

TRANSPARTISAN NOTES

PART TWO

JANUARY - JUNE 2017

WRITTEN BY

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& James S. Turner**

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THE TRANSPARTISAN REVIEW is a digital journal of politics, society, and culture, exploring the apparent disintegration of the traditional political, social and cultural order from a transpartisan point of view. The TRANSPARTISAN NOTES series shares this exploration on the *Transpartisan Review* website every week. Unless otherwise noted, all rights to the material within remain with the authors of the articles or their original publication source. All other material is copyright ©2017 by *The Transpartisan Review*. Inquiries for the republication of any of the following essays, online or off, should be directed to editor@transpartisanreview.com.

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TRANSPARTISAN NOTE #27 • JANUARY 02, 2017

Happy New Year 2017 - A Transpartisan Year?

Edmund Burke, member of the British Parliament during the American Revolution and “conservative” icon, whose name adorns one of the most “progressive” schools in Washington, DC, said:

“Men are qualified for civil liberty in exact proportion to their disposition to put moral chains upon their own appetites...in proportion as they are more disposed to listen to the counsels of the wise and good, in preference to the flattery of knaves. Society cannot exist, unless a controlling power upon will and appetite be placed somewhere; and the less of it there is within, the more there must be without. It is ordained in the eternal constitution of things, that men of intemperate minds cannot be free. Their passions forge their fetters.”

Burke attacked the French Revolution as bloody, doomed and controlled by men of intemperate minds. He embraced the

American Revolution as “advancing the reasonable expectations of peoples rooted in longstanding practice.” ([More](#))

Burke said that while a “quarrelsome” people, Americans, deeply concerned with the protection of what they saw as their longstanding rights and privileges, objected to British interference. He saw political parties as “providing consistency and strength in administration, or principled criticism in opposition.” ([More](#))

As the quarrelsome year of 2016 passes, 2017 arrives with the possibility of strength in administration and principled criticism in opposition by all Americans, including the more than half who disassociated themselves from the Presidential election. Burkeian vision offers a guide to action.

Welcome to a happy 2017!

TRANSPARTISAN NOTE #28 • JANUARY 09, 2017

Language, Trances & Myths

When people are upset, you ‘can’t reason with them’. A marriage counselor taught that when upset, people often change how they ‘code their messages’. When this happens, they go into trances dominated by stress.

When people recode, their messages become *symbolic statements about the self*. This explains a lot about polarized political debates, with partisans motivated by fear of opponents. Progressives, terrified of climate change and of ‘deniers’ hold up mirrors to conservatives afraid of ‘socialist’ opponents.

Hypnotic trances are triggered by verbal cues. Donald Trump provokes fear largely by scrambling his actions and his messages.

Trances can take many forms. Milton Erickson demonstrated their power when held up at gunpoint. Without hesitating he looked at his watch and said ‘It is precisely 3:41 and 26 seconds’ and walked away. The gunman didn’t empty his gun into Dr. Erickson’s back because *he was in a trance*. Erickson broke it by surprising him (a common tool) and putting him in a new, paralyzing trance.

(A similar story had the gunman say ‘Give me your wallet’. When the victim responded: ‘No, you give me your wallet’, and the gunman ran away.)

People in trances are not in control of themselves; they are not fully alive. Arguments made in fear appear to be about

politics but are really *symbolic* statements about the self. The *only appropriate responses are agreement* (symbolic *acceptance* of the self). Disagreement (the universal practice) communicates rejection of the person and intensifies fear. *No occasion ever exists to disagree with a statement someone makes about herself*.

In fear and in trances, no communication is possible. Agreement reduces fear, and trances dissipate. Myths appear from verbal cues that trigger trances. Embracing all quadrants—freedom and order, both left and right—adversaries co-create four-quadrant solutions. Having shaken their trances, they are now alive and can work together.

Powerful political conversations happen when transpartisan empowerment promotes *personal engagement*, including people ‘of difference’, coming together and solving problems from racism to community and equality—embracing each others’ values in ways that maximize both freedom and justice. This is the experience that Joan Blades has had with [Living Room Conversations](#) in the U.S.; and that Lawry Chickering and Anjula Tyagi have had with [Educate Girls Globally](#) in the rural areas of two states in India.

Philosopher Ken Wilber has entered the post-election discussion with a 26,000 word essay, *Trump and a Post-Truth World: An Evolutionary Self Correction*, which considers some of these themes. You can read it online at www.integrallife.com/trump-post-truth-world.

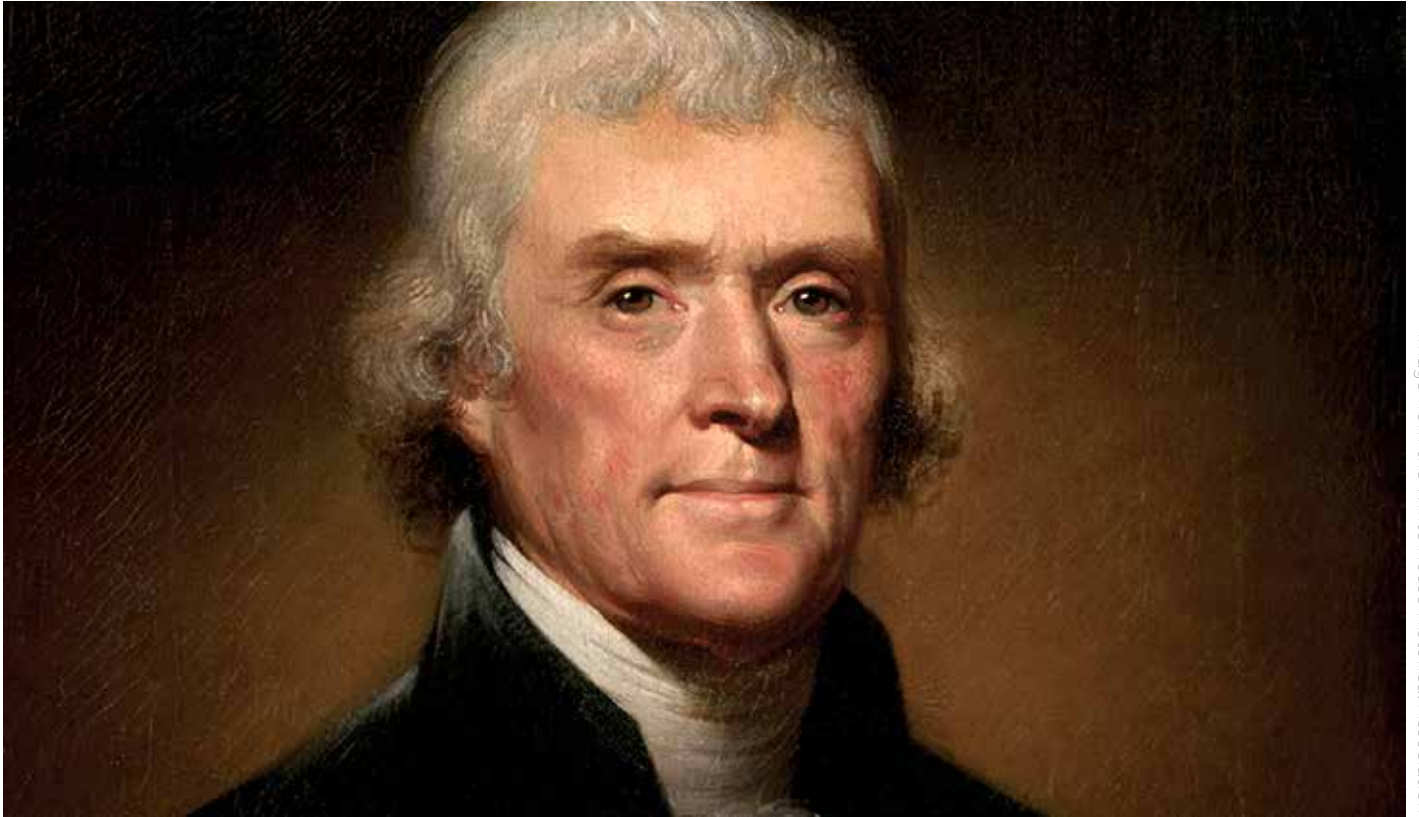


Image from the White House Historical Association.

TRANSPARTISAN NOTE #29 • JANUARY 16, 2017

Thomas Jefferson: Democratic Republican Transpartisan at Dawn

On March 4, 1801, Thomas Jefferson walked from his rooming house at New Jersey Avenue and C Street in Washington, DC (about a block from today's Union Station), to the Senate Chamber in the new, under construction, Capitol building for his inauguration as the third U.S. President. Jefferson, the first President inaugurated in the brand new Capital City, led the Democratic-Republican party.

Formed in the 1790s, Jefferson's *Democratic-Republicans* and Alexander Hamilton's Federalists were the country's, and thus the world's, first political parties. The *Democratic-Republicans* believed in an agrarian-based, decentralized, democratic government. The *Federalist Party* came into being as a national coalition of bankers and businessmen in support of Alexander Hamilton's fiscal policies. It existed from the early 1790s to 1816; its remnants lasted into the 1820s.

In 1826, Andrew Jackson entered the White House, and Jefferson's party split into Jackson Democrats and a party called National Republicans. In the 1830s Whigs (including Lincoln) replaced the National Republicans until the 1850s,

when the Republican Party of Lincoln, the beginning of today's Republicans, emerged.

Jefferson walked to his inauguration in the clothes 'of a plain citizen without any distinctive badge of office', making the point that he and his party stood for the working people, farmers and small businesses rather than rich carriage-riding banking and business elites. Historians consider the rumor- and innuendo-filled 1800 campaign as one of (if not the) dirtiest in American history.

Jefferson *spoke* to mend the wounds of the campaign. 'Every difference of opinion is not a difference of principle. . . . We are all Republicans, we are all Federalists. . . .' he said. Let critics of our society 'stand undisturbed as monuments of the safety with which error of opinion may be tolerated where reason is left free to combat it.'

John Adams, Jefferson's Federalist adversary, disdained the new President by avoiding the inauguration and heading home to Massachusetts before sunrise. The 1800 party fight had undercut Madison's Federalist #10 *assertion* that a well-constructed Union

tended to 'break and control the violence of faction.' He called faction a 'dangerous vice'.

