

The Statue of Liberty stands prominently on the left side of the cover, set against a clear blue sky with light, wispy clouds. The statue is shown from the waist up, holding the torch aloft in her right hand and a tablet in her left. She is wearing her iconic crown with seven spikes. The base of the statue is a multi-tiered, classical-style stone pedestal with columns and arches. The overall color palette is dominated by the green of the statue and the blue of the sky.

TRANSPARTISAN NOTES

PART ONE

JULY - DECEMBER 2016

WRITTEN BY

A. Lawrence Chickering
& James S. Turner

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essays originally appeared on the
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WRITTEN & EDITED BY	A. Lawrence Chickering James S. Turner	ADVISORY BOARD	Ralph Benko Joan Blades Clare Lockhart Michael Murphy Michael Ostrolenk Saafir Rabb Bill Shireman John Steiner Michael Strong
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ABOUT THE AUTHORS

A. LAWRENCE CHICKERING is co-founder and co-executive editor of *The Transpartisan Review*. He has helped establish several public policy organizations. In 1985, he co-founded (with Nicolas Ardito-Barletta) the International Center for Economic Growth, which worked with economic policy organizations in more than 100 countries to promote economic and social reform. In 1999, he founded Educate Girls Globally, which works in India and will soon expand to Africa and the Middle East. In 1993, he published *Beyond Left and Right*; and in 2008, he and James S. Turner co-authored *Voice of the People: The Transpartisan Imperative in American Life*. Chickering's other transpartisan publications include *The Silent Revolution* (1991, co-edited with Mohamed Salahdine) and *Strategic Foreign Assistance: Civil Society in International Security* (2006, co-authored with I. Coleman, P.E. Haley, and E. Vargas-Baron).

JAMES S. TURNER is co-founder and co-executive editor of The Transpartisan Review. He was a founding partner in the Washington, D.C. law firm of Swankin and Turner. As one of the original Nader's Raiders, he directed the project and wrote the report, *The Chemical Feast: The Ralph Nader Study Group Report on Food Protection and the Food and Drug Administration*, and in 2008, he and A. Lawrence Chickering co-authored *Voice of the People: The Transpartisan Imperative in American Life*. He has served as Board Chair of Citizens for Health and Voice for HOPE (Healers Of Planet Earth).

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TRANSPARTISAN NOTE #01 • JULY 04, 2016

Introducing the Transpartisan Review

The Transpartisan Review will concentrate on promoting new political ideas, ideas that bring people together who are now in conflict. Since the current debate focuses entirely on conflict, the approaches we explore will be hard to find in the current debate. Yet they are often essential to solve problems that otherwise seem insoluble.

Our political conflict is not only *between* the parties, between progressives (left) and conservatives (right); it is also *within* them. Conflict *within* is between *freedom* and *order*. There are thus four positions rather than two in our political field—*freedom and order themes in both left and right*. We refer to these four positions as the **Four-Quadrant Transpartisan Matrix** — featuring social democratic and civil libertarian themes on the left and the traditional (especially religious) and libertarian themes on the right.

The conflict between freedom and order is at present more obvious in the Republican Party than the Democratic. Part of the reason (there may be others) is that the party in power (which holds The White House) can contain conflict more easily than the party out of power.

There is 'truth' in all four positions — partial truths. Ultimate truth, we believe, comes from integrating all four. Integrating all four will both bring people together and solve problems. The Matrix will be a recurring theme in these pages.

We will focus on key policy arenas such as education, criminal justice, and foreign policy, issues on which we are aware of transpartisan initiatives making headway.

Between now and the launch of the new online journal, we will post short Notes showing how the transpartisan impulse is in forms all around us. It will highlight report on real experiences where transpartisan approaches are solving real problems.

These examples often occur outside the formal political system. Since we hope the formal system will want to learn from them and incorporate them into formal government policy, we will also feature comments on how that might happen.

As contentions a matter as Citizen United Supreme Court decision gives a taste of the opportunity. McCain Feingold, the campaign finance law found unconstitutional by the court represent order-and order right. The immediate attacks on the law came from the National Rifle Association an ACLU — free right and free left respectively.

Drawing on all four impulses the country is staggering toward a full blown disclosure of the source of all campaign contributions. The transpartisan lens of the journal provides a way to look at virtually all contentious matters (issues) and suggest a different angle to evaluate it. We ask others to join the discourse.



Image from photodune.net.

TRANSPARTISAN NOTE #02 • JULY 11, 2016

Understanding Brexit

The British vote to leave the European Union caught everyone by surprise—pundits, politicians and profiteers. Part of the confusion stems from analyzing the disaffection in terms of left and right. In the mainstream analysis, xenophobic racism explained why the far right wanted separation; therefore everyone else should have united around ‘remain’, or racism would gain a toehold in European politics.

Looking more closely at the Brexit debate, one sees four distinct positions— ‘freedom’ and ‘order’ positions on both left and right. Conservative Prime Minister David Cameron, speaking for the order-right, and Labour’s Jeremy Corbyn (order-left) united in favor of staying, while Boris Johnson (freedom-right) and the un-recognized freedom-left constituencies surprised observers by voting ‘Leave’.

Looked at this way, Brexit appears as an order/freedom rather than a left/right issue. This explains why appeals framed as maintaining a unified Europe in the face of far right nationalist movements failed. The EU is fracturing because its leadership has failed to address the social, psychological, and political forces that

are pushing people toward more subjectively-defined identities, toward increasing demands for control of their own lives and for related decentralized political institutions.

The EU is a highly centralized enterprise animated by the ‘idealism’ of the order-left and order-right. It has failed to respond to populations animated by subjective development. Alienation is widespread and growing. We believe the ‘populism’ underlying the weakening EU is like the same forces animating the populist U.S. Presidential candidates Donald Trump and Bernie Sanders. Unaddressed issues tip elections.

The EU can address perceived order/ freedom imbalances within the union that remains. Otherwise, it will build momentum for ‘leave’ parties—with all the pain ‘leave’ critics claim—across Europe.

A better integration of freedom strengthens effective order. Order creates the conditions for freedom, and freedom legitimizes order. The proper role of any legitimate governing body is to find the point of synergy. This will be a continuing, major theme in the journal.

TRANSPARTISAN NOTE #03 • JULY 18, 2016

The Transpartisan World Of Subjects

Adding the subjective to political discourse expands how we view reality. It focuses us on how perceptions as well as facts determine ultimate impacts on people.

Travelers often return from Africa, Asia and developing areas of the world surprised to have found poor people there who appear happy. Understanding that objectively poor individuals might be subjectively happy helps us understand why social programs focused solely or primarily on objective outcomes alone (relieving ‘poverty’) often fail subjectively—leave people emotionally dissatisfied, even bereft.

Adding the subjective to our understanding explains much about the ‘paradox’ of ‘the happy poor’. Psychiatrists may touch the essential point when they say people seeking their help are mostly looking to relieve isolation and loneliness. Consider this isolation in understanding ‘social problems’—alcoholism, drug addiction, crime, suicide and even poverty. Aloneness seems to us to play a key role in each of these conditions. We propose that a crucial, and often overlooked, aspect of each objective

social problem is isolation. We think it likely that both social and personal rehabilitation begins in connection.

