more democratic and to comply with the will of the people or find themselves consigned to minority political status for years to come. Over the long term, adopting Equity Management-Plato will force the social, political, and economic establishment to support steadfastly, promote, and pursue a positive, progressive reformation of the system, which is critical to saving liberal democracy in America. Finally, the worldwide dissemination of Equity Management-Plato will help push back against negative populism and authoritarianism and help save liberal democracy worldwide.

It is in the ways mentioned above that Equity Management-Plato is the logical embodiment of positive populism and the positive populism alternative to negative populism and authoritarianism. The table below shows a comparison of positive populism and Equity Management-Plato.

Comparison of Positive Populism and Equity Management -Plato		
	Positive Populism	EM-P: Positive Populism Focus
1	Idealism and inclusion	A plan to promote Idealism and inclusion
2	Reform	A plan to reform the system
3	Forward looking	A plan that is forward looking
4	Disdain for elites	A plan to create a new social contract
5	Believe the system is rigged	A plan to unrig the system
6	See the country in decline	A plan to revitalize the country
7	Unify the country	A plan to unify the country
8	Use hope to mobilize adherents	A Plan to use hope to mobilize adherents
9	Prioritize the problems of the 99%	A plan to prioritize the problems of the 99%
10	Give power to the people	A plan to give power to the people
11	Make liberal democracy work	A plan to make liberal democracy work

Comparison of Positive Populism and Equity Management Plato

Operationalizing Equity Management-Plato

It is not enough to have just, fair, and inclusive rules as espoused in the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution. Rawls would add that basic policies and societal institutions must exist to ensure that these rules are followed. Equity Management provides policies, management models, and tools to ensure that everyone's fundamental right to justice, fairness, and inclusion are operationalized. Equity Management-Plato is designed to function as a complement to the Constitutional set up in America and to be the component that operates in the background to ensure justice, fairness, and inclusion. Under normal circumstances, Equity Management-Plato allows us to "play the game" confident in the knowledge that the playing field is level and that the game is fair. Societal peace is assured because everyone will be able to be confident that if injustice, unfair circumstances arise, or some are being excluded, it will help flag both victim and victimizer and aide in the development of policy solutions, pursuant to Rawls' Difference Principle, to rectify the situation and restore the situation to the default situation, which should be equivalent to Rawls' Equal Opportunity Principle. It is designed to mitigate the effect of Identity Politics. Equity Management applies the concepts of justice, fairness, and inclusions to all Americans. Equity Management-Plato was, in fact, designed to be a User's Manual for the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution. Creating and maintaining Rawls' "well-ordered society" demands functionality that is robust, universal, cost-effective, efficient. There is only one way to do this, and that is by using the software, hence the Plato software system.

The next step in the process is to set about designing Equity Management-Plato using the philosophies and principles derived from Rawls' four major works: *A Theory of Justice*, *Justice as Fairness: A Restatement*, *Political Liberalism* and *The Law of the Peoples: with the Idea of Public Reason Revisited*. The central tenant of Rawls' Theory of Justice is his concept of "Justice as Fairness," which Rawls sees as being a theory of justice for a liberal society wherein citizens are "free" and "equal" and society is "just," "fair," and "inclusive." Rawls maintains that Justice, as Fairness is the most egalitarian, and it is also the most plausible interpretation of liberalism's fundamental concepts. Rawls sees his concept of Justice as Fairness as the only framework for the legitimate use of political power. For Rawls, legitimacy is only the minimal standard of political acceptability. A political order can be just, run in keeping with the law, and still not be fair. Laws must also be fair for the state to be legitimate and stable. In his theory of Justice as Fairness, Rawls has outlined a panoply of "tests" to which any society that aspires to be just, fair, and inclusive, should subject itself and all policies, programs, and "basic societal structures. Mostly, Rawls does not put these tests in any order or give any indication as to how to perform them. The objective of this book is to solve the problems above.

Moreover, this brings us to one of the major problems that many critics level at Rawls, the assertion that he always focuses on "ideal theory." Ideal theory is the process of achieving justice and fairness when conditions are "ideal," and he does not discuss to any great extent "nonideal theory," which involves considering the proper response to injustice. The Seven Pillars website distinguishes between Rawls' ideal theory and non-ideal theory in the following manner:

Ideal theory "assumes strict compliance and works out the principles that characterize a well-ordered society under favorable circumstances." Non-ideal theory, on the other hand, "is worked out after an ideal conception of justice has

been chosen," and addresses what the parties are to do when conditions are not as perfect as they are assumed to be in ideal theory.

Rawls' ideal theory attempts to define how different peoples, who are just, or at least decent, "should" behave regarding one another. He refers to this ideal condition as a "realistic utopia."

[two] ideas motivate the Law of Peoples. The first is that the great evils of human history—unjust war, oppression, religious persecution, slavery, and the net result from political injustice with its cruelty and callousness. The second is that once political injustice has been eliminated by following just (or at least decent) social policies and establishing just (or at least decent) basic institutions, these great evils will eventually disappear. I call a world in which these great evils have been eliminated and just (or at least decent) basic institutions established by liberal and decent peoples who honor the Law of Peoples a "realistic utopia."

Rawls maintains that such a society is realistic because it could and may exist, utopian because it "joins reasonableness and justice with conditions enabling citizens to realize their fundamental interests."

Despite eschewing non-ideal theory, Rawls was aware of the importance of the issues within "non-ideal theory." Rawls believed that the pursuit of non-ideal theory should follow the development of ideal theory. Rawls believed that ideal theory was more salient than non-ideal theory. Hence, Rawls devotes a little time discussing the application of the principles of Justice as Fairness within the realm of non-ideal theory. This book introduces and explains in detail a policy, management model, and a set of tools designed to create justice, fairness, and inclusion, that falls in the realm of "nonideal theory." This schema is called "Equity Management-Plato." Equity Management is the just, fair, and inclusive public policy portion of the schema, and Plato is the just, fair, and inclusive basic societal structure or software that embodies Equity Management and that drives it. Situating Equity Management-Plato in the realm of non-ideal theory is appropriate because few could make the case that conditions in America or anywhere else in the world are ideal.

Equity Management (EM) is a management model designed to outline the way a liberal democracy is supposed to work. It is based on the first-ever effort to operationalize John Rawls' seminal theory, Justice as fairness, which it accomplishes by redefining the contemporary effort at distributive justice and affirmative action to make it work for all Americans. The Plato Management Information System (P) is a design of a system that along with Equity Management, is known by the acronym Equity Management-Plato. A clearer understanding of Equity Management Plato's strategic, tactical, and operational benefits is possible by examining what the Equity Management-Plato system was designed to do.

Equity Management-Plato seeks to provide mechanisms, structures, institutions, and tools for ensuring justice, fairness, and inclusion in America and other countries in the world requires combining numerous theories, philosophies, models, principles, and so forth. This first set of principles, which are combined to form the core of Equity Management-Plato, are the four major principles of justice: (1) Distributive Justice, made up of the sub-principles: "Equality" "Need"

and “Equity”; (2) Retributive Justice; (3) Restorative Justice; and (Procedural Justice). These individual principles are coupled with the logic of the public policy life cycle, which is made up of the following: (1) problem identification, (2) solution development; (3) solution implementation; (4) assessment; (5) policy change to create the Equity Management Policy Cycle. The “cyclical” nature of the Equity Management Policy Cycle is important because not all policy problems are linear or time-bound. Implementing a policy solution may mitigate the problem for the time the solution is in place only to have it resurface. If the policy is a policy, the solution is turned off. Well-designed public policies should be their ameliorative aspects capable of being turned on and off as the policy increases or diminishes in intensity in the manner of a “light switch.” Equity Management-Plato Policy Cycle functions in this manner as it alternates between the different sub-components of Distributive Justice.