Twenty-five years and four months later, on July 4, 1826, the 50th anniversary of American Independence, both Jefferson and Adams died. The *HISTORY* site says, 'Adams' last words were, "Thomas Jefferson still survives," though his old friend and political adversary had died a few hours before.'

'Old friend and adversary' captures a key aspect of Transpartisan politics. These two founders together worked on *The Declaration of Independence*, served in the first ten years of

U.S. government, and fought over core principles of American life. From 1777 to 1826, with an 1801 to 1812 hiatus as adversaries, they corresponded about politics and life. These famous *letters* are regarded as masterpieces of the American enlightenment.

The energies that bind people together personally create the vitality and space for passionate discourse. Transpartisan politics seeks to harness this vitality and expand this discourse. We are all Democratic-Republicans . . . we are all Americans.

TRANSPARTISAN NOTE #30 • JANUARY 23, 2017

Martin Luther, Pope Francis and Printing: A Cautionary Transpartisan Tale

October 31, 2016, 499 years to the date after Martin Luther challenged the Catholic Church, Pope Francis traveled to Lutheran Sweden, to recognize Luther and lead off a yearlong acknowledgment of the Protestant Reformation that divided Christianity into feuding sects.

NPR *reports* that Gerard O'Connell, Vatican correspondent for the Jesuit magazine *America*, says the pope's participation in commemorating the Reformation is proof of the extraordinary change in Catholic-Lutheran relations.

"A recognition," it says, that "perhaps, both sides missed something at the time of the Protestant Reformation. The Catholic Church missed ways of reforming itself. Luther and those around him pressed in a way that just couldn't be taken on board, so, in a way, both sides misspoke."

They "misspoke" in a way that led to more than 130 years of unremitting warfare, concluding in the 1648 Peace of Westphalia, the treaty that ended the Thirty Years' War. How we fight affects ordinary lives as much, and perhaps more, than what we fight.

Andrew Pettegree of Scotland's St Andrews University writes on the history of communication. His book, *Brand Luther*, a

reviewer says, tells "a story about Luther's relationship to media fruitful for reflection on our own time of massive changes in how people come to see what they see and know what they know and finally to believe what they believe."

Today we live in the midst of another media revolution altering how we come to believe what we believe. Printers fed off Luther's pamphleteering battle with his critics. They made fortunes publishing both sides. Those who hold the coats and take the bets come out the real winners.

In 1801, at the first inaugural in the still under construction city of Washington, DC, Thomas Jefferson said,

"...let us reflect that, having banished from our land that religious intolerance under which mankind so long bled and suffered, we have yet gained little if we countenance a political intolerance as despotic, as wicked, and capable of as bitter and bloody persecutions."

Transpartisan sensibilities may help us navigate the treacherous road ahead. Much in the world besides our Presidential election will shape our future. Let's avoid misspeaking.

TRANSPARTISAN NOTE #31 • JANUARY 30, 2017

Cat Fight: Trump and the Media Attack Each Other

"I have a running war with the media. They're scum. They are horrible people... [T]he media is the opposition party in many ways," Trump says of the media. "You are a liar," the media says of Trump. More eyeballs watched each. The attention boosted the ratings of both.

We think they often speak different languages.

Some disagreements over 'facts,' we think, come from different modes of communication. The media speak in a literal, objective language, the traditional political language, while

Trump meanders between a literal and a metaphorical, subjective language that requires ‘decoding’ to see ‘facts.’

One recent fight raged over crowd size. Rules from previous fights blocked official estimates. We think Inaugural Trump felt like a million bucks, and he subjectively saw a million people. The more objective Washington Monument camera saw many fewer people. The fight came. The time, the ground, the intention, etc., of the pictures, all fed the fray. The fight revealed divergent views: “facts” and ‘facts.’

“How to Listen to Donald Trump Every Day for Years,” by John McWhorter (*NYT*, 1/21/17), gives pointers for peace of mind that fit our sense of Trump, Trumpian talking, and transpartisan listening.

“Mr. Trump talks,” says Mr. McWhorter, “the way any number of people would over drinks, and many of us might be surprised to see elements of that style in our own downtime speech if transcribed.”

“Still, we wonder,” he continued, “what is someone with this after-hours baggy way of talking doing in the Oval Office? The reality is, it was only a matter of time. America’s relationship to language has become more informal by the decade since the 1960s, just as it has to dress, sexual matters, culinary habits, dance and much else.”

Here are some Trumpian era reactions called to our attention since publication of the first issue of *The Transpartisan Review* on January 20:

“*The Trump Truth: If You Can Handle It*,” by Billy Phillips, the *Kabbalah Student*, (1/24/17): “Whatever you see wrong in others, whatever it is, make no mistake—none whatsoever—that the negative trait and insolent behavior that you are witnessing is also inside of you and that is why it angers you so much.”

“*A Completely Different Perspective On Trump’s Presidency. This Will Make You Think*,” by Bernhard Guenther, *Collective Evolution*, (1/17/17): “Here’s the thing from a basic Jungian perspective: Trump is your shadow, America, a reflection of your unconscious...”

“*Trump and a Post-Truth World: An Evolutionary Self Correction*,” by philosopher Ken Wilber: Both sides feel pain and suffering from a “much too narrow view, ...a more expansive stance ...allow(s) one to work on whatever side one wishes ... [and make] self-correcting evolutionary realignments...”

George Monbiot writes in *The Guardian* (11/23/16): “The failure by mainstream political parties to produce a new and persuasive economic narrative, which does not rely on sustaining impossible levels of growth and generating illusory jobs, provides

a marvelous opening for demagogues everywhere.” Also for Transpartisans?

“*#Brexit, the Populist Surge and the Crisis of Complexity*,” on the Paul Arbair website (7/5/16): “There is indeed a growing sense that political and economic leaders across the world are increasingly at the mercy of economic and geopolitical forces beyond their control ... leading to a sort of slow-motion ‘sophisticated state failure’” (*all state institutions work well, but nothing gets done*).

A hospice social worker in New England writes, “Stop attacking Trump. He is vulnerable, cornered, and frightened. He needs comforting. I can’t say this publicly or my lefty pals will burn me at the stake.”

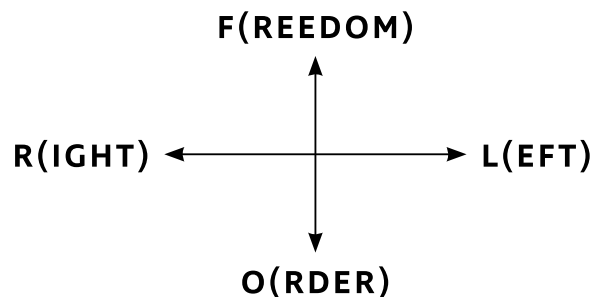
A (maybe transpartisan?) humorist writes, “Madonna attacking Trump? Don’t be silly. That’s the way New Yorkers make love.”

A partisan says, “Stop calling him Hitler. He is obviously the Red Queen. ‘You’re Fired’ is the new ‘Off With Their Heads!’”

Such comments and others do not fit neatly on a left-right continuum.

Some Trump/media exchanges feature fights about ‘facts’ and ‘alternative facts.’ Some media claim Trump lives in a ‘post-fact’ world. According to the website *BrainyQuote*, Will Rogers, the American Jon Stewart between WWI and WWII said “I don’t make jokes. I just watch the government and report the facts.”

Keeping in mind that this Trump/media fact fight is talking over drinks rather than speaking for the ages might make the words easier to take and more understandable. Listening this way might lead us to broader, transpartisan conversation—for example, about the rise of the responsive state; more ‘work,’ with fewer ‘jobs;’ shared ownership of public spaces. The Trump vs. media debate opens up discussion beyond the politically normal.



TRANSPARTISAN NOTE #32 • FEBRUARY 06, 2017

Institutional 'Push-Back' Against Twitter Policy

In his first days, President Trump has revealed the weaknesses of policy made by Presidential tweets and invoked corrective responses from other institutions both public and private. In the process he has demonstrated the difficulties of governing as a minority leader, the limitations of applying the business model to government, and the limited impact of rhetoric on events.

The President's motivation is no secret: he wanted to 'come out of the gate' at full speed and showing maximum strength. Full speed often means ignoring process. Instead of showing strength, he got reviews like this one from broadly respected Republican power broker James Baker, reported by *Politico*, "The rollout here was deficient; we have to acknowledge that." He has to do a much better job, *Politico* reports Baker saying, of working with the other power centers of Washington—Congress and the Cabinet—before unveiling disruptive new policies.

The President's disinterest in process—how to vet new policies to ensure conformity to legal precedents, inform stakeholders, and minimize unintended consequences that stimulate avoidable political opposition—resulted in procedural missteps and resistance from multiple sources.

The immigration policy read like something designed for political reasons and indifferent to impacts on real people. Barring green card holders, who are here legally, is an obvious example, and was quickly reversed. No notice was given to employers employing large numbers of immigrants, such as in Silicon Valley. They pushed back, citing potential innovation and competitive losses, creating headlines such as "*96 Companies Just Told Trump Where He Can Shove His Muslim Ban*".

Failures in consultation began with failure to fully coordinate with Cabinet appointees, who, according to news reports often denied by the White House, pushed back. On immigration

policy, implemented for national security, Homeland Security Secretary (formerly General) *John Kelly* seems to have taken positions differing from the White House on green card holders, ultimately excepting them from the order, and to have insisted that the order was not a ban and temporary, while White House spokespersons called it a ban and failed to deny that it was intended to be permanent.

A federal court in Washington State issued an emergency stay of the Presidential order. The 9th Circuit Court of Appeals refused to lift the stay and will decide whether or not it will continue until the full case is heard. It seems likely the issue will go, sooner or later, to the Supreme Court for resolution.

These corrective measures are coming from our institutions, making corrections to the course set by an inexperienced President. As a minority President (well under one-third of age eligible voters checked off Trump) who believes in business principles (market the product, the manageable downside is bankruptcy) and uses advertising (insistent rhetorical messages—the judge is a rogue) to 'handle' image problems and boost selling, he is running into unexpected political headwinds. He seems to be taking, or the institutions are forcing, corrective action on process. Substance of disruptive new policies remains contentious and minimally addressed.

If unrecognized, the transpartisan reality—that most American feel alienated from the current political process, even, or maybe especially, when controlled by an outsider like Trump—will impede action in every direction. The transpartisan vision—including the widest possible expression of interests in all decision making—needs support from both inside and outside our formal governmental institutions as part of getting successfully through this contentious time.

