

APPENDICES: A CIVIL REPUBLIC

These appendices are written for readers of the book [A Civil Republic](#) (Kumarian Press, 2005). This book argued that departments and schools in the university are not in a position to help national leaders prevent problems like terrorism, massive deaths from weapons of mass destruction (WMDs), eco-system failures, economic depressions or world wars. There is too much specialization within the university setting. A new combination of inter-school studies and interdisciplinary research is needed. A conventional inquiry by faculties in separate disciplines will not yield the research needed to help governments prevent such terrible calamities. We argued that a new system of civil governance and development must be modeled to prevent such catastrophes from happening.

We described a strategy to study a new governing system called a civil republic. A civil republic is a society of associations and federations that bring core values into the political economy. This type of republic is a model and a plan for the development of the entire society, rather than a plan just for business and government. Its attributes are local to global, and these can be studied within nations today. These attributes, like transparency, democracy, and public accountability, need university-based studies.

The strategy is called *societal development*, different from business development, commercial development, organizational development, recreational development, administrative development, educational development, legal development or the development of welfare services. Societal development requires interdisciplinary research designed to inspire new government policies.

We have suggested, for example, that political scientists should study the development of *international law* in a *global society*, not just inter-government organizations; economists should research the regulation of commerce through a *civil polity* in the private sector, not just through government; sociologists should define indicators for a *Council of Social Advisers* linked with the United Nations, different from those in a Council of Economic Advisers; schools of management should study how *public directors* can work on the boards of global corporations; lawyers should study how *corporate charters* can be written with *stakeholders* in mind; business scholars should study *systems of public accountability* in world markets; institutional economists should examine *civil trade* along with free trade; international scholars should model a new system of *global governance* to stop terrorism; world leaders should study how a *multilateral peace force* and *international courts* could support *civil societies*. And these

seemingly different projects should be conducted together in an environment where faculties can dialogue about the larger picture unfolding through collaborative research.

Such studies should encourage public policies that lead national leaders to a different kind of republic. They should help keep nation states from destroying the planet with weapons of mass destruction. The problem is serious; the danger is imminent.ⁱ

A *civil republic* is different from an *economic republic*. The legal scholar Adolf Berle held that an economic republic is a system of capitalist markets regulated by government. Berle said that this type of republic evolved in the modern period. His idea refers to a nation like the United States that is rooted in business and national interests. Berle believed that nations could regulate markets for the common good.ⁱⁱ

But we said no to this idea. This type of republic is, in fact, the problem. There is a great danger in advancing business markets on a global scale when there is no system of world governance to regulate them. Wars happen without regulations for international commerce; weapons of mass destruction are traded in world markets; a global system of governance must be designed to stop the spread of these weapons. Wars happen without civil commerce, without a multilateral peace force, and without world courts.

In times of terrorism, we see a growing alliance between government and big business. After catastrophic events like terrorist attacks, a strong collaboration for national security occurs between business and government. This close partnership, which includes the mass media, justifies any government action to protect citizens. And that collaboration can be dangerous, generating holy wars in the name of freedom.

Americans have long believed that the very notion of empire is an offense against their democratic heritage, yet these two words -- American empire -- have been on everyone's lips. At this moment of unprecedented economic and military strength in the United States, national leaders have embraced imperial ambitions openly. How did the United States get to this point? And what lies down the road?ⁱⁱⁱ

Philosopher Paul Kurtz speaks of the danger of terrorism today. A nation with WMDs and advanced war technology becomes the world's policeman and peacekeeper. A nation with power and technologies like the United States becomes a globally armed force to protect everyone from the enemies of freedom. In this disposition for security and survival, the United States legitimizes itself as an empire. So Kurtz asks whether we can keep this *type of republic* any longer. "The Roman Republic," he recalls, "lasted but two centuries, and then it was supplanted by the Roman Empire. Has the

American democratic republic, too, become so fragile that its survival is in doubt?”^{iv}

The idea of a “republic” goes back to ancient times. (See Appendices J,K,O, and P.) Plato wrote The Republic in 360 B.C.E as an idea for advancing Justice. We argue that a *civil republic* is an idea for advancing *freedom with justice and democracy* and with other core values in modern society. It is a development in which core values in society become part of the political economy.

A “civil republic” is not a Platonic idea. It is a community of people who see government (the state) as one order among other civil orders governing society. *The governance of society does not rest in the state alone.*^v

These appendices invite research on how to study and build a civil revolution. They ask students to think about social inventions, to conduct innovative research in government, and to consider a new type of republic.

A *civil republic* is latent in the culture of modern nations, ready to be birthed in the 21st century. It is like an embryo, so to speak, hidden, vulnerable, and, as such, it requires monitoring, attention and care. We described it alternatively as a model for study, and equally, from another

angle, as a strategy for public policy. Researchers must take account of the entire body of society rather than just business and government alone.

So, these appendices begin with a history of how a civil society was conceived and how this great idea is not finished; its definition is still under study. At one point, this extraordinary idea of “civil society” encouraged the formation of markets and democracies, and the idea remains alive today, as the reader can see in these appendices.