Next, upon the basic policy framework mentioned in the preceding paragraphs, which included the principle of policy management and the policy management life cycle, are added the principles of Rawls’ Justice as Fairness. I believe I am the first to attempt a comprehensive operationalization of Rawls’ Justice as Fairness. Equity Management-Plato includes all of the major components of Rawls’ Justice as Fairness:

1. Original Position
2. Veil of Ignorance
3. Overlapping Consensus
4. Reasonable Citizens
5. Reflective Equilibrium
6. First Principle of Justice
7. “Second Principle of Justice
 - a. Equal Opportunity Principle
 - b. Difference Principle
8. Basic Societal Structures and Institutions

To these Rawlsian principles, were added the most stringent standard of judicial review in American jurisprudence, “strict scrutiny,” which was amended to allow for cyclical movement between “Race-Neutral” (Equality) and “Race-Conscious” (Equity) as necessitated by changes in the policy environment. The cyclical movement is made possible by adapting the standard policy life cycle to the preceding concepts and principles.

The most difficult of these steps was figuring out how to combine Rawls’ Second Principle of Justice, as Fairness, the Equality of Opportunity Principle, with its requirement for policy to move between the sub-principles, the “Equality of Opportunity Principle” and the “Difference Principle” as required. Ultimately, the solution to how to operationalize Rawls’ Second Principle of Justice was found in the Judicial principle of “strict scrutiny.” Combining strict scrutiny’s evaluative requirements with Rawls’ Second Principle of Justice formed the basis of a revolutionary analytical engine, giving Equity Management-Plato the ability to perform the same policy assessment/evaluation as found in the policy evaluation vehicle called a “disparity study” on a continuous real-time basis. A battery of rulings handed down by the Supreme Court of the United States (SCOTUS), from *Bakke v. The University of California* to *Fischer v. The University of Texas* will circumscribe any solution to the affirmative action problem by mandating the use of “strict scrutiny” when “race” is involved in making public policy. Equity Management is based on these

current legal and constitutional challenges to the current justice, fairness, and inclusion paradigm, affirmative action. These challenges have led to the current polarized situation with white males on one side and minorities and women on the other fighting over whose agenda with respect to government involvement in Distributive Justice will prevail.

Rawls' Theory of Justice equals Equity Management-Plato. Equity Management includes all of the major components of Rawls' Theory of Justice: First Principle: (1) "Original Position; (2) "Veil of Ignorance," (3) "Overlapping Consensus;" (4) "Reflective Equilibrium," Second Principle: (1) Equal Opportunity Principle" (2) "Difference Principle; and "(3) Political Participation. Equity Management also combines the principle of legal principle "strict scrutiny," with its requirement to move back and forth between "Race-Neutral" (Equality) and "Race-Conscious") states as required; with the second principle of Rawls' Theory of justice, with its requirement to move between "Equality of opportunity, and the "Difference Principle" as required. My development of Equity Management represents the first comprehensive attempt to operationalize Rawls' Theory of Justice with the creation of Equity Management. Equity Management is built around the notion of the "policy cycle" and the logic of the public policy process: (1) problem identification, (2) Solution development; (3) solution implementation; (4) assessment; (5) policy adjustment.

Equity Management-Plato renders Justice as Fairness into the realm of "nonideal theory" (real-world theory) by first deciphering Justice as Fairness' and using ideas borrowed from many disciplines to help explain Justice as Fairness' otherwise challenging concepts. Equity Management-Plato was purpose-designed to meet the SCOTUS requirements for strict scrutiny, and the steps involved in meeting these requirements are as follows:

1. Deciphering the content of Justice as Fairness and using commonplace examples taken from more than a dozen different disciplines to explain the concepts of Justice as Fairness;
2. Creating a logic model that explains the structure and dynamics of Justice as Fairness;
3. Creating a logic model of the Justice as Fairness Logic Model that lends itself to the operationalization of Justices as Fairness, Equity Management-Plato;
4. Elucidating the components, structure, and dynamics of Equity Management-Plato Logic Model
5. Demonstrating the operationalization of Equity Management-Plato in granular detail in the following .hypothetical sector-based scenarios:
 - a. Public sector procurement
 - b. Public sector workforce utilization
 - c. K-12 public school districts
 - d. Undergraduate colleges and universities
 - e. Graduate schools and professional schools
 - f. Public sector employment

What is Equity Management-Plato? Equity Management-Plato falls squarely in the realm of "non-ideal theory." Non-Ideal Theory is best understood in opposition to its counterpart, "Ideal Theory." which., according to John Rawls, is an exploration of conditions necessary to achieve justice and fairness (and inclusion) in ideal conditions. Conversely, Non-ideal theory addresses how to achieve justice and fairness (and inclusion) when conditions are not as perfect as they are assumed to be in ideal theory. Equity Management is a revolutionary/evolutionary management model that is designed to operationalize the principles of "Justice as Fairness" and "Strict Scrutiny."

The Plato software system was designed to drive the Equity Management model. The Equity Management – Plato project will be built upon open-source software and will, therefore, be open source. The NIWI Consortium will engage in “Platform Integration” in the building of Plato. They will build it using components from different open-source vendors and integrate and augment them to best meet the unique functional needs of Equity Management. The open-source systems chosen to be the basis of Plato were chosen for their web-based nature, power, high scalability, robust ecosystem, support for distributed databases, ability to handle really “big data sets,” ability to handle transactional data, and their compatibility. The Equity Management Analysis Module will be powered by the following open source systems: the business information system, Pentaho, and the R- Statistical Analysis tool to perform high-level statistical analysis, e.g., regression analysis, and a “Policy Solver” built on the GLPK linear programming optimizer. The Contract Compliance Module will be powered by the following open source systems: PIEMatrix; Contract Alert; Cobblestone Contract Management; TimeLive Open Source Time Sheets; and JSurvey. The figure below illustrates the architecture of Plato, and the following exposition explains the nature of its elements and workings.

The Plato Software System is the component of this solution that represents Rawls’ just “basic societal structures.” It is a paradigm shift from contemporary methods to comply with strict scrutiny because it will make real-time findings of discrimination under strict scrutiny and support, making just, fair, and inclusive public policy. The Rationale for the Equity Management-Plato project is that by implementing derivations of the project in the federal government, the 200,000 public-sector agencies, all the K-12 school districts, colleges, universities, and professional schools, many of the problems centered around justice, fairness, and inclusion will be solved. In the Equity Management-Plato project, we are proposing to help solve a myriad of social, economic, and political problems that America now faces and help create a new social contract. Policy and program implementation on this scale will require a team of national experts and specialists to work toward getting Equity Management-Plato developed and implemented.

The implementation effort will require America’s leadership to develop the political will to pursue the inevitable. It will also require strategic partnerships with key policymakers and stakeholders that can provide advocacy and other support for this important public policy initiative. Equity Management-Plato will require the support of the American people. Solving the problems that Equity Management-Plato was designed to solve is no mean feat. The issues are myriad and complicated, but with the coordinated, concentrated, and committed effort, we can achieve our goal, E Pluribus Unum.