TRANSPARTISAN NOTE #33 • FEBRUARY 13, 2017

Glimpses of a Transpartisan Foreign Policy

U.S. policy experts widely believe that the world order requires strong American engagement. When American engagement becomes weak or uncertain, the order weakens, and aggression and disorder start to become visible and grow.

The Cold War underscored this belief. 'Containment' of Soviet expansion won bipartisan support and dominated U.S.

policy until the early 1990s, when the Cold War ended. 9/11 revealed new security concerns coming from radical Islamists in the tribal societies of the larger Middle East. Radical, tribal, and transnational forces (outside established national boundaries in pursuit of non- or anti- state objectives) presented, and continue to present, new challenges. No bipartisan policy has emerged to



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address this new global reality. Very small non-state actors can undermine a nation's security, both perceived and actual.

Large-scale military initiatives, in Afghanistan and Iraq, clearly failed to solve the problem. Persistent resistance in those countries reminded people of Vietnam. The failure of bipartisan consensus on ensuring global security in this new world of 'weak states' leaves the question: how to sustain U.S. engagement in the world order without over-reaching military initiatives?

Under pressure from the Afghan and Iraqi governments and people, President Bush set in motion reducing and President Obama reduced the military commitment to those countries. ISIS stepped into the vacuum, and the self-proclaimed Caliphate created a bloodbath. In Syria, President Obama drew a red line in the sand and then ignored it, successfully eliminating Assad's chemical weapons program but failing to depose Assad. Russia stepped into the vacuum, and Syria became a bloodbath. For more detail, see [Politico](#).

We think the bloodbaths are flowing, largely, because there is no longer any coherent American presence engaging the underlying forces shaping the world that is emerging. This world is balkanized by persisting sub-group loyalties that retard development of strong nation-states.

Obama seemed to be disengaging America from the global order, and Trump—questioning NATO, withdrawing from trade agreements, and repeating his commitment to America first—seems to be continuing that policy. The world wants America to sustain its global engagement without an unsustainable military presence. We need dialogue and debate on a sustainable policy. We see two potential possibilities for new, sustainable engagement.

One focus is military. If and how we deploy permanent military forces in key strategic locations—as we now do in Europe and in South Korea—is one possible commitment to explore that could play an important role in a new engagement, maintaining order. It is especially true in the larger Middle East. Egypt and Afghanistan are possible venues for this. We need a transpartisan — and bi-partisan — debate about this.

A second focus is civic: a strategy for empowering citizens to resist insurgents that threaten them. The key to empowerment, as the work of Hernando De Soto argues in the first issue of *The Transpartisan Review*, is *ownership* (see [Fighting Terrorism By Empowering The Poor](#)). De Soto's work shows that when ownership is made formal, citizens will have a stake in societies for the first time, and they will protect what they own from

insurgents. (This belief is widely observed even in the regions threatened by radical Islam.)

In developing new security policy we think it is important to consider expanding De Soto's ownership concept from peasant land to schools, wells, hospitals, and other community 'properties'. Strategies for this will likely require *active participation of civil society organizations*, from both left and the right, that are committed to both order and freedom. This is

a large, but essential, transpartisan issue, on both foreign and domestic agendas, whose outlines can be glimpsed in current policy tensions and struggles.

For an additional look at transpartisan foreign policy, please read [A Policy Of Conflict, Competition & Cooperation](#) by Charles Hauss which appeared in our first issue of [The Transpartisan Review](#).



A U.S. government photo in the public domain.

TRANSPARTISAN NOTE #34 • FEBRUARY 20, 2017

Ronald Reagan: Liberal Democrat, Conservative Republican, Transpartisan?

Google Ronald Reagan, Hubert Humphrey. You find Ronald Reagan's 1948 endorsement of liberal Hubert Humphrey for Senator from Minnesota. Audio [here](#). Text [here](#).

Excerpt below:

"This is Ronald Reagan, speaking to you from Hollywood ... more than a little impatient with those promises the Republicans made before they got control of Congress a couple of years ago ...

"The Republican Speaker of the House, said, ... 'We Republicans intend to work for a real increase in income for everybody by encouraging more production and lower prices without impairing wages or working conditions.' ... But what actually happened? The

profits of corporations have doubled, while workers' wages have increased by only one quarter.

"Now think of the contrast with the Standard Oil Company of New Jersey, which reported a net profit of \$210 million dollars, after taxes, for the first half of 1948.

"Since the 80th Congress took over ...

- Labor has been handcuffed by the vicious Taft-Hartley Law.*
- Social Security benefits have been snatched away from almost a million ...*
- Fair employment practices ... have been abandoned.*

- *Veterans' pleas for low cost homes have been ignored ...*
- *Tax reduction bills have been passed to benefit the higher income brackets alone.*
- *In the false name of economy millions of children have been deprived of milk once provided through the Federal School Lunch Program.*

"This was the payoff of the Republicans' promises.

"And this is why we must have new faces in the Congress of the United States,

"Democratic faces."

Reagan began in politics as a liberal Democrat, which he remained until 1960, helping to found the liberal Americans for Democratic Action, campaigning for public office for Hubert Humphrey, and supporting the New and Fair deals of Franklin Roosevelt and Harry Truman.

Max Kampelman, a longtime liberal Democrat in the Hubert Humphrey tradition, served as arms negotiator for both Presidents Carter and Reagan. He found Reagan to be quite open on arms control. He offers the following story of his appointment as arms negotiator by Reagan as evidence.

The president told him, as he tells it, that:

"Secretary of State George Shultz had suggested he listen to an idea from me. I presented it in summary form. White House chief of staff Jim Baker, saying that Shultz had made a contrary suggestion earlier in the week, said he agreed with Shultz and did not support my proposal.

"Ed Meese spoke up, as did two or three others in the room, all agreeing with Baker. I did not take this as a personal affront in any way, and had not expected to get even this far with my idea. But the president, sensing disappointment I did not feel, spoke up. 'Don't pay any attention to these fellows, Max,' he said. 'Not a single one of them was ever a Democrat.'"

According to Reagan biographer John Patrick Diggins, in *Ronald Reagan: Fate, Freedom, and the Making of History*, "A week later Kampelman received a call from the president telling him he had been appointed chief arms negotiator for the upcoming Geneva conference." ([link](#))

We believe that effectively addressing significant problems such as arms control and the avoidance of war requires the kind of integration of skills, philosophy and points of view exemplified by Ronald Reagan in his choice of Max Kampelman as arms control negotiator. We call this Transpartisan.

TRANSPARTISAN NOTE #35 • FEBRUARY 27, 2017

He's Back! Arnold Schwarzenegger Blasts Gerrymandering

Twelve days ago Republican Arnold Schwarzenegger, former California governor, released a video attack on gerrymandering called '[Why Congress Is Worse Than Herpes](#)'. Since then the video, released on ATTN: (pronounced 'attention'), has received 22,237,520 views. The people are interested.

In the video Schwarzenegger makes three key points: 1) Congress is rigged—of 265 California congressional campaigns between 2002 and 2010, party control changed hands in only one district (voters nationally return nearly [95% of incumbents](#)); 2) [gerrymandering](#)—partisan deals dividing voters into reliably Democratic or Republican districts—protects incumbents; 3) gerrymandering can be terminated—California's 2008 Proposition 11, creating the [California Citizens Redistricting Commission](#), and 2010 Proposition 20, assigning Congressional districting to the Redistricting Commission, changed the game in California.

According to the [Weekly Standard](#), Nov 24, 2008, the 2008 initiative received support from 'A range of good government types from across the political spectrum [that] joined the Yes on

11 campaign. These included groups as diverse as the AARP, the League of Women Voters and the Chamber of Commerce.' It also included the support of then-Governor Schwarzenegger and former Democratic governor Gray Davis. The Democratic Party and Congressional leaders opposed the initiative and the Republican Party failed to support it. Find a list of supporters and opponents [here](#). Find details of the current California redistricting system [here](#). An initiative in 2010 expanded the Commission's work to include mapping California's United States Congressional Districts.

In 2012, 71% of California voters supported the Commission-created California Senate district maps when opponents sought to reject them by referendum. In June 2015, the United States Supreme Court [upheld](#) an Arizona initiative and ruled that independent redistricting commissions were permitted under the U.S. Constitution. Story [here](#). In addition to California and Arizona, five other states, Washington, Idaho, Montana, Hawaii and New Jersey, have forms of independent districting commissions.

The Schwarzenegger Internet campaign on behalf of ending gerrymandering seeks to spread initiatives like the independent redistricting commission in California. The former Governor, appearing with representatives of Common Cause and The League of Women Voters, laid out his analysis at a public forum at the USC Schwarzenegger Institute for State and Global Policy, housed at the Price School of Public Policy at the University

of Southern California, on Jan. 31, 2017, in a [discussion](#) on national political reform and redistricting.

We think working to end gerrymandering offers a meaningful task to those seeking a voice for the fifty to seventy percent of eligible American voters alienated from the current electoral system. There is transpartisan work to be done. Terminating gerrymandering is excellent transpartisan work.

TRANSPARTISAN NOTE #36 • MARCH 06, 2017

Oscar's Transpartisan Moment

And the Academy Award [Beatty hesitates] for Best Picture ‘... *La La Land* ...’ The marvelous Faye Dunaway delivered, likely, the most memorable words, ‘*La La Land*’, of her nearly sixty years of memorable performances.

Her escort for the moment, the hesitating Warren Beatty, stared transfixed like a deer in headlights or a passenger on a bus watching two cars careen in slow motion toward an inevitable crash.

For about a minute and a half *La La Land* producers Jordan Horowitz, Marc Platt, and Fred Berger, delivered uplifting thanks for the recognition of their achievement by the Academy.

Then Horowitz said ‘What? You guys, I’m sorry, no. There’s a mistake. *Moonlight*, you guys won Best Picture.’ He said, ‘I’m going to be really proud to hand this to my friends from *Moonlight*.’ You can read the [transcript](#).

Adele Romanski, a *Moonlight* producer said, ‘It is so humbling to be standing up here with, hopefully, still the *La La* crew? No, O.K., they’re gone, but it’s very humbling to be up here.’

Host Jimmy Kimmel said, ‘Why can’t we just give out a whole bunch of them?’

