

THE METAPOLITICS OF THE NOOSPHERE

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Preface

The term “metapolitics” was coined by the poet and cultural historian Peter Viereck in his 1941 book, *Metapolitics: the Roots of the Nazi Mind*. I confess that this book had a strong influence on me as I was writing my first book, *The Imagination of an Insurrection: Dublin, Easter 1916, A Study of an Ideological*

Movement (Oxford University Press: New York, 1967).

Politics is expressed in ideologies that are territorially based, but when an ideology is lifted from one location to become a universal ideology, it becomes more messianic and its leaders become avatars of a new world view. Think of Che' Guevara. For me, the cultural

shift from an identity that is based upon a nation or a territory to one based upon a state of consciousness—indeed even a seizure of consciousness—expresses the transition from politics to metapolitics. In several of my other books, I have called this kind of movement a shift in individual identity from territorial nation-states to noetic polities. ISIL, Al Qaeda, and

Boko Haram are current examples. I have also maintained before in more than one of my books that: “Evil is the annunciation of the next level of organization.” ISIL, Al Qaeda, and Boko Haram are the evil forms of planetization that use the Internet to attract followers, but other forms like science are also noetic polities. New forms will emerge as new

global institutions come forth to deal with the crisis of industrial civilization and climate collapse¹. Nations will increasingly become like organelles within the cell. Our present planetary system of communication satellites that supports our new social media has become what printed media and the railroads were for the spread of modernism. In this

book, I am trying to take a few more steps in this exploration of an unknown new world.

1. On the Clash of Civilizations



*Hubble Photograph of Colliding
Galaxies*

What we are experiencing in the world at large today is not Huntington's "Clash of Civilizations," because in the proper sense of the word a "civilization" no longer exists. In planetization, civilizations no longer have an integral territorial boundary or membrane. All human times—tribal, national, and global—

have been compressed into a single space by electronic media. This compression can be seen as an intense miniaturization in which, in McLuhan's terms, "the sloughed-off environment becomes a work of art in the new, larger, and invisible environment." Just as the railroads and the Dime Novel created the Wild West, so now global travel and electronic

social media are creating a compressed and miniaturized Islamist movement that is not an expression of Islamic Civilization, but rather its collapse. Just as the communism of Stalin and Mao was not that of the learned Karl Marx at work in the British Museum, so the Islam of ISIL, Boko Haram, and Al Qaeda is

not the Islam of Mohammed,
Avicenna, Alhazen, or Ibn Arabi.

Islamist fundamentalism is the
shadow-form of globalist
capitalism, and just as capitalist
managers are not concerned
with their fellow American
citizens in the working class,
but take their identity not from
nationalism but the noetic polity
of globalist capitalist elites, so

Islamist fundamentalists do not take their identity from nation-states but from the noetic polity of the *Ummah*—the imaginal Caliphate of the neo-medieval faithful that reject the whole structure of Modernism with its emancipation of women, its commitment to bourgeois democratic nation-states, its secularist art, and its neoliberal

theory of markets that has displaced humane values. Industrial capitalism cannot solve the problems of climate change; it can only try to buy corporate scientists and compel them to become climate change deniers with fake science. As the evidence of climate collapse becomes more undeniable, we can expect to see an acceleration in the shift from

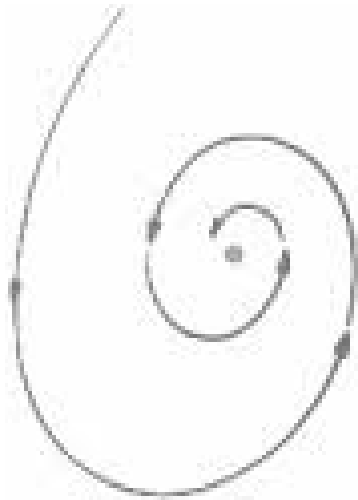
economics to ecology as the new governing science. Just as the rise of what Whitehead called “scientific materialism” in the seventeenth century was part of the emergence of modernism and bourgeois capitalism, so ecology and complex dynamical systems are now part of the world view of a newly emerging planetary culture that will spell the end for capitalism and its

industrial world view.

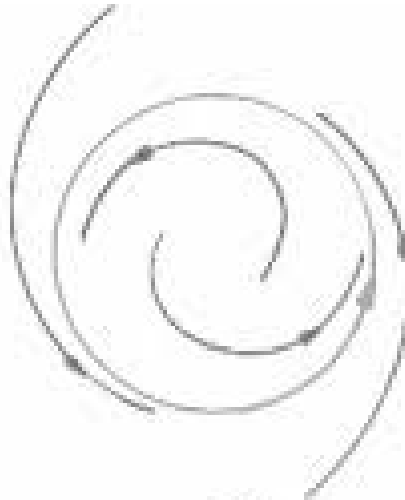
Capitalism is a narrative of individuals, a narrative that is reduced to absurdity in the sociopathic rugged individualism of the Objectivism of Ayn Rand—as well as Governor Scott Walker of Wisconsin and Speaker of the House Paul Ryan with their imaginal binary of a two class system of “makers and takers.”

Global space negates linear time. A single stream with coherence and direction becomes a strange attractor in which the new technologies of the world wide web, *Facebook* and Twitter, and the old technology of television erase all boundaries and neither the West, the Middle East, or the

Far East have territorial integrity.



fixed-point



periodic



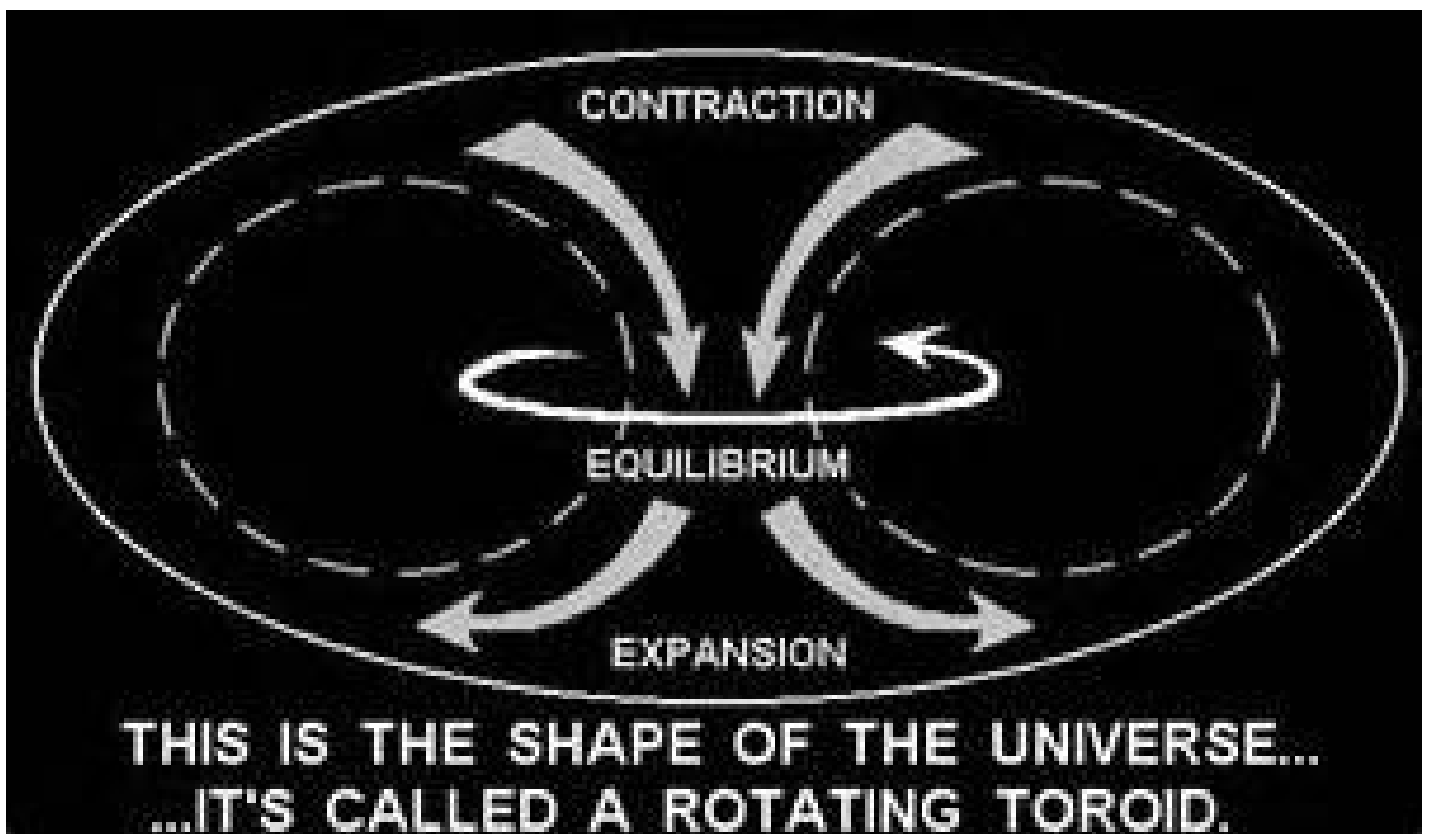
strange

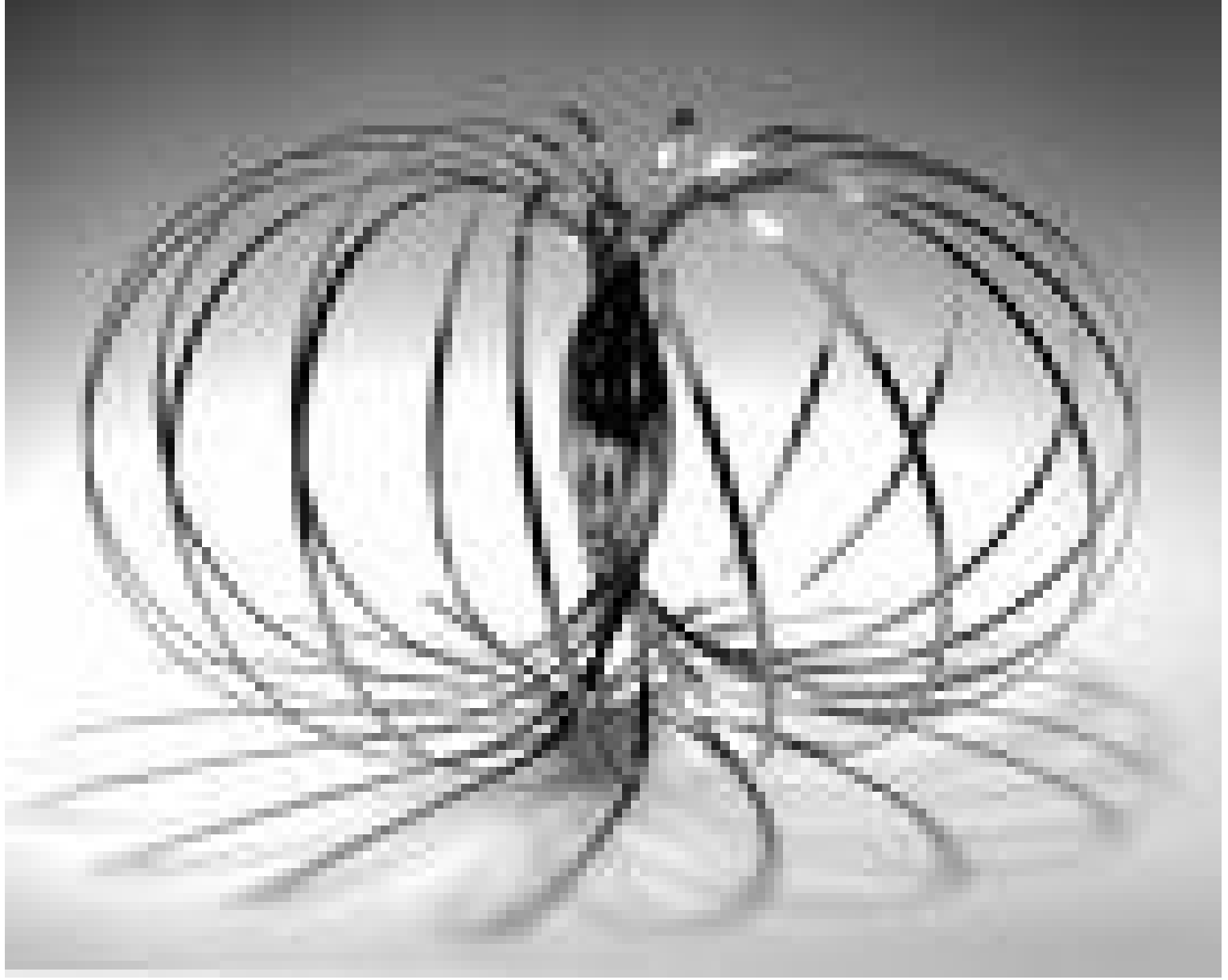
Atticus Lish in his recent novel, *Preparations for a Future Life*, has presented us with a very interesting phase-portrait of the process of planetization. A rural North Carolina redneck soldier

returning from Iraq meets and
bonds with an illegal immigrant
Uighur Chinese woman in
Queens, but this couple is not
your usual romantic couple
falling in love, but two planetary
bodies spun off into orbits
around one another by the
gravitational force of the
colliding galaxies of the U.S. and
China, and this Queens is not a
borough of New York, but an

excrecence of a planet that is not a simple sphere or globe, but a complex topology—a torus in which the outside and the inside become a single surface. When the interior circulation of the immune system breaks down, the surface of the victim can show Kaposi sarcoma. Lish's Queens is just such a surface spot caused by the cancerous circulations of

planetization as expressed in
Bush and Cheney's invasion of
the rich corporations into Iraq
and the counter-invasions of the
poor as illegal immigrants into
New York.