The Benefits of Equity Management-Plato: Positive Populism at Work

A clearer understanding of Equity Management Plato’s strategic, tactical, and operational benefits is possible by examining what the Equity Management-Plato system was designed to do. The following list reveals the objectives of Equity Management-Plato system:

1. Push back against authoritarianism, right-wing radicalism, nativism, Identity Politics, zero-sum politics and economics, and Majoritarian Democracy.
2. Promote progressivism, tolerance, justice, fairness, inclusion, win-win politics and economics, and Representative Consensus Democracy around the world.
3. Give progressivism, progressive politics, and progressive policies a firm moral, philosophical, and legal basis.
4. Bind progressive individuals, organizations, social movements, and political parties around the world into a cohesive (and irresistible) force to counter the reactionary forces extant in the world today.
5. Provide the “tie that binds” progressives everywhere together by elucidating “who they are;” “what they stand for;” “what they want;” “when do they want it;” “what is their plan for getting it;” and “how they plan to keep it.”
6. Give progressives everywhere an instrument that they can use to inform the like-minded, educate the uninformed, and persuade the misguided as to the benefits of progressivism as opposed to authoritarianism.
7. Make common cause between progressive peoples and states around the world.
8. Fight racism, misogyny, xenophobia, and homophobia around the world.
9. Restore and energize the middle-class, protect and support the poor, mitigate racial, class, and gender inequality.
10. Unify pluralistic countries around the world.
11. Empower the people to take control of their political, social, and economic circumstances in the spirit of “Demos Kratos” (rule by the people)
12. Ensure national security and national sovereignty by mitigating, if not eliminating the vulnerabilities of liberal democracy, which allows anti-democratic forces to foment division and discord.
13. Help save liberal democracy in America and worldwide.
14. Create “realistic utopias” around the world.
15. Create a “better world.”

Equity Management-Plato was purpose-designed and will be purpose-built to fix the damage caused by (an “undoing exercise”) by Virulent Majoritarian Democracy, as shown in the table below.

Comparison of Virulent Majoritarian Democracy and Equity Management-Plato		
	Virulent Majoritarian Democracy	Equity Management-Plato
1	Negative Populism	Positive Populism
2	Type 2 Majoritarian Democracy	Representative Consensus Democracy
3	Injustice	Justice
4	Unfairness	Fairness
5	Exclusion and national division	Inclusion and national unity
6	Zero-sum politics and economics	Win-win politics and economics
7	Identity politics	E Pluribus Unum
8	Use fear to mobilize adherents	Use hope to mobilize adherents
9	Subvert liberal democracy	Save liberal democracy
10	Promote authoritarianism and oligarchy	Empower "We the People"
11	Implement a system to ensure these results	Implement a system to ensure these results

Comparison of Virulent Majoritarian Democracy and Equity Management-Plato

Those of us who fear for the future of liberal democracy cannot afford to wait for concerned individuals, organizations, and groups, who have yet to come to grips with the complexity of the plight of liberal democracy and the synergistic nature of the problems contributing to that plight, to come up with a solution. While Washington & Associates, Inc. has been working on a strategic plan to save the liberal democratic world order for 32 years, we need the type of help that only you can provide to bring the strategic plan to fruition. Therefore, we are asking you to join us and to help refine the ideas in the book, to put “flesh on the bones” of the strategic plan, to help build the Plato Management Information System and implement all elements of the solution worldwide. We are looking to you to help us save the liberal world order.

There is no other solution available to save liberal democracy. If there were, given “hair-on-fire” responses by governments, multilateral, think tanks, universities, academics, reporters, and the general public, it would have been implemented already. The only way to save liberal democracy is to empower the people to save it by giving them a seat at the table. A newly empowered and unified people can put pressure on their “representatives” to respond to the “general will,” rather than only to special interests and the one percent. This is the essence of positive populism. Equity Management-Plato is designed to give the people a seat at the table, a voice in determining what type of country will be in the 21st century. Again, this is important because, according to an old expression, “if you do not have a seat at the table, you are probably on the menu.”

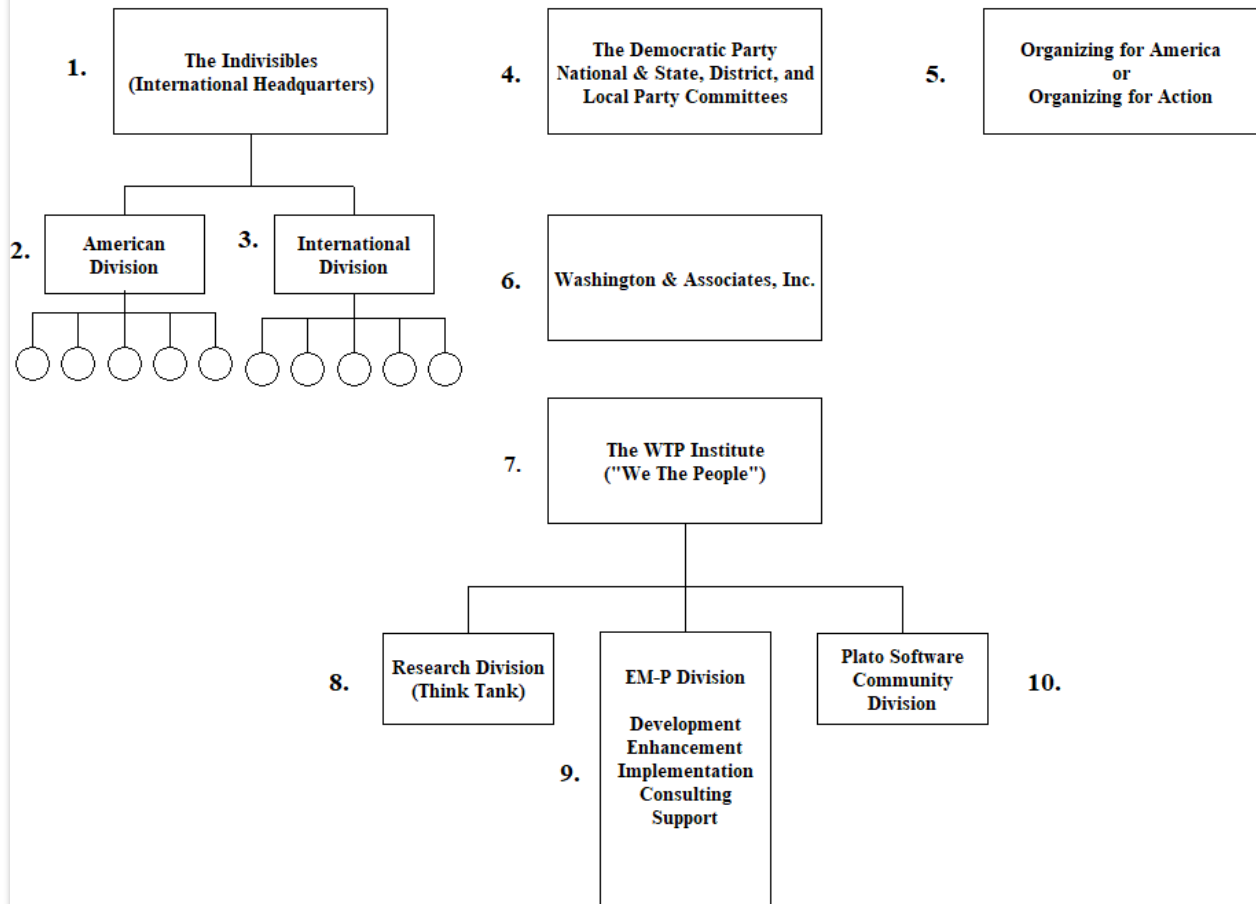
The International Democracy Project

While we believe that the process of saving liberal democracy must and likely will start in America, ultimately it will involve liberal democracy-loving countries worldwide engage in a comprehensive and coordinated process. It is for this reason that Washington & Associates, Inc. developed the strategic plan outlined in the five white papers located on its website. The core of the strategic plan is found in White Paper no. 4 entitled, “International Democracy Project.” For the International Democracy Project to be successful, it will require the development of new institutions, the creation of the Indivisible as a formal corporate, non-profit entity with an international footprint. The engagement of existing institutions, political parties, resistance movements, students, the old, Republicans, Democrats, Independents, urbanites, rural dwellers,

literally everyone who wants a change in American politics and democracies worldwide, will be solicited to help form an infrastructure aimed at saving liberal democracy worldwide.