‘Transpartisan’ integrates freedom and order as people subjectively move (in freedom) to choose connection (order). If ‘caring’ schools are essential to reach adolescent African-American males, as current research suggests, we propose a larger point—that successful schools are all positive communities—they connect people. Subjective educational communities provide an essential foundation for objective learning. Subjective components of all communities provide an essential part of the foundation of every objective program— welfare, justice, health, employment, for example. Objective programs often minimize or overlook these subjective components.

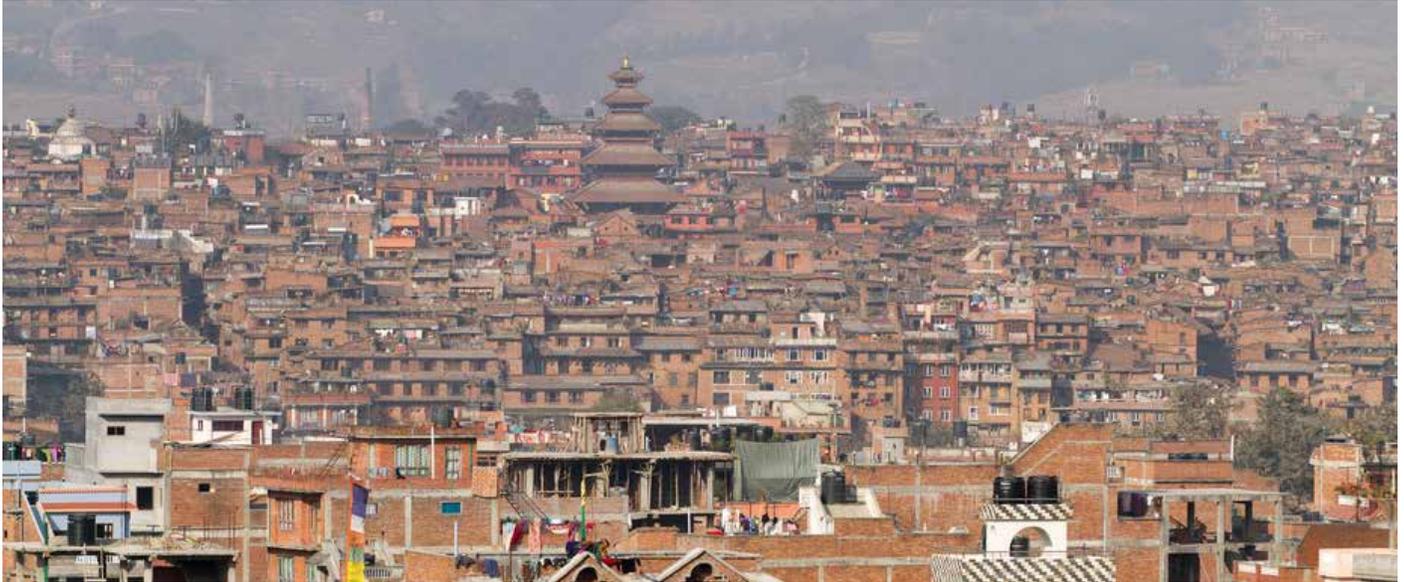
Embracing the subjective forces radically changes our understanding of politics. Religion as Spirit is subjective, conforming or not to traditional religious practices. Recognizing the ways objective politics— polls, votes, demographics etc.— overlook or fail fully to consider subjective (difficult to count)

realities, forces, impulses can help explain realities of our current electoral season that seem objectively preposterous. Seth Godin identifies the role of such subjective forces in his new book Tribes.

Albert Einstein, probably quoting William Bruce Cameron, is reported to have said: 'Not everything that counts can be counted, and not everything that can be counted counts.'

We have reduced so much of our politics, our programs and our daily lives to what can be counted (the objective), what cannot be counted (the subjective) constantly surprises us. The Transpartisan imperative embraces, illuminates, and employs life's subjective reality within the objective political context.

image from photodune.net.



Adding the subjective to our understanding explains much about the 'paradox' of 'the happy poor'.



TRANSPARTISAN NOTE #04 • JULY 25, 2016

Government And Civil Society

America has a representative government. Voters elect leaders who appoint civil servants, and they implement 'public policy'. This works for much public business, but in areas involving social services—school reform, drug rehabilitation, criminal justice, race relations, poverty and even security policy, results fall far short of aspirations. These programs (War on Poverty, Cancer, or Drugs are examples) tend to follow a similar trajectory: fanfare at the launching followed by years and even decades of slogging disappointment.

Failure in social areas starts with the focus on *objective* conditions alone (poverty reduction measured in dollars), ignoring the, which can often be measured in civic engagement

or community-building. Failure happens when governments follow (mechanistic) 'rule of law' approaches, only operating objectively, without empowering citizens as active participants for change (subjective) Empowering people subjectively requires *recruiting them as informal public policy partners*.

Recruiting citizens requires seeing everyone as independent and capable of self- governance. This means embracing core assumptions claimed by both left and right: the left's assumption that there are ways that government can help people and the right's that people are more than 'victims' dominated by 'oppressors'; properly integrated open new policy roads.

Social problems are often rooted in personal isolation.

Connection can help address problems from poverty to alcoholism to drug addiction. *Personal engagement* creates connection, with people spiritually bonded. Engagement cannot be accomplished *mechanically* (objectively). Engagement happens when people come together either spontaneously or in common purpose.

Shared ownership of public spaces in a school, housing project or police station gives people incentives to connect. When public property is 'owned' not by government alone but also by parents, teachers, kids, residents—even bureaucrats—working to common purpose, transformational effects can follow. This is

true for pre modern-conscious, tribal people becoming citizen-entrepreneurs in tribal societies, and in twelve-step programs addressing addiction. These activities build on generating objective outcomes from subjective engagement.

Shared ownership of public spaces and working for the common good incorporate both *objective* and *subjective aspirations* and values. We intend *The Transpartisan Review* to address these concepts—drawing on **real experiences** involving the most disadvantaged and most marginalized, along with the most objectively successful—as constantly recurring themes.

TRANSPARTISAN NOTE #05 • AUGUST 01, 2016

The Conventions I

Reports agree: the Republican and Democratic conventions differed profoundly. Yet Transpartisan possibilities in both went unreported.

Both conventions represented common, unitary visions and realities—'dark' and angry (GOP: party-out-things-are-terrible) versus aspirational and joyous (Democrats: party-in- things-are-hopeful).

This year's conventions revealed serious conflicts. Many unhappy, angry people in both parties have new ways to express themselves. "Grievances" dominated Republicans while Democrats, celebrating eight years in power, air-brushed differences.

Still, new themes, like flashing lightning, give glimpses of an emerging political horizon. They suggest a less visible — we say



"Like many of my fellow millennials," Ivanka Trump said, "I do not consider myself categorically Republican or Democrat..."



Photo by "Qqqqqq" and licensed CC BY-SA 3.0

Transpartisan — environment surrounding this election.

“Like many of my fellow millennials,” Ivanka Trump said, “I do not consider myself categorically Republican or Democrat...” Bernie Sanders passionately endorsed Hilary Clinton, then reinforced his Independent Senate affiliation.

Reports say about 70% of voters believe the country is going in the wrong direction (slightly above the forty-year norm), without reporting that conservatives say the country is too liberal and liberals say it is too conservative.

39% of voters now register as Independents, more than either Democrats or Republicans, refusing major party affiliation. Another 33% opt out of registering at all. The two major parties, combined, form a distinct minority.

The story is deep hostility toward major party elites. A majority of the public wants something different. The Trump and Sanders

populist appeals feed on this hostility, and share the negative slogan, “not the other”.