New York Times film Critic A. O. Scott captured the moment’s [essence](#). ‘The envelope mix-up was painful, but it brought to the

stage two directors in their 30s with five features between them and reminded the audience that Damien Chazelle (*La La Land* director) and Barry Jenkins (*Moonlight* director) are not enemies.

‘The grace with which the *La La Land* producers (Jordan Horowitz, in particular) handled the handoff — and the poise with which Mr. Jenkins and his producer, Adele Romanski, received the belated honor for *Moonlight* — should quell the facile polarization that followed the two movies throughout the awards season.’

Quell facile polarization. That states the transpartisan promise. Leading up to the Oscar mix-up-moment, partisans of each picture struggled, argued, fought for and against the movies’ two quite different pictures of America.

After the moment, recrimination and retaliation took up a lot of the time, energy and human resources spent reacting to the event. At its core the Oscar mix-up reminds us that more than controversy exists between even fierce partisans.

Oscar’s transpartisan moment points toward broadening our political discourse to include the aspirations of the 50 to 70% of American’s alienated (somewhat to strongly) from our politics. Each event contains the possibility of more than conflict.

TRANSPARTISAN NOTE #37 • MARCH 13, 2017

100 U.S. Senators Seek Trump Help In Ending Anti-Semitism

On March 7th one hundred US Senators, the Senate’s entire membership, asked the leading law enforcement officials of the Trump administration for help in ending “the deeply troubling series of anonymous bomb threats made against ... buildings affiliated with Jewish organizations or institutions across the country.”

The Senators’ [letter](#) to Homeland Security Secretary John Kelly, Attorney General Jeff Sessions, and FBI Director James Comey said, “In addition to reports of incidents at JCCs and Jewish Day Schools, there have been incidents at cemeteries in both St. Louis and Philadelphia involving the desecration of Jewish headstones. This is completely unacceptable and un-American.”

Our friends who are proprietors of one of the desecrated cemeteries tell us that in the aftermath of the attack, which damaged or destroyed several hundred headstones, they have received an outpouring of encouragement and support, including financial support, from around the world.

Jewish, Christian, Muslim, Buddhist, humanist and other spiritual supporters and others worldwide continue to offer condolences, solidarity and help. In addition, local police and the FBI engaged in an immediate and vigorous investigation, and helped to restore the damaged areas.

The outpouring of resistance to anti-Semitism from across the country, exemplified by the unanimous disapproval of anti-Semitism by the United States Senate, and around the world joins President Trump's February 21st *statement* that "The anti-Semitic threats targeting our Jewish community and community centers are horrible and are painful and a very sad reminder of the work that still must be done to root out hate and prejudice and evil."

We see this nearly universal condemnation of anti-Semitism as a profound expression of the transpartisan impulse that animates our nation and its people.



Image found through various publicity sources.

TRANSPARTISAN NOTE #38 • MARCH 20, 2017

Remembering Stephen P. Cohen: Transpartisan Pioneer

Our friend and colleague Steven P. Cohen, scholar, spiritual leader, and transpartisan activist, passed away at the age of 71 at his home in Teaneck, NJ, on January 25, 2017. For three decades Steve was the "silent broker" of peace talks in the Middle East—"the lone guerilla warrior of peace," one Israeli politician called him. In today's tense, highly charged political environment a significant event like Steve's passing gets lost in the higher profile headlines. See NYT *obituary*. We write this note and

accompanying column to let more people know about Steve's important life.

In 2010, during a meeting at a major Washington DC law firm discussing aspects of a transpartisan foreign policy, Steve told of an encounter he had with President *Hosni Mubarak* of Egypt. Steve said he was riding with Mr. Mubarak in the President's helicopter. They flew over a cemetery and the President pointed out a woman standing on a grave site next to a make-shift tent

that obviously served as her home. The President pointed down at the woman and said, according to Steve, “with all the power I might have I have nothing to tell that woman down there.”

Steve told the story, as he told so many stories, to illustrate the gulf between the lofty world of policy makers and implementers and the people whose lives the policies shape. Steve spent his life bridging gaps between Israelis and Arabs, powerful and fragile, rich and poor. Only by building trust, he argued and showed, can peace be created. He wrote in the preface to our book, *Voice of the People: The Transpartisan Imperative in American Life*:

The lesson from the Middle East is clear: there can be no peace without trust and no trust without peace and both trust and peace require personal subjective contact among individual people of strong competing loyalties.

TRANSPARTISAN NOTE #39 • MARCH 27, 2017

Transpartisan Health Within Reach?

Through the smoldering ruins of the most recent healthcare financing reform effort we see the faint outlines of a transpartisan approach to health care.

Former President Barack Obama issued a [statement](#) on the 7th anniversary of passage of the Affordable Care Act (ACA), one day before current Congressional Republicans pulled their proposed ACA ‘repeal and replace’ bill from the House floor.

The former president laid out the accomplishments he saw from the ACA and recognized the need for change, saying:

I’ve always said we should build on this law, just as Americans of both parties worked to improve Social Security, Medicare, and Medicaid over the years. . . . But we should start from the baseline that any changes will make our health care system better, not worse for hardworking Americans. That should always be our priority.

In assessing the failure of his own bill President Trump [said](#):
Look, we got no Democratic votes. We got none, zero.

The plan Trump campaigned for, and for which his supporters voted, included affordable ‘insurance for everybody’ and a [demand](#) that drug companies negotiate directly with Medicare and Medicaid and lower their prices, saying they will no longer be ‘politically protected.’

After his health care financing failure, House Speaker Paul Ryan [said](#) we need to learn ‘what we could have done to do it better’. Ohio Governor John Kasich, last Donald Trump primary opponent, [said](#) ‘Trump needs to work with Democrats on health care.’ Senator Bernie Sanders asked the President to consider

The key to trust is doing things together. It is engaging people in common purposes. When people come together in real engagement, their conflicts and differences start to melt away sometimes very quickly.

As an advisor and mentor to us in the writing of, and as the author of the preface to, our book, Steve provided us with invaluable wisdom in the power of his thinking, the courage of his actions and the model of the life he led. We will miss him and his counsel.

Read [Remembering a Transpartisan Pioneer](#) to learn more about how Stephen’s wisdom and presence impacted our life and work. Then check out the [full preface](#) from “The Voice of the People: The Transpartisan Imperative in American Life” written by Stephen P. Cohen.

pending Senate legislation lifting the ban on federal health programs negotiating drug prices.

‘[White House: Trump is serious about working with Democrats](#)’, writes *The Hill*. ‘[Republicans and Democrats need to work together on healthcare](#),’ says Senator Lindsey Graham (R-SC). Maine Republican Senator Susan Collins, after opposing the House bill, [urged](#) Democrats and Republicans to work together on health. Bipartisan serves as word of the day. We see transpartisan—bipartisan expanded—more likely to work than bipartisan alone.

By transpartisan we mean recognizing the tension in both parties between members seeking order—the leadership, the establishment, the elite—and the agitators for freedom—the freedom caucus, Bernie Sanders, and, in his populist guise, President Trump. To us transpartisan means a sound health plan incorporating interests from all four quadrants—free right and left and order right and left. See the [Transpartisan Matrix](#).

Large numbers, probably well over fifty percent, of Americans use complementary, alternative, integrative, natural healing—paying billions for nutrition, chiropractic, massage therapy, acupuncture, and over 100 other recognized health modalities—as part or all of their personal health promotion efforts. Virtually none of these health approaches formally appears in the current health care financing system of government and insurance company payments for drugs, surgery, radiation and diagnostics.

We believe the absence of the voice of these consumers

from the health financing debate accounts for a significant amount of the dissatisfaction with both the ACA and its offered replacement. Too many voices not heard.

These numbers track voter turnout for the 2016 presidential election. President Trump is a minority president. The vast majority of eligible voters did not vote for Trump—66 million voted for Clinton and 90 million stayed home, 63 million voted for Trump. This need not be a crippling factor. Thomas Jefferson squeaked into the White House after a tied Electoral College vote and 36 Congressional ballots and went on to have a consequential presidency.

We think a transpartisan process will strengthen any policy deliberation. Non-voters affect daily politics. Office holders write them off at their peril. At a minimum, current office

holders need to consider how their actions might provoke previous sideliners to vote and how. We think this form of 'survival anticipation' played a key role in the failure of the ACA replacement.

The health financing bill failed to integrate the interests of the four quadrants—liberal and progressive Democrats and order and freedom Republicans—and, for that reason, we suggest, failed to become law. When the four quadrant interests integrate the natural healing community and other underrepresented populations into the health care financing discussion, the nation will take the next steps toward a workable—and we would say transpartisan—national health policy.

Through the haze we see the outlines.



Pexels.com

TRANSPARTISAN NOTE #40 • APRIL 03, 2017

Transpartisan Tax Time

Now Tax Reform arrives on the Congressional agenda. Congress sees the problem as not enough money to pay for all the projects, programs and material that everyone wants. The budget remains unbalanced. Lawmakers feel pressured by constituents, who they feel want all kinds of services but balk at paying taxes for them.

The last time federal income fell unacceptably short, near the end of the 19th century, Congress embraced the income tax, which the US finally adopted with a 1913 Constitutional amendment. Since tariffs, then the government's primary financing source, fell short, Congress found a new money supply—the income tax.

Today individuals and groups from a variety of political viewpoints suggest a new source of government money for the 21st century: *The Automated Payment Transaction (APT) Tax*.

“Capitalizing on financial data processing technology,” according to the APT website, “we can create a tax system for the 21st century that is simple to understand and easy to administer. The concept for this transaction tax was developed by the distinguished University of Wisconsin Professor of Economics Edgar L. Feige.”

The website for the book, “*The Economist’s Tale*,” which presents the red, blue and green spheres shown below, says, “We tax the \$16 trillion in income we earn, the small blue sphere in the diagram.”

“We don’t tax the whopping \$5,000 trillion in payments that occur each year, the large green sphere. Our government’s budget is \$4 trillion, the tiny red sphere.”

“The red sphere takes a big bite out of the blue sphere – which is why income tax rates are so high. But the red sphere takes a tiny bite out of the green sphere.”

“If we taxed payments at the miniscule rate of 1/10th of 1% we’d have a trillion dollar surplus.”

Summarizing the impact on an individual, the site says, “Taxes on \$100,000 would drop from \$31,000 to \$100, and the budget would be balanced.”

“The author of this plan estimates that this system could save \$500 BILLION ANNUALLY (yes you read that right) for the government and citizens by completely replacing the enforcement and collection of taxes.” Read Daily Kos article [here](#).