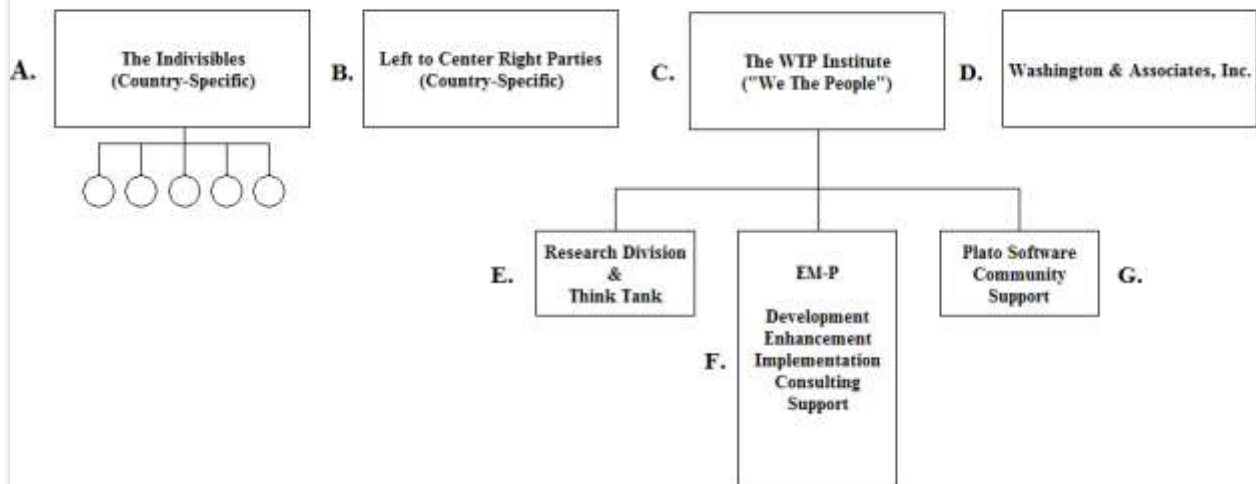
The following schematics shows the institutions that will be involved in the project. The project will have three phases: (1) “Phase I: Organizing for Change,” (2) Phase II: Changing Basic Policies and Societal Structures,” and (3) Phase III: Institutionalizing Equity Management-Plato.” To the layman’s eye, a number of positive populist-oriented groups and organizations are positioned to be the driving force for the social movement portion of the International Democracy Project. Both major political parties (the Democratic Party and the Republican Party) will be engaged immediately. When and if they become amenable to positive populism and Equity Management-Plato, they should be welcomed with open arms. Although Washington & Associates, Inc. developed these ideas to be used by both major political parties in America, it does not seem that the Republican Party is as yet prepared to adopt the kind of principles that are in the book and that are represented by Equity Management-Plato. Therefore, in the near term, for the purposes of this proposal, Washington & Associates, Inc. has focused on the activities engaged in by the Democratic Party, whose rhetoric to date is very much in line with that espoused in this proposal. Finally, for the project to work, other organizations and institutions that will have to be created, and still more that currently exist, but are siloed in their own spheres of influence, will have to be brought around to embrace Equity Management-Plato and begin working together to put together a new “coalition of conscience.” It will take this kind of comprehensive social movement to marshal the capacity to push back against the comprehensive coordinated anti-liberal democracy coalition that is trying to destroy the liberal democratic word order. All of these organizations, institutions, groups, and individuals coming together would form the largest, most consequential social movement in human history. The mission of this coalition would be nothing less than to save the liberal democratic world order.

The International Democracy Project (Domestic)



Possible Organizational Structure of the International Democracy Project (American)

The International Democracy Project (Foreign)



Possible Organizational Structure of the International Democracy Project (Foreign)

For this project to be successful, the activities of existing organizations, as they are identified in this proposal, as well as the activities of the organizations that must be created, must be capitalized. I foresee the existing organizations serving two essential functions: (1) marshaling the public and all progressive organizations to buy and read *Ensuring Justice, Fairness, and Inclusion in America* and to embrace Equity Management-Plato, (2) encouraging the people to buy and wear the promotional gear, and (3) pushing the political system and the leadership of as many political parties that they must follow suit, convince their members to buy the book and then begin to follow the will of the people embrace and implement Equity Management-Plato and become more progressive in their orientation and operation if they want to garner and maintain the support and votes of the people (true “representative democracy”), and finally I see the involvement of the private sector on two fronts (1) as active participants in the mechanics of the project and (2) as supporters of the ideas and objectives of the project through a commitment to heightened patriotism and Corporate Social Responsibility.

The implementation effort will require America’s leadership to develop the political will to pursue the inevitable. It will also require strategic partnerships with key policymakers and stakeholders that can provide advocacy and other support for this important public policy initiative. Equity Management-Plato will also require the support of the American people. Solving the problems that Equity Management-Plato was designed to solve is no mean feat. When the Equity Management-Plato solution goes live, it will create jobs and training opportunities for many Americans and advance American research and development and technology.

Equity Management-Plato will deliver these benefits for liberal democracy-loving states and individuals around the world and create holistic societies per the American principle of “E Pluribus Unum.” To make Equity Management-Plato work in the real world, Rawls would say that the great evils that characterize the human condition (“political injustice”) can be eliminated by following just (or at least decent) social policies and establishing just (or at least decent) basic institutions. The issues are myriad and complicated, but with the coordinated, concentrated, and committed effort, we can achieve our goal, saving the liberal democratic world order.

EM-P: Saving Liberal Democracy in America and Worldwide

There is irrefutable evidence that liberal democracy is declining, and authoritarianism is on the rise. A website entitled “[Our World Data](#)” tends to corroborate these trends. The existential question facing democracies in the current age is, “how do they stem the tide and reverse these trends.” Now, at the start of the 21st Century, democracies again find themselves locked in another existential clash, this time against another strain of right-wing authoritarianism. Over the last several decades, negative populism has been on the rise, and liberal democracy has been on the decline. Authoritarians around the world have figured out how to weaponize the shortcomings of democracies and appeal to disaffected and dispossessed persons in democracies to get them to distrust the system, governmental institutions, the political, economic, and the intellectual elite. Authoritarians make the case that liberal democracy’s reality does not match its rhetoric and, therefore, should be abandoned in favor of fidelity to “strong men.” Anti-democratic forces

(authoritarians, terrorists, Nazis, and nativists) focus on this hypocrisy inherent in liberal democratic states as proof that liberal democracy is sham.

In an online article in the *Journal of Democracy*, entitled “[The Populist Challenge to Liberal Democracy](#),” William A. Galston delivered a sobering summary of the rise of negative populism worldwide and its deleterious effect on liberal democracies in many parts of the world.

