

WHERE GOES MY COUNTRY?
THE FUTURE OF AMERICA
IN THE 21ST CENTURY

BY KYLE CHRISTOPHER HOGEBOM

To my family,

for my friends and fellow citizens

A NOTE TO THE READER

A genius once wrote, "One can only continue to expect to be read if, as far as possible, one omits everything that is unimportant."¹

In this book, I tried to fit the basic structure of the world and a general way of thinking about its past, present, and future in the fewest words possible.

What follows are the hopes and dreams of one among you. My goal is not to ring immortal, but to persuade hearts and minds in the here and now to cause change across space and time.

So here and now, dear reader, let us begin.

—Kyle Hogeboom, Moorestown, New Jersey,
the United States of America, the planet Earth, 2024 C.E.

¹ Albert Einstein

I am young in years,
and you are old;
therefore I was afraid
to tell you what I think.
I said, "Let the old speak,
and their many years teach wisdom."
But it is the spirit of humans,
the breath of God, that gives
us understanding.
It is not only the old who are wise,
nor only they who understand what is right.
Therefore I say, "Listen to me;
let me declare what I think.
I waited for your words,
and listened to your reasoning
while you searched for what to say.
I gave you my attention and,
behold, there was none among you...."

Shall I wait because they do not speak,
because they stand there and remain silent?
No, I too will have my say,
I too will tell what I know.
For I am full of words, and
the spirit within compels me....

I must speak and find relief.
I must open my lips and answer.

Job 32:6

Contents

I. Prologue: The Crisis

II. PAST

- I. The Universe
- II. Life on the Planet Earth
- III. The Rise of Humankind
- IV. Tyranny and Conquest
- V. The Beginning of Human Progress
- VI. World War
- VII. The Competition for World Leadership
- VIII. World Peace
- IX. The Failures of the Recent Past

III. PRESENT

- I. The Role of the Government in Society
- II. What is America?
- III. A New Dream for Our Country

IV. FUTURE

- I. World Leadership
- II. Government Reform
- III. Defense
- IV. Science, Technology, & Economic Growth
- V. Education
- VI. Population & Immigration
- VII. Climate Change & Energy
- VIII. Artificial Intelligence
- IX. Space Exploration

V. Epilogue: The Dream

PROLOGUE

“It was the cause of America that made me an author.”

The Crisis, Thomas Paine

"...the cause of our common Country."

Newburgh Address, George Washington

“The Crisis is arrived at which the good people of America are to decide the solemn question whether they will, by just and magnanimous efforts, reap the just fruits of that Independence which they have so gloriously acquired and of that Union which they have cemented with so much of their common blood, or whether by giving away to...jealousies and prejudices or to partial and transitory interests they will...furnish our enemies with cause to triumph.”

The Virginia Delegation’s Introductory Preamble
to the Constitutional Convention

"What I fear more than the strategies of our enemies
is our own mistakes."

Funeral Oration, Pericles

“For America, if eligible at all to downfall and ruin, is eligible within herself, not without; for I see clearly that the combined foreign world could not beat her down.”

Democratic Vistas, Walt Whitman

“The question facing the nation is whether the Union shall or shall not be continued...”

Records of the Constitutional Convention, James Madison

“The Union must be preserved...”

First Annual Message, Abraham Lincoln

THE CRISIS OF THE 21ST CENTURY

This is the greatest time to be alive in human history, yet we are in a crisis.

The world is better today than it has ever been in the past. Since the beginning of humankind nearly 300,000 years ago, life on the planet Earth was defined by scarcity, poverty, disease, ignorance, tyranny, and war.

But then, only around 200 years ago, everything began to change.

We escaped the old ways of the past and developed a new way of life—freedom, democracy, science and technology, and capitalism—to increase our knowledge and power in the world and work together across the generations so we could advance our progress, improve our lives, and build a better world. And indeed we did—dramatically so:

Less children are dying in childhood, less people are dying from hunger, and less families are living in extreme poverty. More people can be born and live longer, more people can get an education and work as they want, and more people can govern themselves and determine their own destiny—they can think, speak, and act as they choose and pursue their own happiness in the world. There are now more than 8 billion humans on the planet Earth and an increasing number of us have what we need and want for their survival, freedom, and happiness: abundant food and refrigerators and supermarkets, new medicines and cures and treatments, air conditioning and heaters for our homes, laundries and showers and toilets and sewage systems, cars and trains and ships and planes, energy systems that can capture the power of light and wind and water and atoms, computers and the Internet and all of human knowledge and culture in the palm of our hands, mobile digital phones with text-messaging and video-calling so we can talk with family and friends around the world and listen to any kind of music whenever we want, social media to read news about the world in real-time, television shows and movies and entertainment, the rapid delivery of anything we want wherever and whenever we need it, skyscrapers and apartment buildings and hospitals, main streets with restaurants that serve food from all over the world, childcare centers and public schools and universities and research institutes, companies and businesses and startups offering numerous products and a variety of jobs, more opportunities to pursue our happiness, more possibilities for the future, and a better understanding of the Universe and our place in it.

This is incredible! We have achieved wonders. In all measures, our lives today are better than they were in the past. In all measures, except one: our dream of the future.

We made incredible progress over the last 200 years, but in the last few decades, our progress has slowed and our country has become stagnant: in the Government, in the economy, in culture, and in life—the Crisis of the 21st Century.

Now, dark clouds loom on the horizon and they will soon reach our shores.

Look around you. What do you see?

Abroad, I see the foundations of the world on the edge of collapse. I see that the peace which was established after the horrors of the World Wars of the 20th Century is coming to an

end because tyranny is rising across the world while the United States of America is retreating from world leadership. I see a return to the old ways of conquest and war, and the risk of conflicts escalating into another world war—one that will likely destroy the world and annihilate humankind. I see the division of our allies and an inability to solve global problems like extreme climate change, the destabilization of the global economic system, the coming collapse of the global population, the risks of artificial intelligence, and the conquest of outer space by tyrannical nations. I see that the planet is spinning, but the world is not moving forward.

At home, I see a divided people. I see our leaders becoming older than ever before, less effective than ever before, and less able to pass the laws that we need—or any at all. I see that the Government is failing to adapt to a changing world, unable to fulfill its basic responsibilities in society, and struggling to provide for our defense and general welfare. I see the increasing accumulation of bad laws, an increasingly wasteful budget that spends far more on the old than the young, an increasingly ineffective bureaucracy, and an increasingly unsustainable national debt. I see that the old are leaving their children and grandchildren with more debts and division in the country and more decay in the world—in other words, they are forsaking the future because they are failing their children. I see that the American people are losing their faith and trust in the Government, and since we are a democracy, that means we are losing faith and trust in each other.

I see that our military is becoming weaker and less able to maintain a presence across the world to defend peace, deter conflicts, contain tyranny, support the global economic system, and protect the weak against the strong across the world.

I see that the progress of our science and technology is slowing down. I see us ignoring the fact that increasing our knowledge and power in the world is the only way to improve our lives and build a better world, and so I see that our lives have not improved as much as they could and we missed what we could have achieved.

I see that our economy is neither growing as much as it could nor is as broadly-shared among the people as it should. I see that the basic cost of living in the country (childcare, healthcare, homes, and education) is becoming increasingly unaffordable. I see us losing the ability to build things in the country: new homes, towns, cities, schools, hospitals, infrastructure, and transportation systems. I see us living shorter than people in other nations, treating sickness instead of preventing it, and suffering from diseases that could be cured. I see that we are creating less than we could, producing less than we could, and building less than we could—living a lesser life in a lesser country.

I see the education of our children becoming less effective in transmitting the intelligence, knowledge, and skills that they need to succeed in life, inherit the world, and advance our progress.

I see that less people are having less children, both at home and abroad. I see the coming collapse of the global population, the consequent collapse of global economic system, and the subsequent risk of global chaos and war—and I see that we are doing nothing to prepare for it. I see less children in our country and more parents unable to afford to raise their children. I see our

country becoming older in every part of society: government, science, business, athletics, and culture. I see that the young, more than any other generation, is losing their faith and trust in the country because of the failures of their elders. And yet, despite a shrinking population and an aging country, I see that we are preventing people from across the world, both the best and good, from coming here, raising their family, and helping to build a better country.

I see that we are using less energy than we could and therefore doing less work than we should, and with the remaining energy that we use, we are polluting the atmosphere with gases that trap the heat of the Sun and will eventually change the general climate of the planet Earth and make large parts of the planet Earth uninhabitable for life—for us.