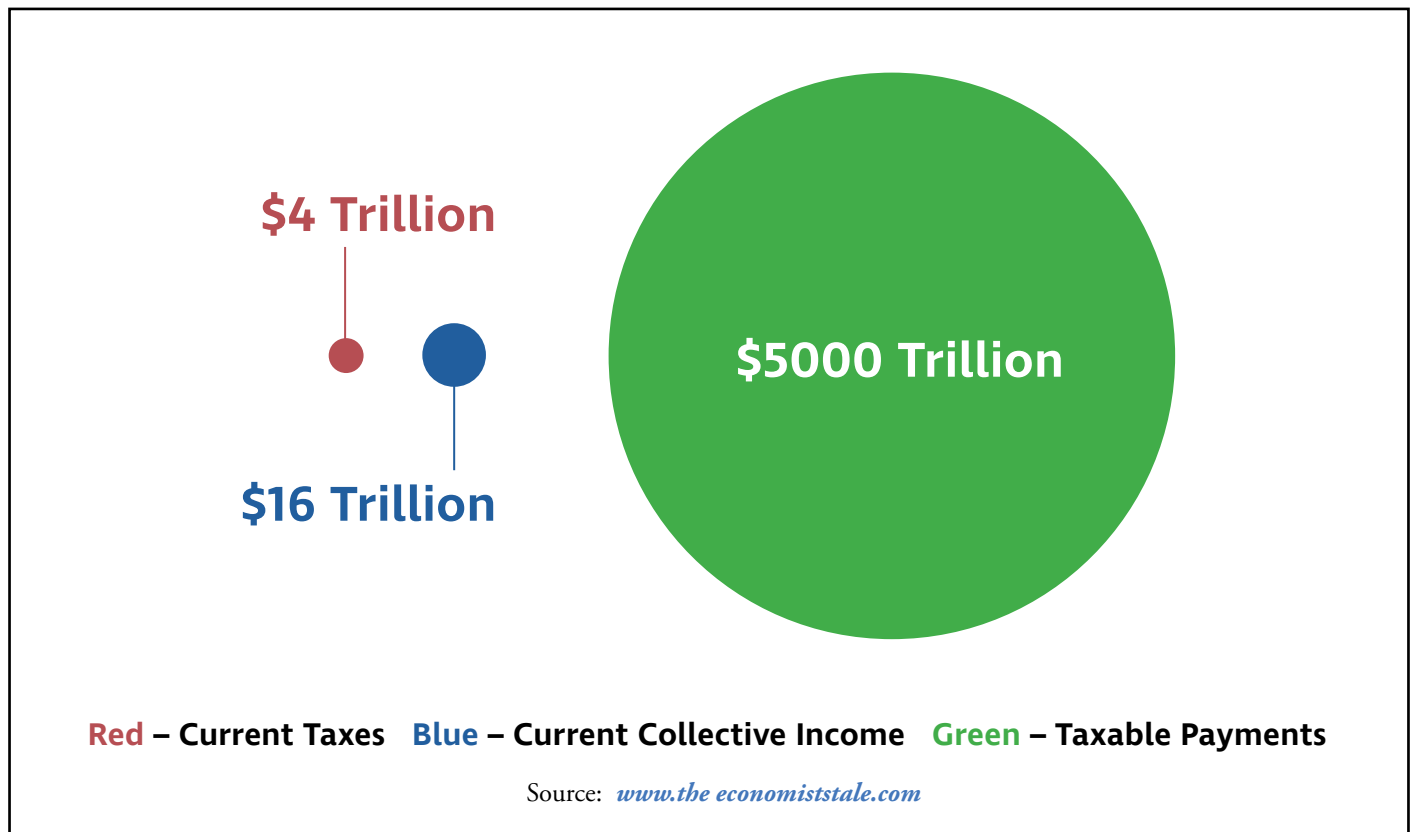
“According to the computations of the proponents, the rate would be 0.35%.”

Read Forbes article [here](#).

We present this concept of a new source of governmental income as an important idea that Congress, other policy makers, individuals in the Tax Reform debate, and citizens at large might find useful in their Tax Reform efforts.

We make a key transpartisan point when we say that our conventional left-right debate often overlooks possibilities that might be useful and fall outside current ideologies.

We believe the APT deserves to be part of the deliberations on Tax Reform currently underway in Congress.



TRANSPARTISAN NOTE #41 • APRIL 10, 2017

Syria & the Importance of Trump's Subjective Core: Dangerous Possibilities

Critics left, right, and other, including us from time to time, find it easy to pillory and mock President Trump's erratic, unpredictable, and apparently highly inconsistent style of leadership. They call him "child," "clown," and bumbling amateur. Then the President's response to the horrendous pictures of gassed civilians leading to the American bombing of Syria reminds us that, as President, he wields enormous power that deserves, nay, *requires*, more than mockery.

Seen as an *effect* at least as much as a *cause*—an *expression of*, rather than a *rebellion against*, the American essence—the Trump election and Presidency open an opportunity for profound and lasting change in our politics. We embrace Thomas Jefferson's *words*: "We might as well require a man to wear still the coat which fitted him when a boy as civilized society to remain ever under the regimen of their barbarous ancestors." Americans today seem to us busy weaving a new coat.

While our politics appears massively contentious, virtually all sides agree that it is seriously and dangerously dysfunctional—a significant threat and a powerful opportunity. As Mr. Trump is fond of saying, he is President and we are not—for better or worse. The American bombing of Syria reminds us all, Trump resisters, embracers and ambivalents, that we are all agents when America acts. It also clarified important aspects of Mr. Trump's nature, his presidency, and the American nation.

The central point we see in the Trump campaign and Presidency so far is the essential and powerful role *the subjective*—feelings, hunches, intuitions—plays as an animating influence on Trump. He acts from the gut. Much of the time, so do most of us.

Trump's emoting grates on the political class and its followers especially when put into tweets. They argue facts against feelings, and Trump looks to them like an obnoxious buffoon, a loser. However, facts rarely answer, let alone defeat, feelings.

More important than Trump's popularity or unpopularity is the fact that ninety million eligible voters failed to vote for either him or Clinton. Neither got more than 30 percent of the votes of eligible voters—a powerful expression of political dysfunction. These numbers shape our political options even as the public debate tends to ignore them.

President Trump's response to the gassing of Syrian citizens, including children, was an expression of strong *subjective empathy*

for the bombing victims. If we as a nation learn to harness this empathetic, expressive instinct, it could lead us—and the President—to powerful insights about why and how mechanistic, objectified, "scientific," emotionless approaches to social issues (addiction, poverty, passive behavior of traditional people in developing countries) alone have so little effect.

With that insight, the President could promote profound change in the entire policy debate about what we call the disadvantaged and "victims." We and he could learn key distinctions between gas warfare victims and "victims" of poor education, job loss, and poverty. Gassed victims require *protection*. Social and economic victims require *empowerment*. Empowerment in a democracy means not only a meaningful, earned share of social, economic, and political power, but also the confidence and positive outlook that come with feeling respected, valued, and in control of one's life.

The task begins by expanding the subjective dimension of our lives from visceral *self-expression* to empathy *toward others*, recognizing them as people, just as we do the victims of chemical warfare. This expansion will take work by both the President and us. We need to cultivate empathy with information from sources beyond photojournalism, including dialogue with critics, reading, and learning from people who know these issues and see where solutions are genuinely possible.

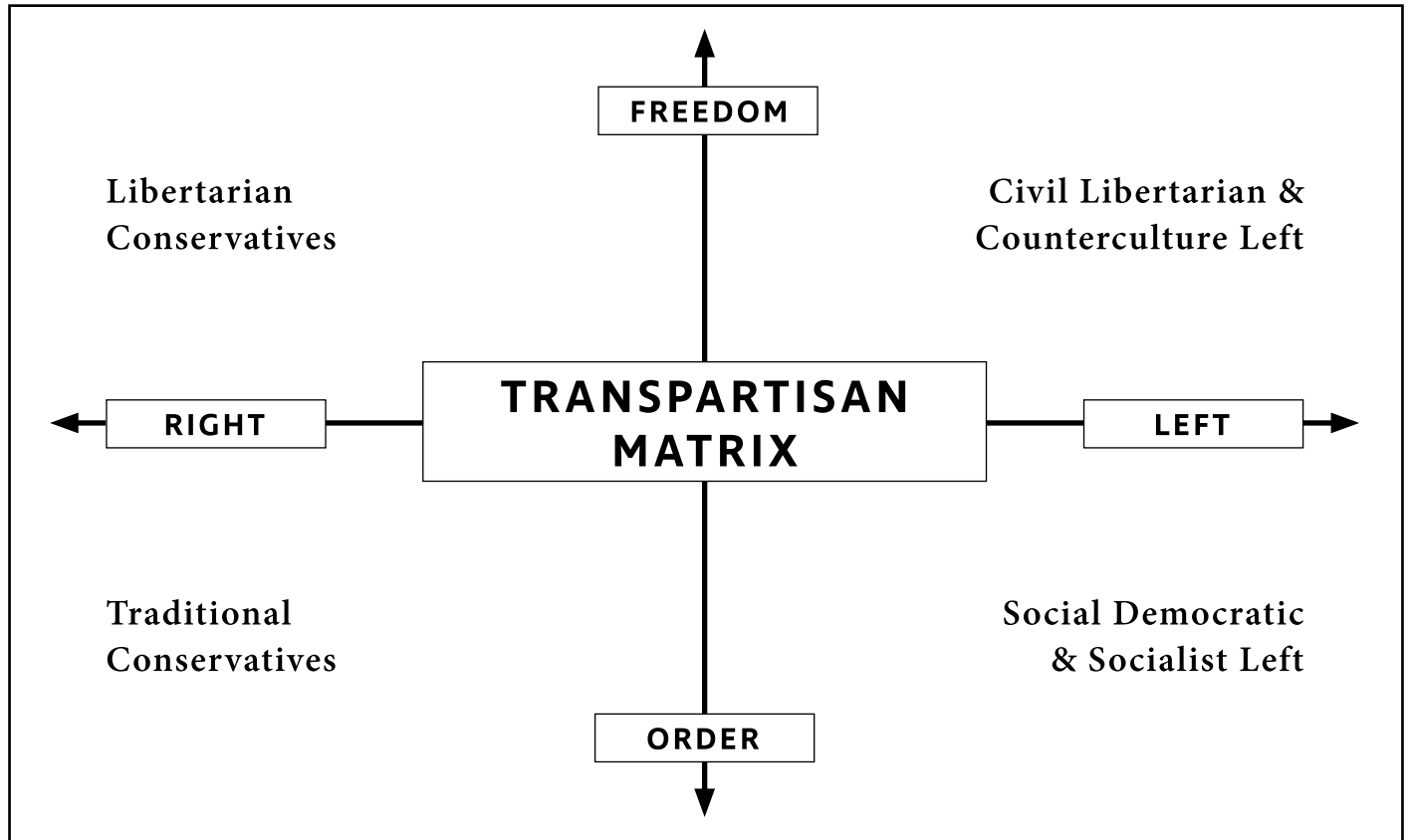
We could begin by reading *The American Soul: Rediscovering the Wisdom of the Founders*, by San Francisco State University best-selling philosopher Jacob Needleman. This 2002 book focuses on the objective and subjective at the American core. The *Kirkus Review* said of this book, "In [George] Washington, Needleman sees a furious balance between passion and judgment, ambition, and self-sacrifice; in Jefferson, the multiple senses of 'human nature and the role of community'; in Lincoln, the individual's obligation to society."