Sumerian and Egyptian
civilizations fed on cereals like
wheat, but planetization feeds
on the fast foods of

consciousness of alcohol and drugs. Economies of addiction--from the coca fields of Peru and the poppy fields of Afghanistan—become a network of long dendritic axons that form a shadow nervous system for the global brain. When the single directional stream of a civilization becomes sucked up into the basin of attraction of planetization, individual identity

becomes scrambled in fractal
vortices.

When individual identity
collapses, fantasy realities take
its place. IRA terrorists created a
vision of a United Ireland that
never existed, since the island
was washed over by streams of
invading prehistoric Norse,
Celts, Vikings, French-speaking
Normans, and English. In the

individual's world of a loss of orientation, alienation and fear, traditional religions become transformed into terrorist cults--from ISIL and Boko Haram to Aryan Nation, Hindu nationalism, Hamas and West Bank settlers' Zionism. We should not think that failed states like Somalia are the only places that the rule of law ceases to function, because

places like South Chicago and South Central Los Angeles can become as imploded as Ciudad Juarez.

The collapse of individual identity coupled to psychotic forms of reintegration can take many forms. The use of psychotropic drugs can generate paranoid seizures that cause job loss, homelessness, and a

general malaise that I would call
“end of world psychosis” in
which culture no longer
functions to integrate the
individual in any system of
norms and values. These people
are the lost who do not even
have the energy to join a cult or
hysterically simplify reality in a
nativistic movement. Their
numbers increase as
planetization creates a global

compost heap of dead and
dysfunctional cultures.

We do not have a sufficient
range of historical examples for
planetization, though meta-
historians like Spengler and
Toynbee did try to generalize
about what happens when tribe
is stretched into empire and
then empire is stretched into a
world. The collapse of the

Roman Empire—which as Gibbons showed took centuries—becomes the over-used model. Such a singular model would suggest that we are now heading into another Dark Age, but, in fact, Rome did not “collapse.” Rome shifted from a point attractor to a chaotic attractor as provinces like Gaul and Germania metamorphosed into the kingdoms and then nations

of Christendom. Think of Pangaea pulling apart into separate continents connected by a new oceanic system.

Another model used by meta-historians Jared Diamond and Joseph Tainter is the collapse of Mayan Civilization—a collapse brought on by the ecological and climatic effects of deforestation and desiccation. The challenge

for our contemporary generation
of meta-historians comes from
the fact that everything is going
on at once: the movement of
peoples, electronic media and
the breakdown of tribes,
nations, and empires,
environmental pollution, climate
collapse, and metastatic
carcinomas of consciousness in
the form of terrorist religions—

Jewish, Christian, Muslim, and Hindu.

We are experiencing a Dark Age and a spiritual Renaissance at the same time. In this shift from nation-state to noetic polity in states of consciousness, the shadow form is literally adumbrated first. At the moment we are experiencing the terrifying visions of planetization

presented to us by novelists like Atticus Lish. But evil is the annunciation of the next level of organization. The Vikings first came to plunder the monasteries, but then founded cities like Dublin and Kiev. So we should expect that in planetization, nation-state patriotism will be replaced with more local allegiances--like Texan secession--for the many

and a cosmic consciousness for
the evolutionary avant garde of
the few. In the single surface of
a rotating toroid, inside becomes
outside and the unique
individual extends his
imagination into the universe--
the great mind of the cosmos
that the old religions in their
primitive cultural projections
called God.

Some scientists say that there have been many Big Bangs and that the universe cycles from the singularity of the Big Bang to the singularity of the Big Crunch as the stars go out, space-time becomes a dark oleaginous thickness that contracts into an infinitely dense point and then explodes in a new Big Bang. These scientists have my vote.

If there has been an infinite cycle of Big Bangs, then there has been ample time for Mind to self-organize in at least one of these sequential universes and emerge in the various forms of the cell, the organism, the planet, the solar system, the galaxy, and the universe as a whole. So taking the phrase from the Buddhists, let us call

this emergence Big Mind. The Judeo-Christian God is too much of the kind of projection a mammal would come up with: a comforting and frightening parent—Jahveh or the Great Mother--Cybele or the Blessed Virgin Mary.

In the shift from religion to post-religious spirituality, the unique individual fractal mind

experiences the Big Mind of the universe directly and has no need of the authoritarian mediations of religion. In the age of the Abrahamic religions--from Judaism to Christianity to Islam--the individual had to surrender his mind to a system of belief in doctrine. (The literal meaning of Islam is submission.) As the new spirituality becomes the *efficient*

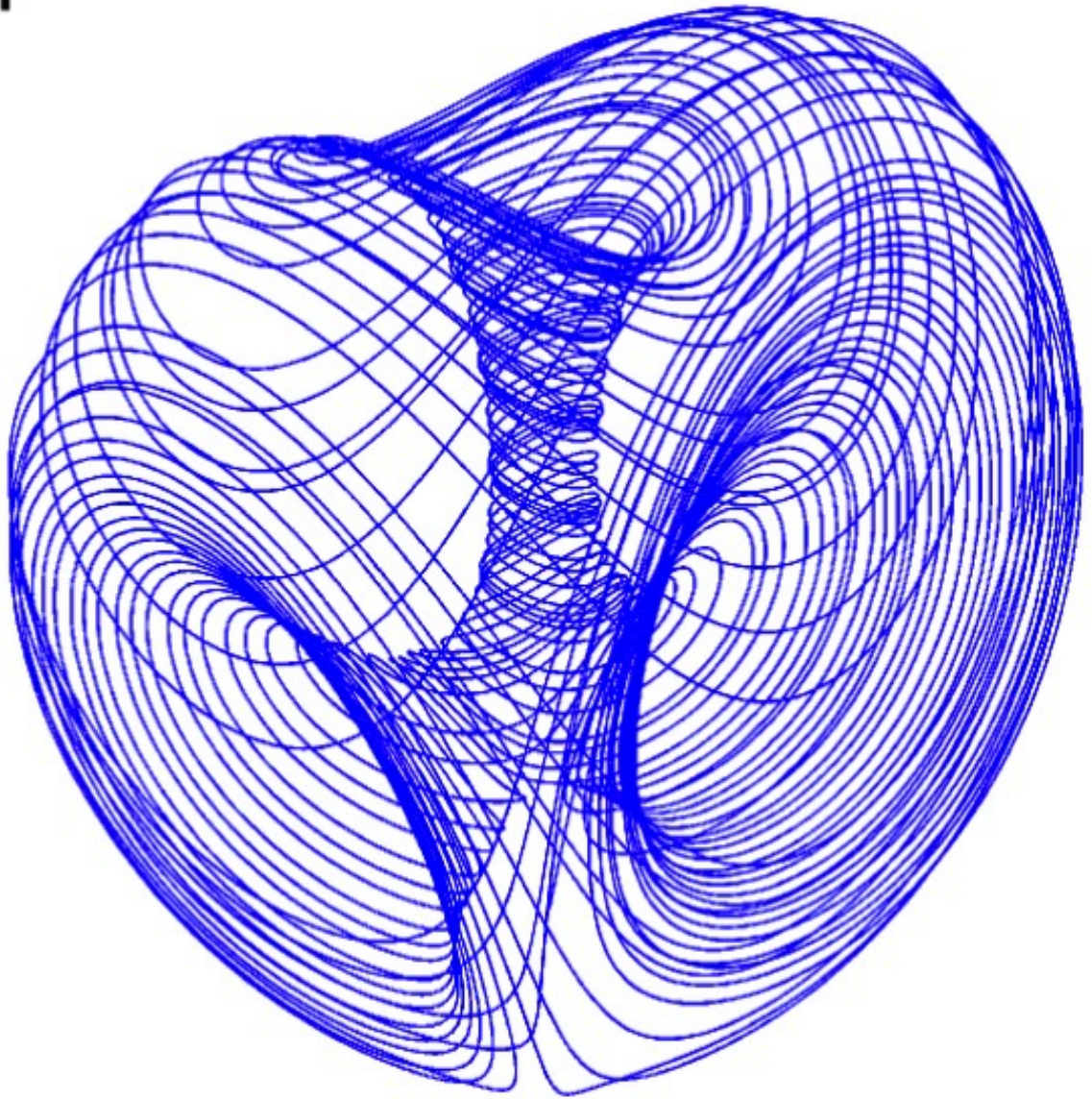
form, the old religions become the *deficient* form, and so all the old religions now are dying, and that is why they have become so desperate, violent, and destructive. Of course, like neutron stars after a supernova, the religions can continue their densely compressed life for aeons. Voodoo is still with us, so I expect that Judaism, Christianity, and Islam will still

be with us as organelles within planetary culture as planetization advances to the next step as climate collapse and catastrophes force us to shift from global industrial development to ecological stewardship in the Living Machines and ecological design first envisioned by the bioneers John Todd and Sim Van der Ryn².

Our task in the twenty-first century is for humanity to work out the political form of the State of Consciousness, the noetic polity. A noetic polity is not an ideology, but more of an ecology of consciousness that works through diversification. The planet Earth is not a primal sludge of mud, liquid, and gas, but rather a complex system of

atmosphere, ocean, and
circulating continents that one
can model in the topological
form of a Dequan-Li.

Dequan-Li



An ideology works through suppression; an ecology of consciousness works through expression. What we see in the daily news is that we are living through the difficult transition from violent religions and an authoritarian form of capitalism in which money has replaced democracy to a Dark Age and an

emergent spiritual and cultural transformation.

When the means of production can become like personal desktop computers and 3D printers, then many factories will no longer be needed. The clutter of sprawled non-cities and composted civilizations can end as nature is scaled up and industrial civilization is scaled

down. Imagine a future of nanotechnologies in which temporary buildings are turned on like an appliance with the flip of a switch. Imagine a science in which the page of equations becomes a musical score played on an instrument that transports the individual mind into *samadhi* as the stars and pulsars hum along as the chorus and the unique and the

universal become the
hypersphere intuited by Dante
in the *Paradiso* (XXXVIII, l. 72) *al*
cerchio che piu ama e che piu
sape.



Above: Beatrice and Dante

*Below: Milarepa listening to the
cosmic nadam*



2. The Etherealization of Capitalism

Cross-cultural trade is as old as the hills. In Neolithic Chatalhöyük in ancient Anatolia, we find cowrie shells from Jericho, and in Jericho we find obsidian from Anatolia. A by-product of such trade in objects is an exchange of words, ideas, animals, even humans, both male and female. Human

intelligence grows as the gene pool grows larger, as the complex system of human culture moves from band to tribe to clan to town to city.

Along with this growth of settlements comes a growth of instrumentalities of exchange from barter to symbolic instruments of value such as cowrie shells. These small

objects were revered because they carried, not the face of an Emperor or President, but the image of the generative vulva of the Great Goddess—an icon going all the way back to 75,000 BCE. As the Great Mother was the source of all, she was a good God in whom one could trust.



But a problem arose. When trade expands there simply aren't enough cowrie shells around to sustain the growing economy, so exchange has to

take another step to higher levels of abstraction. Around the seventh century BCE, coinage was established first in India and then in Lydia on the Greek-speaking coast of Asia Minor. The world of precious metals--of gold and silver--not as objects of display in drinking cups and necklaces, but as exclusive instruments of exchange began to spread, and the Phoenician

trade in the Mediterranean began to expand from the Levant to Spain, and beyond Celtic Galicia to the copper mines of Celtic southern Britain.

The problem that there simply was not enough currency to support an expanding economy arose once more. So people began to cheat by debasing the currency--filing down the edges

of coins or using cheaper alloys
—as we still do today with our
nickels that only contain 25%
nickel and our pennies that are
merely plated with 2.5% copper.
Gresham's Law that stated how
bad money drives out good
appeared as a pattern of
behavior long before the Tudor
economist after whom the law is
named was born.

The Chinese took the next step higher in abstraction and invented paper money. And just as the Great Goddess was needed to back up the iconic value of the Neolithic cowrie shell, so was the Emperor and the machinery of the state needed to back up the paper currency. The value of paper money derived from a magical nimbus around writing, so it is

not surprising that the first
paper money appeared in China
where calligraphy was an
exalted art.