I see that we are developing what will likely be the most powerful technology we ever create, a mind that is greater than our own: an artificial intelligence—and I see that it could also become the most powerful weapon. And yet, I see that we are doing little to prepare for how it will dramatically change the world—or potentially destroy it.

I see an infinite Universe around us that remains unexplored. I see the stars in the night sky and remember we were once a people who went to them, but no longer—we went to the Moon, but no further. I see us turning inwards instead of going outwards, fighting over the ground instead of reaching for the stars, and risking the survival of the only known life in the Universe.

But more than anything else, I see us: we are losing our spirit—the source and center of our lives in the world—and abandoning the causes of our greatness. We are dreaming smaller and doing less, arguing with each other over the past instead of moving together towards the future, conserving the country as it is rather than advancing our progress and building what it could be. We are becoming anxious, angry, and confused because we are losing a sense of our purpose in life and our place in the world and feel like we are wasting our precious time in the Universe. Our culture is becoming less creative and our leaders lack a vision of the future: of who we are, what we could do, and where we are going. And we are losing our belief in the American Dream: that life can become better for more people, that the future will be better than the past, and that we will leave a better world for our children.

With chaos abroad and stagnation at home, we are losing our hope for the future because of the failures of the present. We know that we have an "immense capacity to do things—but can't make up our minds what we want to do."² We say, "Nothing changes. We are not moving at all."³ We have come far, but we no longer know where we are going. And now, we face the Crisis of the 21st Century.

And yet, there is a feeling...

A question lingers on the minds and hearts of every citizen, a cry of doubt and a prayer of hope:

Where goes my country?

² The Ideas of Henry Luce, John K. Jessup, 257

³ The Future of Man, Pierre Teilhard de Chardin, 1

In a democracy, each of us has equal power in the Government and equal responsibility for the country. If our votes are equal, then so too are our voices, both yours and mine, including the most powerful people in the country: the President, the Senators, the Representatives, the Justices, and the Generals—all of them. So, although I may be young, hear me and listen: I am a citizen of the United States of America, I am concerned about the future of our country and the fate of the world, and this is what I must say: Our country—the greatest in history, the present leader of humankind, and the last best hope on the planet Earth—is losing itself. I will not let that happen while I am alive, and I think my fellow Americans will not let that happen either.

Before us are two paths: the decline and fall of the world or the greatest days in human history. However hopeless the world may seem, I see a way forward, a path towards a better life in a greater world and the possibility for us to achieve our dreams in this century. Which path we take depends on the choices we make in our lifetime and what we do in the days to come. If we choose wisely, if we summon the best of ourselves, if we can come together and go forth into the future, then truly, we can achieve wonders. So, let us go forth.

What should we do? How can we do it? Where goes my country? These are the questions I will try to answer in this book.

But before we can know where we're going, we must first know where we came from. And for that, we must begin at the beginning.

PAST

THE UNIVERSE

"From where was it born...this great creation?"
Rig Veda 10:129

"It is impossible to communicate...the
stupendous immensity of the creation of the Universe.
Therefore, the Bible simply says: *In the beginning,
God created the heavens and the earth.*"
The Guide for the Perplexed, Maimonides

"All things change."
Fragments, Heraclitus

13.8 billion years ago, the Universe began. After some unknown event of creation, all that now exists was born: space, time, matter, energy, and the laws of nature. Over time, and across the infinite expanse of space, the structure and evolution of the Universe took shape.

In the earliest seconds of time, the Universe was a formless cloud of heat and dust.

Then, gravity began to pull matter together and made stars.

And when those stars died, they collapsed, exploded outwards, and released the basic chemical elements into space.

Then those elements accumulated together and formed planets.

Then the planets were harnessed by the gravity of stars and formed solar systems.

The, the solar systems gathered together and formed galaxies.

And together—after billions of years of creation and destruction in the Universe—the stars, planets, and galaxies made the stage for the story of humankind.

LIFE ON THE PLANET EARTH

"Out of the infinite sea of eternity
To climb, and for an instant stand
Upon an island speck of time."

Life, James Wheldon Johnson

"We will now discuss in a little more detail the Struggle for Existence....

One general law, leading to the advancement of all organic beings, namely: multiply, vary, let the strongest live and the weakest die....

As many more individuals of each species are born than can possibly survive; and as, consequently, there is a frequently recurring struggle for existence, it follows that any being, if it varies however slightly in any manner profitable to itself, under the complex and sometimes varying conditions of life, will have a better chance of surviving, and thus be naturally selected. From the strong principle of inheritance, any selected variety will tend to propagate its new and modified form....

It is not the most intellectual of the species that survives; it is not the strongest that survives; but the species that survives is the one that is able best to adapt and adjust to the changing environment in which it finds itself....

There is grandeur in this view of life...that, whilst this planet has gone cycling on according to the fixed law of gravity, from so simple a beginning endless forms most beautiful and most wonderful have been, and are being, evolved."

The Origin of Life, Charles Darwin

4.5 billion years ago, among the tens of billions of stars in what we now call the Milky Way Galaxy, a small and faraway planet was formed around the Sun and took its place in the Solar System. This planet was special though, because on that planet, 3.7 billion years ago, life began—the greatest and most important creation in the Universe.

We do not know how life began yet, but we do know what it is.

On the basic level, life is an ordered structure of matter which (1) consumes energy to maintain itself, (2) uses energy to do work in the environment and survive, and (3) reproduces itself so it can continue to exist throughout the future.

Given this, the important questions to ask about any form of life are: How complex is the structure of matter and what abilities does it have? How much energy is available in its environment and how much can it use? How much work can it do alone and can it invent tools or technology to overcome its physical limitations and do more work to survive? Can it defend itself against the wild destruction of nature and the other forms of life that are struggling to survive in the world?

After the planet Earth formed and its environment became stable—after it developed gravity, an atmosphere, a magnetic field to deflect harmful cosmic radiation, a climate that was neither too hot nor too cold nor too chaotic, and liquid water—the complex interaction of matter, energy, and the laws of nature in the early oceans of the planet Earth developed the first form of life: cells.

Cells are made of genes and each gene contains information about the cell. The particular sequence of genes within a cell determines that cell's structure and abilities in the world. Over time, some cells eventually developed the ability to divide themselves, or reproduce, and therefore increase their population in the world. The development of reproduction was an important event in the history of life because the cells that could reproduce and increase their population had a greater chance of surviving in the ever-changing environment of the planet Earth and therefore continuing to exist throughout the future. However, the simple ability to reproduce was not what made these cells so important in the story of how humankind came to be. Life also needed to evolve—to change over time—if it was to develop new structures of matter, new methods of using energy, and new abilities in the world, all of which would help it to survive. So, by experimenting with different ways of life in the Universe, the early forms of life could increase their chances of survival on the planet Earth and avoid extinction—and eventually, develop consciousness. And indeed, some forms of life gained that ability.

As the early cells reproduced and grew in number, there were often random mutations in the genes of the child-cells. Each time a parent-cell reproduced itself, a mutation could randomly occur during the process of reproduction and the genes of the child-cell could become different in some ways from the genes of the parent-cell, such as developing a new structure of matter or new ability which did not exist before. Some of these new structures and abilities allowed certain forms of life to survive better in the environment; others did not. Over time, the accumulation of random genetic mutations eventually created entirely new forms of life, and so life on the planet Earth became diverse.

In the game of evolution—the competition for survival—diversity is a strength. An increasing number of diverse forms of life, each experimenting with different structures and abilities in the world, meant that there were greater possibilities for the survival of general life in the ever-changing environment and an increasing probability of its existence throughout the future. The coming of humankind became a little more secure. Eventually, around 1.5 billion years ago, the process of evolution resulted in some individual cells joining together and forming multicellular organisms.

In a multicellular organism, each individual cell performs a specific function within the organism and depends on the other cells to do their part if they are to survive together as a whole. By joining together with other cells and cooperating with them, the community of cells could use more energy, gain more resources, and do more work in the world. In short, by working together rather than living alone, life became more powerful in the Universe. This biological principle of cooperation was vital to the survival and success of life in the past, and it is just as important for the survival and success of humankind today.

Overall, with random genetic mutations during the process of reproduction, some organisms were able to survive in the environment better than others. Since the ones that survived were the ones that ultimately reproduced and filled the future with their descendants, the long-term development of these random improvements allowed some forms of life to “adapt” to the ever-changing environment of the planet Earth over time. The forms of life that were more adapted to the environment would be the strongest or “fittest” to survive compared to others, and so nature would “select” them to continue to exist in the Universe and reproduce, and their children would then compete for their own survival like their ancestors, and so on for billions of years. Hence the general idea of biological evolution by natural selection through the survival of the fittest in an ever-changing environment after random genetic mutations during the process of reproduction.