Across Europe and North America, long-established political arrangements are facing a revolt. Its milestones have included the Brexit vote; the 2016 U.S. election; the doubling of support for France’s National Front; the rise of the antiestablishment Five Star Movement in Italy; the entrance of the far-right Alternative for Germany into the Bundestag; moves by traditional right-leaning parties toward the policies of the far-right in order to secure victories in the March 2017 Dutch and October 2017 Austrian parliamentary elections; the outright victory of the populist ANO party in the Czech Republic’s October 2017 parliamentary elections; and most troubling, the entrenchment in Hungary of Prime Minister Viktor Orbán’s self-styled “illiberal democracy,” which seems to be emerging as a template for Poland’s governing Law and Justice party and—some scholars believe—for insurgent parties in Western Europe as well. This revolt threatens the assumptions that shaped liberal democracy’s forward march in the 1990s and that continue to guide mainstream politicians and policymakers of the center-left and center-right.

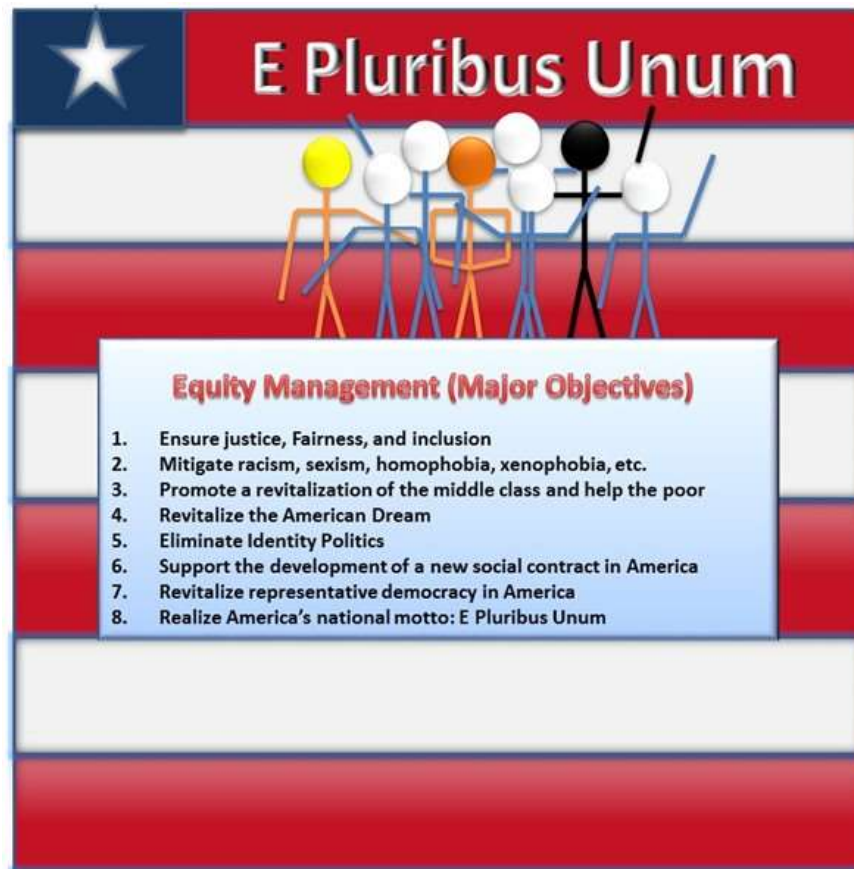
The world has been down this road before. Antidemocratic forces assailed the liberal democratic order three times during the 20th Century. During World War I, World War II, and the Cold War, aggressive anti-democrats tried to bring down global liberal democracy and supplant it with various strains of authoritarianism. During World War I and World War II, democracies were slow to resist right-wing authoritarianism, thus giving anti-democratic forces early advantages that resulted in prolonged global wars, untold destruction, and human carnage, leading ultimately to the fall of states and of empires. During the five-decades-long Cold War, left-wing authoritarianism assailed democracies in a global campaign of dueling ideologies and proxy wars before democracies were finally able to prevail. Currently, at the start of the 21st Century, democracies again find themselves in another existential clash, this time against another strain of right-wing authoritarianism that has found ways to weaponize negative populism and to use it to try to destroy liberal democracy. Thus, the corrosive effects of negative populism do not necessarily arise organically or remain self-contained within any individual country. It is being exported and fomented in liberal democratic state after state.

In order for liberal democracy to survive the current onslaught from authoritarians and their negative populist strategies, liberal democracy-loving peoples need to make common cause worldwide to establish a new international coalition of conscience bent on saving the world order as we know it. While saving liberal democracy begins with “hardening” it (fixing its vulnerabilities), it ends with creating a benign yet robust ethos that is far more attractive than the authoritarian philosophies extant in the world today. This book is meant to help begin those processes. By these making these necessary changes, democracies can reduce the appeal of these corrosive anti-democratic elements and shore up liberal democratic states. The strategic plan being pushed by Washington & Associates, Inc. and the solutions offered in Equity Management-Plato were designed to help liberal democracies everywhere offer their citizens a positive alternative vision to the negative one being offered worldwide by forces of authoritarianism and virulent nationalistic populism. While this volume focuses specifically on the American experience, its definition of the problems that afflict liberal democracy-loving countries and “the solutions to

those problems (EM-P) are, in fact, meant to be universal. With some modifications to account for localized circumstances, Equity Management-Plato is universal in its applicability. If affirmatively adopted and implemented, the solutions proposed herein will result in the creation of Rawls' "realistic utopias," the saving of liberal democracy worldwide, and ultimately the creation of a "better world."

As the oldest constitutional liberal democracy in the world and the "paragon" of democratic values, norms, processes, and institutions, America is looked to by other pro-liberal democracy countries as the standard bearer for how liberal democracy is supposed to work. Unfortunately, not even America has proven to be invulnerable to the siren's song of negative populism. America liberal and other presumably stable and advanced democracies have shown themselves to be susceptible to the challenges presented by negative populism. Throughout its history, America's realities have never quite lived up to its rhetoric. While this new asymmetrical warfare against America and other liberal democracies seems more subtle and innocuous than the brute force techniques of the past, it is possibly more dangerous because it is more insidious as it calls for liberal democracies to turn in on themselves and to destroy themselves from the inside out. The book, *Ensuring Justice, Fairness, and Inclusion in America*, the five white papers, the EM-P Blog, and the EM-P promotional gear are meant to be a "how-to" book and process, and a democratic (small "d") manifesto designed to save liberal democracy worldwide. Collectively, they are meant to be a user's manual for the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution in America and liberal democracy worldwide in the following manner:

1. It is designed to help install true "Representative Consensus Democracy."
2. It is designed to help ensure justice, fairness, and inclusion in America.
3. It is designed to mitigate the impact of Identity Politics.
4. It is designed to mitigate discrimination.
5. It is designed to mitigate the impact of zero-sum politics and economics.
6. It is designed to help resolve the conflict over the role of the state regarding distributive justice.
7. It is designed to mitigate discrimination for all Americans.
8. It is designed to promote the development and universal acceptance of a new social contract in America.
9. It is designed to mitigate the impact of race and gender in American politics.
10. It is designed to aid in the creation of a level playing field.
11. It is designed to reinvigorate the middle class and shores up of the American Dream.
12. It is designed to create a just and fair "Opportunity Society."
13. It is designed to replace the outmoded agendas of both political parties, Democratic and Republican.
14. It is designed to empower "We the People."
15. It is designed to make real America's national motto, "E Pluribus Unum" out of many, one).