Deep divisions remain. Key GOP leaders avoided the convention. Conservative intellectuals oppose the (wildly divergent— compare Trump and Pence speeches) ticket. Sanders supporters are working out their anger, while liberal intellectuals espouse “win first, then worry.”

The conventions presented “more of the same” versus “break up the furniture”—a recipe for continuing dysfunction. The future belongs to the flashes of Transpartisan impulses voiced at both conventions. We will explore these impulses in future *Transpartisan Notes* and *The Transpartisan Review*.

TRANSPARTISAN NOTE #06 • AUGUST 08, 2016

The Conventions II – Media

Seventy percent of voters say they think the country is going in the wrong direction. The numbers of voters registering as independents, declining to associate with either party, continues to increase and is now 42%, more than either Democrats or Republicans. Reflecting on the campaigns that began with the conventions will provide huge opportunities to explore new (more than partisan) reasons for voter unhappiness.

Voters are unhappy with partisan conflict – they want political leaders to work together at least on things we agree about.

The media tends to be more in the entertainment than the news business. In this business conflict (entertaining ‘stories’) sell. Covering political events like conventions, the media imitate the partisans. ‘Balanced’ panels, editorials, commentary mean Republican/conservative and Democratic/progressive spokespeople squaring off. Following this formula, CNN covering the Democrats, made little effort to represent Trump or Sanders supporters – only poor Jeffrey Lord, by himself, for Trump and no one for Sanders, facing seven others, some active partisans, others ‘neutral’.

Why not include transpartisan voices, highlighting the tension between freedom and order on both left and right, which would help explain conflicts within the two sides and reveal positions partisans ignore because they agree. (One conservative activist in Washington scoffed at a project promoting education for girls in developing countries with scarcely-concealed disgust: ‘Well, no one could be against that!’)

What can you say about a society that cannot do what people agree about? As transpartisans, we think that is fundamentally wrong.

Wouldn't it be news to show transpartisans bringing partisans together to solve problems? Organizations like Living Room Conversations (livingroomconversations.org) are starting to promote dialogues between left and right. Conversations about issues that create transpartisan solutions can entertain. They can also give people hope, which is in tragically short supply right now.



TRANSPARTISAN NOTE #07 • AUGUST 15, 2016

The Conventions III – Republicans

Here is what two of our Transpartisan colleagues, **Rich Tafel** and **Ted Buerger** wrote on August 9, 2016 to their fellow Republicans about the current election as part of the article *Creative Destruction Will Allow Republicans and Democrats to Rebuild After 2016* on the [Bold.com](#) website...

In short, each party lacks balance and has retreated to its political corner. Each embraces pandering and the politics of division. And each has nominated a candidate that voters rightly don't trust, leaving us a choice of "lesser evils."

As lifelong Republicans who have spent our political life seeking to build bridges, we know that Trump's bullying, imprudence, and unpreparedness would be dangerous for our country. On Election Day, we must vote against Trump, to protect the country, and for most down-ballot Republicans, to restrain the Democrats in Congress.

But Americans deserve better. Gallup polls now confirm that most Americans are "socially liberal and fiscally conservative." As hopeful believers in the American dream, most Americans want a sustainable society based on innovation and opportunity, security and trust, private charity and public safety-net, inclusion and religious liberty, personal freedom and human dignity. That aspiration should be at the core of each political party. It is not.

And we Republicans must create a Party that once again champions civil debate, science, inclusion and religious freedom for all faiths, including Muslims. We must build a movement that fights for prison and police reform because we do not have justice until we have justice for all. We must stand for the middle class and the poor, one nation of opportunity, undivided by class, race, or gender. We must remain committed to fiscal and environmental sustainability, for the benefit of future generations and support a strong defense—including a plan to defeat terrorists and minimize war.

For America's sake, Trump must fail, but each party still needs real change. The irony is that, in the wake of Trump's self-destruction, we Republicans may be more motivated to make that change, from which could rise a renewed, inclusive party of Lincoln. That is our opportunity.

Article excerpt shared with permission from the authors. Rich Tafel is CEO of *Public Squared* and Founder of *Log Cabin Republicans* and Ted Buerger is Co-founder and Chairman of *American Towns.com* and previously Chairman of the non-partisan *Center for the Study of the Presidency* (1998-2000).

READ THE ENTIRE ARTICLE:

bold.global/rich-tafel/2016/08/09/creative-destruction-will-allow-republicans-democrats-rebuild-2016/

TRANSPARTISAN NOTE #08 • AUGUST 22, 2016

Bridge Alliance: Transpartisan Gathering

We spoke this past week with David Nevins, the new President & Co-Director of Bridge Alliance (www.bridgealliance.us), a growing home for Transpartisans. He talked of leadership, spelled out the Bridge Alliance mission, and told us of the group's first big Washington, DC public coming-out event.

The Mission: "We are the Bridge Alliance – a rising American tide of conservatives and liberals, centrists and moderates, business owners and workers, students and retired persons, diverse in age, color, faith and orientation. We have come together in civility, respect, and goodwill to solve problems together. Together, we can become a powerful and positive voice in the American political landscape advocating 'Country Before Party.'"

The Event: *Moving America Forward*, co-sponsored by Updraft America & Bridge Alliance with Panel Discussion Moderator: Cokie Roberts. September 15, 2016 7:00 PM at the Katzen Center at American University, Washington, DC.

The Event will feature the unveiling of Updraft America (www.updraftamerica.org) — an installation of 10,718 paper airplanes folded from a year's subscription to The Congressional Record by Washington, DC sculptor Suzanne Brennan Firstenberg. The red and blue striped paper airplanes rise into the air, inspiring hope that we may rise above partisan politics.

A panel will discuss *How To Bridge the Partisan Divide*, presenting alternatives to the partisan narrative that permeates the political process and there will be presentations by

organizations representing a cross-spectrum of civic engagement and collaborative problem-solving that is already present across America.

Leadership: David told us of *The Nevins Democracy Leaders* program he started at Penn State University. The program teaches a cohort of students how to apply Transpartisan deliberative skills to enhance their sense of civic responsibility, their approach to building community, and practical politics and participatory government. To further this goal, David is appealing to business

leaders around the country to implement similar programs at their alma maters.

Bridge Alliance is well on its way to its first fifty organizational members. It provides a home for individuals of every political stripe who want to get things done through collaborative initiatives that transcend narrow partisanship. We salute David Nevins and his co-director Debilyn Molineaux for their creative leadership of this inspiring initiative.

TRANSPARTISAN NOTE #09 • AUGUST 29, 2016

Antidote To A Poisoning Epidemic

Here is an excerpt from the article *What If Our Political Opposite Isn't (Actually) The Devil... What Then?* written by our Transpartisan colleague and *Livingroom Conversations* partner **Jacob Z. Hess** on August 3, 2016 for The Huffington Post.

Friends and acquaintances used to be mystified at my interest in liberal-conservative dialogue. Not anymore. America is having a rude awakening about the value of dialogue and deliberation in a world torn by bitter conflict.

At the center of the harshest rhetoric (from both sides) is one essential claim: Those Other People (on the other side) are dangerous. They cannot be trusted and do not have America's best interest at heart (and if they say they do, they're basically lying).

They are Demons Incarnate...and must be treated as such.

What if closer examination revealed that people holding different views are equally good-hearted and care the same about ensuring America's well-being but have different ideas about what that requires?