After billions of years of evolution, the Universe changed from non-life to life, from cells to multicellular organisms, and from then on to all of the plants, fish, and animals that have roamed the planet Earth. Since all of them were born on the planet Earth, they adapted to its unique conditions: a gravity of 9.8 meters per second squared; an atmosphere of 78% nitrogen, 21% oxygen, and 1% other gases; a solar energy of around 1,300 watts per square meter of the planet; and an ocean of water with a stable climate to distribute that water around the world and nourish the life upon it. If the forms of life that arose the planet Earth were anywhere else in the Universe, they would die. But here, they would thrive.

And yet, despite surviving and reproducing and mutating and diversifying and evolving over billions of years, the various forms of life were still bound to the limitations of their physical bodies and the finite resources of the planet Earth. Their survival depended on a zero-sum competition with others—one gained by taking from another—which often resulted in violent conflict—and when humans came: war.

If a form of life did not have the ability to create an abundance of resources, overcome the physical limitations of its body, and change the world according to its will and for its benefit,

then it would remain a slave to nature. It would be powerless against the whims of the Universe and condemned to live in a world governed by forces beyond its control. Its existence would be defined by scarcity and conflict, its destiny would not be its own to determine, and its fate would ultimately be the same as everything else in the Universe: death and destruction—be it by a more powerful being, an asteroid strike, the death of the Sun, or the end of all things trillions of years from now in the Heat Death of the Universe. If life on the planet Earth was to survive, it needed a miracle.

And so it came to be.

Only 300,000 years ago, and by the grace of some holy unknown, one animal gained consciousness and humankind was born.

THE RISE OF HUMANKIND

“I think, therefore I am.”

Discourse on the Method, René Descartes

“I have endowed them with a divine spirit of
knowledge, intelligence, and skills.”

Exodus 31:3

“Be fruitful and multiply and fill the earth and govern it;
and have dominion over...every living thing.”

Genesis 1:28

“Build houses and live in them, and plant gardens and eat the fruit
of them. Marry and have children. Then find spouses for them so
that you may have many grandchildren. Increase in number, do not
decrease. And work for the peace and prosperity of the world.”

Jeremiah 29:5-7

“Eat, drink, and be joyful.”

Ecclesiastes 8:15

“...happiness! Our being’s end and aim.”

Essay on Man, Alexander Pope

In the Universe, something is either “impossible because it is
forbidden by the laws of nature; or achievable, given the right
knowledge.”

The Beginning of Infinity, David Deutsch

“Human knowledge and human power meet in one.”

Novum Organum, Francis Bacon

“...the life of [humankind]: solitary, poor, nasty, brutish and
short.”

The Leviathan, Thomas Hobbes

Humankind began on the continent of Africa. It was there that we developed the miraculously incredible and currently unexplainable process in the brain called consciousness and started to behave like human beings.

Consciousness is what makes us different from the other forms of life on the planet Earth—and it is what makes humankind so special and important in the Universe. With consciousness, we can remember the past and imagine the future. We can look at the Universe, learn how it works, and gain knowledge, and then use that knowledge to invent new technologies which allow us to do more our work, improve our lives, and build a better world. Most importantly, we have free will: the freedom to choose. We can choose who we will become and what we will do in the world. We can determine our own destiny and choose whether to use our power for good or evil—whether we will work together towards a greater future or waste our precious time in life. With consciousness, we became creators. We are the only ones in the Universe, that we know of, in the vast and infinite expanse of space, among trillions of stars and billions of years, halfway between the smallest particle and the size of the Universe itself, who can change the world according to our will, in the shape of our imagination, and for our benefit.

Before we received the gift of the mind, the purpose of life was to survive. After, our purpose became not merely to survive, but to *live*—to create our own meaning and achieve our dreams. Consciousness gave us the ability to free ourselves from the tyranny of nature and, as the descendants of Creation, become the ascendants of our own salvation. However, we could only do so by building on the work of previous generations and advancing the progress of our knowledge and power in the world, and at the beginning of our history, we began with nothing. Moreover, we were not even aware that progress was possible, let alone the incredible progress that we have made in the last 200 years.

So, when the early humans looked to the stars in the night sky all those years ago and asked the ultimate questions—Why is there something rather than nothing? How did the Universe begin? How will it end? What is the meaning of life? What is our purpose? What should I do in my lifetime?—they were desperate for answers, but they could not yet answer those questions because they lacked both the awareness and ability to discover knowledge as we do today: with the scientific method. That would come later. Instead, since they were desperate for answers and had no alternative, the early humans made numerous religions: stories which explained the Universe and satisfied their basic need for understanding, meaning, and purpose in life.

The religions became an ideology—an organized worldview—that controlled the minds of the early humans and shaped how they lived in the world. The religions said that invisible and all-powerful gods created the Universe and controlled their lives.⁴ The early humans thought their salvation would be provided not by their own minds and hands, but by the gods themselves, either in this life or in a world after death. Therefore, they believed that they could only make

⁴ "...it's quite possible that religion was *essential* to early human societies. Without supernatural sanctions to restrain them, [humans] might never have cooperated in anything larger than tribal units. Not until it became corrupted by power and privilege did religion become an essentially antisocial force, the great good it had done being eclipsed by greater evils." *The Songs of Distant Earth*, Arthur C. Clarke, 255

some small improvements to the world while they were alive, but the Universe was ultimately governed by forces beyond their control. In the centuries ahead, the early humans would eventually discover some useful knowledge and invent some simple tools—like how to start a fire, build a plow, and harness the wind for their ships—but the tyranny of certain religions over the minds of the people limited the possibility for them to become aware that progress was possible. Without that awareness, they could not increase their knowledge and power in the world to improve their lives and build a better world, and so, for thousands of years, the world remained the same. And yet, although the world remained the same, the early humans still imagined what it could be, and these became the dreams of humankind.

They dreamed of a world of peace and unity and freedom, the elimination of scarcity and creation of abundance, a longer and healthier and perhaps endless life, knowledge of the mysteries of the Universe, technology to do more work and perhaps do it for them, a flourishing and exciting culture, the accomplishment of wonders, endless opportunities to pursue their own happiness, determining their own destiny and fate in the Universe, and living among the stars. In fewer words, they dreamed of a better life in a greater world—the survival, freedom, and happiness of humankind. But without the means, these would remain only dreams.

The early humans were still the descendants of Creation and bound to its laws and limits. Their way of life was the same as all the other animals on the planet Earth: they needed to compete with each other over finite resources, they needed to defend themselves against the destruction of nature—earthquakes, hurricanes, floods, tornadoes, forest fires, tsunamis, asteroid strikes, and extreme climate change—and the other animals that were struggling to survive, and they needed to reproduce and grow their population so they could do more work in the world, ensure their survival in a dangerous and ever-changing environment, and prevent their extinction in the Universe. The early humans lived under the mercy of nature, and so their lives were defined by scarcity, poverty, ignorance, disease, war, and death. "They had stone tools, and the use of fire—[but] not much else. They had no agriculture: they survived by hunting and foraging. They had no medicine. They had small boats to travel short distances on water, but on land they had to walk, and anything they took had to be carried. They had language, but no writing. Of course, they had no science. And they had only the tribe to protect them: no police, no courts, no law. In short, their lives were characterized by abject poverty, superstition born of ignorance, and constant tribal warfare."⁵

However, like all the other forms of life on the planet Earth, the early humans could do more by working together rather than living alone. More than that, they did not want to be alone. They sought to be among others, to feel the love and warmth of family and friends, to share their sorrows and joys and precious time with them. And so, the early humans joined together in different groups and formed societies.

Before the invention of agriculture, the supply of food for the early humans was limited by the finite number of plants and animals that were produced by nature, which they could then hunt and forage. Since they had limited food, they could not yet live together in large groups in a

⁵ Smart, Rich & Free, Jason Crawford, *The Roots of Progress*, July 8, 2017

small place because they would not be able to gather enough food to feed everyone. So, they split into smaller groups and roamed across the planet Earth in search of a better land for their survival. They had a common origin and a shared identity—our basic humanity—but from then on, they would be separated. Scarcity was therefore one of the main causes for the original division of humankind.