The Results of Implementing Equity Management-Plato: E Pluribus Unum

The current assault on liberal democracy is global, and because of their collective efforts, pro-liberal democracy forces everywhere need to band together to push back against this attack. By adopting Equity Management-Plato, pro-liberal democracy forces around the world will facilitate the following benefits:

1. It can aid in pushing back against authoritarianism, right-wing radicalism, nativism, Identity Politics, zero-sum politics and economics, and Majoritarian Democracy.
2. It can aid in promoting progressivism, tolerance, justice, fairness, inclusion, win-win politics and economics, and Representative Consensus Democracy around the world.
3. It can aid in giving progressivism, progressive politics, and progressive policies on a firm moral, philosophical, and legal basis.
4. It can aid in binding progressive individuals, organizations, social movements, and political parties around the world into a cohesive (and irresistible) force to counter the reactionary forces extant in the world today.
5. It can aid in providing the “tie that binds” progressives everywhere together by elucidating “who they are;” “what they stand for;” “what they want;” “when do they want it;” “what is their plan for getting it;” and “how they plan to keep it.”
6. It can aid in giving progressives everywhere, an instrument that they can use to inform the like-minded, educate the uninformed, and persuade the misguided as to the benefits of progressivism as opposed to authoritarianism.
7. It can aid in making common cause between progressive peoples and states around the world.

8. It can aid in helping to fight racism, misogyny, xenophobia, and homophobia around the world.
9. It can aid in helping to restore and energize the middle-class, protect and support the poor, mitigate racial, class, and gender inequality.
10. It can aid in unifying pluralistic countries around the world.
11. It can aid in empowering the people to take control of their political, social, and economic circumstances in the spirit of “demos kratis” (rule by the people).
12. It can aid in ensuring national security and national sovereignty by mitigating, if not eliminating the vulnerabilities of liberal democracy which allows anti-democratic forces to foment division and discord.
13. It can aid in creating “realistic utopias” around the world.
14. It can aid in creating a “better world.”



A Pluralistic World Coming Together to Save Liberal Democracy Worldwide Empowered by Equity Management-Plato (EM-P)

Pro-liberal democracy forces need to make a common cause worldwide to establish a new international coalition of conscience bent on saving the liberal democratic world order as we know it. Saving liberal democracy begins with “hardening” it (fixing its vulnerabilities) and ends with creating a benign yet robust philosophy that is far more attractive than the authoritarian philosophies extant in the world today. This book is meant to begin those processes. If affirmatively adopted and implemented, the solutions proposed in this book will result in the creation of Rawls’ “realistic utopias,” the saving of liberal democracy worldwide, and ultimately the creation of a “better world.”

Summary and Conclusions

Worldwide, tottering democracies coupled with “unfettered capitalism” are in crisis because their rhetoric does not match their reality. Rather than being the guarantors of opportunity, freedoms, equality, justice, fairness, and inclusion under their watch oligarchy, kleptocracy, corruption, racial, gender, religious, class, and representational inequality, hyper-partisanship, polarization, identity politics, and zero-sum politics and economics have risen to unacceptable levels resulting in waves of popular discontent. Authoritarians are taking advantage of these vulnerabilities by engaging in a campaign to subvert democratic processes by “weaponizing” democracy’s (and capitalism’s) vulnerabilities in order to destroy the liberal democratic world order—because of the authoritarian onslaught and liberal democracies. The weapon of choice for authoritarians in their assault on liberal democracy is negative populism.

Over the last several decades, negative populism incited by the forces of authoritarianism has been on the rise, and liberal democracy has been on the decline. Authoritarians around the world have figured out how to weaponize the shortcomings of democracies and appeal to disaffected and dispossessed persons in liberal democracies to get them to distrust the system, governmental institutions, and political, economic, and the intellectual elites. Authoritarians make the case that liberal democracy’s reality does not match its rhetoric and, therefore, should be abandoned in favor of fidelity to “strong men.” Anti-democratic forces (authoritarians, terrorists, Nazis, and nativists) focus on this hypocrisy inherent in liberal democratic states as proof that liberal democracy is a sham. A website entitled “Our World Data” tends to corroborate these trends. This is not the first time that authoritarians have assaulted liberal democracy. In fact, this the fourth time in the last fifty years that we have seen this dynamic play out. The existential question facing democracies in the current age is, “how do they stem the tide and reverse these trends.” Now, at the start of the 21st Century, democracies again find themselves locked in another existential clash; this time against another strain of right-wing authoritarianism.

Liberal democracy’s problems are multi-faceted. Saving democracy requires that it be reimagined and reinvented. Democracy must be saved in America first. What is needed is a bold, imaginative plan designed to create a world that people want. The key to solving all of these problems is to promote a positive populism in liberal democratic states aimed at reimagining and reinventing liberal democracy itself. Washington & Associates, Inc has responded to the challenges of creating national unity by developing a universally applicable strategic plan designed to save liberal democracy, unify peoples, and resist authoritarianism and nationalism worldwide. The plan is contained in a recently published book entitled, Ensuring Justice, Fairness, and Inclusion: Managing Equity in the 21st Century, written by its President, Dr. Charles A. Washington, and in a series of five (5) white papers and promotional gear. The book and the strategic plan mark the first-ever attempt to operationalize John B. Rawls’ seminal concept, “Justice as Fairness.” The strategic plan calls for the development and implementation of a management system called “Equity Management” and a software system called the “Plato Management Information System.”

The salvation of liberal democracy everywhere must begin in America, or it will not begin at all. This book and its associated strategic plan are meant to begin the process of “Saving Liberal Democracy, Unifying Peoples, and Resisting Authoritarianism” by mapping out a strategy to create what John Rawls calls a “well-ordered society,” and a “realistic utopia” and what Martin Luther King, Jr. calls a “beloved community” and a “better world.” I believe that ultimately all democracy-loving countries worldwide will see the benefits of this vision and find the on-ramp to the road that leads to John Rawls’ “realistic utopia” and his “well-ordered society,” and Martin Luther King, Jr.’s “beloved community,” and his “better world.”

A “toxic soup” of injustice, unfairness, racial, gender, and class inequality has been festering in America for decades. Its extent and portent have gone unappreciated. Although the seeds of these negative circumstances and sentiments have been festering in America for decades, in the 2016

Presidential Election season, the nature and extent of these problems exploded onto the national stage and the national consciousness. The popular response to these problems was sentiments characterized by rabid populism, anti-establishment furor, and right-wing authoritarianism, nativism, and Identity Politics. Of these problems, the ones that garnered the most attention were the alarming levels of racial, gender, and class-based inequality, which had risen so much that the middle class, the poor and the nation itself were at risk. Daron Acemoglu and James Robinson have found that often, nation-states fail because they rot from the inside as inequality becomes rampant, thus making them vulnerable to internal populist political insurgencies and the machinations of external anti-state actors. Martin Gilens and Benjamin Page have found that the process of “rotting” has begun in America and that an oligarchy has taken control of the American government and is siphoning off the lion’s share of societal benefits to the detriment of the masses. Clearly, the social, political, and economic systems in America are broken. Americans no longer have faith in the system as it is currently constituted and even less faith in the proposition that it can be corrected and perfected. Again, this is important because, according to an old expression, “if you do not have a seat at the table, you are probably on the menu.” For liberal democracy to work, citizens must have faith in the system, the public must participate in its processes, and they must be willing to accept the results of elections or the application of government power. Liberal democracy can no longer afford “free riders.” The populist era is not going anywhere. Issues have to be dealt with and problems solved. The key to creating that better world lies in how the social, political, and economic systems respond to the explosive and potentially disruptive rise of popular discontent with the status quo. Do elites try to suppress it, divert attention by blaming scapegoats, or in other ways, try to manipulate it to their advantage? The bottom line is do they promote positive populism bent on reforming the system, or do they promote negative populism bent on preserving the status quo at whatever cost?