Image from photodune.net.



America is having a rude awakening about the value of dialogue and deliberation in a world torn by bitter conflict.



Thousands of years ago, one of the world's earliest scientists invited people to sit in silence and turn towards (rather than away from) inner contradictions in body, mind and heart. As people tried this radical act, they were surprised to find the gnawing tension inside them change. And insight arose—with suffering decreasing too.

In recent years, the dialogue and deliberation community has been inviting people towards a similar experiment: instead of avoiding painful questions, to begin sitting with our political opposites and turning towards the contradictions between us — listening and getting curious...

Last year, we tried an experiment. We offered free consultation to anyone willing to try a Living Room Conversation (with anyone they wanted, on any topic). Then, I went knocking on doors inviting

people in my own neighborhood, but I was turned down right and left.

Liz Joyner, national director of the Village Square, explained: 'Jacob, there is something we like about polarization; something almost reassuring about knowing that Our Side is superior to Those Demons.'

Chronic resentment hurts. That same scientist (the Buddha) warned that anger functions like a poison in the body and mind.

If he was right, America is now suffering from a poisoning epidemic on a vast scale. Turning toward our contradictions, in a safe and comfortable livingroom environment, might begin to drain the poison.

READ THE ENTIRE ARTICLE:

www.buffingtonpost.com/living-room-conversations/what-if-our-political-opp_b_11324244.html

TRANSPARTISAN NOTE #10 • SEPTEMBER 05, 2016

The Many Faces Of Transpartisan I

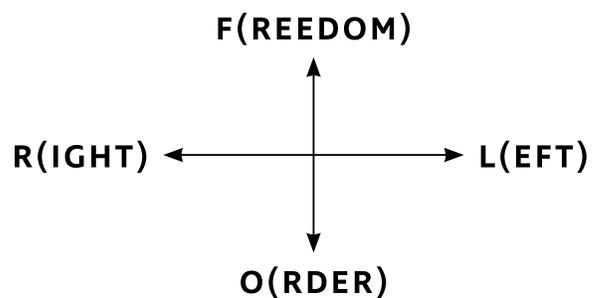
The contemporary Transpartisan movement appears to have two quite different faces. Many transpartisans, perhaps most, associate with the most recognizable theme, which might be called the **Dialogue Approach**. This approach regards conflict as inevitable and binary (the left-right spectrum) and encourages partisans to find common ground. Examples are the *Mediators' Foundation*, *Search for Common Ground*, *The National Coalition for Dialogue & Deliberation*, and *Living Room Conversations*.

The second approach expands on the first. It starts with the belief that most conflicts are more than two-sided and that binary framing of conflicts often conceals important conflicts and differences *within* each side. This creates four positions and parties for every binary conflict: right critics of both the left and the right, and left critics of both the right and the left.

We believe (as Lawry Chickering first wrote in his 1993 book *Beyond Left and Right* and we expanded in our 2008 book *Voice of the People*) that ideological conflict among the four quadrants (order-right, freedom-right, order-left, freedom-left) is an Hegelian thesis/antithesis/synthesis search to integrate four positions that are partly true, but incomplete, representing the two great values in all modern societies: 'freedom' and 'order'. (The quotations are important to highlight the mythic nature of these concepts, with left

and right using different words to express their concepts of order — 'virtue' and 'responsibility' for the right; 'justice' and 'equality' for the left.)

Our Transpartisan Matrix integrates the two approaches by overlaying a horizontal left/right spectrum and vertical freedom/ order spectrum as follows:



Each quadrant is partly truth, but incomplete. The separate quadrants alone feature continuing conflicts both within and between left and right, and experience great difficulty solving problems. Integrating freedom and order occurs when people come together freely in communities and solve problems.

Next week we will provide examples of how one Matrix produces six dialogues; organizing conflict toward the inherent agreement implicit in every disagreement.

TRANSPARTISAN NOTE #11 • SEPTEMBER 12, 2016

The Many Faces Of Transpartisan II: One Matrix, Multiple Dialogues

Left and right agree that both freedom and order are essential for solutions to social issues. Transpartisan dialogues are designed to reveal this agreement. Dialogues need to ensure both values are represented on each side and then highlight the conflict between them.

Conflicts within left and right tend to be between the traditional, often religious (order) and libertarian (freedom) right and between the social democratic (order) and libertarian (freedom/ACLU) left. To highlight the challenge of integrating them, consider:

- One side, representing order, promoting government 'solutions' that encroach on individual freedom, and
- The other side, representing freedom, investing all their energy encouraging people to distrust the government.

These positions form the **Four-Quadrant Transpartisan Matrix** (see Note #10), and they create multiple potential dialogues — within and between left and right, searching for a path to integrate freedom and order. The Matrix increases understanding of the complexity of positions, revealing new, potential paths to agreement. Positions integrating all four will both bring people together and solve problems—often creating things that no one ever imagined. This is especially true showing paths to order (virtue, justice) through freedom. This approach highlights values often ignored, including:

- **A strong concept of citizenship**, with citizens playing active ownership roles from public school reform to foreign and security policy;

- Idealism of **empowerment** added to left's commitment to **equality** (empowerment as the key to effective equality since real, objective equality is elusive.);
- **Strong participation of civil society** in empowering each individual including disadvantaged and marginal populations;
- **Emphasis on the subjective** (community and connection) as essential to empowerment;
- **Emphasis on ownership especially in public spaces**, expanding the 'self-interest' in capitalism to all individuals including disadvantaged and marginal populations and to voluntary service for the public good*; and
- In emphasizing the subjective, **emphasize spiritual connection** in all transformational change.

Including Four-Q activists increase Transpartisan ranks: besides our programs (*Educate Girls Globally* and *Citizens for Health/ Voice for HOPE*): **Mimi Silbert** (*Delancey Street Foundation*, San Francisco); **Lenora Fulani** (*All-Stars Project*, New York City); **James Dierke** (*Visitation Valley Middle School*, San Francisco), and many others.

* *Milton Friedman promoted this (expanded) concept of capitalism, e.g., in his assertion that the Israeli kibbutzim are a triumph of capitalism because they are freely-chosen. That many socialists also consider them as a triumph of socialism suggests a Transpartisan understanding of the relationship between capitalism and socialism.*

TRANSPARTISAN NOTE #12 • SEPTEMBER 19, 2016

Transpartisan Bridge Alliance Enters Washington DC

The Bridge Alliance (www.bridgealliance.us), self-described "rising American tide of conservatives and liberals, centrists and moderates, ... (that) can become a powerful and positive voice in the American political landscape advocating 'Country Before Party,'" made its first appearance in the nation's capital Thursday, September 15.

Cosponsoring an energetic Transpartisan gathering at American University's Katzen Arts Center with Updraft America, the Alliance showcased its "43 and growing" member groups, brought its message of cooperative politics to a set of media players, and presented its vision in collaboration with a major American University.

The University describes the Updraft America (updraftamerica.org) Exhibition as “Washington, DC, sculptor (and former aide to Senate Democratic Majority leader Thomas Daschle) Suzanne Brennan Firstenberg (manifestation) of Americans’ frustration with our gridlocked partisan politics by taking an entire year of the official proceedings of the United States Congress, as documented in the Congressional Record, and folding each page into a paper airplane.