In search of a better land, the early humans journeyed into the wilderness. They looked to the horizon, left their original home in Africa, and explored the unknown. They sought a more abundant supply of food, a more stable environment to secure their existence, and an answer to the basic question: what is beyond the horizon? Eventually, they crossed all the rivers, climbed all mountains, walked through all the valleys and fields, and sailed across the seas and oceans of the planet Earth until they made a home of the entire world, and the planet Earth became our homeworld.

In their scattered places, the small groups of early humans were separated from each other by long distance and eventually became nations, each an experiment in civilization to organize groups of human beings so they can live and work together in peace and try to discover the best way of life in the Universe. The experimentation with new ideas and different ways of life was necessary for the early humans—and it still is for us—because they could not predict the future, so they needed to try new things, learn from their failures, and then keep what was best. And as they experimented with different ways of life, they became different from each other. Based on their differences, the early nations eventually developed unique identities according to their history, language, culture, and general way of life. Over time, the development of different identities caused the nations of humankind to abandon their shared identity and look to each other as strangers and with suspicion—and often, with pride, as lesser than themselves. Because of this, the early nations began to compete with each other to prove that they were the best, better than the rest, and this became one of the main causes of war among humankind.

After the early humans spread across the planet, they eventually developed agriculture. With agriculture, they could overcome some the scarcity of food, create a small measure of abundance, and gain some freedom from nature. They could feed more people and support a larger population on a smaller area of land. They could settle down in single place and live and work together in larger numbers. The sustainable growth of their population became possible.

While most people “lived at a bare subsistence level and were unable to afford the luxury of any activity not directly related to the fulfilling of basic bodily needs,” a stable supply of food from agriculture allowed some people to spend their time and use their minds for other things than the hard physical labor that was required to work the land.⁶ Because of this, the early humans were finally able to begin to improve their existence on the planet Earth. They could support a larger society, produce more things and grow their economy, and enjoy more of the precious time that they had in life.

⁶ Engineering and the Liberal Arts: A Technologist's Guide to History, Literature, Philosophy, Art, and Music, Samuel C. Florman, 26

However, by solving one problem, many more were created. With a growing population and increasing activity among the people, society became more complex. Once a population became large enough, individuals were not able not make plans and decisions about their entire society or how to command its resources—in other words, they were not able to govern it. The vast majority of the population was busy doing other work—agriculture, construction, defense, etc.—so most people did not have the time to learn, think, and make a decision about every problem which faced their society. Moreover, without transportation or communication technology, with which people could move themselves, their words, and their ideas across large distances in shorter time, they could not easily come together to discuss and debate the organization of their society and their plans for the future. In short, since the early humans could not govern themselves, democracy was not yet possible.

Despite this, they still needed a way to organize and govern their society, a more efficient system of cooperation among human beings that could establish order among them, provide for their general welfare through laws and taxation, and defend them against the destruction of nature and other humans. They needed a government, and they needed a leader.

Without leadership, there would be anarchy and chaos in society. Everyone would be left to live by themselves. We already know that cooperation is necessary for our survival—that we can do more by working together rather than living alone—but now, leadership became necessary for our general welfare. The early humans needed someone who could lead them with wise foresight in thought and strong courage in action, who had a vision of the future and a plan to achieve it, and who could organize the work of the people to build a better world.

So, since the early humans could not yet govern themselves in a democracy, they sacrificed their freedom and gave power to a single leader. Since defense is the first responsibility of government, they looked not to the best among them to lead, but the strongest. One person gained the power to govern the many, to make decisions about their society and command every part of their lives. As we now know, this was a mistake, but the early humans lived in a world of necessity, were bound to its laws and limits, and had no alternative. They became the slaves not only of nature, but other humans.

Thus tyranny began.

TYRANNY AND CONQUEST

"...the oppression...of the powers of Nature."
Bertrand Russell

"...from the beginning of our history....freedom versus tyranny."
Hannah Arendt

"The means of defense against foreign danger have been always
the instruments of tyranny at home."
James Madison

"...the strong do what they can and the weak suffer what they must"
Thucydides

"...and the poor in their ignorance are fettered
like slaves by the whims of despots and kings."
Solon

A “small ruling class, with the aid of soldiers and priests, commanded the material resources that gave sustenance to their civilizations and allowed them to build cities, palaces, and tombs. The soldiers made sure the peasants and laborers did what had to be done to maintain irrigation systems, harvest crops, and erect buildings. The priests assured the masses that this forced-labor system was dictated by the gods, who were represented on Earth by kings.”⁷ And “as religious rites became more numerous and complex, they outgrew the knowledge and competence of the ordinary [person], and generated a special class which gave most of its time to the functions and ceremonies of religion... Since such knowledge and skill seemed to [the early humans] the most valuable of all, and supernatural forces were conceived to affect [humankind]’s fate at every turn, the power of the clergy became as great as that of the state.”⁸ And so a small group of people controlled not only the actions, but the thoughts of humankind.

The early tyrants “gave their people law, which is to say, a measure of peace and security against the violence of other people like themselves. But they provided no security against the rulers themselves.”⁹ “In such a state the only law was the will of the king and the power of the army.”¹⁰ A tyrant was not bound to follow the will of his people. In those days, might made right. The laws which create society and command its being were made according to the whims and selfish ambitions of one person, rather than interests and common good of all people. When a tyrant made mistakes, there was no way for the people to choose a new leader except through violent rebellion or chaotic revolution. The tyrants “gave their people law, which is to say, a measure of peace and security against the violence of other people like themselves. But they provided no security against the rulers themselves.”¹¹ One person controlled the rest: how they spent their precious time in life and what they were allowed to think, speak, and do in the world—and often waste them in war.

The fundamental flaw of tyranny is that its success depends on whether or not one person or a small group of people have the will and ability—the morality, intelligence, knowledge, vision, and physical resources—to promote the general welfare of the people. There have been rare times in history when such qualities were in a tyrant, but they were few and unpredictable. If a tyrant did not have these qualities, then they would make mistakes and the people would suffer. The risk of tyranny, therefore, is too high. However, the greater evil is that the people do not govern themselves; their lives and fate are controlled by another.

Since the tyrants wanted to stay in power and keep their wealth, they gave wealth and power to those who allowed the tyrant to stay in power. This was usually a small group of people—the members of the aristocracy, the leaders of a religion, and the commanders of the military—and it was always done at the expense of the people by raiding their wealth through taxation and using them as soldiers in war to gain more resources. For most of human history, tyrants lived in wealth and splendor, while the rest lived in poverty and suffering.

⁷ *Antiquity: From the Birth of Sumerian Civilization to the Fall of the Roman Empire*, Norman Cantor, 4

⁸ *Story of Civilization, Volume VI: The Reformation*, Will Durant, 68

⁹ *A History of Knowledge: Past, Present, and Future*, Charles Van Doren, 3

¹⁰ *Story of Civilization, Volume VI: The Reformation*, Will Durant, 360

¹¹ *A History of Knowledge: Past, Present, and Future*, Charles Van Doren, 3

Since one of the basic responsibilities of any government is to ensure a stable supply of food, and since agriculture required constant physical labor, and since the only way to do work in the world is with either muscle or machines, the tyrants enslaved most of the population to do the work of society, along with the people that they conquered through war. Thus slavery began.

Tyrants restricted the freedom of the people to live as they choose. They controlled the production and distribution of resources in their society and supported only that which would either maintain or grow their wealth and power. Since any changes to the world could threaten their wealth and power, they sought to conserve the world as it was and prevent any changes to it as much as possible. So, since the tyrants became conservative in spirit, and since the world is shaped by the actions of those with power, and since their actions are shaped by what ideas they think are good and their ideas are shaped by the spirit within them, the tyrants imposed their conservatism on the world. The tyrants prevented people from experimenting with new ideas and different ways of life, gaining knowledge and technology, and therefore advancing their progress, improving their lives, and building a better world. The world could not change, so it remained the same and did not improve. And for tens of thousands of years thereafter, the conservative spirit of tyranny caused the general stagnation of humankind.

Over time, as the tyrants accumulated more power as the world remained the same, the unchanging way of things became solidified into tradition—the old ways of things gained momentum throughout history and became harder to overcome. To question the authority of tradition or any of the decisions that were made by a tyrant was to threaten the stability of the nation, or more accurately, the wealth and power of its rulers. Therefore, tyranny, slavery, and poverty became fixed in the basic structure of the world; permanent features of our existence in the Universe.