The next step up in levels of abstraction came when the Renaissance introduced bills of exchange and invented international banking. Learning from the Knights Templar before them, who served to finance the Crusades, Florentine bankers worked with their tiny republic to produce the respectable international coinage of the

Florin. But the eternal spring kept bouncing back: an economy will always grow beyond its supply of supportive instruments of exchange, be they bars of silver, gold coins, or slips of paper with the magical presence of writing upon them. What to do?

It was all well and good to put the King's face on a coin and

ridges on its edge to stop
cheaters from filing them down,
but the French Louis or the
Spanish Real could not gloss
over the fact that the illustrious
crowned heads were the biggest
deadbeats in Europe. The kings
were always borrowing money
from the bankers, the Fuggers
and the Rothschilds, to pay for
their armies that sustained and
expanded their sovereign states.



Since the aristocratic sovereigns
were always in debt, it occurred
to the practical middle class
Dutch to institutionalize debt

and make it the ground of the new economy of stocks and bonds. The new ground was not to be land, or the precious metals buried within it, but debt itself—the bonds that tie. In institutionalizing debt, and expanding the volume of economic transactions, the Bank of Amsterdam became rich and then became the model for the new national Bank of

England in the Anglo-Dutch
culture of the Glorious
Revolution of 1688. This step up
to an even higher level of
abstraction also involved the
reinvention of time. Hitherto, all
value had derived from the past:
from the Mandate of Heaven in
China to the incarnation of
Jesus in Christendom or the
Magna Carta in feudal England.

The past was the source for the validation of human cultures.

In a dramatic shift that amounted to a transformation of world-view, the future now became the locus of value. The future was the phase-space of the new economy when “your ship came in” and you paid off your loan and still turned a profit. Not surprisingly, power

and sovereignty also shifted from the king to the Parliament in the revolution of 1688. But such dizzy heights of abstraction and cultural change became too much for conservatives who still believed that all value rested upon the solid ground of land; for the Tories, the size of an economy was the sum of all the rents on the acreage of England.

Conservatives are concrete thinkers who structure the boundaries of their world by creating outsiders and enemies. They dislike ambiguity and complexity, and they hold tight to the values of king and Church. Liberals, by contrast, are a more roguish, risk-taking lot. They can easily expand their world-view to take in new worlds

and they delight more in real women and anti-authoritarian art than in Holy Mother Church. Their story is one not of blue blood inheritance, but a much more exciting narrative of from rags to riches. Re-read your old college text of Daniel Defoe's *Moll Flanders* to gain a re-appreciation of the role of new worlds and women in the construction of modernism.

Yes, I do realize that agrarian Thomas Jefferson loved women, but even though he tried to base the American economy on agrarian values--in contrast to Alexander Hamilton who wanted to imitate the Dutch economic revolution of 1688 through the creation of a national bank--Jefferson was a very contradictory fellow. He wrote

eloquently of freedom, but kept slaves and lived with his own slave children from his mulatto mistress Sally Hemmings. He spoke of a Republic, but his Louisiana Purchase really set Manifest Destiny and the imperial race to and in the Pacific in motion. Without the Louisiana Purchase, the imperialism of Teddy Roosevelt

would have to have been put off
for another era.

With the Industrial Revolution
and its growth of the world
economy by orders of
magnitude, the demand for
currency might have stumbled
along with seventeenth century
habits and concepts of slavery
and sexism, but along with the
New World came new expanding

economies of addiction--of sugar, rum, tobacco, cacao, coffee, and tea. When past-oriented China with its geometric mentality confronted futuristic England with its dynamical mentality, a global crisis emerged. The Chinese did not care a hoot for the cheap manufactured goods of England and demanded payment in gold and silver for their tea. (When

you think of tea, don't just think of polite ladies sipping tea in porcelain cups; think of working class men, women, and children needing cheap black tea to stay awake in the mines and factories for their twelve hour shifts.)

The idea that gold and silver were somewhere in the Bank of England, backing up the Pound

Sterling, was like the Near Eastern myth of Virgin Birth backing up the myths of Christianity; it was something one simply could not question without bringing the whole institution down. Still, one needed some gold in storage to keep up the appearance that every bank note was a symbol of an amount of heavy gold more

conveniently stored in a national bank vault.

England responded to this collision of world-views with China by attacking China with its navy, and seeking to addict the populace by selling them opium from its colonies in India and Afghanistan. It expanded its economies of addiction from Rum, tobacco, coffee, and tea to

include opium. In other words,
England was a drug cartel no
different from contemporary
Colombia.



By now it has occurred to you
that marijuana in Mexico,

cocaine in Colombia and Peru,
and opium in Afghanistan are
still up and running as
economies of addiction in which
the currencies of exchange are
drugs and guns. The Opium
Wars are still going on, thanks
to Obama's continued support
for an American Empire that
seeks to play "the Great Game"
and check the power of Russia,

Iran, India, Pakistan, and China
in Central Asia.



Meanwhile, back on Wall Street
in 2008, another step up on this
increasingly unstable ladder of
abstractions was taken in the

invention of derivatives and
tranches and high-frequency
trading. Time was once again re-
invented as the phase-space of
Now became not a
dimensionless point, but a
multidimensional tesseract
standing precariously on one
point of its corners. Cornering
the market took on a new
meaning as information and
speed in manipulating "the

difference that makes a
difference” became the
foundation for the generation of
wealth in algorithmic trading.
But if the difference between
prices in milliseconds of buying
and selling can generate
“wealth,” one has to ask oneself
what is the meaning of wealth
and what is “property” when
they are enfolded in invisible

topologies of a multi-
dimensional world

Such a multidimensional world of complex topologies is one in which “catastrophe bifurcations” are the pulse of its life. This new world is by definition unstable. As the transactions of traders shift from brokers to computer nerds and outlaw hackers, the ability of anyone to perceive the

phase-space is impossible in human time. And the vulnerability of computer banks, like space stations, to electromagnetic pulses, such as the solar maximum predicted for 2012, remains to be tested. Our computer racks and servers are not buried and encased in lead. Conceivably, some Chinese or Russian military satellite privy to information about the instant

of a coming solar flare could ride the wave, and while Wall Street and London crash, they could surf the wave to get on top of the catastrophe that wipes out everyone else. Catastrophe trading is a new world that no one now understands; as the early maps of the new world warned when the explorer approached the edge of knowledge: “Here be dragons.”



The hypercapitalists of finance in houses such as Goldman Sachs and AIG in 2008 were so future-oriented in their world-view that pension plans were filled with bonds, based not

upon debts to be paid, but bundlings of bad mortgages sliced into purchasable assets. Goldman Sachs became one of the first investment houses to indulge in catastrophe trading when it bet against some of its customers and on a mortgage crisis that could serve itself and its high rollers. (Small wonder that Hazel Henderson calls the world of finance a global casino.)

The meaning of property was changed as bad properties became an asset. Value was no longer a solid like gold, or a liquid currency like dollars; it had become a gas, a gas of hot air.

When a hot gas reaches a critical level of heat, a star is born. In this century, I believe, we will reach the flashpoint of

ignition of the star of a new economy. We, however, now live in the turbulent time of the phase-shift from one economy and world-view to another.

A hot gas gives birth to stars, and dying stars give birth to planets, providing them with the heavy metals that can sink to the core where they reach the criticality of the flashpoint to

create a planetary magnetic field. This magnetic field creates protection from solar radiation; it serves to keep an atmosphere surrounding the planet and protects the membranes of living cells from being destroyed by the sun. Mars, it now seems, may once have had a magnetic field and atmosphere, but in losing one, it also lost the other.

In human culture we are reaching criticality when the Earth will flash with a new economy and a new planetary culture. Rather than thinking of this new economy as a hot gas, we should think of it as an atmosphere. And what an atmosphere does is to enliven creatures by providing the phase-space of their metabolic exchanges. The old capitalist

economy was a periodic attractor; it oscillated between the two states of boom and bust, wealth and poverty. The emerging economy will be a strange attractor, a bolt out of the blue, and will become much more like an atmosphere of living processes than a market of physical objects.

In a philosophy of identity in which “You are what you own,” Capitalism assumes that the poor have no inherent right to wealth; they have to earn the right to exist by accumulating property. Communism assumed that the rich had no right to wealth, that it was the workers who produced objects and property that, in their definition, belonged to all. “Property is

theft,” said Proudhon before
Marx became more well-known.

The great experiment of
communism failed in the
twentieth century because it
had a feeble mathematical
imagination. It thought in terms
of the geometry of empire with
its single center of command
and control, and its periphery of
resources.



With this sort of world-view,
communism was archaic and
Pharaonic, and it was no wonder
that it got taken over by
genocidal tyrants like Stalin and
Mao. Capitalism outlasted
communism because its

mathematical imagination was one of complexity and self-organization from noise. From the arts to the economy, capitalism was a noisy and jazzy creative system of innovation and transformation. Ronald Reagan and Cap Weinberger were wild risk takers who decided to play economic “chicken” with the Soviets by outspending them on defense

and betting that the Soviet economy would run out of gas before ours would. To bring this development about, these conservatives in name only had to abandon all thought of good old fiscal responsibility. Reagan shifted to profligate deficit spending as if he were a Democrat like Harry Truman. Reagan and Weinberger guessed that the American economy,

stimulated by defense spending, would expand and eliminate the deficit, or at least bankrupt the social democratic state with its maternalistic concerns for health, education, and social welfare. But the deficit exploded without succeeding in destroying the social democratic state. Social Security and Medicare survived Reagan. It took a good old Rockefeller

Republican calling himself a Democrat like Bill Clinton to pay off Reagan's gambling debts. (Notice here how the Republicans are Democrats and the Democrats are Republicans, and then you will begin to appreciate how capitalism is running out of explanations for what it is really doing.)

What the nerdy asocial hypercapitalist traders have failed to understand in their manipulations of time is how evolution works. Nature never throws anything away, but acts like a bricoleur junk artist, using old industrial objects to make new artistic architectures. Consider the evolution of the cell with a nucleus. By shifting to meiosis, the cell packs its

DNA in the nucleus, but opens itself to novelty by throwing half its genetic endowment away.

But such a shift from prokaryotic to eukaryotic cells also came with an integration of the little in the large by matching the acceleration of time in sexual reproduction with an incredibly conservative preservation of mitochondria with their ancient DNA inside

the new membrane. The ATP cycle of the mitochondrion produced the energy the larger cell needed and consumed the toxic oxygen that could have dissolved it.

Capitalists who think of physical objects in markets, and hypercapitalists who think of algorithmic trading and accelerations of time and

manipulations of price and currency differences do not understand life. Capitalism as well as hypercapitalism will both fail in this century because a market is not a good model for a planetary ecology. In the shift from economics to ecology as the governing science of a new planetary culture, we will also experience another transformation of values. When

something is alive, we do not ask if it has a right to exist and seek to deny it air. We only do so when a life is ending, and we let life takes its course to death by unplugging the respirator of the patient.

From the impact of the coming environmental catastrophes and diebacks of billions of human beings that I think are coming in

this century, life will take on a new value. Just as the Black Death almost halved the population of Europe and reduced the work force, so did it also increase the value of the individual. The price of labor went up. So in the not too distant future the shift from an industrial growth mentality of accumulation in an economy to an ecology of symbiosis will

enhance the value of
consciousness, a consciousness
not just of humans, but of the
bacteria in our guts, the whales
in the sea, and the clouds--
thermodynamic and electronic—
on our new horizon.