“From this mass of over 10,000 airplanes, striped red or blue to connote the political divide, the uppermost planes will rise into the air, as if taking flight, and as they do, their hues will combine to become purple – the color of hope that we may bridge the political divide.”

Hope animated the crowd as Ms. Firstenberg and media star & Washington- player Cokie Roberts cohosted the program’s two

panels with Executive in Residence Rebecca Cooper of American University’s Kogod School of Business who works to create “thought leadership forums ... to highlight smart conversations with smart people finding solutions.”

The Christian Science Monitor presented its new program **Under-reported Good News** stories.

The Congressional Management Foundation (congressfoundation.org) shared “While the process may be slow, when people provide Congress with helpful input, Congress makes thoughtful, informed and deliberative decisions that represent an investment in the nation’s future.”

The Bridge Alliance’s entry to Washington reminds us that much goes on each day than our daily press skips. A lot of this unreported news is hopeful.

TRANSPARTISAN NOTE #13 • SEPTEMBER 26, 2016

Colin Kaepernick: The State Of Political Debate

Among factors influencing Transpartisan action, the state of debate is important but often ignored.

Take race relations, which hit the front pages when 49ers’ quarterback Colin Kaepernick refused to stand for the national anthem.

Soon other NFL players and personages in other sports joined the protest while others criticized it. See time line of spreading protest at www.sbnation.com. Casual sports observers might have thought that concerns about how he protested, (e.g.) disrupting team cohesion on game day dominated the story. Some thoughts:

1. Sitting for the anthem amounted to a protest against the flag—the system. The system was to blame when it told blacks where to sit in buses and excluded them from restaurants. But Supreme Court decisions ended those practices. The system corrected itself, ending significant aspects of public discrimination.

2. The system protects peoples’ right to protest, and people should celebrate it for that.

3. There is more to the real racism problem than “the system.” The real problem includes individual discrimination —here, some police seeming to violate oaths to uphold the law protecting people against discrimination. We all need to keep working to correct that.

4. Another issue, however, may have greater impact in correcting abuses— even perception of abuses. We need civil society organizations (CSOs) to promote better relations between communities and police. For example The Martin Luther King, Jr. Center for Nonviolent Social Change (“The King Center” - www.thekingcenter.org) has a non-violent policing program co-organized by Charles L. Alphina a retired St. Louis Missouri police captain*. There are many examples of active partnerships between police and community organizations, sharing responsibility for law enforcement. Police seen as an ‘invading army’ is a major cause of conflict that needs to end.

5. Racism is caused by isolation: lack of contact and lack of subjective engagement. It is true for all forms of ‘difference’. Objective strategies often have little impact: forced bussing to desegregate schools featured no incentives for subjective engagement which therefore often produced internally segregated schools.

Few actions would reduce conflict around ‘differences’ more than empowering citizens as owners of public spaces (schools, police stations, hospitals and housing projects). ‘The system’ still has much work to do. Colin Kaepernick’s knee is good goad to us working.

*www.mkgandhi.org/articles/kingian%20nonviolence.htm

TRANSPARTISAN NOTE #14 • OCTOBER 03, 2016

Glenn Beck? Transpartisan? – The State of the Political Debate

Powerful factors influence Transpartisan realities. Among them the state of debate plays an important but often ignored role.

Take race relations. The same week, September 4 to 11 2016, San Francisco 49ers' quarterback Colin Kaepernick refused to stand for the national anthem conservative radio host Glenn Beck wrote "*Empathy for Black Lives Matter*" a powerful Transpartisan *op-ed column* for the New York Times (9/7/2016).

In our previous note we described a Transpartisan context for Kaepernick's important statement that he hoped to kick off a conversation about race in America. Beck himself sets out such a context for his view of how he can address race saying:

"I consider myself a 'classical liberal' - a.k.a. 'constitutional conservative' - and I believe the greatness of our country lies in our founders' creation of a system that allows and encourages all voices to be heard. The only way for our society to work is for each of us to respect the views of others, and even understand and empathize with one another. I have always tried to work toward this goal, even though I have often been guilty of conflating the individual with the whole."

When a contrarian, conservative, combatant like Glenn Beck uses these words we believe it makes sense to listen. What he said next underscored our belief.

"After the massacre [of Dallas police officers], I invited several Black Lives Matter believers on my show. I got to know them as people — on and off air — and invited them back again. These individuals are decent, hardworking, patriotic Americans. We don't agree on everything, certainly not on politics; but are we not more than politics? ...they are black Americans who feel disenfranchised and aggrieved; they are believers; they are my neighbors and my fellow citizens.

"We need to listen to one another, as human beings, and try to understand one another's pain. Empathy is not acknowledging or conceding that the pain and anger others feel is justified. Empathy is acknowledging someone else's pain and anger while feeling for them as human beings — even, and maybe especially, when we don't necessarily agree [with] or understand them."

Read the Glenn Beck article (link below) and experience a breadth of possibility that often goes unnoticed in this year of our divided national election. The conversation grows.

Image by "drestwn" and licensed CC-BY:2.0.



**We need to listen to one another, as human beings,
and try to understand one another's pain.**

TRANSPARTISAN NOTE #15 • OCTOBER 10, 2016

Subjectivity and Police Community Relations

We have written about the importance of subjectivity to public programs and policy in Note #3 *The Transpartisan World of Subjects* and how it affects matters of race Note #13 *Colin Kaepernick & The State of Political Debate* and Note #14 *Glenn Beck? Transpartisan? The State of Political Debate*. President Obama underscored the role of subjectivity in maintaining peace and order in neighborhoods across the country when he declared last week **National Community Policing Week**.

US Attorney General Loretta Lynch writing in the Washington Post highlighted the week as “*a time for law enforcement and communities to come together, acknowledge our shared pain, begin to rebuild trust and chart a peaceful course forward.*” She described the intentions of community policing saying:

“Community policing is a public-safety philosophy based on partnership and cooperation. At its core is the idea that everyone has a stake in the safety of the neighborhoods where we live and work, and that none of us, police or citizen, can make them safe on our own. Community policing uses our shared interest as the foundation for deeper understanding, mutual respect and closer partnership. In practice, community policing encourages officers and citizens to communicate regularly, to share concerns and collaborate on

solutions, and, above all, to get to know one another as people rather than stereotypes.”

Deeper understanding, mutual respect, and closer partnership between police and citizens that form the backbone of Attorney General Lynch’s aspirational description contain subjective measures of success. In addition to the valuable *quantitative* measures of police on duty, crime rates, overtime worked etc. the more subjective understanding, respect and partnership aspects of policing offer opportunities for developing the *qualitative* aspects of living in neighborhoods. They also help communities take the first steps toward the kind of shared ownership of public spaces that we believe lies at the heart of Transpartisan policies and programs.

Most significantly AG Lynch took a 12-city **Community Policing Tour** finding police tutoring school children, being advised by youth advisory groups, and learning how to deescalate violence reminding us that, in spite of the cascade of bad news all around us, every day citizens across the country work across traditional lines of separation to create cooperative, imaginative and bold initiatives for improving daily living.

TRANSPARTISAN NOTE #16 • OCTOBER 17, 2016

The Conservative Transpartisan Role

People often note that transpartisan meetings attract mostly people from the left but few conservatives. Even though a number of ‘conservative’ leaders are transpartisans (Grover Norquist, Hernando de Soto, Rich Tafel, Bill Shireman, Ralph Benko, Michael Ostrolenk, and others), they are minority participants in transpartisan gatherings.