So the early humans “lived under despots, surrendered their souls to superstition, and had small experience of the stimulus of freedom” or the life they could have lived.¹² In the oldest story of humankind, the Epic of Gilgamesh, which was written around the 21st century B.C.E., the people of an ancient nation begged the gods to save them from the oppression of their tyrant-king, Gilgamesh, since they did not have the means to save themselves: “Heavenly Father, Gilgamesh...has exceeded all bounds. The people suffer from his tyranny, the people cry out...do something, quickly, before the people overwhelm heaven with their heartrending cries.”¹³ But the early humans were not saved, and they cried out for their freedom ever since. Hundreds of millions of lives and tens of thousands of years were wasted because of tyranny.

With tyrants preventing the freedom and progress of humankind, the early humans lacked the ability to discover new knowledge and invent new technology with which they could create abundance, grow their economy, improve their lives, and build a better world. Since nations could not escape the world of zero-sum competition, they were left with what they had: the finite resources within their local part of the planet Earth.

¹² Story of Civilization, Volume VII: The Age of Reason Begins, Will & Ariel Durant, 70

¹³ Gilgamesh, Stephen Mitchell, 73

If the leader of a nation wanted to increase their resources, they needed to look beyond their borders and take the resources of another through conquest. The more powerful a nation was, the more it could take. Moreover, since the division of humankind caused nations to look upon each other as lesser than themselves and with suspicion, conquest also meant that nations could dominate the world and prove the supremacy of their particular identity or ideology compared to others. They could show that they were the strongest in the world—and in their eyes, the greatest—and satisfy that basic desire to know that what they were doing was right, that they had discovered the best way of life in the Universe, and that, since others had died yet they were alive, they were the fittest to survive, their way of life was supreme, and their existence would be secure throughout the future. As it was for the animals, so it was for us: a struggle for survival in a world of zero-sum competition where one gained by taking from another. Thus war began.

In war, the most powerful nation wins. If a nation has more advanced knowledge and technology than its enemies, then it will likely defeat them. Since there was no scientific and technological progress in the past, wars were mostly fought with large groups of people who were armed with basic weapons. One nation would conquer another, then time would pass and a more powerful nation would come, and back and forth, an ever-shifting balance of power for most of human history. Over time, some nations would randomly advance their knowledge and technology and shift the balance of power—but only by a little, and only after centuries.

The finite resources of the planet Earth compelled the early humans to constantly work the land for food and the other necessities of life. They tended the land, but also stole from the land of others. They lived in a world of zero-sum competition: the more powerful a nation was, the more it could take. And even if a nation did not seek to conquer others and wage war, they still needed to develop the means of war so they could defend themselves against other nations. Therefore, the survival and success of a nation depended on accumulating more power than others, and the accumulation of power depended on the progress of their knowledge and technology. The early nations did not have an inheritance of useful knowledge and technology to receive from the generations of the past, now the awareness of their ability to produce new knowledge and technology, nor the understanding of methods of which they could do so, as we do today. So, until then, the world was an ever-shifting balance of power between rising and falling nations based on random improvements in technology that were useful in war. And as the power of technology grew, so did the size and scope of war.

This was the way of things for most of human history—scarcity and poverty, ignorance and tyranny, conquest and war, and a destructive competition for world domination.

Until another miracle happened: the beginning of human progress.

THE BEGINNING OF HUMAN PROGRESS

“The human race is what we wish to make it.”

Guillaume–Thomas Raynal

“I will establish my covenant between me and you and your children throughout the generations...”

Genesis 17:7

“A partnership not only between those who are living, but between those who are living, those who are dead, and those who are to be born.”

Edmund Burke

"The deathless gods never granted us the knowledge of all things, but in time we have pursued that knowledge, and in time we've invented better."

Against Truth, Xenophanes

“Here, take this gift,

I was reserving it for some hero, speaker, or general,
one who should serve the good old cause, the great idea,
the progress and freedom of the race,
some brave confronter of despots, some daring rebel;
but I see that what I was reserving belongs to you
just as much as any.”

To a Certain Cantatrice, Walt Whitman

"Let some holy ambition invade our souls, so that, dissatisfied with mediocrity, we shall eagerly desire the highest things and shall toil with all our strength to obtain them, since we may if we wish.”

Giovanni Pico della Mirandola

"Wonders are many, but none are more wonderful than humankind."

Antigone, Sophocles

Since the beginning of our existence on the planet Earth, we dreamed of a better life in a greater world. To achieve our dreams, we needed the freedom to increase our knowledge and power in the world so we could advance our progress, improve our lives, and build a better world. “To make progress, we have to believe it is possible and desirable, we need the freedom to invent and build, and we need a wide variety of experiments.”¹⁴ However, the early humans were not even aware that progress was possible. Moreover, the conservative spirit of tyranny restricted their freedom and prevented them from changing the world; and without the means, they had only their dreams. There were sometimes random advances of knowledge and technology throughout human history, but the nations which made those advances used their momentary advantage not to help their people, but to wage war and extend their domination of the world.

From around 1 to 500 C.E., a nation called the Roman Empire was the most powerful in the world and controlled most of the western part of the planet Earth. However, since the Roman Empire was controlled by tyranny, it eventually fell into stagnation and collapsed because, among other reasons, it lacked the ability to advance its progress and remain more powerful than others. After its collapse, the Roman Empire fragmented into numerous nations across Europe who then had the potential to finally take the first steps towards removing tyranny, gaining their freedom, and experimenting with new ideas and different ways of life—to begin the progress of humankind. Instead, the nations of Europe spent most of the next 1,000 years fighting each other over finite resources and the supremacy of their national identities and ideologies—a period of history known as the Middle Ages. During the Middle Ages, when the nations of Europe were distracted by war, a nation on the other side of the world became the most powerful in the world: China.

In the 12th century C.E., China made some random advances in its knowledge and technology. Among other things, it developed the basic technology for a printing press, advanced ships for long-distance travel, and gun powder long before the nations in the West. However, the leaders of China had a conservative spirit, which meant that the nation became conservative also, and in the 15th century, China began to fall into stagnation. One of its leaders chose to retreat from the world, isolate China from the nations of humankind, and preserve the way that things were. The leader ordered the commander of China's naval fleet, who had sailed across the oceans and explored the world, to return home, and then burned all of the ships. This decision marked the end of China's power in the world, and it faded for centuries thereafter. If the progress of humankind was to be continued, it needed to happen elsewhere. And indeed it did—in the West.

Eventually, the nations of Europe changed their ways and began to systematically advance their progress after a long journey throughout history—over five centuries and across many generations—during which a series of new ideas were developed, gained sufficient force to overcome the momentum of the past, and began to change the world. And it began in a period of history called the Renaissance.

¹⁴ Progress Roundtable, Prospectus Magazine, June 8, 2022

In the 15th century, a group of people in the nation of Italy developed the idea of humanism, which proclaimed the central importance of humankind in the Universe. They believed that humans have a shared identity with each other and a common purpose to support the general welfare of all people, and therefore they must work together to build a better world in the here and now rather than hope for a better world after death. With this shared identity and common purpose, humans could finally overcome the original division of humankind. The people in Italy began to accept that humans have agency in the Universe, or free will: the freedom to choose and determine our own destiny, to decide whether to be good or evil, and not be destined to be one or the other. With free will and the responsibility to build a better world in the here and now, we began to realize that we could achieve our dreams—if only we had knowledge and power to do so. And so, for the first time in history, humans became aware of the possibility of progress. With these ideas, the people in Italy developed a culture of creation among humankind and a new spirit which could shape the world according to our will and for our benefit: the spirit of progress. There was a fundamental change in how we thought about our place in the world and our purpose in life, and since the spirit is the source and center of our lives in the world, the world began to change. With the spirit of progress, we could overcome the momentum of the past and the force of conservatism throughout history. More than that, we could solve our problems and achieve our dreams. And in the next century, the spirit of progress began to solve one of the oldest problems of the world: our ignorance about the Universe.

In the 16th century, a group of people who were scattered across the nations of Europe took the first steps towards removing the tyranny of religion over their minds and gaining the freedom to think for themselves—to make their own decisions about their own lives and experiment with new ideas and ways of life. With this freedom, another group of people across Europe were able to develop an idea that could systematically discover new knowledge about the Universe and how it works, and with that new knowledge, they could eventually allow others to invent new technologies which could improve their lives and build a better world—to harness the forces of nature, use more energy, do more work, produce more things, grow their economy, move things faster, communicate easier, cure diseases, create more culture, and have more opportunities to pursue their own happiness. This idea was the scientific method, and it was developed during a period a history called the Scientific Revolution.