Recognizing the subjective dimension of public policymaking helps us distinguish between *objective* acts, such as charitable giving, and *subjective* efforts such as empowering people and communities through building relationships with and within them—for example, by working with *civil social organizations* (CSOs) to initiate conversations that overcome their exclusion from community political life. As for the President, he could symbolically serve the subjective and promote empowerment by visiting and celebrating self-governance experiments featuring

people who are treated as assets rather than liabilities in, for example, education, housing, and community policing.

Transpartisan projects are underway across the nation. Through the *Transpartisan Review* and *Notes* we strive to call our readers' attention to them. We see the Trump presidency as

an unprecedented opportunity to reshape and rebuild the nation's democratic political ethos. If we can begin focusing on people as architects of their lives, we might win support from all sides in our very partisan politics, not least of all from the very large number of us who have opted out of it.



TRANSPARTISAN NOTE #42 • APRIL 17, 2017

Ownership As Key To Empowerment

The Four-Quadrant Transpartisan Matrix distinguishes the values of freedom (self-expression) and order (tradition for the right, justice for the left) that are important for both conservatives and progressives. We believe the “*four-quadrant*” format more completely represents what most people value than the simple left-right spectrum now used to describe our politics.

Although the “political debate” tends to emphasize one or two of the quadrants—order-left, freedom-left, order-right, and freedom-right—more than others, *all quadrants* matter and contain part of “the truth.” Much of our political dysfunction (we believe)—the failed policies, paralyzing conflict, many voters

opting out, and two-term presidencies rarely accomplishing succession—occurs because neither party represents an effective *combination of values* (especially freedom and order) of most voters.

TTR explores, both in theory and in practice, real experiences, showing how four-quadrant programs, featuring all quadrants, both *bring people together and solve problems*.

Our current political system focuses almost exclusively on *governments* as the dominant instruments of justice, with citizens having little or no role in school reform or reducing ethnic and racial conflict or foreign policy or any other public policy.

Motivated by this *weak concept of citizenship*, two sides focus on electing “their people” to office to pursue or impose the “correct” (narrow, often single quadrant) policies.

Governments alone cannot effect four-quadrant engagement.

Citizens too must be engaged. From our perspective we believe the intensely committed Trump supporters and resisters and the large number of individual citizens dissatisfied with the choices in the last election, including the ninety million non-voters, and the social activists from all sides, demonstrate the existence of a core group of citizens working to broaden our political framework. We offer the four quadrant approach as one way to understand and relate to current political activity.

A new, reformed — we would say expanded — politics will depend on a *strong concept of citizenship*, promoting citizen engagement that integrates the essence of left and right: for example serving the disadvantaged (order-left) in civic engagement with people “close-by” (order right) in institutions promoting free, voluntary commitment (recognizing that you can't force people to be human — freedom-left and right).

This vision requires a *strong role for civil society and civil society organizations* structured to engage people across apparent

differences and overlooked similarities in shaping change. Bussing people far from home to internally-segregated schools failed to accomplish school integration. At best such *objective* integration accomplishes little, if anything. Real integration depends on internal, *subjective* engagement. As an example, school reform fails when bureaucratic mandates command obedience from depressed teachers, who pass their depression on to their students. School reform happens when full stakeholder ownership of schools brings empowered parents, teachers, and kids together to make schools as good as they can be.

Shared ownership of public spaces is a key to the subjective change that is at the heart of the transpartisan vision. It is the key to four-quadrant, transpartisan programs such as *Delancey Street* drug rehabilitation center (San Francisco), the *All-Stars* leadership program (New York City), and the *UNICEF Girls Community Schools* (Upper Egypt, a thriving hope in the epicenter of Islamic terrorism in Egypt).

Empowered ownership of public spaces drives the transpartisan vision. We offer the Transpartisan Matrix as a way to understand empowered ownership within the pandemonium of our current political milieu.

TRANSPARTISAN NOTE #43 • APRIL 24, 2017

Reconciliation

March 6, 1857, Roger B. Taney, Chief Justice of the United States Supreme Court, wrote the 7-2 *Dred Scott* opinion finding that “a negro, whose ancestors were imported into [the U.S.], and sold as slaves,” whether enslaved or free, could not be an American citizen.

On March 6, 2017, the 160th anniversary of that infamous decision—the worst in court history, historians say—Justice Taney's descendant, Charles Taney of Greenwich, Connecticut, apologized to Dred Scott's great-great-granddaughter under the gaze of a *Roger Taney* statue installed on the Maryland State House grounds in 1872.

The Taney/Scott *moment* underscored reconciliation, a touchstone component of a transpartisan approach. African-American Democrat Jill Carter, member of the Maryland House of Delegates, has introduced legislation to remove Justice Taney's statue from the State House grounds.

Carter said her *bill* reflects a growing interest in reviewing public images of “slavery, discrimination and dehumanization

of black people.” Many American institutions are reviewing the naming of buildings and the placing of markers that honor slavery supporters.

The Scott and Taney family descendants gathered at the Taney statue to give and seek an apology and to oppose removal of the Taney statue. They urge instead reconciliation, by erecting statues of Dred Scott and *Frederick Douglass* in positions of dialogue with Chief Justice Taney.

They also urge an educational display on the Dred Scott decision and its aftermath. Developing the content of such a display if it is established will, however difficult, continue the process of reconciliation. Scott's owners freed him, his wife and his two daughters on May 26, 1857, which made national news. Scott died 18 months later from tuberculosis. His wife Harriet died in 1876. A local tradition developed of placing Lincoln pennies on top of Scott's gravestone for good luck.

Reconciliation strengthens the soul of a nation.



TRANSPARTISAN NOTE #44 • MAY 01, 2017

Broadway Musical Captures Canada's 9/11 Response

September 11, 2001 (9/11) Canadian air traffic control diverted 38 wide-bodied, US-bound airliners to the Gander, Newfoundland, Northeast Canada airfield. The town of Gander, population 10,000, suddenly found itself host to 6,600 stranded passengers and several hundred crew. *Come From Away*, the Broadway musical story of their five days together in Gander, captures their shared experiences.

Real people portrayed in the musical, from hours of interviews, include *Beverley Bass*, pilot of Flight 49, a 777 from Paris to Dallas, the first American Airlines female captain; Nick and Diane Marson, strangers on a plane who met in Gander and later married; and, in the *words* of theatre critic Peter Marks, “a gay couple worried about their reception in a remote outpost, learn[ing] a thing or two about an unlikely global hotbed of tolerance.”

The residents of Gander and surrounding towns put aside their own differences to volunteer shelter, food, medicine, entertainment, and moral support to their unexpected guests of all persuasions. The show had multiple pre-Broadway

productions, to excellent reviews. *Seattle Met* said, in 2015, “*Come From Away* serves as a vigorous and uplifting ode to humanity in the face of terror.” DC Metro Theater Arts called the 2016 Ford’s Theater production “a celebration of the unflappable human spirit, and the generosity and kindness that always seems to manifest itself in our darkest hours.” This week the Broadway production received 7 Tony nominations.

Canadian Prime minister Justin Trudeau escorted Ivanka Trump to a Broadway preview performance March 15. They joined a delegation of 600 people—including more than 125 ambassadors to the United Nations. “The world gets to see what it is to lean on each other and be there for each other through the darkest times,” Trudeau told the audience.

The production began with the tenth anniversary of the event, which many participants returned to Gander to celebrate. Canadian-American writers Irene Sankoff and David Hein taped intimate stories of passengers, crew, and townspeople, which they wove into the musical. The experience evolved into a new dramatic form—musical as documentary.

Come From Away allows its audience to experience the uplifting spirit of personal connection, in the face of the darkest adversity and terror.

Across the country and around the world local people daily are engaging each other as in Gander: for example, in northern India, San Francisco, California, and Upper Egypt— shared ownership of public spaces promotes communities with intense personal relationships—such as schools, housing, hospitals, and drug rehab programs.

These cases rarely appear in the press because politics shies away from empowering people. Politicians rely on bureaucrats

and armies of “experts” to tell them what “disadvantaged” people “need.” Their best intentioned programs often turn into objective, mechanistic nightmares that squeeze the subjective, personal connections out of the lives they shape. The Gander experience demonstrates that ordinary people can confront daunting problems and solve them together. *The Washington Post* calls the musical “an exuberant antidote for what ails the American soul.”

The magic of Gander is the magic of empathy in action.

TRANSPARTISAN NOTE #45 • MAY 08, 2017

Introducing Educate Girls Globally

Educate Girls Globally (EGG), founded by Lawry Chickering nearly twenty years ago, has enjoyed extraordinary success promoting positive social changes in the most “difficult” populations in rural India. The most important of these are cultural—from premodern, pre-individualist, role-driven values to more modern, individualist, conscious values.

This change produces multiple positive outcomes: significant increases in learning even from tribal girls, who grow up afraid to speak up in front of boys; active cooperation in creating community projects providing their own financial support without subsidies from EGG; empowerment of girls as learners and leaders; and others. The most important change, however, is from *passivity* to *action* by communities seeking to control their destiny.

