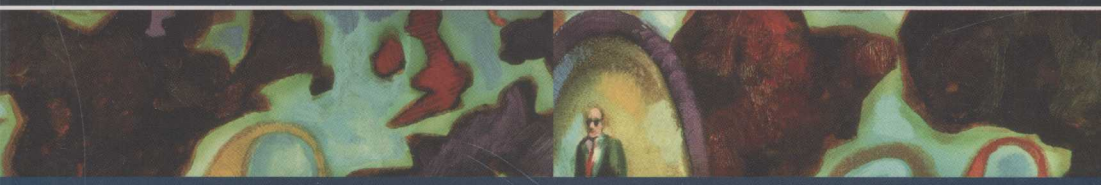
Severyn T. Bruyn



A Civil Republic

Beyond Capitalism and Nationalism

Kumarian Press, Inc.

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Dedication

Elise Boulding

Author of eleven books and contributor to many more, she has been active in developing peace studies around the world. She is a former secretary-general, of the International Peace Research Association and is now professor emeritus at Dartmouth College. She and her husband, Kenneth Boulding, were active all their lives in conflict-resolution studies and led national groups working for world peace. She has been a long-time civic leader, lecturer, and editor of a newsletter providing news and networking opportunities to international peace teams. And she is a very dear friend of mine.

Acknowledgments

I want to thank Elise Boulding, an extraordinary leader in the field of world peace, for her personal support. I also want to thank steadfast colleagues in the Department of Sociology at Boston College who have supported my work over the decades; they have maintained a graduate program with the theme of Social Economy and Social Justice: Race, Gender, and Class in a Global Context. Students in that department working with Charles Derber alerted me to efforts that were being undertaken across the United States to stop overseas sweatshops that were unacceptable to them, a story found in Chapter 8. I also discussed the problems of global business represented in this book with colleagues in the joint degree program of the sociology department with the Carroll School of Management (*Leadership for Change*); this program trains top managers in business that face the issues covered in this book.

I benefited from panel discussions on the topics of this book. Boston College faculty members held a panel discussion on my last book (*A Civil Economy*) with numerous comments that informed this book. The panelists included Alan Wolfe (Political Science), David Rasmussen (Philosophy), Ali Banuazizi (Psychology), and Richard Tresh (Economics), and Stephen Pfohl (Sociology). The Coalition for a Strong United Nations organized a panel discussion on a draft for *A Civil Republic*. Among the panelists were Brian Aull (the Baha'i Community), Winston Langley (provost, University of Massachusetts, Boston, a professor of International Studies), and David Lewit (Alliance for Democracy), and their suggestions were also taken into account.

My gratitude goes to James Carey, CBS Professor of International Journalism at Columbia University, for his comments to me on problems in the mass media. As a former member of the board of directors of the Public Broadcasting System, a board member of Peabody Awards for Broadcasting, and author of *Television and the Press*, his advice was especially helpful to me.

The writings and research of Amitai Etzioni, former president of the American Sociological Association (ASA), clarified much of the path that I took; he supported my organizing an ASA workshop on social capital with Robert Putnam, Ron Burt, Viviana Zelizer, Carmen Sirianni, Charles Tilly, and Steve Waddell, thus providing more ideas for this book.

Richard Swedberg, a former student in the Boston College graduate program independently introduced a field of studies in economic sociology that became informative to me. This scientific orientation contributed to my writing the appendices found on my college Web site at http://www2.bc.edu/~bruyn.

Chris Kochansky contributed excellent editorial work on the draft manuscript. I want to thank Jim Lance at Kumarian for seeing the value in this work for publication.

My wife, Louise, is the most vital contributor of all, with all the faith and love that she has provided me in addition to reading, commenting upon, and personally supporting the writing of this book.

Abbreviations/Acronyms

AAC&U, Association of American Colleges and Universities

AAHE, American Association for Higher Education

AAI, Aluminum Association Inc.