America’s Founding Fathers had a utopian, positive populist vision when they founded our democratic republic and codified our social contract in the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution. Pursuant to that utopian vision, America has formulated and implemented three previous democratic republics, all of which have failed. The failure of the three previous democratic republics has at its roots in the fact that popular discontent with the status quo and cries for systemic reform has existed in all three previous American democratic republics, and the elites (the establishment) have endeavored to blunt the impact of this popular discontent with the status quo by pushing a negative populism that left the status quo intact while diverting popular discontent onto scapegoats. This has resulted in a “populist dialectic” that has driven American history and precipitated in the demise of successive versions of the American social contract from 1787 to the present. At this moment, we are living in the aftermath of the failure of the Third Democratic Republic and its attendant social contract. The major cause for the failure of the first three democratic republics that was at no time did American “democracy’s reality match its rhetoric,” resulting in all types of inequalities and vulnerabilities. As we enter America’s Fourth Democratic Republic, a new social contract must be formulated and implemented, one that finally allows America to live up to its creed, to live up to its utopian (aspirational) vision or the America we long for will be out of reach, and the America we have could cease to exist as it devolves into the chaos of internecine conflict and potentially anarchy. Further, if liberal democracy is to survive in America and worldwide, the exemplar must come from an America willing to fight back against negative populism with a positive populist vision and a steadfast determination to save itself and its way of life.

Given the fact that current American political parties, its political representatives, the establishment, corporations, and the one percent seem more intent upon maintaining the status quo than truly reforming liberal democracy, the process of saving liberal democracy is not likely to be a top-down process. The only way to truly save liberal democracy is to empower the people to compel their “representatives” to reform the social, political, and economic systems. Liberal democracy can only be saved by a bottom-up process driven by activist citizens fully engaged in the political process, and who are no longer willing to blindly

and “freely” give their support and votes to politicians who do not represent their interest. Sorting of these representatives must begin. There are two broad categories of “representatives,” as shown below:

1. Those who eschew the general will of the people and who want to maintain the status quo even at the cost of losing liberal democracy.
2. Those who want to follow the general will and who want to save Liberal Democracy by reforming the system, but do not have a plan for doing it.

It is now abundantly clear that we can maintain the status quo, or we can save liberal democracy, but we cannot do both. The people want a better world. In order for them to get that better world, the people have to rise up and demand changes to the status quo. If the “representatives” currently in office will not reform the system to reflect the will of the people and create a system that works for all of the people, then, in the spirit of a true “representative democracy,” the people need to vote out and replace them with “representatives” that will give the people what they want.

Mustering a positive populist movement will require the people to eschew old notions of “Us” vs. “Them” tribalism, hyper-partisanship, polarization, zero-sum politics, and economics, etc. and begin to use their “common sense” to find “common ground,” and finally make “common cause” with their fellow Americans. This will require that they find what John Rawls calls an “Overlapping Consensus” (the things that we all agree on and want). A natural overlapping consensus is possible, as shown in the polls, as regards the different issues wherein there is an overwhelming majority in favor of those items. The polls show that there are clear, and in some circumstances, overwhelming majority regarding policy preferences. Members of the Resistance and the Tea party want the same things, but they are not getting them. Both the Democratic and the Republican Parties have seen their agenda hollowed out. This exposition is designed to show the people how to get what they want by banding together and demanding what they want rather than taking what the elites and politicians are willing to give them. The end result of this effort by the people to make common cause will result in the creation of a new “political center.” And it is in that new political center, that consensus can be found, agreements can be reached, deals can be made, and ultimately a new social contract for America’s Fourth Democratic Republic can be fashioned. None of this is only possible unless the people have a seat at the negotiation table, which they do not have right now.

At base, the problems of our time represent an existential assault on the liberal democratic world being perpetrated by authoritarians bent on bringing down the liberal democracy in America and around the world. Currently, there is much trepidation and anguish among pro-democracy forces as they are struggling to muster an adequate defense (let alone an offense) against the forces of authoritarianism. The book, *Ensuring Justice, Fairness, and Inclusion in America: Managing Equity in the 21st Century*, which is now published, has at its heart a concept called “Equity Management-Plato” (EM-P) that is designed to solve many of these vexing problems. Washington & Associates, Inc. has also written five white papers, and a blog (EM-P Blog) that shows how the process of saving liberal democracy can be expanded to include liberal democracies worldwide. It also has two associated projects which are designed to solve these problems by unifying America, resisting authoritarianism, and saving Liberal Democracy in America and worldwide.

While we believe that the process of saving liberal democracy must and likely will have to start in America, ultimately, saving liberal democracy will involve liberal democracy-loving countries worldwide engaged in a comprehensive and coordinated process. It is for this reason that

Washington & Associates, Inc. developed the strategic plan outlined in the five white papers located on its website. The core of the strategic plan is found in White Paper no. 4 entitled, “International Democracy Project.” For the International Democracy Project to be successful, it will require the development of new institutions, the creation of the Indivisible as a formal corporate, non-profit entity with an international footprint. The engagement of existing institutions, political parties, resistance movements, students, the old, Republicans, Democrats, Independents, urbanites, rural dwellers, literally everyone who wants a change in American politics and democracies worldwide will be solicited to help form an infrastructure aimed at saving liberal democracy worldwide.

The world has been down this road before. Antidemocratic forces assailed the liberal democratic order three times during the 20th Century. During World War I, World War II, and the Cold War, aggressive anti-democrats tried to bring down global liberal democracy and supplant it with various strains of authoritarianism. During World War I and World War II, democracies were slow to resist right-wing authoritarianism, thus giving anti-democratic forces early advantages that resulted in prolonged global wars, untold destruction, and human carnage, leading ultimately to the fall of states and of empires. During the five-decades-long Cold War, left-wing authoritarianism assailed democracies in a global campaign of dueling ideologies and proxy wars before democracies were finally able to prevail. Currently, at the start of the 21st Century, democracies again find themselves in another existential clash, this time against another strain of right-wing authoritarianism that has found ways to weaponize negative populism and to use it to try to destroy liberal democracy. Thus, the corrosive effects of negative populism do not necessarily arise organically or remain self-contained within any individual country. It is being exported and fomented in liberal democratic state after state.

In order for liberal democracy to survive the current onslaught from authoritarians and their negative populist strategies, liberal democracy-loving peoples need to make common cause worldwide to establish a new international coalition of conscience bent on saving the world order as we know it. While saving liberal democracy begins with “hardening” it (fixing its vulnerabilities), it ends with creating a benign yet robust ethos that is far more attractive than the authoritarian philosophies extant in the world today. This book is meant to help begin those processes. Pro-democracy forces worldwide need to make common cause worldwide to establish a new international coalition of conscience bent on saving the world order as we know it. Saving liberal democracy begins with “hardening” it (fixing its vulnerabilities) and ends with creating a benign yet robust philosophy that is far more attractive than the authoritarian philosophies extant in the world today.

By making these necessary changes, democracies can reduce the appeal of these corrosive anti-democratic elements and shore up liberal democratic states. Pro-democracy forces worldwide need to make common cause worldwide to establish a new international coalition of conscience bent on saving the world order as we know it. Saving liberal democracy begins with “hardening” it (fixing its vulnerabilities) and ends with creating a benign yet robust philosophy that is far more attractive than the authoritarian philosophies extant in the world today. This book is meant to begin those processes. If affirmatively adopted and implemented, the solutions proposed in this book will result in the creation of Rawls’ “realistic utopias,” the saving of liberal democracy worldwide, and ultimately the creation of a “better world.”