The identity of the individual
will derive not from territorial
nation-states, but from states of
consciousness. The noetic polity

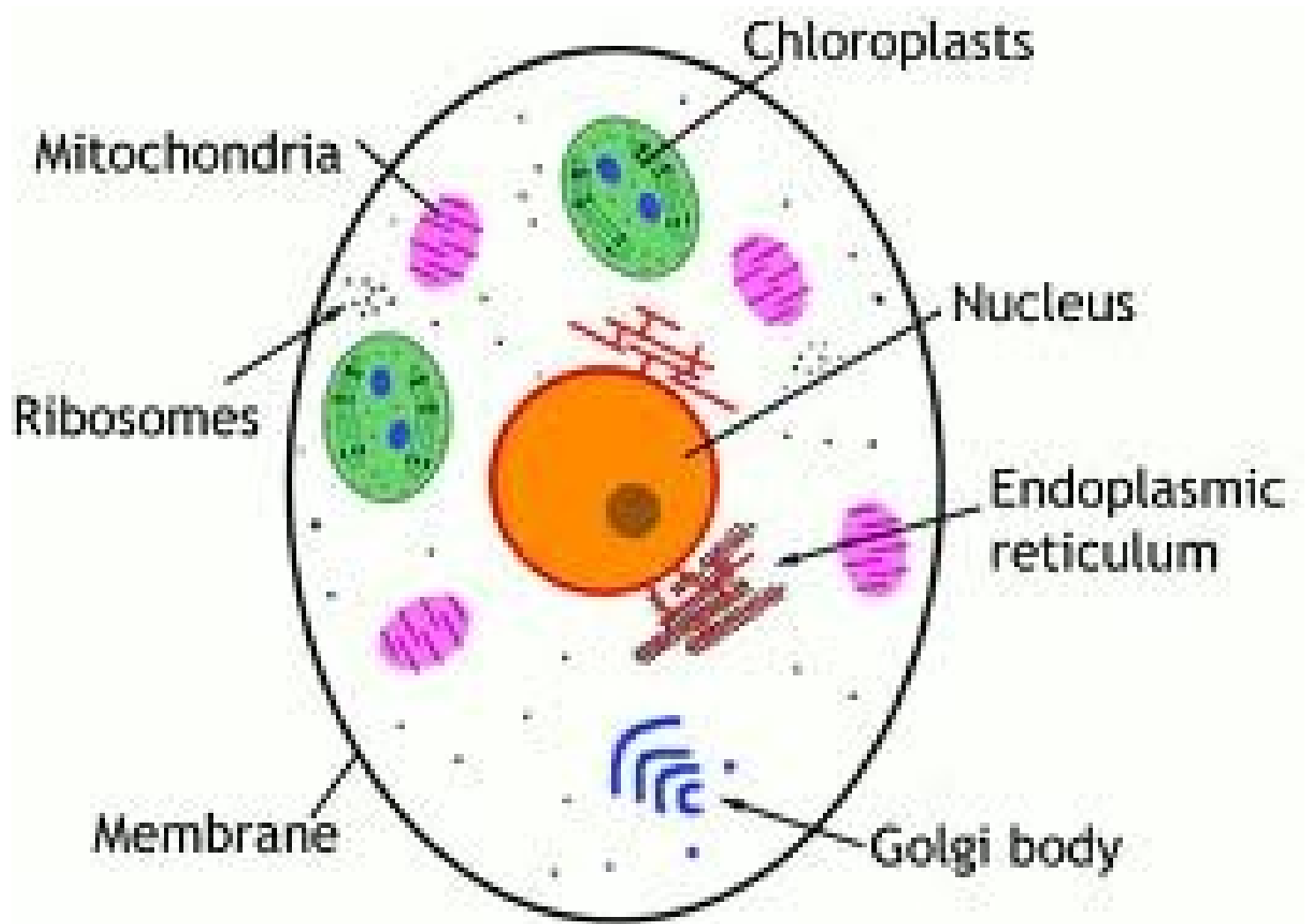
will replace the industrial nation-state. The noetic polity will probably be something like a hybrid crossing of what I called the “meta-industrial village” in my 1977 book, *Darkness and Scattered Light*, a university town and a religious order—something more along the lines of Herman Hesse’s Castalia than Wall Street’s idea of New York.

Like the child of a billionaire,
the individual in a noetic polity
will inherit upon her birth a
fellowship/stipend to support
her growth, development, and
education. And with this
venture capital, she will invent
and invest in new cultural
processes in biomes of
exchange.

Evolution never throws anything away. Plastids, chloroplasts, and mitochondria find new roles for themselves inside larger eukaryotic cells. So it is likely that these new evolutionary noetic polities will miniaturize and restructure previous levels of organization. Foraging, gardening, artisanal ateliers, and Wes Jackson's agriculture of perennials will replace the

fossil fueled factories of
agribusiness. Manufacture will
through the power of
nanotechnologies be scaled
down as nature is scaled up
with the use and further
development of John Todd's
"living machines," and Sim Van
der Ryn's and William
McDonough's new symbiotic
architecture. Thanks to the
leadership of David Orr, Oberlin

College is already moving down
this chreod of evolutionary
development.



Outside these superconducting
domains of noetic polities, the
warlord bad lands predicted by

James Lovelock will also probably exist, but history is a spiral and not a circle, so this transitional dark age condition will not be a simple repeat of the previous one. The difference that makes a difference will be consciousness. Our consciousness of the system will affect the behavior of the system.

A transformation of
consciousness will dawn on us
when we realize, in the
etherealization of capitalism,
that if money is a consensual
instrument—whether cowrie
shells, coins, writing on paper,
or pulses in a computer--that
allows a cultural process to
come into being, then one can
transcend the physical
instrument to proceed directly to

the consensual cultural process. This transformation of world-view is like the shift in mathematical mentalities from Arithmetic to Algebraic. In religious terms, it is like the shift from the economy of men to the ontology of angels, or what the Neoplatonists called the Celestial Intelligences.



So on this Epiphany of a new decade, let us think of the wise men bringing the gold of the past, the incense of the present, and the myrrh of the future—to

the starchild marking in the
zodiacal precession the beginning
of a new era.

3. On Religion and Nationalism: Ireland, Israel, and Palestine



3. I

In his speech to the United Nations General Assembly during his first term in office on September 21, 2011, President Obama proved again that he is a wonderful speechmaker—eloquent and uplifting, but also politically deceptive. In bragging that he brought Osama Bin Laden to Justice, Obama must

have been thinking of some Old West frontier sort of justice, and not a trial within the system of justice one usually associates with that abused word. Had Bin Laden been captured and put on trial for mass murder, most likely all sorts of embarrassing facts might have been exposed about the CIA's relations with Bin Laden and the Mujahadin in

fighting the Russians in
Afghanistan in 1979.

Like someone who has had too
much champagne, I know my
giddy high of admiration for
Obama's eloquence and
intelligence will be followed by a
headache and a hangover. It is
rarely the speech that disturbs
me, but the day after, when one
notices that little has actually

changed. After his 2009 speech in Cairo, in which he advanced the cause of Palestinian statehood and practically apologized for the CIA destruction of the freely elected Mossadegh and its subsequent installation of the Shah as our client dictator in Iran, nothing changed.

In putting the Palestinian case in the hands of Netanyahu, Obama has decided to sacrifice the Palestinians to keep the Jewish vote within the Democratic party. Entrusting Palestinian statehood to Netanyahu and Lieberman is much like entrusting the reform of Wall Street to Geithner and Summers, those disciples of Rubin who brought us the

disasters of deregulation in the first place.

In spite of all the fine speeches, three years into the Obama administration, Guantanamo is still there, the Patriot Act has been extended, and we are bogged down in Iraq and Afghanistan. Obama is calling for a reduction of the deficit, but we are going to keep our

imperial necklace of seven
hundred military bases and
outstations of “enhanced
interrogation”-- like Diego
Garcia-- around the world. Both
Democrat and Republican alike
are still operating with a post-
World War II world-view of
American Exceptionalism when
that world no longer exists
except as a figment of the
imagination. Rather than

addressing the real problems
humanity now faces³, Obama is
trying to negotiate with
Libertarians intent on wrecking
the federal government.

In his recently adopted Harry
Truman-style combative “Tax
the rich” pose--a pose one
suspects that is intended to win
back disaffected liberal
progressives--President Obama

appears to be aware that his whole presidential career of trying to reach across the aisle to reason with zealots has been misguided. The gesture of recognition only empowered his extremist opponents. The new Republican Party is not a gathering of conservative men and women of informed public policy and fiscal prudence; it is increasingly a rally of ideological

fanatics who boo a gay soldier in
Iraq and cheer for executions
and the deaths of the
uninsured.

3.II

Republican and Democrat do not simply express differing strategies for good governance, they express two different world-views, ones that are more deeply rooted in enduring archetypal structures of consciousness.

The Republican-Libertarian world-view sees the individual as the supreme value and

government as a necessary evil that must be kept from intruding into the lives of its citizens as much as possible. Health care, education, and trying to modify behavioral norms, from this perspective, should not be the concern of agencies of the government.

The Democratic world-view sees the community as the agency

that makes us human all the way back to the hominization of the primates through the origins of language and group activities in art and tool-making. The individual by itself can fail and can fall into sociopathic behavior such as slavery, the abuse of women, child labor, and the industrial poisoning of earth, air, and water; therefore government is “the necessary

angel” needed to protect human and civil rights, as well as progressively work to advance human culture to a higher level. And so liberals worked to eliminate slavery, child labor, female physical and psychic mutilation, and now environmental pollution. Without government there could be no public health and amelioration of society from the

excesses of industry that now level mountains, poison valleys and watersheds, and sicken its citizens.

But humans are never philosophically consistent. Thus conservatives oppose abortion, but are in favor of executions by the state, and now even murders by the CIA of those U.S. citizens the state declares

to be terrorists. Conservatives are opposed to government intruding into family matters through mandated health care, but they are not against the state intruding into other groups through military interventions such as the wars in Iraq or Vietnam. They do not oppose vast expenditures for the military because they see “supporting our troops” as a

patriotic act simply because they are “ours.” The troops are preserving an “us” against an alien “Other.” Thus the Conservative archetypal structure of consciousness is based on identity and not on a superficial activity of reasoning. Reasoning will always be used to rationalize an “us” against “them”—be they Iraqis, Iranians, or liberals.

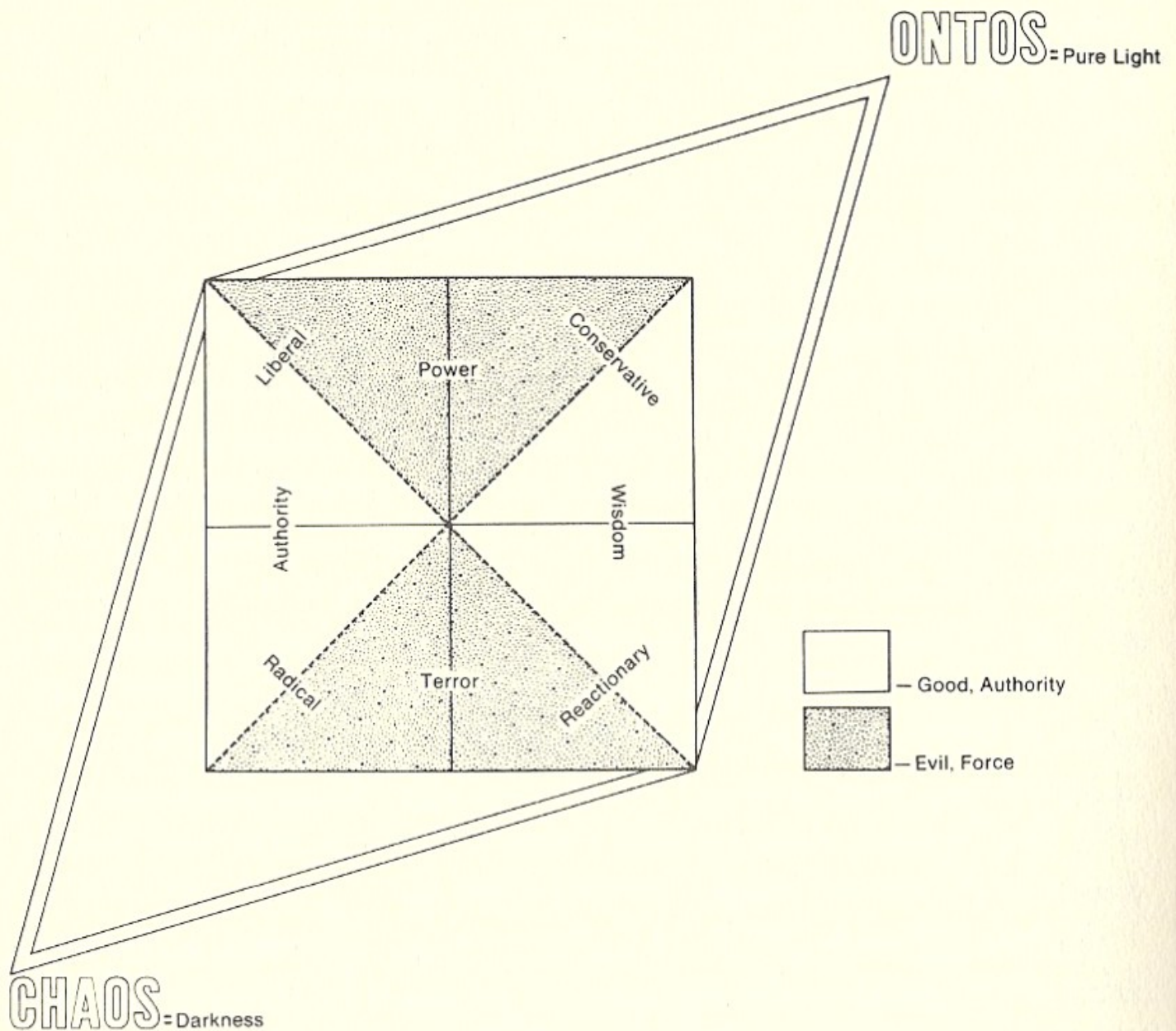
The liberal archetype is also rooted in identity-formation, but not so much on the primate band with its systems of alpha male dominance, as much as on the Institution with its systems of authority. At one time in the Middle Ages, the archetype of dominance was expressed by the military, while the archetype of authority was expressed by

the Church, but in the shift to modernism, the positions also shifted, so now dominance is expressed by religion, whereas authority is expressed by science.