AASA, American Association of School Administrators

AASCU, American Association of School Administrators

AAU, Association of American Universities

ACE, American Council on Education

ACEHSA, Accrediting Commission for Education in Health Services Administration

ACLS, American Council of Learned Societies

AIA, American Institute of Architects

AICA, American Institute of Certified Accountants

AIP, Apparel Industry Partnership

AMA, American Medical Association

ANSI, American National Standards Institute

ASCO, American Society of Clinical Oncology

ASME, American Society of Mechanical Engineers

CAAHEP, Commission on Accreditation of Allied Health Education Programs

CCT, Civil Commission on Telecommunications

CDC, Community Development Corporation

CDD, Center for Digital Democracy

CEDAW, Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women

CEP, Council on Economic Priorities

CEPAA, Council on Economic Priorities Accreditation Agency

CEPH, Council on Education for Public Health

CERES, Coalition for Environmentally Responsible Economies

CHEA, Council for Higher Education Accreditation

CII, Council of Institutional Investors
CIPB, Citizens for Independent Public Broadcasting
CLC, Collegiate Licensing Company
CMI, Comité Maritime International
CSWE, Council on Social Work Education
CTF, Community Technology Fund
D&PL, Delta & Pine Land
EC, European Community
ECS, Education Commission of the States
FAIR, Fairness & Accuracy in Reporting
FLA, Fair Labor Association
FSC, Forest Stewardship Council
G-20, Group of Twenty
G-7, Group of Seven
GATS, General Agreement on Trade Services
GE, genetically engineered
GMO, genetically modified organism
HMO, health maintenance organization
HSN, Home Shopping Network
IAAE, International Association of Agricultural Economists
IAC, InterActiveCorp
IBO, international business organization
ICC, International Criminal Court
ICCR, Interfaith Council on Corporate Responsibility
IFG, International Forum on Globalization
IGF, insulin-like growth factor
IGO, intergovernmental organization
ILRF, International Labor Rights Fund
INGO, international nongovernmental organization
IPA, Independent Press Association
IPU, Interparliamentary Union of international business organizations
ISO, International Standards Organization
ITT, Illinois Institute of Technology
IUGG, International Union of Geodesy and Geophysics
IYF, International Youth Foundation

JCAHO, Joint Commission on Accreditation of Healthcare Organizations
LCHR, Lawyers Committee for Human Rights
LOS, Law of the Sea
MAP, Media Access Project
MEF, Media Education Foundation
MMS, Massachusetts Medical Society
NAB, National Association of Broadcasters
NAFTA, North American Free Trade Agreement
NAM, National Association of Manufacturers
NCA, North Central Association of Colleges and Schools
NCAA, National Collegiate Athletic Association
NEASC, New England Association of Schools and Colleges
NGO, nongovernmental organization
OPEC, Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries
OSHA, Occupational Safety and Health Administration
PAC, political action committee
PBT, Public Board of Trustees
PBT, Public Broadcasting Trust
PCAOB, Public Company Accounting Oversight Board
PDB, Public Domain Board
POP, persistent organic pollutants
rBGH, recombinant bovine growth hormone
RFK, RFK Memorial Center for Human Rights
RTC, Research Technology Corporation
SAI, Social Accountability International
SEC, Securities and Exchange Commission
UNCTAD, United Nations Conference on Trade and Development
UNEP, UN Environmental Programme
UNITE, Union of Needletrades, Industrial, and Textile Employees
USAS, United Students Against Sweatshops
USDA, U.S. Department of Agriculture
WDM, wave division multiplexing
WI, Willamette Industries
WRC, Worker Rights Consortium
WTO, World Trade Association

Introduction

In his book *The Lexus and the Olive Tree*, Thomas Friedman, the foreign affairs columnist for the *New York Times*, defined globalization as "the inexorable integration of markets, nation states and technologies in a degree never witnessed before." And, he warned, over a year before September 11, 2001, "This process of globalization is also producing a powerful backlash from those brutalized or left behind by this new system."

For many citizens of the United States and its allies, the twin towers of the World Trade Center in New York City were a symbol of prosperity and freedom, but for others around the world they stood for arrogance and domination. The shock and terror, grief and anger provoked by their destruction—not just in this country but around the world—underscore the urgency of the topics we will address in this book.

While some would say that world trade is opening a path for free markets and democracy, it is also, undeniably, a struggle for power among nation-states and corporations whose interests grow ever more global. These markets are inexorably linked to issues of war and peace. In describing how markets and nations are moving on a single track, Friedman wrote,

> Managing globalization is a role from which America dare not shrink. It is our overarching national interest today, and the political party that understands that first, the one that comes up with the most coherent, credible and imaginative platform for pursuing it, is the party that will own the real bridge to the future.[1]

These are difficult times. There could be global calamities ahead. The state of the economy could worsen and be followed by a second great worldwide depression. Unchecked environmental pollution and exploitation could trigger a collapse of the world's interlocked ecosystems. Conflicts between governments and the spread of weapons of mass destruction could be followed by ever more horrifying terrorist attacks and even a World War III that would devastate the planet and its peoples.[2] All such terrible things could happen.