Social philosophers and other thinkers created the idea of a civil society, and this led leaders beyond monarchism and feudalism; now students can study it to go beyond capitalism and nationalism. These appendices call for modeling a new republic for the 21st century.

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The Appendices: Summaries

Appendix A: The Philosophy of Civil Society

In this Appendix, we review the philosophies of society that were written during the decline of feudalism and the birth of modern nations. Social contract philosophers and social scientists conceived an idea that led to democratic states and capitalist markets. Their work has significance for members of all disciplines -- theology, political science, economics, anthropology, art, sociology, history, literary studies, and the physical sciences -- not just philosophy.

Appendix B: Popular Theories of Civil Society

In this Appendix, we look at definitions of civil society that appeared after the collapse of communism in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe. Sociologists, politicians, theologians, journalists, historians, political scientists and literary scholars addressed this subject. They point to a society that could lead to a post-modern system of governance.

Appendix C: A General Economy

In this Appendix, we see the economy operating across society-- government, business and the Third Sector. We see how nongovernmental associations function within it. This economy is not just composed of competing businesses but also of countervailing and competing *associations*. This tri-sector outlook at the economy is our framework for critiquing the premises of political economy. It is also the ground for building a different market system. We show how a

new social-political order is emerging--one that we call a civil republic.^{vi}

Appendix D: Mapping Markets

Markets have existed since the beginning of civilization, but capitalist markets are based on a quest for economic advantage. This Appendix shows how to study markets in a broader (general) economy.

Economists like Ronald Coase and Oliver Williamson and sociologists like Mark Granovetter and Richard Swedberg explored key issues in the organization of markets. Coase said that firms do not act alone; rather, they act in cooperation with other firms. Williamson saw cooperation operating in market hierarchies. Granovetter looked at business groups embedded in society while Swedberg studied markets as institutions. They point to an *associated* system of markets. Firms collaborate in market hierarchies through the nonprofit sector, where connections can be mapped in a tri-sector economy.

Appendix E Civil Corporations and Associations

The U.S. Supreme Court defined business corporations as persons and, strangely, as being immortal. Could corporations, as immortal persons, develop public accountability? Could they acquire civic virtues? We discuss the answers in terms of civil federations and associations in the private sector.

Appendix F: Civil Development: The Cultural Component

Here we look at how “formal” and “substantive” rationality are part of the market. To build a civil republic requires researching links between these opposing rationalities. The links involve social reasoning, which is much different from economic reasoning.

Appendix G **A Civil Rationale for Markets**

A *civil* rationale is different from an *economic* rationale. It is a social logic formulated for a general (tri-sector) economy, not just a business economy. It considers the inter-operations of all organizations that link through systems of economic exchange. A civil rationale is formulated by interdisciplinary studies in the university.

Appendix H. **A Public Philosophy**

Here we look at the philosophy of a civil republic. This philosophy is in accord with ideas that scholars have written about in the past but were never applied in government policy. We draw clues about how policies could be formulated from great writers like Walter Lippmann, political scientists like Michael Sandel and Benjamin Barber, classical philosophers like Aristotle, and sociologists like Emile Durkheim.

Appendix I **Public Media Alternatives**

In this Appendix, we pick up where we left off in [A Civil Republic](#) to discuss more details about a different media system. The question is how to create a public media which is not based on business ownership alone. We look at problems in the mass media and elaborate on alternatives through the nonprofit sector of the economy.

Appendix J. **A Republic of Federations**

Here we look at democratic corporations in the nonprofit sector. They are watchdogs, whistleblowers, rebels, lobbyists, protestors, and in some cases, standard making bodies that carry society's core values. We look at types of federations in the religious order, professional order, educational order, and the business order. We see them evolving in the United States like a hidden republic of federations.

Appendix K **Government Policies for Federations**

The American colonists in their Philadelphia convention chose to go beyond feudalism by turning to the idea of federalism. Now we choose this idea of federalism to go beyond capitalism and nationalism. This means researching models for a republic that includes both the state and private sectors-- a republic, in other words, that would include the entire society. Here we examine new public policies to cultivate civil federations in business and education; then, we look at the possible formation of a federation of nations. A federation of nations would build from a civil polity in the private sector of world commerce.

Appendix L Global Theaters of Action and Civil Regimes

A global regime is a set of organizations with authority to enforce its own rules. Its rules are not all derived from government, but rather more from social compacts among non-governmental organizations. These compacts are in all spheres of corporate activity in the world economy — business, art, accounting, architecture, construction, law, medicine, science, religion, and education. We look at regimes created by *economic actors*, *political actors*, and *social actors* in world markets.

Appendix M The Co-Development of World Organizations

We propose a framework to study the joint development of global organizations. A civil economy at the global level requires a regulatory system that includes the United Nations but also includes common law and social contracts. This economy requires rules with checks and balances to guarantee reliability for the common good. In this co-development model, world leaders develop civil regimes. That is, they create a diverse order of international organizations (IGOs, INGOs, and IBOs) based on the core values of a global society.