The issue matters in relation to the **Four-Quadrant Transpartisan Matrix**, which features each quadrant—including two on the right (freedom and order)—holding part of the truth. This may be troubling because it may mean that the conservative quadrants are not well understood, and this may obstruct recruitment of conservatives to the transpartisan cause.

Quick thoughts. Many conservatives think they represent only the past and they (sometimes desperately) advocate going back. They see disaster going forward. They stand as sentinels against a worse future and see no conservative role for moving toward a better future. They are wrong. The freedom- and order-right must

combine with the efforts of the freedom and order left, for the future to be successful rather than a disaster.

Two **order-right** qualities are important for the transpartisan vision. First is the insight that private relationships are crucial to the social and cultural changes the left cares most about.

Reducing conflict over ‘differences’ and promoting real equality between people happens in personal engagement. Distant government actions affect personal engagement peripherally. It will take more than ‘arm-waving’ from the Oval Office to reduce racial intolerance. Personal relationships and communication across differences, bringing people together as human beings, will promote real change.

Religious or spiritual values, also coming from the order-right, are important, understanding that we live in a connected world. Efforts to change that world mechanically, by commands (e.g., from government or concentrated corporate interests) will often come to nothing—or worse.

The **freedom-right** promotes freedom, which is essential for engaged, conscious relationships. The public policy challenge is how to reform institutions and promote leadership for voluntary, engaged relationships for the greater good.

It is essential that transpartisans emphasize these values from the freedom- and order-right and integrate them with the values

from the freedom- and order-left. This will help conservatives to see the indispensable role they play in moving toward a better future.

Searching for answers will be one of *The Transpartisan Review's* major objectives.

Official White House Photo by Pete Souza.



People often note that transpartisan meetings attract mostly people from the left but few conservatives.



TRANSPARTISAN NOTE #17 • OCTOBER 24, 2016

Expanding the Media Role in Politics

The Presidential campaign has offered little substantive discussion of issues. Donald Trump earns daily headlines with insults, threats, and wild statements that the media features as lead 'stories' dominating the news. Media apologists explain that they cover Trump's extreme behavior and rhetoric because it is news.

It is also *entertainment*. And most of the time 'news' is stories that entertain.

Media leaders affirm their responsibility for keeping the political debate honest and responsible. This mostly means correcting misstatements of fact. But we think the responsibility should be broader.

Voters are unhappy about government paralyzed by conflict. They want their elected representatives to cooperate and get things done. Presidential debates could provide venues for practicing cooperation if the candidates searched for agreements and explored opportunities to cooperate. The moderators could encourage them. Cooperation in debates would reveal who would cooperate, how, and on what issues.

In the second debate, both candidates expressed concerns about the slaughter in Syria. Why didn't the moderators challenge them to explore a common position on what to do? One reason we have lost influence in the world is polarization destroys hope for continuity in policy, and no one trusts us.

Rediscovering a bipartisan foreign policy is essential to restore an engaged global role that others can trust.

Foreign policy challenges are more complicated today than in the past, when our adversaries were strong states. Enemies today are mostly unknown, invisible non-state actors. Despite the differences, policy has better chances of success when we are united than when we are divided and constantly changing policies.

TRANSPARTISAN NOTE #18 • OCTOBER 31, 2016

The NCDD National Conference

The National Coalition for Dialogue and Deliberation (NCDD) held its seventh biannual national conference on October 14-16 in Boston. Many major figures in the dialogue and transpartisan movements were there, led by Sandy Heierbacher, NCDD co-founder and long-time head.

We attended for *The Transpartisan Review*. Many people expressed interest, and we came away with many ideas to address and people to work with.

Among many extraordinary individuals we met, one was John Hardin, of the Charles Koch Foundation, who cheerfully expressed astonishment at how Charles Koch, whose passion is freedom, has become such a toxic brand. Underscoring the reach of the transpartisan imperative, Mr. Hardin pointed out that Mr. Koch, vilified by many progressives, supported gay rights, racial reconciliation, legalization of drugs, criminal justice reform and reducing sentences for victimless crimes. He also warns against interventionist foreign policies without serious caution. It seems that people need not agree on everything to make common cause on many things. (At TTR, we look forward to providing a forum for discovering how institutional structures, based in freedom, can attract transpartisan support in areas still to be discovered.)

We reflected on the difference between the 'dialogue' positions of most people and our Four-Quadrant Transpartisan

The media could play an important role in encouraging candidates to move beyond differences and explore solutions. They could even do this in reporting on the news when candidates have taken office. This might go a long way toward repairing our policy environment, which is consumed by conflict.

positions. The Four-Quadrant position recognizes at least six different 'dialogue' positions on virtually every political issue. We came away believing that greater effort should be made to recruit conservatives, both freedom and order, to events like this by showing them the importance of personal and spiritual engagement as key to promoting understanding between people who are 'different'. (See Note #16.)

Race provides a good example, which was on the minds of many people. Most focused on dialogues looking *back* rather than institutional reforms looking *forward*. Some people acknowledged that while dialogue looking back could reduce past pain, it would have limited value for the *future* without more.

Looking forward, institutional and leadership reform can play a crucial role in promoting *personal engagement* that allows people to engage each other as *individuals* rather than see them, at a distance, as a group without real engagement—therefore, as 'other'. Civil society organizations, which are all but invisible in the current debate, need to play an important role in this.

The key to reducing fear around 'differences' is personal contact, demystifying others and experiencing them as human.

TRANSPARTISAN NOTE #19 • NOVEMBER 07, 2016

Now, The Vote

Registered Republicans and Democrats combined make up a minority (40%) of the U.S. voting age population. Of the remaining 60% about 30% identify as independents, and about **30% don't bother registering at all**. Most Americans opt out of the two-party system. We are led by a minority of voters—a small minority, in fact.

Just before Election Day, *The Washington Post* wrote that after this 'ugly contest' between Hillary Clinton and Donald Trump, 'voter frustrations underscore a stark reality confronting the winner: much of the country will have very low expectations for what the next president might accomplish.'

The fact that registered Republicans and Democrats combined represent a minority of the country's electorate may help explain the contentiousness of the election, voters' unhappiness, and their low expectations for the next president. Most Americans feel their voice goes unheard by politicians of both parties.

Four years ago, before the 2012 election, Linda Killian, of the Woodrow Wilson Center for Scholars, wrote: 'Washington and the nation at large may seem polarized, but a majority of voters . . . don't fit into either political party or neatly in the center.' Our 2008 book *Voice of the People* cited Brookings and Hoover Institution data showing little polarization among voters but intense partisan hostility among professional Dems and Reps.

Besides the widespread public alienation, whoever wins will face multiple challenges in the government: historically low social

trust, paralysis on policy reforms, and huge conflict on foreign and security policy, with abandonment of purely partisan policy essential for restored global confidence in American leadership.

The forces pushing conflict will remain strong at the center, especially from media that live off promoting and then deploring conflict. Bringing the transpartisans (those who don't identify as either Reps or Dems) from the margins to the core is a task that could contribute to better, less contentious outcomes.

Leaders who want to succeed might look for ways to decentralize policy implementation to local levels, where personal engagement, trust, low conflict, flexible party expression, and media indifference are combining on a multiplicity of issues to bring people together and allow leaders to start solving problems.