Could they be prevented? I think so. But preventing them would require a whole new system of governance in markets and states. This is

what this book is about, strengthening and building upon existing structures to create a different type of governance for the economy and the nation, one that has links to similar efforts around the globe. I call that different type of governance a civil republic.

What is a civil republic? In the vision put forth in this book, a civil republic would be a society of federations that develops—by design and with government support—from local to global levels to bring core human values into the economy. This would require changes in public policies that would alter the direction of nations and specific market economies. It should lead toward a system of international law, a world court system, and a permanent multinational peace force. I will argue, it is the surest way for governments and civic leaders to prevent the disasters that loom above us.

Could such a thing be modeled and developed in the decades ahead? Why not? Many of the seeds for such a change were planted long ago. The Mayflower Compact that was signed on November 11, 1620, by 41 passengers who had arrived as colonists in the New World—heads of families, adult bachelors, and hired manservants—was a declaration that these men wanted to conduct their lives in a new way, under a new rule of civil law. Yes, they were intruders whose interests eventually clashed with those of the indigenous peoples they encountered. Yes, they were all male and propelled by self-interest as well as by a devotion to their ideals. But in agreeing to shape a type of government different from that of a European monarchy, and to safeguard religious freedom, they put forth a model for mutual self-governance that was new in the world.

The historian Daniel Boorstin describes this new kind of governance as having been born on a "fertile verge." "A verge is a place of encounter between 'something and something else,'" he wrote in 1989. "America was a land of verges—all sorts of verges, between kinds of landscape and seascape, between stages of civilization, between ways of thought and ways of life."[3] Far from the governments to which they still owed allegiance, the inhabitants of the all the European colonies in the North American Northeast grew used to a certain degree of self-determination. Like the signers of the Mayflower Compact, they began to develop their own extra-governmental institutions and associations for solving their own problems.

In 1776, the revolution of thirteen American colonies against the British Crown established a new form of government, a democratic republic based (in theory, at least) on the consent of the governed rather than the divine rights of kings or the authority of any one church. Above all, the new "Americans" were social inventors. Both before and after the American Revolution they created self-governing associations within this New World model. These associations—developed as churches, schools,

colleges, clubs, and professions—sought to institutionalize their own goals and values, and to form relationships with each other for their mutual edification and benefit. In the late 1830s, Alexis de Tocqueville marveled at the propensity of Americans to form voluntary associations and identified this as a key characteristic of the new democracy. Writing a century and a half later, Daniel Boorstin agreed, calling these organizations "arenas of experiment and of progress" and "a new fountain of social creativity."[4]

Today, I would argue, we are living on a new, frightening but potentially fertile verge. Once again we are at the intersection of vastly different cultures and "ways of thought and ways of life." During most of human existence, political scientist Samuel Huntington writes, contacts between civilizations were intermittent or nonexistent. But today global politics has become "multipolar and multicivilizational."

> Peoples and nations are attempting to answer the most basic question humans can face: Who are we? And they are answering that question in the traditional way human beings have answered it, by reference to the things that mean most to them. People define themselves in terms of ancestry, religion, language history, values, customs, and institutions. They identify with cultural groups . . . and at the broadest level, civilizations. People use politics not just to advance their interests but also to define their identity.[5]

We face terrible challenges ahead, but I firmly believe that we can meet those challenges by drawing upon that "fountain of social creativity" to help us design a new civil republic.

"Can we start by building a global civil society?" asks Benjamin Barber, of Rutgers University.

> Until recently, one could look in vain for a global "we, the people" to be represented. That is now changing. There is another internationalism, a forming crystal around which a global polity can grow. Effective global governance to temper the excesses of the global market does not yet exist; however, international activism by nongovernmental organizations (NGOs) has made some surprising gains. People who care about public goods are working to recreate on a global scale the normal civic balance that exists within democratic nations.[6]

In this book we will discuss how the United States could begin to build a civil republic by advancing fresh links between the sectors of government, business, and the rest of society. This means creating higher

levels of organization for markets, the nation, and eventually for the world at large.

We begin in Part 1 by asking, What's the problem? We take a look at what prominent business leaders and public commentators have to say about the multiple crises we face. They worry about the stock market, business ethics and the loss of core values, misguided government foreign policies and more. Some of them generalize. The problem is systemic, they say; it's the way nations are organized. They describe the frightening challenges before us as a set of problems created by the forces of the modern period: nationalism, capitalism, and globalization.