The people in Europe knew that they needed to "understand nature, both around us and within ourselves, in order to set [humankind] on the course of self-improvement."¹⁵ So, they began to cooperate with each other in the pursuit of understanding the Universe. Instead of blindly accepting what the leaders of religions told them to believe about the world and what was possible in life, they began to question what they were told. When faced with something that they did not understand, they used to scientific method to try to understand it: they thought about a possible explanation, experimented to test whether that explanation was true or false, and then discussed and criticized the results of that experiment with each other. If the explanation worked, then they had discovered knowledge. If it did not, then they would try again. With the scientific

¹⁵ Consilience; The Unity of Knowledge, E.O. Wilson, 24

method, the people of Europe could advance their knowledge by accepting whatever worked, wherever it came from, and from whoever discovered it. With more knowledge, they were one step closer to beginning the work that could achieve the dreams of humankind and shape the world according to their imagination. However, if they were to shape the world, then they first needed the ability to do so. They needed to be free in the world, to make their own choices in life, and to live in a society where people were allowed to question anything and talk with each other about everything. In other words, they needed to end the tyranny which had controlled them for so long. In that pursuit, another idea was developed in the next century, one which gave people the strength and courage to seek the end of tyranny on the planet Earth and the ability to determine their own destiny in the Universe.

In the 17th century, the Enlightenment began, a period of history in which a group of people across the nations of Europe developed the idea of liberalism and declared the freedom and happiness of humankind. They sought the end of tyranny in all forms, both human and natural, and in all areas of life—the government, the economy, their homes, and their hearts and minds. They sought the freedom to think, speak, and act for themselves, to learn and create what they wanted, and to govern themselves rather than be controlled by one person or a small group of people. They sought the tolerance of other national identities and different ways of life, the separation of religion and government, and the support of the general welfare of the people and the individual pursuit of happiness. Over time, the idea worked and an increasing number of human beings gained their freedom. And in the next century, the people of the West—who recognized the central place and importance of humankind in the Universe, developed a way to systematically produce knowledge, and sought freedom in their lives and the world—would use their belief in themselves, their knowledge, and their freedom to create the means to turn their dreams into reality.

In the 18th century, a group of people in the nation of Great Britain developed the idea of capitalism and began the Industrial Revolution. The basic idea of capitalism is to have a free market in society where people can choose what work they will do. With the knowledge that was produced by the scientific method, people could invent new technologies and produce more things with greater efficiency—that is, they could produce more things with less resources or in a shorter amount of time, or both. "Science was no longer an end in itself, but in the service of human power, of a power to be used for making human life longer, healthier, and more abundant."¹⁶ In a free market, people experiment with new ideas and technologies, form companies to make new and useful products that others might need for their survival or want for their happiness, and then sell those products to whoever they wanted, wherever they were, and for whatever price they thought was best. And as a result, new knowledge and technologies were deployed across society and their benefits were more broadly-shared among the people. Any person could create and earn as much wealth as they wanted by taking risks, working hard, and competing with others to make the best products for others at the lowest price—and they could then use their wealth to pursue their own happiness in whatever way they chose. The acceleration

¹⁶ Liberalism Ancient and Modern, Leo Strauss, 1968, 19-20

of scientific and technological progress during the Industrial Revolution caused a phase transition in history when humans escaped the stagnation of poverty and achieved the sustainable growth of their economy. For the first time in human history, we were advancing our progress, improving their lives, and building a better world.

In the early days of the planet Earth, the experimentation with different ways of life and the competition with others were necessary for our survival. However, after the Industrial Revolution and the development of capitalism, experimentation and competition were necessary not only for survival, but also our general welfare and happiness. The competition of the past was based on conflict, but now, competition could be based on cooperation. Moreover, because of the constant experimentation and competition in the free market, new knowledge and technologies were being created and deployed, and they began to change every part of society: agriculture, energy, medicine, infrastructure, transportation, communication, and entertainment. Eventually, an increasingly complex division of labor was established and allowed people to do more work than ever before—and create more things than ever before. With more work, they could increase both the quantity and quality of the things that they needed for their survival and wanted for their happiness, expand both the number and types of jobs that were available to them, and accelerate the creation and distribution of wealth across society—all of which allowed them to secure their survival, be more free in their lives, and have more opportunities to pursue their own happiness. With scientific and technological progress, there was economic growth, and with economic growth, people could improve their lives and build a better world. And at the same time as all of this, there was another change happening in the world, an ancient idea being tried again: democracy.

As more people gained power in the world, they also sought to gain power over themselves. As more people gained wealth and responsibility in the economy, they also sought the rights and responsibilities in the government. And so, with a greater abundance of resources for their survival, more time to do things other than work, an increasing number of people with an education (since an increasingly complex and growing economy requires people to have sufficient knowledge, intelligence, and skills to continue its increasing complexity and growth), better transportation and communication technology to move around and talk with each other, recognition of the fact that humans are created free and equal, enough history behind them to understand the failures of tyranny, and the desire to both participate in the creation of the new world that they were building and ensure that the benefits of scientific and technological progress were broadly-shared across society, they sought to govern themselves. With technology, they were eliminating the tyranny of nature by removing scarcity, poverty, disease, ignorance, and stagnation from the world. With democracy, they sought to overcome the tyranny of other humans by establishing elections, the rule of law, the protection of individual rights, strong institutions, the accountability of their leaders, and checks and balances against the power of their government.

Over the course of five centuries, the people of Europe developed freedom, democracy, science and technology, and capitalism, and used them to solve the ancient problems of the

world. They were inspired by the spirit of progress and began to improve their lives and build a better world. They began to govern themselves—in other words, they began to determine their own future, discover more knowledge about the Universe, invent more and better technologies, harness more energy from different sources, make more things more efficiently and distribute them to more people, provide more people with an education, grow more food to sustain a growing population, treat more sicknesses and cure more diseases and avoid death and add years to the average length of life, build more basic infrastructure in society like homes and roads and schools and hospitals for more people, create more wealth that could be more broadly-shared among them, travel faster over the lands and seas, communicate faster over longer distances, trade more things with more people in more and more distant nations, explore and experience more of the world, and enjoy more of their precious time in life.

The world of the past was based on scarcity and a zero-sum competition between nations, and our survival and happiness depended on the finite resources of our local environment. But now, we were creating a new world—a world of abundance—and we did so because we had the spirit of progress within us. Instead of fighting each other over scarcity, we could work together to create abundance, share it, and eliminate one of the main causes of conquest and war.

However, this was only the beginning of human progress. Though the people in the nations of Europe were beginning to solve many of the ancient problems of the world and achieve many of the dreams of humankind, one dream was still impossible—world peace—and it was impossible because one problem remained, and in fact was becoming much worse: war.

WORLD WAR

"And Satan smiled, stretched out his hand, and said:
'O War, of all the scourges of humanity, I crown you chief.'
And hell rang with the acclamation."

The Greatest of These Is War, James Wheldon Johnson

"...the largest single event in human history, fought across six of
the world's seven continents and all its oceans. It killed fifty
million human beings, left hundreds of millions of others wounded
in mind or body and materially devastated much of...civilization."

The Second World War, John Keegan

"The last war has shown that there are no longer any barriers
between the continents and that the destinies of all countries are
closely interwoven."

Ideas and Opinions, Albert Einstein

"The discovery of how to release nuclear energy, like all
fundamental scientific discoveries, changed the
structure of human affairs—permanently."

The Making of the Atomic Bomb, Richard Rhodes

"It is an atomic bomb....a harnessing of the basic power of the
Universe. The force from which the Sun draws its power
has been loosed against those which brought war."

White House Press Release, August 6, 1945

"This isn't a new weapon; it is a new world."

Oppenheimer, Christopher Nolan

"We now have the wherewithal to abolish humankind...Why not
admit that all things changed forever?...War lost its immemorial
meaning; so why not seek a substitute? Why not attempt new
thoughts for our world? If we truly believed and felt the danger, we
would accept the adventure."

The Price of Power, by Herbert Agar

"During the time men live without a common power to keep them
all in awe, they are in that condition called war; and such a war as
is of every man against every man."

Leviathan, Thomas Hobbes

Despite the progress of the Industrial Revolution and the dramatic improvements to the world that followed, the problem of war still remained, and it remained because it was still possible—for two reasons.

First, the progress of science and technology made world domination seem more achievable and therefore desirable to some nations because it allowed them to develop more powerful weapons, which they could then use to destroy their enemies quicker and more efficiently. The ability of nations to gain more resources and prove their supremacy over others through conquest and war seemed more possible than ever before. And although the weapons that they were developing were becoming more powerful, they were not yet so destructive that the cost of war became too high and war itself became unthinkable.