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TRANSPARTISAN NOTE #20 • NOVEMBER 14, 2016

What Just Happened? – Meditating on the Anomalies

It is impossible to comment on this election without retreating into clichés. Everything that could be said has been said. How should transpartisans be looking at what happened? What might reality look like with Trump as President?

Not pretending to know, we are looking for clues. We see clues

that this archetypical anti-transpartisan may move in surprising directions.

The clues come from anomalies indicating complexity difficult for people to see. In reflecting on it, we must be clear about the difference between partisans and transpartisans.

Partisans are creatures of substance, driven by policy agendas: their views of race, tax policy, and foreign policy. With different views, conservatives and progressives, Democrats and Republicans, are partisans in their commitment to substance.

Transpartisans are guided more by process than by substance: bringing people together, highlighting (where possible) the best in each. Our **Four-Quadrant Matrix** is a tool for this, with partial truths in each quadrant (freedom and order on both left and right). Partial truths. Our guiding process is to bring these complementary truths and their advocates together in an integrated whole.

Where does Trump fit in this analysis? In the campaign he was extremely, even brutally, partisan: build a wall, kill Obamacare,

send Hillary to jail. But now the anomalies: by post-election rhetoric, he will keep parts of Obamacare, the wall is forgotten (at least for now), prosecuting Hillary appears to be gone, and he has backed away from deporting all illegal immigrants.

If Trump is not an extreme partisan, what is he?

Perhaps . . . a deal-maker? This may explain his ignorance and even indifference to policy details. Knowing too much makes it hard for deal-makers because it may restrict their hearing others and bringing them together.

We are waaayyy out of the box here. But that is where we are most comfortable: we don't ever want to see the box closing in on us.

TRANSPARTISAN NOTE #21 • NOVEMBER 21, 2016

Authoritarians, Half the Matrix – Extreme Order Left and Right

Progressive critics of President-elect Trump are producing a blizzard of warnings about authoritarianism both in the President-elect and in many of his followers. They are right to be concerned about anti-democratic sentiment from any source. Similar authoritarianism can be part of mass demonstrations against the new administration. We need to worry about this. These examples tend to be extreme expressions of the order right and order left.

If mass demonstrations protesting the election escalate, they may make it difficult if not impossible for Trump to govern. If Trump seeks to suppress his adversaries it may be impossible for the country to embrace any of his initiatives. The impulse toward authoritarianism on both left and right is fed in part by the low turnout of voters—it appears that fewer than 50% of age eligible voters cast ballots in 2016.

The problem is deep divisions in our society's political party culture. This intuition is hard to avoid: when people are so deeply conflicted about their political choices that they vote reluctantly or not at all, and informal accommodation of differences is difficult if not impossible to achieve, it should not be surprising that authoritarian impulses appear on both sides, each seeking to impose its will on the other.

Candidate Trump repeatedly showed his anti-democratic tendencies, in the end implying he would accept the election result only if he won. Progressives expressed strong opposition to him for this statement (and many others), and since the election have doubled-down accusing many of his followers of

being anti-democratic and racist. Some are now organizing mass demonstrations to obstruct his governing. They do not accept the election results either, and they want to impose their will on the country. Tyranny begets tyranny.

Who is Trump? How will he govern? Public comments vary all over the place. Dan Balz in the Washington Post November 20, 2016 calls Trump our first Independent President. Who are the demonstrators? What do they hope to achieve? See [here](#). These questions about the next four years highlight what we have said repeatedly: our democracy will be threatened as long as the two major parties— representing, together, significantly fewer than half the people—continue to ignore those who either refuse to identify with them or opt out altogether. The truth is, the very structure of our political system, controlled by a political minority, is functionally undemocratic.

Never has the transpartisan vision been more important to bring people together and begin to restore the trust on which all healthy democracies depend.

TRANSPARTISAN NOTE #22 • NOVEMBER 28, 2016

Hidden Challenges in Security Policy

Barack Obama and Donald Trump share a common aversion to 'nation-building' in foreign policy. It is clear why they agree about this: because U.S. foreign policymakers have shown no understanding of how to do it, and their failures have been massively expensive.

Despite past failures, nation-building is an essential component of successful foreign and security policy toward the 'weak states' or 'tribal societies' that became our primary policy concerns after 9/11. Especially in the larger Middle East, these societies feature weak central governments and strong non-state actors and forces, including culture. They are very different from the 'strong states' that were our traditional enemies (Nazi Germany, the USSR, and communist China).

Aid policy under both Bush and Obama was guided by no clear vision. Projects were funded that bypassed laws, cultures, and customs—and built up a vast parallel structure supposedly building projects for people. Unsurprisingly, these projects alienated people, who often had little role in their choice, planning or implementation.

Community empowerment, as in the National Solidarity Program in Afghanistan, is the answer for these societies. The institutions that are usually predatory to people also need to be reformed. Serious reform and community empowerment has just not been tried.

Community empowerment will help promote the social development of traditional people, expanding identity beyond traditional roles and honoring individual values. This will increase social trust beyond family and tribe to other, larger communities, including the state.

Traditional foreign policy institutions have no capacity to promote subjective changes in identity and culture. Promoting these subjective changes will require new strategies and even different actors than those involved in traditional foreign policy. Civil society organizations need to play the leading role in promoting these objectives. Indigenous CSOs, representing and empowering people and communities and owning the solutions, must play the most important roles.

Image in the public domain.



Traditional foreign policy institutions have no capacity to promote subjective changes in identity and culture.



Three names are circulating for President-elect Trump's Secretary of State: Rudi Guiliani, GEN David Petraeus, and Mitt Romney. Who would be most qualified to provide leadership for this transpartisan component in a new foreign policy?

Petraeus alone has direct experience operating in such environments, building security by empowering local communities. In evaluating candidates for Secretary of State, we hope the President-elect will appreciate this aspect of the case for Petraeus.

TRANSPARTISAN NOTE #23 • DECEMBER 05, 2016

Non Voters: Transpartisan Base

Trump won. Electoral vote 306; popular vote 62,693,993. Clinton lost. Electoral vote 232; popular vote 65,260,513 (and counting). (*CNN, Dec 5, 2016*). "Voter Eligible Population That Didn't Vote: 95,899,115 (41.4 percent of total eligible voters.) ...there were 251,107,404 people who classify as members of the voting-age population; therefore 115,449,897 of the voting-age population (or 46.3 percent) did not vote." (*www.heavy.com*). The voting age population includes non-eligible voters such as 2.5 million felons, thus the difference between voting age population and eligible voters.

Context: According to *Gallup's October 2016 party affiliation survey*, 36% of Americans identify as independents, 32% as Democrats, 27% as Republicans. 40% to 45% of age eligible voters opt out of voting and 35% to 40% opt out of registering as either Dems or Reps (*Gallup said* "In 2015, for the fifth consecutive year, at least four in 10 U.S. adults identified as political independents...[Specifically] 42% identify as independents, 29% as Democrats, 26% as Republicans.)

In our 2008 book, *The Voice of the People: The Transpartisan Imperative in American Life*, we cited polling data from Brookings, Hoover and other institutions suggesting that the left-right spectrum clustered 15% of politically active Americans on the left and the right peripheries. Their arguments

take up the political oxygen, leaving out the vast majority (70%) of Americans who identify as independents and/or choose not to vote.