Each archetypal structure of consciousness, of course, has its shadow formation. Rugged individualism unchecked leads to a world of extensive suffering

for the many and cultural
entropy. Collectivizing
institutions, be they church or
scientific laboratories and
institutes, can lead to
inquisitions and the
suppression of individual
creativity. Dickens portrayed the
shadow-side of rugged
individualism in his novel *Hard
Times*, and C. S. Lewis
expressed the shadow side of

the new postwar Labour
government with its rule of
experts and behavioral
psychologists in his novel, *That
Hideous Strength*.



This dyad of Conservative and Liberal never stands still for all

time, and can become a quadrant in which both sides split and spin—as I tried to describe in my books in the seventies, *At the Edge of History* and *Passages about Earth*.

In the Anthroposophical terms of Rudolf Steiner's mythological system, this is an alteration between the *Luciferic* exaltation

of the individual and the
Ahrimanic collectivization in the
mob and the masses.

Historically, the United States
has oscillated between these two
world-views of Conservative and
Liberal with alternating
administrations: a Democratic
President Truman is followed by
a Republican Eisenhower, and
an Eisenhower is followed by a
Kennedy.

Now, however, in our electronic culture of instant information, the alternating current of politics has become a direct current that is not stepped down into common sense and deliberation. In essence, the Tea Party movement is a revolution in which the social-democratic state is to be dismantled through the privatization of

Medicare, Social Security, and public education. Taxing the rich may seem fair to liberals, but for conservatives it represents suppressing the entrepreneurial class and rewarding the slothful and slackers.

Image below: Tea Party Rally



Like a Chicago community organizer seeking to reconcile conflicting neighborhood gangs by sublimating violence into basketball, Obama sought to treat the two parties as two

gangs in unnecessary conflict,
but he failed to recognize that it
is the task of the American
President to lead from a higher
level with a new vision of
American destiny. President
Bush, for all his incompetence,
still had the *Neocon* vision of the
*Project for a New American
Century*. Unfortunately, for the
three trillion-dollar wreckage of
our economy and the

incalculable numbers that died in Iraq, the *Project for a New American Century* was simply wrong.



Rather than leading us out of Iraq, Obama chose to lead us more deeply into Afghanistan and continue the imperial campaigns of Bush and Cheney for the benefit of the defense, oil, and gas industries. He failed to introduce a new paradigm in American politics by shifting our governing science from economics to ecology; instead he has energized the old industrial

paradigm of the energy industry in general and the Koch brothers in particular by affirming that we cannot have industrial growth and ecological stewardship at the same time. So he has relaxed emission standards for the Clean Air Act. With this action, and his catering to Wall Street in order to gain donations for his billion-dollar war chest for his 2012

Presidential campaign, Obama has completely alienated his Democratic base of liberal progressives. Now he is about to lose the support of most of the world by vetoing the recognition of Palestinian statehood by the United Nations.



Obama is in a double-bind. He dare not alienate IPAC and the various lobbies of the American Jewish supporters of Israel, if he hopes to become re-elected in 2012, and he dare not alienate

the Arab world. With the loss of the liberal progressives, the independents, and the Jewish vote, he would have little chance of becoming re-elected, but the sum of three years of compromising and waffling has put him in danger of being dumped by his own party in a “Draft Gore” campaign energized by just those environmentalists, liberal progressives,

independents, and liberal Jews
he has ignored. Even the Jewish
vote is no longer a monolithic
block as the Right Wing
militarist extremists like Avigdor
Lieberman and Benjamin
Netanyahu have disgusted many
Jewish supporters of Israel.

3.III

Let us zoom out for a moment to take in the Big Picture. The territorial nation-state was based upon land and distinct borders. The noetic polity of our age of instant electronic information is based upon consciousness. Cultural evolution has taken us to the point that we now have States of

Consciousness. It is not simply that Governor Perry lives in Texas, and I live in Maine; we also do not live in the same State of Consciousness.

In this cultural evolution of the territorial industrial nation-state to the twenty-first century electronic noetic polity, manufacturing is no longer defined as a domestic process

within borders. Cars are not made in Detroit, anymore than Apple computers are made in Cupertino; they are assembled by the activities of a global distributive lattice, a network. The globe begins to resemble a global brain—as Peter Russell pointed out long ago in the Seventies.

In this new system of identity, the old industrial working class still thinks in terms of jobs: “I am what I do here.” But the members of the board of directors of a multinational corporation do not have such a patriotic sense of self. For the manager, identity is not a function of location, but of relationships within the network, the distributive lattice.

And so he may have factories in China, raw materials in Africa, and tax-dodging bank accounts in Zurich and the Cayman Islands.

For the owners of the Republican and Democratic parties, politics is no longer a question of patriotism. The object is to own governments so that they can advance the

financial objectives of their own kind—the members of their network. To accomplish this destruction of patriotism, patriotism itself has to be commoditized as entertainment in a theme park of a sentimentalized past. Like Disney's collection of boutique nations in the mall that is EPCOT, Fox News has turned patriotism into a flat two-

dimensional stage set, but what is behind the front is not the American people, but Rupert Murdoch.

From this perspective of understanding the cultural evolution from the territorial nation-state to the noetic polity, one can see the financial crisis of 2008 in a different light. The investment bankers of Goldman

Sachs could work against the interest of their own clients to advance the interests of a select high-rolling few, because the little investors were simply seen as a form of informational proletariat--not unlike the old industrial proletariat of the workers and labor unions.

In a cultural transformation, the individual often cannot see,

much less understand, what is going on. Like a fly crawling across the ceiling of the Sistine Chapel, the fly sees only alternating pixels of colors-- much like the instantly shifting images of my neighbor's gigantic TV that I see out my kitchen window. When the individual does not understand what is going on, he or she becomes terrified and reaches out to hold

on to paranoid conspiracy theories to make sense of the world. And often, these conspiracy theories, like those of 9/11, are caricatures and epistemological cartoons that do recognize an emerging shape of things to come.

Seizures of identity can thus become more important for States of Consciousness than

knowledge and reason. In fact, knowledge and reason are often now seen by the minimally educated as marks of a bicoastal metropolitan pointy-headed elite—from Stanford to Harvard and MIT--that wishes to take away the freedom of the common man in the Heartland from Texas in the South to Idaho and Alaska in the North. The supporters of Perry, Bachmann, and Palin see

this elite as a menace that will use health insurance to force them to lose weight, quit smoking, stop eating junk food, and floss before going to bed. They fear the Federal Department of Education will brainwash their children with liberal values and educate them to accept abominations such as gay marriage. They see themselves as people of The

Good Book surrounded by a
multitude of agnostic and
scientific Ph.Ds, just as they see
Israel as the homeland of the
Good Book surrounded by a
multitude of Islamic infidels.

Beginning with the Anglo-Irish
Treaty and Civil War in Ireland
in the nineteen-twenties, and
continuing on with, India,
Pakistan, Israel, Africa, Iraq,

Iran, and Afghanistan, a black hole of tribal and religious violence was created by the disintegration of the British Empire. Now the military forces of the United States have been sucked across the event horizon into this massive black hole. After NATO's intervention in Libya, Syria and Iran now loom on the horizon as opportunities for further American military

interventions. It seems there is no way out for the United States except military exhaustion of our national resources and the collapse of another empire suffering from the deadly sin of *superbia*.

The collapse of the American nation-state, however, will not see the collapse of American members of the global board of

directors. Like corporate raiders, these businessmen are in the process of buying up the American government in a hostile take-over, and through their agents of the Tea Party Libertarians, they will soon break up the domestic industries and sell off our natural resources. Just as the local residents have been displaced in Kentucky by

Massey Coal's leveling
mountains and poisoning
watersheds, so have the poor
been displaced from Manhattan.
There are no longer poor poets
living in Greenwich Village. The
only people who can now afford
to live in Manhattan are rich
foreigners and investment
bankers.

Although no one wants to admit it, we are drifting back to the old world-system of empires and spheres of influence to maintain the streams of energy and potable water that world powers require. China needs Tibet for its watershed and its mountains as a high ground to contain India, just as we needed Hawaii to contain Japan and extend the phase-space of the American

navy. China now also needs
Central Asia for a gas pipeline
for its expanding economy's
energy needs. Obama, with his
rhetorical gift for great speech-
making, is being used by our
invisible industrial Directorate
as liberal camouflage for the
energy industry's return to
Empire as the Administration
seeks to have permanent
military bases in Kuwait,

Afghanistan, and Kazakhstan that can serve to contain Iran, Russia, and China. We are back at it with “the Great Game” of the nineteenth century. And in this new game, Israel and Iran are both seeking to be major players.

3.IV



The Sacking of Jerusalem on the Arch of Titus

The entablature in the Arch of Titus shown above illustrates the heart-breaking historical depth to the desire to make

Jerusalem in its entirety the capital of Israel, so Jewish feelings on this matter are thoroughly understandable.

In one of the most beautiful psalms in the Old Testament, 137, (King James of course!) the harpist in captivity laments: “If I forget thee, O Jerusalem, let my right hand forget her cunning.” But the same Psalm goes from

lament to rage against the
Babylonians as it concludes:
“Happy shall he be, that taketh
and dashes thy little ones
against the stones.” One of the
reasons that I never could
accept the Bible as the literal
word of God is because this
passage is clearly a man
speaking, and not the God of
compassion, mercy, and infinite
understanding. Somehow, I just

can't see the Almighty blaming infants for the Babylonian Captivity and delighting in smashing their heads against the stones.

Roman Catholic parochial school children are not given the Bible to read so that they will not trouble their little heads over passages like this or I Kings: 14: 10: "Therefore,

behold, I will bring evil upon the house of Jeroboam, and will cut off from Jeroboam him that pisseth against the wall, and him that is shut up and left in Israel, and will take away the remnant of the house of Jeroboam, as a man taketh away dung, till it be all gone.”

Obviously, this is a human being talking, one full of rage and lust for revenge. Similarly,

when a devout Jew claims that God gave the Jews the Holy Land and told them to kill Canaanites, Philistines, or Palestinians, I hear a man talking about his flawed imagination of God. The story of God walking with Abraham and promising him innumerable descendants and the land of Canaan was likely not written by Abraham, but by someone

much later wishing to justify the invasion of Canaan. Since the nuns and priests did not want us to start thinking for ourselves over issues like these if we came upon violent passages less than divine, we were given a watered-down textbook of Bible Stories to read.

Human rage backed up by an all too human idea of divinity lasts

a long time and appears to
generate a peculiar genocidal
rage that mere patriotism
cannot match. Can you imagine
President Lincoln bashing
Confederate babies' skulls
against the stones?

When religions and vaguely
bordered nomadic tribal
encampments are called
nations, a modern concept of

nationhood is being
superimposed on ancient forms
of generationally shifting
kingdoms and nomadic peoples.
My ancestral Ireland, for
example, was never a unified
island; it was always subject to
the laminar flows of different
Celtic tribes and Norse and
Norman peoples. Dublin and
Limerick were originally Viking
settlements. It is a historical

fiction—and the source of much bloodshed--to invoke a mythic vision of a United Ireland that never existed. Similarly, Israel, Judah, and Samaria were like sand dunes shifting in the winds of history. There was no such thing then as a nation-state; there were only scattered tribes and kingdoms contesting one another's territories: Canaanite, Philistine, Phoenician, Aramean,