Second, although the nations of humankind had a common origin and were creating more abundance which they could share, they were ultimately still divided and lived in a world of zero-sum competition. The ever-shifting balance of power between nations failed to create peace in the world, largely because scientific and technological progress made war more attractive than peace.

As we know, leadership is necessary within a nation. Without leadership, there will be anarchy and chaos. The same applies to the world. Without a leader of the world—one who could unite the nations of humankind with a shared identity and a common purpose, defend the peace of the world, establish a global economic system in which all nations could participate and share in, and achieve more in peace than they could through war—there would be anarchy and chaos in the world.

So, since war was still possible and the progress of science and technology created more powerful weapons, the size and scope of war increased, and it continued to increase until it eventually became a fight across the entire planet between most the nations of humankind—a World War.

In the beginning of the 20th century, the nations of Europe descended into two world wars that reached across the oceans, lands, and skies of the planet Earth and left a scar on the history of humankind which will last forever. The progress of science and technology made the worst parts of our humanity more powerful than ever before. Across the world, tyrants united in common cause and tried to conquer and dominate the world, but they were ultimately defeated by an alliance of greater nations, who upheld the better parts of our humanity, although at a great cost: the ruin of cities, the devastation of economies, and the deaths of tens of millions of men, women, and children.

After the end of the World Wars, there was what seemed to be peace—not because nations had enough of war, but because a new invention made them afraid of it. As war developed into its ultimate form, so did the weapons of war. And with world war came the development of a weapon that could destroy the entire world: the atomic bomb.

With atomic bombs, or nuclear weapons, a major war between the most powerful nations of humankind was no longer desirable. The cost of war became too great because of the strategic logic of mutually assured destruction: if another world war came, it would likely lead to the

destruction of the world and the annihilation of humankind as each nation launched their nuclear weapons against each other. The massive explosion of nuclear weapons would destroy major cities, and the smoke and soot that would be lifted into the atmosphere from their explosions would fill the sky, block the Sun, cool the planet, and end the production of food—killing the majority of humans on the planet Earth. Moreover, the atmosphere of the planet Earth would be damaged and lose its ability to protect against the harmful cosmic radiation which would otherwise burn life away. The planet Earth would become a wasteland, a lifeless place of cold and darkness, and the existence of humankind in the Universe would come to an end. As long as nuclear weapons exist, the fate of humankind will be bound together.

Though the strategic logic of nuclear weapons established peace after the end of the World Wars, the mere existence of them was not enough to ensure that peace would endure throughout the future. If another world war was to be prevented and peace was to be maintained, then the world needed a leader, a nation that could not only defend peace, but fulfill the promise of it—because world peace itself was never the goal, but rather what it would allow us to do.

The promise of peace is that, without the distraction of war, we could do what we otherwise could not: pursue the greater mission and purpose of humankind by building a better life in a greater world throughout the Universe—one in which we can all live our dreams. If a world of peace was not better than a world of war, if our lives did not improve by working together rather than fighting each other, and if people did not have a sense of their place in the world and their purpose in life—in other words, if world peace is not fulfilling—then people would seek an alternative, because they need meaning and purpose and excitement in life, and peace without progress is merely the absence of war. Without progress, people will destroy peace because they had no hand in making it. "They will struggle for the sake of the struggle. They will struggle, in other words, out of a certain boredom."¹⁷ They will return to the old ways—tyranny, conquest, war, national supremacy, and world domination—because the old ways, however violent, had given people some meaning in the past, and perhaps they would do so again.

So, after the World Wars of the 20th Century, a leader of the world was necessary to defend the peace of the world and fulfill the promise of it—a nation that could advance of the progress of science and technology, establish a global economic system for all nations to participate and share in, create alliances with other nations and defend others when necessary, and deter conflicts around the world and prevent them from escalating into another world war. The leader would need to unite the nations of humankind with a shared identity to remove the desire of nations to prove their supremacy, a common purpose so they could work together instead of wage war against each other, and, most importantly, a vision of the future to inspire them all and provide them with a sense of their place in the world and their purpose in life—a dream of who they were, what they could do, and where they were going.

With peace in the world and the ability to advance the progress of our science and technology—and therefore the ability to create abundance, grow our economies, and improve the lives of a greater number of people—there were new possibilities for the future. Instead of a

¹⁷ The End of History and the Last Man, Francis Fukuyama, 333

zero-sum competition between nations in which one nation gained by taking from another, there could be a positive-sum cooperation between nations through which they could do more by working together rather than living alone. Instead of fighting each other over the finite resources of the planet Earth, they could create an abundance of resources to share. However, a global economic system needed to be established in which positive-sum cooperation among nations could be possible. Moreover, the global economic system would need to be maintained over time, because if it did not work—if a better world was not built, if society was stagnant, if life was not getting better, if there was no sense of direction in life, if people lost hope for the future because of the failures of the present—then the nations of the world would seek an alternative. If positive-sum cooperation failed, then nations would return to zero-sum competition and the old ways of the past, even if that meant returning to tyranny and conquest and war and national supremacy, no matter how insane that would be, no matter how it would likely lead to the final war in human history and the end of humankind. And so, the world needed a leader.

After the end of the World Wars, there were only two nations that had the ability and will to lead the world: the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR) and the United States of America (USA). Both of them had the ability to lead the world because they were the most powerful nations in the world: they had the most advanced science and technology, the largest economies, and the strongest militaries. They had the will to lead the world because they had an ideology—an organized worldview of what they thought was the best way of life—with which they could rebuild the world from the ashes of war and shape the future of humankind. However, two important questions remained: Could they maintain their ability to lead the world throughout the future? And, more importantly, what world would they build?

The defense and fulfillment of peace, the ability and will to lead the world—these would be the responsibilities of world leadership. In the decades that followed, the USA and the USSR applied their ideologies to two different halves of the world and competed with each other to prove they were the best.

Thus began the competition for world leadership.

THE COMPETITION FOR WORLD LEADERSHIP

"The aims of the dictatorship of the proletariat having been fulfilled, the Soviet state has become a state of the whole people.... The supreme goal of the Soviet state is the building of a classless communist society....The foundation of the economic system of the USSR is socialist ownership of the means of production in the form of state property "

Preamble of the Constitution of the
Union of Soviet Socialist Republics

"We the People of the United States, in Order to form a more perfect Union, establish Justice, insure domestic Tranquility, provide for the common defense, promote the general Welfare, and secure the Blessings of Liberty to ourselves and our Posterity..."

Preamble of the Constitution of
the United States of America

The Union of Soviet Socialist Republics was based on the ideology of communism, which meant that the government had total control over society—and so it was also a tyranny. According to communism, if the government controlled the economy—the production, distribution, and consumption of resources—then it could ensure that everyone would have what they needed to survive and wanted to be happy and thereby achieve the equality of humankind. In other words, communism is the attempt to achieve the equality of human beings by force—through tyranny. The government, which is necessarily a small group of people, would control nearly every aspect of the lives of its people: what areas of knowledge scientists could research, what technologies people could invent, what companies people could form and how they could operate them, what products they could make and how much they could sell them for, what jobs people could have and what work they were allowed to do.

The idea of communism was developed in response to some of the negative effects of capitalism which arose after the Industrial Revolution. For many people, capitalism seemed to create a world of extreme inequality and general suffering in which economic growth was not broadly-shared among the people, and the wealthiest individuals could hoard an increasing share of the seemingly finite amount of wealth and resources in society at the expense of everyone else. To communists, a free market meant that individuals who earned large amounts of wealth had more opportunities to accumulate even more wealth, and were free to do so until they eventually owned most of the wealth in society. They blamed the negative effects of capitalism on the lack of an effective role for the government in society—a lack of laws to prevent companies from gaining the control of an industry and restricting fair competition, to protect employers from abusing their workers or polluting the environment in the pursuit of profit, to tax the wealthiest individuals to prevent the hoarding of useful resources and ensure the broad distribution of wealth among the people, and to avoid the endless cycles of economic growth and depression that occurred in a free market. In short, communists thought that capitalism was inherently unfair and didn't improve the lives of most people. So, they sought an alternative.

However, instead of fixing the negative effects of capitalism by making the government more effective in society and finding a balance between the government and the free market, they demanded that the government control the entire economy and essentially all of society. They ignored the fact that the negative effects of capitalism can ultimately be fixed by the government—specifically, good government—as we have throughout our history and as I will explain in "The Role of the Government in Society" section. Moreover, despite the claims of communists, there are no fundamental flaws of capitalism that will inherently cause it to fail. There are, however, three fundamental flaws of communism.