Richard Cohen wrote in the Dec 5, 2016 New York Times, "Western democracies are in the midst of an upheaval they only dimly grasp. Virtual direct democracy through social media has outflanked representative democracy. The impact of the smartphone on the human psyche is as yet scarcely understood; its addictiveness is treacherous and can be the enemy of thought. Mr. Trump hijacked the Republican Party like a man borrowing a dinner jacket for an evening. His campaign moved through Twitter to the aroused masses; it had no use or need for conventional channels. The major political parties in Britain and the United States will have to prove their relevance again." (*www.nytimes.com*)

The Trump/Clinton contest leaves the party relevance question open. Trump got essentially the same number of votes as McCain and Romney. Clinton fell fatally short of Obama's two national votes. The 50% to 70% of age-eligible voters whose interest the parties neglect present a major Transpartisan opportunity. The Transpartisan Review intends to point out a variety of approaches to this opening.

TRANSPARTISAN NOTE #24 • DECEMBER 12, 2016

The People vs. The Presidents

The men and women who founded the United States designed a government for a nation that, in the words of Abraham Lincoln at Gettysburg, four score and seven years later 'shall have a new birth of freedom, and that government of the people, by the people, for the people shall not perish from the earth.'

In the years since the Declaration of Independence, celebrated by Lincoln at Gettysburg, ascendance to Presidential office has wrung disbelieving fits of fear from concerned Americans.

Jefferson supposedly said in 1825, 'One might as well make a sailor of a cock, or a soldier of a goose, as a President of Andrew Jackson.'

Mark Hanna, political king maker behind President William McKinley, said of McKinley's Vice President Theodore Roosevelt, 'Don't any of you realize that there's only one life between this madman and the White House?' Historian Arthur Schlesinger said of Richard Nixon's White House, 'Pirates have boarded the ship of state.'

George McClellan, Lincoln's commanding general, called Lincoln 'an idiot' and 'the original gorilla'. Gore Vidal called Harry Truman, widely disliked at the time he left office, 'a failed farmer, haberdasher, and Machine Politician from Missouri'. Many historians consider each of these derided politicians among the most influential Presidents.

Struggle between the people and their President has persisted enough that humorist Daniel O'Brien, reviewing the impositions and exasperations of every dead President, managed to write the 2014 book *How to Fight Presidents: Defending Yourself Against the Badasses Who Ran This Country*. O'Brien might see sales jump with Trump's inauguration.

TRANSPARTISAN NOTE #25 • DECEMBER 19, 2016

American Nation: Transpartisan Structure?

The American Founders created a government for the nation. The nation wields authority over their government. James Madison said, "The people are the only legitimate fountain of power, and it is from them that the constitutional charter . . . is derived." (www.brainyquote.com)

The Founders created checks and balances—a two-house Congress on the executive; states on the central government; federal, state and local courts on legislative and executive overreach;—expressly to secure the people's liberty and constrain authoritarian leaders.

Following Trump's "surprise" people argue about this structure. Election fairness, generals and democracy, conflicts of interest, arbitrariness before and after January 20, 2017, etc. make headlines. These debates call for the people's engagement—especially the 50 to 70% so far, not or, only marginally engaged.

Some context. Trump did not 'surprise' everyone. In September 2015, Allan J. Lichtman, American University Distinguished Professor of History—predictor of every Presidential winner since 1980—said Trump will win. (www.washingtonpost.com)

Other historian said the last time Voters picked a Democrat after a two-term Democratic President (except the unique 1932/52 five term Roosevelt/Truman era), was 1836 when Martin Van Buren followed Andrew Jackson. Republicans did it once in 1988 when G.H.W. Bush succeeded Ronald Reagan.

Marshall McLuhan –'Medium is the Message (or Massage)'—devotees predicted Trump. 'Mr. McLuhan's theories explain why establishment candidates have faltered and outsider personalities

Trump! Whether this reality TV perfectionist, entertainment politics master, perfect insulter smashed through political convention or discovered/revealed contemporary political bankruptcy (or some combination), his march to The White House reshuffled American politics. Trump's campaign exposed a vast (50 to 70%) number of Americans feeling homeless in the orthodox partisan structure.

How this sassy Trumpian adventure turns out depends in part, if not primarily, on how the politically wandering American electorate reacts to its badass President. A Transpartisan moment looms. Trump's parade opens the door to the end of politics as usual. Strange bedfellow alliances of left, right and other have room to grow.

have become the story of this election season.' (www.mcluhangalaxy.wordpress.com)

Five Thirty Eight pollster said 'Cubs Have a Smaller Chance of Winning than Trump Does.' The Cubs won. FTE still predicted Clinton. Trump hit politics as Uber hit taxis, Airbnb hit hotels, and Facebook, Google and Amazon hit print news, movies, music, television, and retail sales.

More context. Trump received about as many votes as Romney—Clinton 3% fewer than Obama. For the first time voters see the winner as less qualified than the loser. Fewer than 40% of age eligible voters supported Trump complicating governing.

Requoting New York Time's Roger Cohen: 'Western democracies are in the midst of an upheaval they only dimly grasp. Virtual direct democracy through social media has outflanked representative democracy. . . . The major political parties in Britain and the United States will have to prove their relevance again.' (www.nytimes.com)

Transpartisans, people from all walks of life and all political hues committed to solving problems together, can affect political reality. They can do this by constructively integrating the Founders' checks and balances with the powerful democratizing information tools permeating our daily lives. Transpartisans can make a major contribution to revitalizing political institutions.

The *Transpartisan Review* will highlight projects that advance that task.

TRANSPARTISAN NOTE #26 • DECEMBER 26, 2016

Transpartisan Imperative: Busting Out All Over

Comedy Central's Samantha Bee and virulent conservative Glenn Beck? Together? Approaching one million views, "*Strange Bedfellows – Full Frontal*" with rebel Samantha Bee hosting ultraconservative Glenn Beck makes a Transpartisan point. "What we need now," they claim to agree, "is for reasonable people to sit down with each other and say: O.K., your guy wasn't the end of the world. My guy wasn't the end of the world. How can we talk to each other?" Trigger warning: Bee uses tough language.

On NPR, Trump and Clinton voters civilly discuss the future after a heated campaign. They talk about shared visions, insights into how their campaign rhetoric might be seen differently than they intended, and reveal the many hues of each individual's politics. *Negotiator William Ury* persuasively answers the question "How Do We Transform Conflict Into Cooperation?" on NPR's TED Radio Hour.

Combative Conservative Weekly Standard editor William Kristol and equally insistent liberal Brookings Governance Studies program director William A. Galston announce together a New Brookings Center saying:

"As a Democrat and a Republican... We stand together in defense of the institutions of world order conducive to peace, prosperity and freedom that the past 12 presidents, six of each party, have worked to build and uphold."

"We stand together in defense of constitutional, orderly, and civil self-government that respects civil liberties and equal rights and the rule of law, and rejects bigotry of every kind."

"We stand together in our conviction of the continued vitality of the American Dream, secured by engagement with a hopeful future based on pride in the accomplishments of the past."

This sample of cross-party, cross-interest, intergroup communication following the November 8th election signals an opening for Transpartisan initiatives. As Americans of all political persuasions across the country reach out to their neighbors, focusing on what they agree on, the American experiment enters the next phase of its development.

The Transpartisan Review, debuting inauguration week, plans to focus on these initiatives.



**"My guy wasn't the end of the world.
How can we talk to each other?"**



Image captured from "Strange Bedfellows – Full Frontal" now available on YouTube.

Join the conversation online...

WWW.TRANSPARTISANREVIEW.ORG