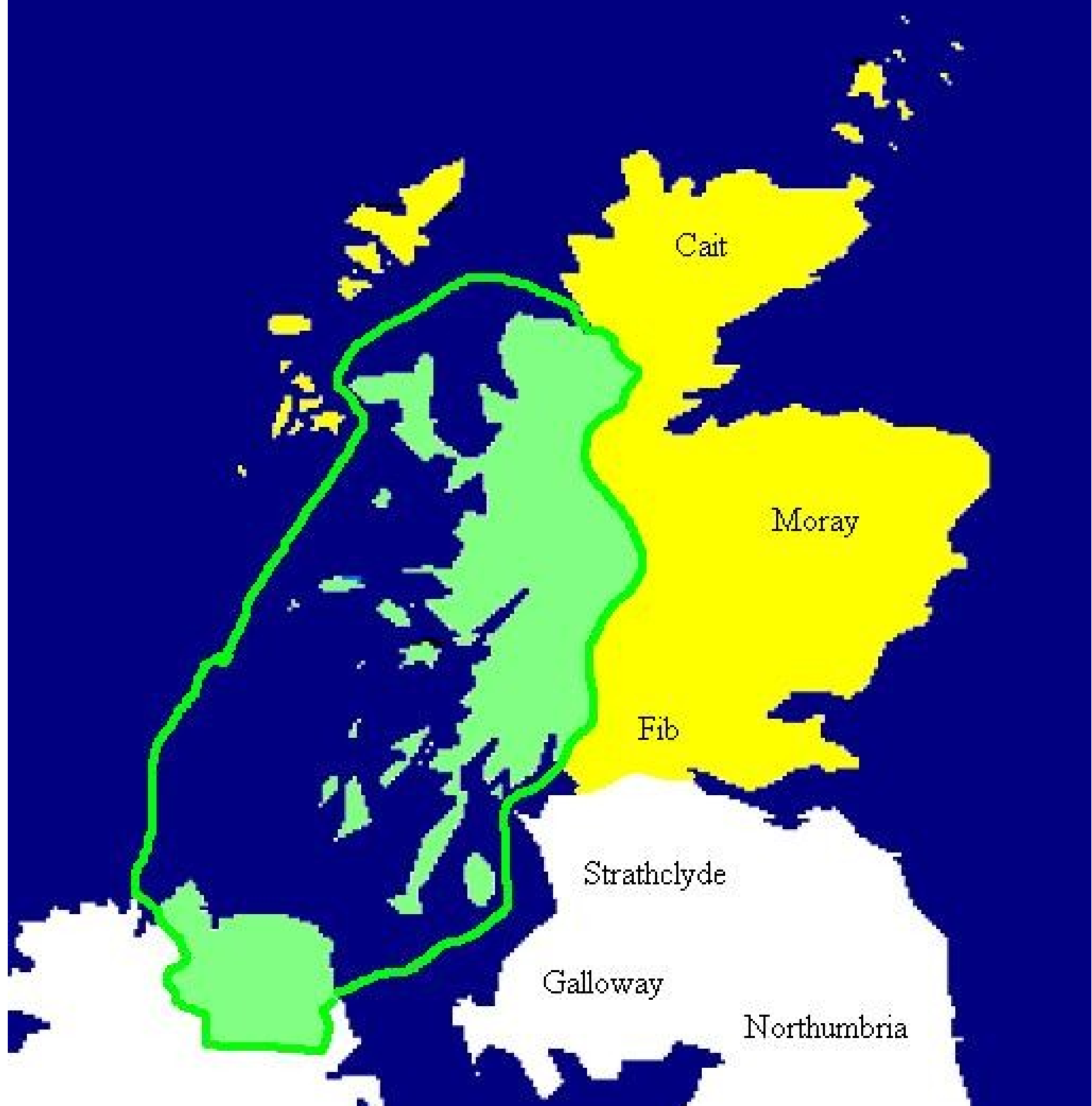
Samaritan, and Judean. Greater Israel, like a United Ireland, is a deadly mix of contemporary politics and religion.

My personal hope for my scattered and cantankerous Celts is that Scotland will continue to move toward independence from the forcefully United Kingdom and that the six counties of Northern Ireland will be given the chance to vote

individually in a plebiscite
whether the county wishes to
join the Republic of Ireland or
the Republic of Scotland. But
perhaps this fanciful idea is just
a clannish mode of thinking,
since the Thompsons come from
Ulster and Argyl--parts of the
ancient tribal area of Dalriada.
(On my mother's side, the
Faheys, O'Learys, and Hurleys

are Catholics and come from the South.)

England can keep its German monarchy that was renamed the House of Windsor in World War One to avoid the embarrassment that came from its true German name, Saxe-Coburg-Gotha.



Ancient Dalriada

Mountbatten is just an anglicized version of Battenberg. The monarchy is for the English what Disney World's *Hall of Presidents* is for us: a theme park history, an entertainment industry, and a source of revenue for the tabloids, spectators, and tourists.

The U.S. Founding Fathers realized that we needed a

constitutionally determined
state in order to protect
ourselves, not just from
England, but also from our
neighbor's religion—and his
politics. In the eighteenth
century, ministers were like rock
stars; their printed sermons
were often bestsellers. When
some clergy of the established
Church of England went north
to Canada to join the United

Empire Loyalists, the ambitions of the Dissenting clergy were energized, because the new Republic gave them an opening for expansion. The Founding Fathers, as disciples of the Enlightenment, instituted the separation of Church and State to protect the body politic from the religious enthusiasts of their day. Contrary to what Christian fundamentalists like to claim

today, the Founding Fathers never wanted our Republic to be a Christian theocracy. Indeed, many of them were Deists like Jefferson and Freemasons like Washington.

Religion is rooted in identity and not reason, and that is why people become unreasonable when they feel their identity or that of their group is threatened.

Behind the mask of Birthers and Tea Partiers is the fear of rural Evangelical Protestants that the small town White America they were born into is now disappearing. Obama, who was born of mixed parentage in multi-racial Hawaii and partially educated in Indonesia, embodies their fears. And the sight of Michelle Obama, who is even more Black than Obama, as

First Lady in a White House completely unsettles them. With a flood of Catholic Latinos and a smaller wave of an intelligentsia turning to Eastern paths of spirituality such as Yoga, Buddhism, and Sufism, rural Protestant America fears that it is losing its native ground. The crazies become Skinheads and Neo-Nazis, hold on to Dixie and the KKK in the South and to

Aryan Nation in Idaho and Montana in the North. The remainder of the economically powerless and minimally educated but maximally resentful are drawn to Sarah Palin, Michelle Bachmann, and Governor Perry's Redneck populism—a populism ironically produced and funded by the billionaire Koch brothers and Rupert Murdoch.

If we made the Southeast
Baptist, the Southwest Catholic,
Pennsylvania Quaker, New York
City Jewish, Hollywood
Scientologist, the Midwest
Methodist, New England
Presbyterian and
Congregationalist, and the
Pacific Northwest Native
American animist—did I forget
to mention Mormon Utah?--we

would still not have peace in our time. The only way to have peace is to give freedom not to state-recognized-religions or sects but to the individual to choose his or her religion--or a complete lack thereof--and to have the state guarantee the civil liberties of each and all to protect atheistic intellectuals from religious fanatics, and women and children from the

excesses and transgressions of religion, such as Pakistani honor killings, African and Kurdish genital mutilation, and Talibanic compulsory burkas, denial of education for girls, and house arrest for women.

But religious transgressions are not just Islamic. The solidly Roman Catholic Irish Free State was anything but free and soon

became a nightmare of book censorship, child sexual abuse in the schools and orphanages run by the Church for the State, and slave labor in the Magdalen Sisters' laundries⁴. It wasn't until the political power of the Catholic Church was curtailed that the Republic of Ireland began to grow and prosper as a civil society. And what was true for Ireland was equally true for

Franco's Spain, and, I suspect, will be true also for Israel when the power of the extreme Right rabbis is curtailed by a future Labor Party government.

When I was a child in parochial school, I remember seeing at the movies the propaganda films produced by the professionals of Hollywood for the United Jewish Appeal; and I remember choking up at the sight of Ben Gurion on

a hill gazing toward the horizon,
with a breeze lifting a white
strand of hair on his prophet's
head. But the idealistic Israel of
Aliya and *kibbutz* of my youth is
gone. The rages and hostilities
of Hamas and Likud have drawn
us into yet another quagmire of
history. The export of Jaffa
oranges has been superseded by
Uzis in the new militarized state
of check-points and walls to

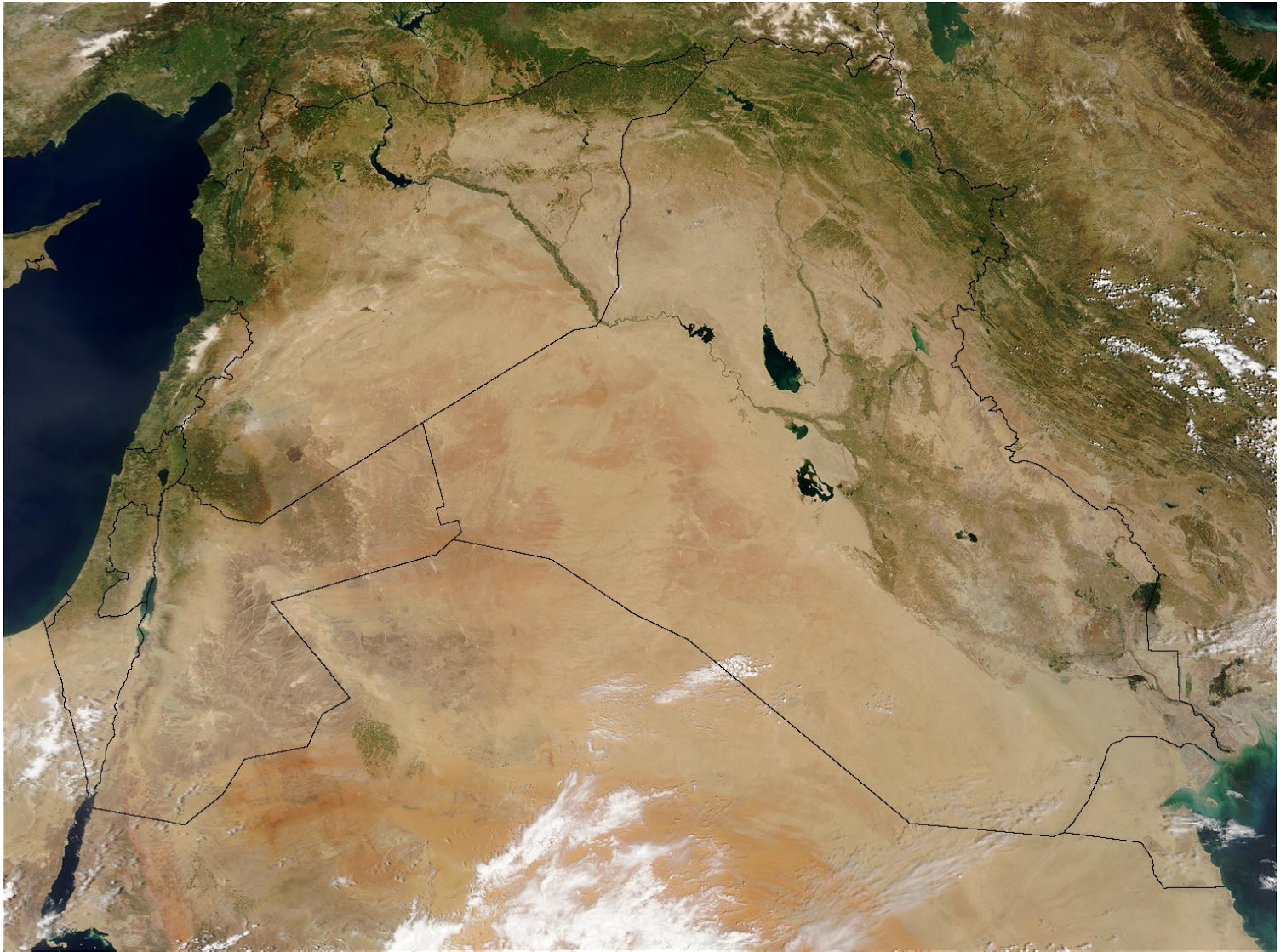
break up contiguous Palestinian settlements and transform them into poorly watered disconnected fragments so that a two state solution can never be viable. And in this project, Sharon, Netanyahu and Lieberman have succeeded, for the isolated fragments of Palestine now are not enough to make a Swiss canton, much less a nation-state.

At the end of World War II, the Arabs were overjoyed to gain their freedom from the Ottoman Empire. Transjordan should have been established then as Palestine, and the historical Holy Land—merely two percent of the lands being transferred from the Ottoman Empire to the Arabs and Persians--should have been established as Israel,

as Barbara Tuchman argued in her first book, *Bible and Sword: England and Palestine from the Bronze Age to Balfour*. An Israel without Jerusalem and Hebron makes no sense except to a bureaucrat trying to please everyone and thereby creating the arbitrary lines in the sand that would guarantee conflict for decades to come. Fictional entities like Palestine, Iraq, and

Afghanistan were created by English bureaucrats in the Foreign Office, and we have been living with their mistakes ever since.

It is doubtful that President Obama's May 19th State Department speech with its call for a Palestinian state within the 1967 borders will be workable anymore than its predecessors have been.



Israel will never give up effective
control of the West Bank
anymore than we will give back

Texas to Mexico or Hawaii to the
Polynesians.

Humans are not mathematical
or engineering problems that
can be solved. The tragic fact of
life is that there is no solution to
the problem of Israel and
Palestine that can ever prove
acceptable to both sides, and
that is why I feel that in the
Manifest Destiny the Israelis

have chosen for themselves, the Palestinians of Gaza will have to be absorbed into Egypt again, and the Palestinians of the West Bank will have to become part of Jordan again. Jerusalem, really, should belong to no political nation-state but should be a United Nations World City--a world treasure as the source of the three Abrahamic religions. And, yes, I know, such an

arrangement will never happen because neither the Egyptians nor the Jordanians want the people and problems of Palestine, and they certainly have no desire to make life easier for Israelis by solving their main problem for them. In fact, Islamist parties prosper and sustain themselves by use of this trap of provoking Israeli violence and abuses against

Palestinians. Therefore, what is most likely is a continuing Israeli expansion and takeover of more of the West Bank and East Jerusalem led by the settlers—the Oklahoma Sooners of our day.