In terms of the *Transpartisan Matrix*, the change is from static (order-right) tradition to the more dynamic and entrepreneurial freedom-right. In small communities, featuring much social interaction, trust mitigates the conflict that such change would provoke in communities with little social contact and next to no trust.

EGG’s model is in more than 7,000 primary and secondary schools in two states of India, and it has not experienced significant opposition or conflict *in a single school*. EGG begins its work in communities rife with negative behaviors rooted in what appear to be selfishness and an utter lack of empathy. In watching these communities apparently unable to change makes it clear that “experts,” waving the banner of *science*, can stimulate no more positive change than priests, citing *The Bible*.

EGG began with a developmental view of its traditional communities and their potential for change: starting in order-right, dominated by tradition, with no conception of the left’s order quadrant or either of the freedom quadrants.

EGG’s work is based on a cornerstone of free market capitalism and the freedom-right: property rights. But not rights in *private* space (property): rights in *public space* (*ownership*)—rights as *co-owners of schools*. Sharing ownership of schools brings people together in a common enterprise: improving the school, which includes bringing drop-out girls back to school, doing community projects arranging financing without EGG subsidies, the Girls Parliaments and Life Skill Training (parts of the EGG program which may be seen as self-help training for succeeding in freedom-right social relations), etc.

The economist’s model has obvious value, but ignoring rights in public space limits economists understanding of what people value (their “utility functions”), which include the order quadrants, embedded in social relationships. In doing so, they miss opportunities to make free market capitalism an instrument of empowerment for the poorest people in many places.

Empowerment, as EGG facilitates it, requires more than just changing rules. Civil society organizations have essential roles to play in helping traditional communities achieve the empowerment that can change everything for them. The Transpartisan Review will explore these roles in different social realms, exploring how change is happening in many places right now.



Image from Accidental Courtesy: Daryl Davis, Race & America.

TRANSPARTISAN NOTE #46 • MAY 15, 2017

Search For Common Ground, Transpartisan In Action

Daryl Davis, African-American R&B and blues musician, worked to improve race relations by personally engaging with leaders of the Ku Klux Klan (KKK). Known for his energetic style of Boogie-woogie piano, he bonded with Klansmen who loved his music. He engaged using a fundamental principle of action: “Establish dialogue. When two enemies are talking, they’re not fighting.”

Search for Common Ground, founded in 1982 to find ways to end violent conflict, gave Davis one of its Common Ground Awards in 2014 to honor his outstanding accomplishments in conflict resolution, negotiation, community building, and peacebuilding. Davis directly affected race relations by befriending, and talking deeply with, KKK leader Roger Kelly and other Klan members.

Eventually Kelly quit the Klan. “He no longer believes today what he said,” Davis explains. “And when he quit the Klan he gave me his robe and hood, which is the robe of the Imperial Wizard.” Twelve other Klansmen have done the same.

Read this and other Daryl Davis stories in Conor Friedersdorf’s March 27, 2015 article in *The Atlantic*, “[The Audacity of](#)

Talking About Race With the Ku Klux Klan.” Hear Daryl interviews [here](#) and [here](#). Listen to Daryl’s music [here](#), [here](#), and [here](#). Check out his book and DVD [here](#). Daryl’s is an inspiring story of what can happen when adversaries talk with each other.

Common Ground founder, former State Department diplomat John Marks, says recipients of the Common Ground Awards show what can be achieved when we work with, and for, each other. Recipients have made significant contributions toward bridging divides and finding solutions to seemingly intractable problems. The [list](#) of Award recipients reads like a glossary of group and individual efforts creating possibilities for a less violent world. Daryl Davis, who received the Award in **2014**, provides one powerful example.

One last note. Search for Common Ground founder John Marks introduced us to each other at a 1993 party for Lawry’s book *Beyond Left and Right: Breaking the Political Stalemate*, at his Washington DC home. We recently discovered that unknown to us we had each served at different times on the board of Search for Common Ground.

TRANSPARTISAN NOTE #47 • MAY 22, 2017

President Trump on the Abraham Path

The *Abraham Path* is a cultural route celebrating a journey made 4,000 years ago by Abraham, the common patriarch of the three Abrahamic religions—Judaism, Christianity, and Islam.

USA Today *says*, “President Trump has billed his [May 2017] visit to Saudi Arabia, Israel and the Vatican as a sort of triple pilgrimage to places deeply meaningful to adherents of Christianity, Judaism and Islam.”

That paper quotes Trump’s national security adviser, H.R. McMaster, saying “the trip reflects the president’s belief ‘that we all have to be united and we have to be joined together with an agenda of tolerance and moderation.’ ”

The *Abraham Path Initiative* is an American nonprofit organization recreating Abraham’s trip for interested individuals. If you have the time and stamina, walking across the West Bank over several days is an experience never to be forgotten. See the online guidebook to the path *here*.

The Initiative, co-founded by *William Ury*, *mediator* and *co-author* of *Getting to Yes*, says “known as ‘the Friend,’ Abraham is still remembered for his legendary welcome and kindness toward strangers. This ancient journey is a cultural thread that binds humanity together, a tangible reminder that no matter what divides us, what unites us is far, far greater.

In addition to its Middle East walks, the project partners with interreligious organizations leading local Abraham Walks,

such as those in several places around the United States, including Cincinnati, Dallas, and Austin, Texas. Organizers take participants on mini-pilgrimages that link local churches, mosques, and synagogues and include interfaith liturgies and speakers. Contact the *project* to help create a local walk of your own.

President Trump, in his initial *speech* in Riyadh, Saudi Arabia on May 21st, said, “For many centuries the Middle East has been home to Christians, Muslims and Jews living side-by-side. We must practice tolerance and respect for each other once again—and make this region a place where every man and woman, no matter their faith or ethnicity, can enjoy a life of dignity and hope.

“In that spirit, after concluding my visit in Riyadh, I will travel to Jerusalem and Bethlehem, and then to the Vatican – visiting many of the holiest places in the three Abrahamic Faiths. If these three faiths can join together in cooperation, then peace in this world is possible – including peace between Israelis and Palestinians.”

President Trump’s nine-day journey that began in the Middle East consciously includes the spiritual essence of Abraham’s embrace of humanity. A Presidential trip successful in advancing this spirit will advance the best hopes for humanity.

TRANSPARTISAN NOTE #48 • MAY 29, 2017

Introducing Voice for Hope – Healers of Planet Earth

Voice for HOPE (*Healers of Planet Earth*), founded in 2010 to support ‘Freedom to Choose Your Path to Wellness,’ works to bring the attention of Congress to the development of integrative medicine as a part of national health care policy.

An Atlantic *article* quoted Hippocrates to capture the core of integrative health: ‘It is more important to know what sort of person has a disease than to know what sort of disease a person has.’ The World Health Organization’s 1948 constitution said, ‘Health is a state of complete physical, mental and social well-being and not merely the absence of disease or infirmity.’

Integrative medicine grounds its practice in this definition. Where conventional medicine has the negative mission of seeking to expunge disease, integrative medicine adds the well-being that

promotes health, thus avoiding or mitigating the diseases that conventional medicine addresses—and, in the process, reduces the role that it needs to play. Integrative medicine seeks to know the person as well as the disease.

The National Institutes of Health NIH has a research *center* on integrative health. The White House Commission on



Complementary and Alternative (CAM) Medicine Policy's 2002 report contains an array of policy approaches to advance Integrative health. You can read about the [Congressional Mindfulness Caucus](#). Voice for HOPE works to create dialogues between members of Congress and their constituents about ways integrative medicine can play a broader role in national health care policy.

Integrative health is enormously important for policy on health. The current policy debate—ObamaCare was a prominent example—focuses almost entirely on medical care for people who are sick. It pays almost no effective attention to encouraging behavior changes that would keep them well and avoid having to use expensive doctors and hospitals when they get sick.

Integrative health includes practices focusing (in the words of The Mayo clinic) 'on the whole person and includes physical, emotional, mental and spiritual health . . . mind-body medicine (such as meditation, acupuncture and yoga), manipulative and body-based practices . . . and natural products (such as herbs and dietary supplements)'. In public health the absence of simple behaviors such as hand-washing and sanitation play an enormous role in promoting disease.

From 30 to 40% plus of Americans use various forms of organized integrative health approaches to stay healthy. Millions of people in the U.S. use organized diet, exercise and mindfulness programs. In developing countries [Educate Girls Globally](#) (EGG) is experimenting with community-based health programs to promote change in negative (to health) behaviors and habits

of traditional people. For example, they have launched an experiment using 'Girls' Parliaments' to promote handwashing, and in two months the percentage washing their hands has increased from essentially zero (based not on what they say, but on soap used) to between 70-80%.

The policy challenge is how to encourage people to change their behavior, which is difficult. EGG's program is still too new to reach strong conclusions, but preliminary results are encouraging.

A major objective of a transpartisan politics is to promote development of a strong and active concept of citizenship in place of the current weak concept where all attention is on the government. A transpartisan health policy would seek the same objective: to encourage citizens to take more responsibility for their own health, taking personal care of themselves, and reserving expensive conventional approaches to cases where they become really sick. In health as in political action, transpartisans promote active citizenship in place of the passive roles currently played both by voters and by patients.

On Sunday, June 11, Voice for HOPE will join other Washington, DC, charities in a 5K Run/Walk on the shore of the beautiful Anacostia River in Washington's Anacostia Park. People across the country and around the world can join or support the event. Jim Turner, chair of Citizens for Health and Voice for HOPE, urges everyone reading this note to support the 5K Run/Walk [here](#).

TRANSPARTISAN NOTE #49 • JUNE 05, 2017

A Comment on Needleman's American Soul

[The American Soul: Rediscovering the Wisdom of the Founders](#) (San Francisco State University), Philosophy Professor Jacob Needleman's 2002 book on the meaning of America, offers insight, solace, and guidance for 2017 Americans.

Professor Needleman sees in the face of Lincoln, the mind of Jefferson, the character of Washington, and the multitude of attributes of the men and women of America's founding generation the emergence of "the idea of America" leading to "a community of conscience."

Dr. Needleman's [website](#) says of the book, "At the heart of *The American Soul* is a call to rediscover the timeless truths hidden within the founding vision of the American nation . . . this uniquely American vision has the power to speak again to the

modern world's need for meaning and community."

The book addresses American slavery, the destruction of the culture of the American Indian, and the Vietnam war, which Dr. Needleman calls "crimes and defeats," saying they "cry out for a clear vision of America asleep to its own spiritual essence, while bringing home the depth of what America owes to its own people and to the earth itself."