W&A has responded to these challenges by developing a universally applicable strategic plan designed to save liberal democracy, unify peoples, and resist authoritarianism and nationalism worldwide. The plan is contained in a recently published book entitled, *Ensuring Justice, Fairness, and Inclusion in America: Managing Equity in the 21st Century*, written by its President, Dr. Charles A. Washington, and in a series of five (5) white papers and promotional gear. The book and the strategic plan mark the first-ever attempt to fully operationalize John B. Rawls' seminal concept, "Justice as Fairness." The strategic plan calls for the development and implementation of a revolutionary management system called "Equity Management," and a web-based software system called the "Plato Management Information System."

The strategic plan being pushed by Washington & Associates, Inc. and the solutions offered in Equity Management-Plato were designed to help liberal democracies everywhere offer their citizens a positive alternative vision to the negative one being offered worldwide by forces of authoritarianism and virulent nationalistic populism. While this volume focuses specifically on the American experience, its definition of the problems that afflict liberal democracy-loving countries and "the solutions to those problems (EM-P) are, in fact, meant to be universal. With some modifications to account for localized circumstances, Equity Management-Plato is universal in its applicability. If affirmatively adopted and implemented, the solutions proposed herein will result in the creation of John Rawls' "realistic utopias," the saving of liberal democracy worldwide, and ultimately the creation of a "better world."

Washington & Associates, Inc.'s solution to saving liberal democracy worldwide (Equity Management-Plato) has been 32 years in the making. There is no other solution available to save liberal democracy. If there were, given "hair-on-fire" reactions by governments, multilaterals, think tanks, universities, academics, reporters, and the general public, it would have been implemented already. The only way to save liberal democracy is to empower the people to save it by giving them a seat at the table. A newly empowered and unified people can put pressure on their "representatives" to respond to the "general will," rather than only to special interests and the one percent. This is the essence of positive populism. EM-P is designed to give the people a seat at the table, a voice in determining the type of country and world they will live in in the 21st century.

This is An Urgent Call to Action!

This is a call to action! If you (all like-minded governments, corporations, organizations, and individuals) are concerned about the current state of affairs in America and around the world and you want to do something about it, then you need to heed this clarion call. Explore our website. Download and read the white papers. Buy and read the book. Subscribe to and follow the EM-P Blog. Buy and show off the gear. Follow us on social media. Sign up (organizations and individuals) and join the movement. Help make the changes you want. Help us fight for unity among peoples in America and elsewhere. Help us resist authoritarianism everywhere. Help us save Liberal Democracy worldwide!

Crowdfunding A Positive Populist Movement

Ensuring Justice, Fairness, and Inclusion in America



EM-P Promotional Gear



Crowdfunding A Positive Populist Movement: The epidemic of Liberal Democracy

Pursuant to its mission, Washington & Associates, Inc. is soliciting all like-minded countries, governments, corporations, organizations, and individuals who are concerned about the current state of liberal democracy in America and around the world and who want to do something about it, to heed this clarion call. After all, what would you give to wind up with the government, the country, and the world you want for yourself and your children? By heeding this clarion call, buying the book, buying the gear, and joining the movement, you are contributing to creating the world we all want.

Washington & Associates, Inc. leaves you with an anecdote that has been passed down through the Washington family, "He would be saved should be prepared to participate in his own salvation." We can no longer sit around and wait for others to save us. We must save ourselves. Saving liberal democracy was always going to be a bottom-up process. Those at the top are too invested in the status quo to reform the system and the 99 percent are too beleaguered by the status quo to suffer it continuing. Therefore, we as liberal democracy-loving people must make a choice between the status quo, which is problematic for the 99 percent while being extremely beneficial for the one percent, and reforming system to make it beneficial for all. In the final analysis, we can maintain the status quo, or we can save liberal democracy, but we cannot do both, and there can be no more democratic process than for the people to rise up and take their country back.

ⁱ. See Marc J. Hetherington and Thomas J. Rudolph, *Why Washington Won't Work: Polarization, Political Trust, and the Governing Crisis* (Chicago, IL: The University of Chicago Press, 2015).

ⁱⁱ. Ibid.

ⁱⁱⁱ. Ibid.

^{iv}. See Nolan McCarty, Keith Poole, and Howard Rosenthal, *Polarized America: The Dance of Ideology and Unequal Riches* (Cambridge, MA: The MIT Press, 2006).

^v. Ibid.

^{vi}. Ibid.

^{vii}. See Kay L. Schlozman, Sidney Verba, and Henry E. Brady, *The Unheavenly Chorus: Unequal Political Voice and the Broken Promise of American Democracy* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2012).

^{viii}. Ibid.

^{ix}. See Alan I. Abramowitz, *The Disappearing Center: Engaged Citizens, Polarization, and American Democracy* (New Haven, CN: Yale University Press, 2010).

^x. See Alan I. Abramowitz, *The Polarized Public: Why American Government is so Dysfunctional* (Boston, MA: Pearson Education, Inc., 2013).

^{xi}. Ibid.

^{xii}. Larry M. Bartels, *Unequal Democracy*.

^{xiii}. Ibid.

^{xiv}. Morris P. Fiorina, *Culture Wars? The Myth of a Polarized America*.

^{xv}. Ibid.

^{xvi}. See Jacob S. Hacker and Paul Pierson. *Winner-Take-All Politics: How Washington Made the Rich Richer and Turned Its Back on the Middle Class*.

^{xvii}. Ibid.

^{xviii}. Ibid. Obama proposed changes to American politics that involved changes from Majoritarian Democracy to Representative Consensus Democracy. As will be shown in Chapter 2 and Chapter 3 of this volume, he met with massive resistance to such changes.

^{xix}. Hacker and Pierson. *Winner-Take-All Politics*.

^{xx}. Salon, "Rich People are the F**king Worst: The 1 Percent's Vile New War on Us All," accessed April 25, 2016, http://www.salon.com/2015/06/22/rich_people_are_the_fking_worst_the_1_percents_vile_new_war_on_us_all/.

^{xxi}. A classic example of the cost of elections in the United States is estimation that 2016 Presidential election will cost more than a billion dollars for each of the major candidates running.

^{xxii}. America's founding fathers designed the political system, that we have now, the way it is because they were afraid of the "tyranny of the majority." They did not want a runaway majority trampling on the rights of less politically powerful minority. This is discussed in much greater detail later on in this chapter and in Chapter 2.

^{xxiii}. More on America as a "democratic republic is presented in Chapter 2.

^{xxiv}. Representative Consensus Democracy is explained in detail later on in this chapter.

^{xxv}. USCD.EDU, "Now Playing Let's Make A Deal," accessed April 9, 2017, <https://math.ucsd.edu/~crypto/Monty/montybg.html>.

^{xxvi}. Merriam-Webster, "Anarchy," accessed May 18, 2016," <http://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/anarchy>.

^{xxvii}. Charles Elliot, *Patterns of Poverty in the Third World* (New York: Atlantic, 1975).

^{xxviii}. Ibid.

^{xxix}. Roger Ebert, "Network," accessed April 9, 2017,
<http://www.rogerebert.com/reviews/great-movie-network-1976>.

^{xxx}. A "tri-partite solution" is a solution wherein the "three" parties, all of whom would benefit from a solution or be adversely affected by a problem, must come together to pursue a solution to the problem. The underlying belief is that common vulnerabilities should force the players to seek "common ground" and to pursue "common cause." The problem is generally believed to be of such nature that no one or even any two of the victims of the problem can solve the problem without the third party participating.

^{xxxi}. Dictionary.com, "Political Agenda," accessed June 4, 2017,
<http://www.dictionary.com/browse/political-agenda>.

^{xxxii}. WiseGEEK, "What is a Political Agenda?", accessed February 2, 2016,
https://uverse.com/watch/~3090073~espn____espn3.

^{xxxiii}. Ibid.