Appendix N. Social Studies of the Economy: Future Directions

Socio-economics and economic sociology have developed as fields of research. They overlap in their topics and their membership and each has a different orientation, purpose, and history. Here we see how they define their topics, and we suggest what could be a future for economic sociology and social-economic theory.

Appendix O. Cultural Studies of the Economy: Future Directions

Cultural studies have begun in literary theory and philosophy, but this field has no subject. These studies need clarification for research on the political economy. They invoke a higher level of analysis than any single academic department provides. Here we look at the dialectics of culture and what this means for researching a civil republic.

Appendix P. Societal Development

Could universities study societal development? Could sociologists, economists, and political scientists model a governing system in-and-for society instead of just for business or government? Could they model the development of a society that is not just based on economic development and commerce – as important as that remains in strengthening a nation? We argue that there are vast reserves hidden in the social and cultural life of nations. Social and cultural resources are concealed, waiting to be studied by faculties whose findings could inform political leaders.

Appendix Q. Bibliographies on Development

Universities are specialized, departmentalized and professionalized. Students face an uphill battle to study societal development, the ground for building a civil republic. We invite specialists to read across the literature of isolated disciplines to learn what others are saying and doing. We offer samples of books and essays that broaden the mind of specialists. They are guides for

students who read for leisure and by those who want to understand the scope of society and its development in A Civil Republic.^{vii}

ⁱ The issues in sociology are similar to those in other learned societies. At the American Sociological Association annual conference in 2004, President Michael Burawoy distinguished *public sociology* from *professional sociology* and *policy sociology*.

Professional sociology involves work aimed for academic journals and peer review; it would solve “academic puzzles”. Policy sociology solves problems for government and business. Public sociology, by contrast, is a conversation with society about values. Burawoy says that the three types - professional, policy and public - are interdependent. These Appendices fall within these all of these categories at different points along the way.

ⁱⁱ Adolph A. Berle, The American Economic Republic (New York: Harcourt Brace & World, inc., 1963). Berle’s book justifies a capitalist government. In other words, it is much better to regulate markets than to turn toward communism. In a civil republic, on the other hand, political and economic interests would not be the primary forces driving the nation, nor would they be the main determinant of national policies. This civil (nascent) republic

can be studied because the *nature of markets* is not written in stone.

Financial and political interests are not the only motifs to build a market in society.

ⁱⁱⁱ This imperial outlook is described by writers like Noam Chomsky, Hegemony or Survival (NY: Owl Books, 2004).

^{iv} Kurtz recalls a story in which a citizen reportedly approached Benjamin Franklin at the conclusion of the Constitutional Convention in Philadelphia (September 1787) and asked what sort of government the assembled statesmen had given them. Franklin said, "A republic, if you can keep it." Paul Kurtz, "Is America a Post-democratic Society? How to Preserve Our Republic," Free Inquiry, Volume 25, Number 1.

^v Plato's Republic was a utopia in which the first concern of the rulers was education. Plato conceived of a higher state (not a society), in which "no man calls anything his own," and in which there is neither "marrying nor giving in marriage," and "kings are philosophers" and "philosophers are kings." Higher education would be based on principles of knowledge: intellectual, moral, religious, science, and art.

Tom Paine and Thomas Jefferson said that if a state (government) becomes tyrannous, people should change it. We see that the agents of change today are citizens, but they are also stakeholders in the economy.

They operate within the associations of religion, education, the sciences, arts, and the professions. They govern society along with the state. The authority of government derives from the people who are citizens and stakeholders.

^{vi} George Bataille proposes the term “general economy” in a much more philosophical manner than we do here. He says that our mind reduces all operations to an entity based on “typical particular systems,” whether organisms or enterprises. When economic activity is considered as a whole, it is conceived in terms of particular operations with limited ends. He says that economics generalizes the isolated situation; it restricts its object to operations with a limited end, for example, that of economic man. It does not take into consideration the larger play of energy, which is limitless. An example of this would be the play of living matter involved in the movement of light. Energy is always in excess, and so, in this context, the question is always a matter of extravagance rather than scarcity. See Georges Bataille, Accursed Share: An Essay On General Economy, Translator Robert Hurley, (The MIT Press, 1991). See also: Denis Hollier, "The Dualist Materialism of Georges Bataille" Yale French Studies, no. 78 (1990). Arkady Plotnitsky, Reconfigurations: Critical Theory and General Economy (Gainesville, Fla., 1993). Jacques Derrida acknowledged that his early texts are situated in

relation to Bataille, and that, in them, he pursues a “general economy,” which is a broad strategy of deconstruction. Jacques Derrida, Positions, trans. Alan Bass (Chicago: Chicago University Press, 1981], pp. 106, 35n, 41).

^{vii} My appreciation for copyediting the appendices goes to Jean Lovett, William Wood, and Margaret Lovett.