Then we'll turn to university scholars to see what they have to say about possible solutions. Academics see the problem in two frameworks: political economy and civil society. Political economists examine the organization of markets and states, asking how nations could improve their relations and their interlinked economies. The mainline of US government policy is based on this outlook. Civil society scholars, on the other hand, describe the problem as a decline in core values. They see churches building shopping malls, hospitals becoming businesses, and universities creating for-profit charters; they see professionals—accountants, lawyers, and physicians—supporting corporate interests more consistently than they support the values of honesty, justice, and public health. The scholars using these two frameworks do not see eye to eye. Our task is to bring the ideas and approaches represented in these frameworks closer together so that both can help us search for solutions.

In Part 2 we will look at the way nations organize a market economy from a new perspective. We start by re-defining markets and pose a question—how could markets develop differently? Other questions follow. Could capitalist markets become civil markets? Could a new market model be introduced into the global economy? Could new public policies offer a new constructive direction for globalization?

Parts 3 and 4 are about implementing this new model for markets and nations. They are about public policies that support the core values of society. They are about creating accreditation systems for industry and business, fashioning civil commissions that link associations in business and the Third Sector, and building a civil polity in the life of markets. They are about supporting civil investment, civil federations, and civil regimes on the world scene. They are about bringing accountability into the management of the economy, developing world law, and controlling global arms sales and weapons of mass destruction.

There is a lot here. Planners, scientists, scholars, educators, citizens, and community leaders must create markets that are internally safe and sound around the world. Third Sector associations must participate in markets as co-standard makers, monitors, and whistleblowers. The mass

media must move from a private domain to a public domain. Local communities must achieve self-direction in global markets. As this "new market system" develops, it brings us to a civil republic.[7]

How does this happen? The three sectors—government, business, and the Third Sector—are very different. Their organizations are as far apart as states and churches, colleges and trade associations, global corporations and the United Nations. A new order of society must develop at the cross points of these sectors.

The plan is formidable and difficult to advance. It would require leaders with strength, courage, intelligence, and far-reaching vision, like the Americans who founded the United States in the eighteenth century—Washington, Jefferson, Adams, Franklin, Madison, and Monroe. These colonial leaders knew they had to overcome the power of a worldwide empire to create a new nation. As they fought their revolution and constructed the Constitution of the United States, they moved out of the medieval period.

I would argue that today we—all nations—need to move out of the modern period or perish. At the beginning of this new millennium, capitalism and nationalism are no longer workable. These "isms" lead only to injustice, ecosystem failures, economic depression, and the grounds for World War III. A new system of local to global governance is essential to counter the dangers of authoritarian governments, environmental collapse, and the use of weapons of mass destruction that could destroy humankind. Today America and nations around the world must create a civil revolution and a new republic. Here I offer a general outline and some specific proposals for how that could be done.

Notes

1. Thomas L. Friedman, *The Lexus and the Olive Tree* (NY: Anchor Books, 2000), 9, 437.
2. Terrorist groups and nation states are seeking weapons of mass destruction that can be moved easily through world markets. Deadly chemical weapons are attractive because they are simple to manufacture, easy to store and transport, and difficult for either governments or international inspectors to detect. Biological weapons can be equally elusive and lethal. Nuclear weapons are getting smaller for distribution and deployment. There is now a 58-pound nuclear "backpack" bomb that can be carried by one person.

   Historians have demonstrated that all countries eventually develop the latest weapons of war—from spears to long bows, from dynamite to guns and cannons—and none can control the sale of these arms once they have been created. While we can hope that the balance of power between nations will forestall the use of any of the more modern weapons of mass destruction, they may

become available to terrorist organizations, and a terrorist attack using any of these weapons could destroy a whole city or even, at some point, a whole nation anywhere on earth.

3. Daniel Boorstin, *Hidden History* (NY: Vintage Books, 1989), xv.
4. Boorstin, *Hidden History, xv.*
5. Samuel P. Huntington, *The Clash of Civilizations and the Remaking of World Order* (NY: Simon & Schuster, 1996), 21.
6. Benjamin Barber, *The American Prospect*, Volume 11, Issue 20, September 11, 2000.
7. An extension of ideas in this book can be found in the Appendices on the Internet at http://www2.bc.edu/~bruyn.

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