Publishers Weekly said of the book, when it was published in 2002, "While Needleman clearly finds much to love about America, he balances our light with our darkness, our genuine good will and spirituality with our great crimes . . . Needleman's latest work gives open-minded readers a new set of spiritual role models and much valuable food for thought. . ."

We believe that Dr. Needleman captures an essential aspect of what we observe, suggest, and advocate as Transpartisan politics and policy. In particular, we believe that a large majority of the individuals disassociating from current political parties and processes resonate with the deep subjective part of the American essence described by Dr. Needleman. We believe they are searching for ways to express that resonance.

The book closes with a call for rekindling the American mythology, to understand what is truly eternal and indestructible in the American vision. As the transpartisan political process unfolds we believe that its expression is shaped by the essential American vision.



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TRANSPARTISAN NOTE #50 • JUNE 12, 2017

Transpartisan Europe: A Tale of Two Countries

“In office, but not in power,” headlined *The Telegraph of London* on Sunday, June 11. The headline described the situation of British Prime Minister Theresa May. May called the June 8 election to bolster the Conservative party’s Parliamentary majority. Instead the conservatives lost 13 seats and their majority.

Across the channel in Paris the next day, *Reuters* reported the French assembly vote saying, “The vote delivered a further crushing blow to the Socialist and conservative parties that had alternated in power for decades until Macron’s election in May blew apart the left-right divide.”

New French President Emmanuel Macron, says Reuters, “professes to be of neither right nor left.” Macron’s year-old party now takes up the task of integrating its supporters who come from both left and right. Meanwhile, back in London, *The Telegraph reports* that “Tory and Labour MPs plot secret deal to ensure soft Brexit.”

As the left/right division loses its hold on Western democracies, transpartisan possibilities emerge. The partisan divide endured from 1790’s Constituent Assembly seating during the French Revolution (king’s critics left, supporters right) to now. The *Economist* profile of *Macron* gives a taste of the emerging Transpartisan effect.

Today's British and French governing parties, like Trump, got less than 30% of the electorate's votes. French Historian *Jean Garrigues* summarized the situation: "There will be rather weak political opposition within the Parliament, but we are going to face it on the street, on the social networks, outside of institutions...And it is always dangerous when political opposition hardens outside of institutions."

TRANSPARTISAN NOTE #51 • JUNE 19, 2017

Taco Trucks at Every Mosque

'*Taco Trucks at Every Mosque*' is a celebration of breaking of the fast (iftar) during the month of Ramadan by Orange County, California, Muslim and Latino community members. It took place June 15th at the Islamic Society of Orange County in Garden Grove. Orange County's *OC Weekly* reported that a line of fourteen hundred people of all ethnicities and religions formed for halal (fitting Muslim dietary laws) tacos.

Muslim activist Rida Hamida and Santa Anna Valley High history teacher Ben Vazquez came up with marking iftar by breaking bread—tortillas—together. Hamida is president of the county's Arab American Chamber of Commerce. Vazquez is a board member of El Centro Cultural de Mexico. They seek to unite their communities by recalling their shared roots dating to Muslim rule of Spain (circa 711 to 1492).

More Local News: On the evening of June 4, 2017, two Salt Lake City Mormon congregations—the Yale Ward and the Gregson Ward—hosted iftar dinners for their Muslim neighbors, *The Salt Lake Tribune* reports. These communal meals break the daily fast at sundown during Islam's observance of Ramadan (May 26-June 24 in 2017). Ramadan is a month of fasting, prayer, scripture study and charity for all devout Muslims.

Area mosques—the Utah Islamic Center, the Islamic Society of Bosniaks, and the Muslim Community Center—enthusiastically supported the event. Those mosques brought such iftar dishes as 'biryani,' a spicy mix of rice, meats, dried fruits, eggs and yogurt, and other traditional foods from a range of Muslim ethnicities. Imam Shuaib Din sees sharing iftar with his Mormon neighbors as an important milestone.

Jacksonville, Florida: 'For the first time in Jacksonville's recent history,' reports the *Florida Union Times*, 'Jews and Muslims came together to celebrate their separate religious holidays in one sanctuary.' The paper reports Rabbi Jonathan Lubliner and Parvez Ahmed, the event organizers, saying, 'While local Jews and Muslims have held interfaith events before, they've never hosted something as intimate as this.'

This transpartisan moment calls for resistance and creation. It calls for resisting precipitous collapse of, and gratuitous attacks on, existing institutions. It also calls for creating and nurturing new, resilient, institutions. New institutions that embrace and transcend constricting, unproductive systems rejected by contemporary electorates can give shape to the transpartisan force.

Tuesday night marked the beginning of Shavuot, the Jewish holiday celebrating the revelation of the Torah at Mount Sinai. Tuesday night also marked another night, when Muslims break their daily fast for the month of Ramadan in honor of the revelation of the *Quran*. About 100 people met at the Jacksonville Jewish Center on Tuesday night to study, pray, eat and quiz one another about their faiths.

Across the Country: *Haaretz*, the Israeli paper published weekly in North America, reports that 'At a burgeoning number of synagogues across the United States and Europe, observant Muslims are breaking their Ramadan fast in Jewish settings this holy month.'

Israeli Ambassador to the US Ron Dermer hosted an iftar dinner in Washington, DC, as did Los Angeles's Israeli consul general at his office. To be sure, the paper says, 'Jewish-hosted iftar dinners have happened in some places for several years. But from Berkeley to Brooklyn to Brussels, they're far more frequent than ever.'

The Salt Lake Tribune summed up the significance of these events, saying 'Fear, stereotypes, ignorance and hunger have this in common: They seldom survive sharing a meal, honest conversation, a desire to learn and making eye contact with the stranger across the table.'

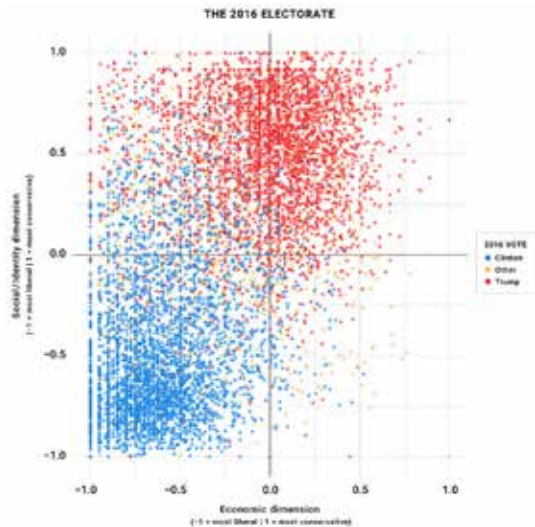
Personal, local, subjective experience like that, occurring at these events lies at the heart of the transpartisan political impulse. Increasingly, individuals in local communities harness this force. Increasingly, local individuals sharing intimately together overcome fear, stereotypes, ignorance and . . . spiritual as well as physical hunger.

We look forward to the day when national news outlets prominently feature positive stories like these, which reveal important realities about the country and its emerging transpartisan impulses. Routine 'narratives' about the country tend to focus more on divisions than on the productive, creative solutions to those divisions that citizens engage in every day.

TRANSPARTISAN NOTE #52 • JUNE 26, 2017

MATRIX: Broadening the Left/Right Spectrum

New York Times columnist Ross Douthat usefully introduces a matrix (below) into his analysis of American politics (“*In Search of the American Center*,” NYT 6/21/17). He reports on a study by the Democracy Fund Voter Study Group and *a report by Lee Drutman* assessing voter sentiment.



Drutman arrays data on voters in a matrix, with economic issues on the horizontal axis and social/identity issues on the vertical axis.

Matrix by Lee Drutman from his report “Political Divisions in 2016 and Beyond”.

Douthat includes welfare, entitlements, trade and inequality on the economic axis and abortion and transgender rights, race, gender, immigration and Islam on the vertical, which he calls moral and Drutman calls social, identity axis.

Drutman’s matrix presents a more limited picture of the U.S. political system and of transpartisan political opportunities than we present (page 18) in our *Transpartisan Matrix* (left/right and freedom/order axes).

The Democracy Fund/Drutman data and Douthat’s commentary see a *static* world, with passive citizens voting on how they want active governments to influence economic and social/identity issues. This matrix focuses only on *voters*; it ignores the 44% age-eligible citizens who opt out of voting.

Drutman’s matrix does not explain why people avoid the two major parties (there are now more registered Independents than either Democrats or Republicans; the number of registered

Independents and nonvoters combined exceeds the number of Democrats and Republicans combined).

If Drutman’s picture adequately described peoples’ values, it would need to explain why neither major candidate and party is able to garner more than 25 to 30% of age-eligible citizens. It does well capturing voters, but poorly describing the totality of the electorate, which includes the 44% nonvoters.

This matrix leaves out revelations about political and philosophical support for both order (tradition, justice) *and* freedom (individuation and self-expression). The Drutman matrix leaves social/moral choice of nonvoters to its lower-right quadrant. Douthat is fascinated by this freedom quadrant, which he finds “astonishingly empty...” We believe that the quadrant devoted to freedom alone is empty because freedom (process) has no meaning without a context that includes a vision of order (substance).

Focusing solely on voters the Drutman matrix does not see *subjective* value in what people want, increasingly desiring free expression and choice when they express that desire for choice by not voting. It sees citizens only as *objects*—as distinct from all social experiences that are succeeding, which empower citizens as *subjects* in active roles of citizenship. If people do not vote they do not count—even when not voting is a political statement.

The Transpartisan Matrix (page 18) is based on a vision of expanding consciousness or “individuation,” which combines a desire for increased economic *and* social choice and a vision of order (e.g., in self-governing communities). The Transpartisan Matrix suggests that the widespread alienation from the political system, in effect, rejects weak and passive citizenship. Effective action requires participation from all four quadrants. An empty quadrant spells trouble for governance.

People feel an increasing desire for active citizenship that is found in all successful social models (e.g., the *Grameen Bank* and community-based education and health projects in the US and many other countries).

Active citizens play increasingly assertive roles in institutions and policies. With all presidential candidates avoiding the issues important to increasingly individuated citizens, the mainstream system perpetuates the alienation and chaos that comes from many of the 44% who do not vote. Their abstention—and the conceptual fact that freedom by itself is meaningless—explain to us the Drutman empty quadrant.

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