In this method of territorial expansion, Likud has taken a page or two from American history. First it transformed

Palestinian settlements into isolated native reservations; soon it will create a Cherokee “Trail of Tears” in which individual Palestinians and families will be forced into Jordan or Syria, or to immigrate to whatever country will take them in. Then the citizens of Greater Israel will live hated by their neighbors and still be unsafe behind their new borders

with their 200 nuclear warheads that are useless against Egypt, Syria, Jordan, and Lebanon, but can be used against Saudi Arabia. In the nightmare of a possible future world of Yahoo leaders like Netanyahu and Trump, future warfare is more likely to be tiny nukes rather than hydrogen bombs.



The strong bipartisan American support for Israel and not Palestine is an interesting cultural phenomenon, for it is clearly neither fair nor in our national interest with our need

of Arab oil to support our economy, so we make noises about a Two State Solution, but allow Israel to expand. This *de jure* support of the two state solution, but *de facto* support of Greater Israel makes us hated throughout the Islamic world.

The U.S.'s support of Israel is curious because I can remember when I was a child that everyone

in my working class world referred to Jews as “kikes.” Anti-Semitism was all around me, and the Protestants were even more prejudiced than the Catholics. When I moved from Los Angeles to New York with my Jewish wife and therefore Jewish children, I was surprised to discover that there were apartment buildings on Fifth Avenue that would not rent or

sell to Jews, that there were private clubs closed to them, and gated summer communities in the Adirondacks that would not sell cottages to them; and so they had to confine themselves to Grossinger's Catskills. And as for summer holidays on the beach, Southampton was WASP and East Hampton was Jewish.

Now the Evangelicals have become passionate in their support for Israel as the Old Testament fountainhead of their biblical faith.

And this recognition is admirable in that it reminds us that there is something more than economics and a free market system to the meaning of a culture or a civilization, but

this recent Protestant construction of a Judeo-Christian civilization has grown as American public distrust of Islam has increased--a distrust that began with the hostage taking of Americans in the Iranian Revolution of the nineteen-seventies and peaked with the terrorists attacks of 9/11. One hopes that if anti-Semitism can be overcome in a

lifetime, then tolerance for Islam and recognition of its contributions to European civilization in the thirteenth and fourteenth century Renaissance can be built into the curricula of our schools—as we have done with the curriculum for the Ross School in East Hampton, New York, where the eighth grade children study the *Convivencia* of thirteenth-century Spain. If

we take a satellite vision of the cultural ecology of the Mediterranean in the Middle Ages to notice the exchanges between Christendom and the Islamic *Umayyah* through Sicily, Majorca, and Andalusia, we can progress to the point of calling Judeo-Christian civilization Abrahamic civilization.

Only when an older generation has exhausted itself in passionate slaughter can the next generation in disgust at these dark and archaic forces of religion and politics lift its sights to something brighter than the black holes created by their parents.



Armenian Massacre, Turkey

1915



Sabra and Shatila
Massacre, Lebanon 1982

Ireland is Ireland without being
all Roman Catholic, and Iran
should become Persia again to
give religious freedom to
Bahai's, Zoroastrians, Jews, and
Armenian Christians. It would
be nice if Israel could become a
secular state guaranteeing
religious freedom and civil rights
to its 1.5 million Arabs within it,
but making nice seldom

happens in history. So the *Realpolitik* of Israel will probably be to call for some strategy to preserve the Jewish state and disenfranchise the Israeli Arabs and the occupied Palestinians.

Because the Israelis fear being engulfed by a larger population of Arabs within Israel, they need to have some form of a Palestinian autonomous

province or canton that can serve to disenfranchise Israeli Arabs by giving them absentee voting rights only in the Arab canton of what is left of the West Bank.

The reason Netanyahu does not want the UN to recognize Palestine as a state, is so he can stall for time while the settlers build more settlements and take over more water sources.



*President Abbas requesting
statehood for Palestine at the UN*

By making Palestine unviable
as a nation-state, then Israel

can negotiate from a position of power to create an autonomous province that has its own police force, but lacks sovereignty and an army. (This is the same sort of solution that the Dalai Lama is proposing to China for the future of Tibet.)

This toxic mix of religion and nationalism, with its rule by extremist rabbis, has been as

bad for Israel as rule by the Catholic hierarchy was for Ireland. The expansion of an exclusively Jewish state has brought about the militarization of Israeli society, and its continuation will insure that the tragedies of Israel's long history will also continue.

Marx was wrong when he said that history repeats itself—the

first time as tragedy, the second time as farce. This time the tragedy of history will repeat itself as another tragedy. For this inevitable doom--this *Ananke*--there is no escape; there is only the death of the antagonists who are locked into the world-view that is the source of their destruction.

4. The Top One Percent

During the agricultural transformation some ten thousand odd oddyears ago, one could say that only the top one percent were farmers.

Agriculturalization was a process, not a place. And so it is now in our transformation from an industrial economy to a financial economy: the top one percent are not simply located

within a nation-state—as Thomas Piketty recognizes. In the first Belle Epoque, the captains of industry like Carnegie, Mellon, and Rockefeller actually worked in their industries. The J.P. Morgans who put together corporations like U.S. Steel were a new breed. Now their number is legion.

What this means is that now the pyramid of cultural layers from foraging band to nation-state has a new layer above industrialization. The old economy of agriculture sank a level as the American population began to move from rural locations into big booming cities like turn of the twentieth century Chicago. Now industrialization is sinking a

level in the pyramid as the finance industry above it is a global network of nodes and lattice.

So it does not capture the nature of our civilizational transformation to speak of the top one percent of France or the United States. Mitt Romney made his fortune by breaking down American regional factories, selling off their more

valuable parts, and using the profits to invest in China and Indonesia, and then protecting his wealth from American taxes by depositing it in banks in Zurich and the Cayman Islands. Identifying Romney as an American and a member of the top one percent is to mistakenly identify his citizenship. A home now is a utility like a car or electricity, and the very rich

generally have homes in several locations: an apartment in London, a winter skiing chalet in Switzerland, a beach house in the Caribbean.

Is New York City an American city? Certainly not, and that is why the Heartland far from the metropolitan coast dislikes it so much. As ancient Alexandria was neither Egyptian, Greek, nor Roman, but all of these and

more, so is New York now the planetary transit zone where the language of Money is spoken. Those who are fluent in this language temporarily reside in Manhattan or London, or both; those who are not fluent in this new language live in global villages like Queens. Manhattan, like London or Zurich, is expensive precisely because it is an elegant transit zone.

Manhattan is like an escalator in an expensive department store: one ascends to one's chosen or fated level in making one's career, and then gets off to make room for the generation behind, intent on making its own ascent according to new trends and fashions. There are no longer poets living in five storey walk-ups in the Village, or dancers living on the West

Side. Like Monaco, Manhattan is an enclave for the rich, for those who speak the language of Money, but even they are not protected from the turbulence of the process of a language evolving faster than human speech. When financial transactions in micro-time can be sent in advance to another computer to buy before the intended purchaser has

completed his transaction, then fortunes can be made and lost in nanoseconds. The crisis of 2008 was not a crisis at all; it was the normal behavior of a complex adaptive system.

Volatility is the new normal for this cultural process. Stasis is for small town America in the middle of the Heartland.

As a process, Manhattan is a stream filled with Russian

mafia, Arab oil sheiks, Israeli
venture capitalists, Latin
American drug dealers,
European bankers, momentary
pop stars and hedge fund
operators, und so weiter. The
rich have moved out of nation-
states into noetic polities; like
Romney they have shifted their
factories to China and
Bangladesh and their bank
accounts to Zurich and the

Cayman Islands, so they no longer feel very patriotic and have nothing in common with their lower class countrymen. Someone like Romney is much more at home with a Japanese entrepreneur than he is with Joe Six Pack from Detroit. We are living in the transformation of industrial society into financial society--a noetic polity in which the center

is everywhere and the
circumference nowhere--to
paraphrase Pascal who was
paraphrasing Nicholas of Cusa
who was paraphrasing
Empedocles, who probably got
the idea from some wandering
Greek like a Solon freshly
returned from Egypt. Those who
speak the language of Money are
denizens of a new and non-local
noetic polity; those who do not

are still living in industrial civilization and cannot understand the conversation. They do not have the chips to sit at the table and play the game in the global casino.

In Paris, the Parisians do not say: “Parlez vous français?” Au contraire, they say “Parlez vous français parfaitement?”

Parisians do not wish you to hurt their ears by speaking

French badly. And so it is with Money. Those who speak Money do not wish to sit with or be seen with those louts who do not speak Money well or not at all. If you are a wage or salary earner in industrial civilization, you are not living in the noetic polity where Money is spoken. Within this noetic polity it is not sufficient to speak Money well; one must also speak it with the

right accent and subtle body language. As the Rockefellers, Carnegies, and Melons showed to another Belle Epoque generation, philanthropy is the highest form of the language of Money that is only spoken at the imperial court, and there only by an elite few: the top one percent of the top one percent, so to speak. They give grandly to prove that their competitors are

not really as rich and successful
as they are. To speak Money
fluently and with the right
accent, one must give with style
to great causes: to cure the
diseases that afflict even the
rich who feel that they should
really be above such things, to
found a Museum of Modern Art,
or build a wing at the
Metropolitan Museum, give to
the Opera, or donate to a school

like Exeter or Dalton, or a university like Harvard or Princeton. Since one can more successfully call attention to one's good works by founding a new institution rather than simply contributing to the continuity of an old one, it is better to be bold and extravagant in calling attention to one's philanthropic aresteia by founding a new institution,

and, naturally, an institution with one's name prominently engraved upon it.

To accomplish these ambitious tasks of philanthropy, those who speak Money need a class of servants to do the actual work and heavy lifting of building schools, museums, hospitals, and universities. This is where the class of artists, scholars, and scientists are called in to

serve—and they are servants.
Can you name the architect of
Rockefeller Center? Of course
not, and that is why it is called
Rockefeller Center or Rockefeller
University. Privileged as this
class of domestic servants and
salary earners may seem to
mere wage earners, they most
often do not speak Money
fluently—distracted as they are
by research, study, and solitary

creation—so they are not socially fit to sit at the table and play the game with their betters. They are not citizens of the noetic polity where Money is spoken--unless like Philip Johnson, Santiago Calatrava, or Damien Hirst they are quite naturally bilingual and fluent in the language of money. So we should not think of wealth as a container—a vault

where currencies are stopped from circulating—but rather as a language of the Court. In this shift from an industrial to a financial civilization we can also observe within it the shift from a democratic to an aristocratic society. The French Revolution is being played in reverse.

Though some may shout “Off with their heads,” it really would not do to guillotine the Top One

Percent. It is better to recognize the processual nature of the atmospheric circularity and place a tax on all financial transactions. We should not try to guillotine the wind; we should build a windmill.

Such a tax could be used to subsidize a Guaranteed Annual Income for the structurally unemployed and to support public education and national

fellowships for students attending any state university or college. The Court can be depended on to take care of Harvard, Princeton, Yale, and Stanford. By looking upon a tax on financial transactions as system of terraces that creates a pulse in the flow of water to the catchment of cultivated fields, we will cease to think of taxation as taking wealth from one

container and depositing it in another--as in the case of the primitive thinking of Ayn Rand Republicans like Paul Ryan who speak of Makers and Takers. Piketty, of course, goes even further than a tax on financial transactions and calls for a global tax on capital. His book is a wonderful defense of the social democratic state backed up with a whole new data-base of

statistics from several centuries. It is no wonder that it unsettles the Ayn Rand Republicans and that the Right Wingers have dismissed him as just another European socialist. Given the vociferous presence of Libertarians and Tea Partiers in the USA and corporate Thatcherites in the UK, I do not see any way a global tax on capital could ever work its way

through the maze of national governments that would block it. Piketty's vision strikes me as utopian as the Libertarians' desire to arm the public but eliminate the police force and a public health system with its networks of ER's that would be needed to handle all the road rage shootings of a gun-totting society.

A tax on financial transactions seems more doable. Such an adjustment would be more like the English Glorious Revolution of 1688 than the French Revolution of 1789. The historic adjustment of the Glorious Revolution's limiting monarchy, empowering a Parliament, and creating a national bank in which value shifted from the phase space of the past and the

static value of land to the new
phase space of the future
through energizing indebtedness
created a new and vital
capitalistic middle class, and
this paved the way for the
eighteenth-century Industrial
Revolution. Now that the air
pollution in Beijing and the
arsenic poisoned water table
and soil throughout China have
proved that we have reached the

limits to industrialization, we need to think in a new way.

“I am what I own” was sufficient for the era of the expanding middle class with their automobiles, suburban tract homes, and refrigerators, but for their children who went to college, identity became based upon thought. For the intelligentsia, identity is not based on “I am what I own” but

“I am what I think”; for them identity is based upon consciousness. Within the society of the Top One Percent, there are still those flashers who believe their identity can be established with yachts, penthouses in Manhattan, and mansions in the Hamptons, but within the Court these vulgar parvenus and arrivistes--as was caricatured in the film, *The Wolf*

of Wall Street--will need to be refined by their children who will understand from their schooling with their peers that power and respect come from philanthropy. Philanthropy justifies and reinforces their life in the Top One Percent.

In our contemporary shift from democratic to aristocratic society, a few billionaires like Tom Perkins have called for a

new system of voting that would give those who own property more votes according to the measure of their wealth. The nation, in effect, would become a share-holding public corporation and the whole idea of citizenship would disappear in the age of multinational corporate management.

The majority of the wealthy recognizes that this open system of corporate disenfranchisement is risky and would provoke mass riots and revolts, so they have opted for a subtler system of owning the country and its government. The masses are manipulated with advertizing and election campaign attack ads. And the candidates are manipulated by needing the

funds to pay for these expensive advertizing campaigns. Donors give to a candidate, but earn the money back by owning the media corporations that produce the ads for both parties. The presidents, senators, and congressmen and women are beholden to their donors, so they let the K Street lobbyists write the laws while they devote their time to the unending

campaign of fund-raising. The wealthy submit to income tax, but they get the government funds back by frightening the general public so that it will support large expenditures for defense. And, of course, they own the military-industrial complex, as well as the new security corporations that have sprung up since 9/11. So in this shift from democracy to

oligarchy and the surveillance state exposed by Assange and Snowden, there is no need to have an open Nazi coup d'etat with storm troopers breaking down doors and arresting the dissenters. They can simply create a State of Entertainment and keep the people happy and patriotically tuned-in with TV. A presidential campaign becomes

another version of the Super Bowl.

Under such a clever system of deceit, another French Revolution in which the poor rise up against the aristocrats is most unlikely. Looking back on history, one can see that democracy and industrialization were two arms of one body-politic, but, now, in this shift

from an industrial society of nation-states to a financial global society of elites, one can see that the democratic era was, as Piketty shows in his bestseller *Capital*, an anomalous interlude between medieval feudalism and postmodern neo-feudalism. The choice between Democrat or Republican, like the choice between Pepsi and Coke,

means nothing and gives you
the same unhealthy corn
fructose syrup drink in red or
blue.

In his second term, President
Obama was able to rescue
American industry, end the
recession and reduce
unemployment to historically
low levels, resist right wing
American Zionists by not

demonizing Iran but instead achieving a nuclear arms agreement. But he has not revoked the Patriot Act of Bush but extended it to make the Executive branch literally the Executing Branch with the National Defense Authorization Act in which citizens can be killed by drones without due process of law. President Obama was not able to get the Congress

to agree to close down Guantanamo, and he has gone along with the NSA's efforts to turn the US into a subtler form of electronic containment. Not surprisingly, he has said that Edward Snowden is no hero, but by every standard definition of a hero as someone who takes great personal risk for the good of others, he is. The media will try to portray him as a traitor,

and if you believe that, then you deserve the government you've got.

When one assesses President Obama's two terms, one has to admit that although he was not the liberal we thought we had voted for, his presidency was a success in terms of avoiding war with Iran, extending health insurance, and recognizing

global climate change. In his second term he stopped trying to reach across the aisle to seek compromise with idiots like Senator Inhofe of Oklahoma and began to use his executive power to effect change.

But it is not simply a Republican Congress that seeks to block governance so that corporations can rule. There is

an invisible branch of
government that I call the
Directorate. I imagine this group
as a hundred or so CEOs of
American energy, media, and
defense corporations. On the
first day of office for any newly
media-elected
president, I envision their secret
agent congratulating him or her
on an impressive victory, and
then informing the President

that the Secret Service is not there to protect him but to insure that he follows orders. If he fails to get with the program, then the line of defense will open and a “crazed lunatic working alone” will assassinate him or members of his family. Then I see in my mind’s eye this secret agent giving a smile of “welcome to reality” and handing over a memorandum

that informs the new president of what his or her domestic and foreign policy is to be.

In our American culture of entertainment, sports, and politics, there is only so much that any president can accomplish. Given these constraints, one has to admit that President Obama managed to accomplish quite a lot. So the

way to truly change our politics
is to change our culture, and
that is not the work of electronic
celebrities but literary
philosophers, writers, and
artists.

5. Donald Trump and His Nativistic Movement

5.1

Generally populist demagogues present themselves as voices of the people and they appeal to their sense of resentment and jealousy of the rich. One thinks of Huey Long. Donald Trump represents a new sort of cultural emergence. He is a billionaire

based in New York City, but presents himself as the common man of the Heartland enamored with simplistic solutions.

Mexicans, Muslims, and menstruating women become his favored scapegoats and objects of derision. He represents the new American cultural fascination with Winners that has been created by television. Politics is just

another alpha male Super Bowl
and TV is a medium that profits
from attack ads, sound bites,
and polarization in shouting
matches rather than solitary
reading and reflection. Trump is
what Joe Six Pack would like to
be, and his hideous Las Vegas
High Rollers Suite sort of taste--
expressed in the photos of his
penthouse apartment on the
Web--is just the style Joe Six

Pack would chose if he won the Power Ball Lottery. In his marriage of corporate elites and mass vulgarity, Trump's brand of Republicanism recalls the union of the I. G. Farben and Siemens corporations with the new masses of the National Socialists in Germany in the 1930's. We had White resentment then for the Treaty of Versailles, and we have White

resentment now for the new multicultural America in which these angry white working class men and women now feel like aliens in their own country.

When Trump says “Make America great again, his supporters know it is a code for “Make America White again.”

Hillary has lost her historical traction; the coming election is an example of McLuhan’s

“cultural retrieval” of the thirties with Bernie's reprise of FDR's New Deal socialism and Trump's reprise of Mussolini's populist fascism. “The medium is the message.” And we need to remember that in the nineteen-thirties, radio transformed politicians like FDR and Churchill into cultural saviors, and television transformed the presidential election of 1960, so

now social media and the Internet are transforming this election of 2016.

5.II

The Republican Party got trumped because it had no intellectual philosophy of governance. It just had a clot of negations of other people's ideas. You can't run a complex,

multicultural, nuclear-
weaponed nation-state with the
gut feeling that government is
bad, and so the less we have of
it, the better off we will be.
Thus, being against
philosophies of governance,
climate science and evolution in
particular, and science in
general, left the Republican
Party without an intellectual
immune system and the

infection of nativism and white male anger took it over.

Nativistic movements arise when the "mazeway" of paths in a culture become incoherent and confusing, and this incoherence often arises when a culture is shifting from one world view to another. The Ghost Dance in America and the Boxer Rebellion in China are classic examples.

In successful cultures,
intellectuals arise who aid the
transition by articulating the
new world view. Such was the
case in Europe with the
Renaissance and its shift in
world views from religious
medievalism to scientific
modernism, from hierarchical
kingdoms to bourgeois nation-
states. But even in the case of
Europe with its Renaissance,

Scientific Revolution, and Enlightenment, there still appeared the bloody Thirty Years War, and England had to go through a civil war with Cromwell to bring forth a parliamentary republic. But England and its American colonies kept thinking, first with Locke and then with Jefferson. Yet even with the American, French, and Irish revolutions,

revolution was followed by civil war.

With the new polarization of the United States between the social democracy of Bernie and the white nativism of Trump, the USA is entering a danger zone of political polarization that can lead to civil war. The coasts express a planetary cultural awareness, but the Heartland—

from Montana down to Texas,
the Midwest and the Deep
South--expresses nativistic
values. It is ironic that this
nativism has found its leader
with an elderly man showing the
signs of the onset of senile
dementia who is a billionaire
and a New Yorker. Trump's new
nativistic movement has
emerged because it is really

about multiculturalism versus
White Protestant America.

So it is time for America to do
some serious thinking--thinking
about science, climate change,
immigration, and the ideas
needed to govern a complex
multicultural technological
nation-state that lives within a
world economy. Fortunately, the
northern part of North America

has already started with the election of Justin Trudeau to the premiership in Canada. Now it is time in this national election for the USA to follow Canada's lead.

5.III Trump, Islam, and the Politics of the Noosphere

When I was too young to read Aristotle on the polis—when I was in the eighth grade and studying ancient history in LA—I learned that the Greek polis emerged in the Assembly of wise seniors and able bodied young men who could defend Athens in democratic hoplite formations against the attacks of the

Persian Empire. War was no longer a warrior's individual heroic display in his Homeric aresteia, but a collaborative effort.

The Persian Empire was a communication system held together by good roads and fast horses with messengers and military outposts. An empire, as opposed to the Greek

democratic polis, was the territory of the subjected. The territorially assembled were subjects and not citizens. From the dawn of civilizations in ancient Mesopotamia, India, and China, empires had an ethnic and religious dyadic system of identity of “us” and “them.” Even to this day, the Han Chinese maintain a system of exclusion of “foreign devils” and

hold to their system of identity
by using the communist party
as its priesthood.

The Roman Empire, by contrast,
introduced the idea of the
citizen, and St. Paul in Syria
was proud to be a Roman citizen
and used his citizenship as a
means to transform a local
Palestinian prophetic movement
into a universal religion.

Classical Rome tried to use its clumsy system of polytheism as the cement for imperial identity, but it was not successful, and Persian Manicheanism, Mithraism, Gnosticism, and Christianity remained attractive alternatives. With Emperor Constantine first, and then Justinian, Christianity proved to be a simpler and more effective way to hold an empire together.

Even after the final collapse of the Roman Empire in 476 A.D., Christianity survived and grew during the Dark Ages and Charlemagne was crowned Emperor of the Holy Roman Empire by the Pope in 800 A.D.

What is happening today is that these two ancient and archetypal forms of empire have returned and are competing for

dominance. The so-called American Empire sought to absorb civilizations into its multicultural identity. With the Marshall Plan, and the postwar Bretton Woods American Dollar economy, it first absorbed Western Europe. Now it is trying to show that Islamic Civilization can also become American. The Umah and the oil barrel can both live in peace within a new

expanded “us.” So when I walk the streets of my city, Portland, Maine, I see little girls in hijabs playing baseball in the local schoolyard, and I see Somali women wearing the Dirac and Guntiino. This multicultural America is what Trump wishes to eliminate in his nativistic movement of a return to White Protestant America. In this nativist vision, if immigrants

come to America, they should wear blue jeans and American college sweatshirts.

Paradoxically, Trump's vision is isomorphic to the Han Chinese vision of empire and identity in which China seeks to shut out the incursions of the World Wide Web.

If the USA follows Justin Trudeau's vision of a multi-

cultural North America, and is
able to absorb Islamic
Civilization, as before it
absorbed Irish Catholics and
Central European Jews, then
the Roman model of Empire
rather than the Persian will
emerge, and thanks to the
Internet and the politics of the
Internet that Bernie Sanders
exploits so well in his fund-
raising, the Noosphere first

articulated by Russian
Vernadsky and then by French
Teilhard de Chardin will emerge
as a global noetic polity.

Sanguinal polities are based
upon blood lines; imperial
polities are based upon territory
and an imperial language. With
the emergence of English as a
global language with a world
English literature of writers like

Salman Rushdi and Amitav
Gosh, the Noosphere is no
longer a visionary idea, but a
cultural reality. To put a stop to
this cultural evolution is what
Trump is all about, but as a
global businessman he doesn't
stand a chance to succeed. He
can obstruct and impede, and
set back cultural evolution in
favor of a new American Dark
Age, but he cannot succeed in

the long run. Mongolian nomads sacked India and Persia, but eventually the Mongolian Empire became the world's largest. However, I do not wish to fall into a simple Whig vision of history as an inevitable march of progress. In Indian Partition after the Second World War, the united kingdoms and nations that was India fell into Islamic and Hindu nativist visions and

now face off with one another
and threaten nuclear war.

Nativistic movements can do a
lot of damage, so as these two
archetypal forms of empire face
off with one another in this
American election of 2016--as
they did in the emergence of
classical Greek democracy after
the battles of Thermopylae,
Marathon, and Salamis—let us

step back, look at the Big
Picture, and vote to enhance the
emergence of the Noosphere by
realizing that Islam helped to
create the European
Renaissance and is now as
American as hamburgers and
falafel.

NOTES

1. See David W. Orr, *Down to the Wire: Confronting Climate Collapse* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2009).
2. See Nancy Jack Todd and John Todd, *Bioshelters, Ocean Arks, City Farming: Ecology as the Basis of Design* (Sierra Club Books: San Francisco, CA, 1984), and Sim Van der Ryn with Francine Allen *Design for*

*an Empathic World:
Reconnecting to People, Nature,
and Self* (Island Press:
Washington, Covelo, London,
2013).

3. For a diagnosis, see David W.
Orr's *Down to the Wire:
Confronting Climate Collapse*
(Oxford University Press: New
York, 2009).

4. See the film *The Magdalen
Sisters* for a study of Ireland in

the period of 1964-65—the
period I lived in Ireland.