First, by giving the government a total control of the economy, decision-making is restricted to a small group of people. This is a problem because humans are fallible: we can make mistakes because we have free will and we lack the ability to predict the future. To ensure the optimal production and distribution of resources in a communist society—to ensure that everyone got what they needed to survive—the government would need perfect knowledge about society. It would need to know exactly what people want, how much they want, and what price

they are willing to pay for it—everywhere and at all times. Moreover, since humans cannot predict the future, the government would not be able to know what knowledge and technologies would become useful in the economy and in what ways, what business practices would be best, and what products would be needed or wanted by everyone, everywhere, and at all times.¹⁸ Even the most intelligent humans cannot hold in their minds such a vast amount of information and understand it, and the act of collecting such information would be impossible. So, a government in a communist society would not be able to make good decisions about the economy, let alone advance the progress of its science and technology and sustain the growth of its economy.

The second flaw of communism is that the risk of failure is concentrated among a small group of people rather than distributed across society. Since a communist government would control the economy, any mistakes it made would accumulate and cause the collapse of society, rather than be contained to one individual or company who tried something but ultimately failed. Therefore, increasing the government's control of the economy also increases the risk of the collapse of society. If communism was to be successful, then the government needed to do everything right, everywhere, and at all times. However, since humans are fallible, this is impossible.

The third flaw of communism is that it is based on tyranny. To ensure that the government has control of economy and that people do what they were told, tyranny is necessary. To achieve the goal of an equal and optimal distribution of resources, the government would need to forcibly control the production and distribution of them. So, not only does the lack of freedom in a communist society remove the necessary conditions for progress—scientific discovery, technological invention, the experimentation and competition between companies, and the growth of the economy—it also means that people are not free to make their own choices about their lives and pursue their own happiness, which is a violation of our basic humanity. The goal of communism is to ensure that everyone is equal and has what they need to survive and be happy, but everyone's idea of happiness is different and they pursue it in their own ways. However, communism takes away their freedom to do so.

As we now know, communism does not work—and it did not work for the USSR. The ideology and way of life of the USSR were fundamentally flawed, so it could not sustainably advance the progress of its science and technology and therefore remain the most powerful nation in the world, and it could not sustainably grow its economy and improve the lives of an increasing number of its own people. Moreover, the USSR showed the nations of the world that it would lead them with the same tyrannical methods it used to rule its own people, the same methods which had defined the world of the past for so long: violence, force, and control. It sought to spread its ideology by conquering other nations through war and forcing them to do as they were told, even if they did not like the ideology and way of life of the USSR, which many did not, because the oppression and stagnation of the culture of the USSR was simply not as good and enjoyable as those of the other candidate for world leadership: the USA. Fortunately,

¹⁸ The Use of Knowledge in Society, Friedrich Hayek, September 1945

this did not last. A few decades after the end of the World Wars, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics collapsed.

The USSR did not have the basic requirements of world leadership: it could not survive over time, it could not remain the most powerful nation in the world, and therefore it could not maintain the ability to lead the world and defend peace among the nations. Moreover, it failed to fulfill the promise of peace and make life better for the few nations it led, since it failed to make life better for its own people. After the collapse of the USSR, there was only one nation that still had the ability and the will to lead the world, one that could not only defend peace but fulfill the promise of it, and not only for itself, but for all of humankind: the United States of America.

The United States of America was, and still is, based on the ideology of democracy and capitalism. In America, people have freedom in society and the economy and can make their own choices about their lives. As mentioned, democracy and capitalism are what helped to begin the progress of humankind during the Industrial Revolution and the dramatic improvement of life across the world thereafter. I do not need to explain the benefits of the American way of life (although I will do so in the "What is America?" section). For that, I would say: look around you and compare it with the alternatives.

Unlike communism, capitalism allows a nation to sustainably advance its scientific and technological progress, grow its economy, and improve the lives of an increasing number of its people. Instead of a small group of people controlling the economy, everyone is able to make their own decisions about their life and work. In a free market, the production, distribution, and consumption of the resources that we need to survive and want to be happy happens more efficiently because decision-making, knowledge, and the risk of failure are distributed to everyone rather than concentrated among a few. Since people are allowed to do what they want and the government does not control them, there are greater possibilities and opportunities for them to experiment with new ideas and ways of doing things—to make new discoveries, invent new technologies, and provide more, better, and cheaper products for more people. In short, there are more opportunities for the survival, freedom, and happiness of humankind in a free market. Instead of relying on the imperfect knowledge of a small group of individuals to plan the entire economy, knowledge is spread across society, to the maximum number of people, and through their competition with each other to make the best and cheapest products for the greatest number of people in the pursuit of profit, the right decisions are ultimately discovered in the process and the economy can continue to function and grow. If a person or company tries something new and fails, then only they are the ones who fail—not the entire society. And since a free market can sustainably grow an economy, nations can survive over time, continue to improve the lives of an increasing number of its people, and become more powerful in the world.

Despite the faults of capitalism, it is still better than the alternatives. Although a free market by itself is imperfect and can create problems, those imperfections and problems can ultimately be fixed and prevented by the government. The government can make laws to prohibit monopolistic activity, protect workers and the environment, establish a fair system of taxation so that all citizens can pay for the defense and maintenance and improvement of the nation, build

the basic infrastructure that is necessary support an increasingly complex and growing society, and ensure that everyone has the opportunity to earn wealth and share in the wealth and abundance that is created in the economy. The extreme inequality of wealth has been and can be a real problem in a free market, but an inequality of wealth is inevitable when people are free. As a writer who was imprisoned by the USSR wrote, "Human beings are born with different capacities. If they are free, they are not equal. And if they are equal, they are not free."¹⁹ In a free market, some people will have better ideas and work harder than others, and earn more wealth than them as a result. However, let us not forget that a free market, far better than the alternatives, provides an increasing number of people with what they need to survive and pursue their own happiness and supports the creation of more wealth which can be broadly-shared by them over time. So, if everyone eventually has the basic necessities, a comfortable life, and an equal opportunity to work hard and pursue their own happiness, then the inequality of wealth is not a problem, no matter how extreme—unless of course the useful assets of society are hoarded by a small group of people and wasted by them, which the government could prevent anyways. Especially in a democracy, the faults of capitalism are ultimately fixable, since people can decide what works, what helps them, and what does not. Therefore, to say there is an inherent flaw in capitalism is to say there is an inherent flaw in the idea that humans should be free, either in society or the economy. The important thing about capitalism is that people are free in their lives—and such freedom makes a nation strong.

Unlike communism, capitalism works, and it worked for America and all of the many nations who have since adopted it. Therefore, the ideology of America was successful: it could sustainably advance its scientific and technological progress, grow its economy, and improve the lives of an increasing number of its people. America also showed the world that, unlike the USSR, it would lead with persuasion and example rather than force and control, and it would help the weak against the strong.²⁰ As a President said, "our basic goal remains the same: a peaceful world community of free and independent states—free to choose their own future and their own system, so long as it does not threaten the freedom of others. Some may choose forms and ways that we would not choose for ourselves—but it is not for us that they are choosing. We can welcome diversity—the Communists cannot. For we offer a world of choice—they offer the world of coercion. And the way of the past shows dearly that freedom, not coercion, is...the future."²¹ After the World Wars of the 20th Century, the number of nations that chose an alliance with America has been increasing, in part because the American way of life could improve the lives of their people far better than the alternatives, but also because the freedom and flourishing of the culture of America made life more exciting and enjoyable—there was a diversity of cultures, a tolerance of others, the creation of new things, the freedom for people to explore and live as they choose, exciting forms of entertainment, and abundant ways to spend their precious time in life. In short, with the American way of life, there was more life to be had.

¹⁹ Aleksandr Solzhenitsyn

²⁰ I will discuss the exceptions to this generalization in the "What is America?" and "World Leadership" sections.

²¹ State of the Union Address, John F. Kennedy, January 11, 1962

In addition to capitalism, democracy also worked in America. A nation could not lead the world if it was not strong at home, which required a good and stable government. Since America was a democracy, the people governed themselves and had the dignity and benefits of self-government. Moreover, they could hold their leaders accountable for their mistakes, limit the power of their government, prevent tyranny from rising, avoid the risks of a few people making decisions for the many, and ensure that the greatest good was provided to the greatest number of people.

In addition to these things, America also had a unique ability to unite the nations of humankind with a shared identity, a common purpose, and a vision of the future, and that is because America was the first and only nation in human history founded on the basic fact that we are all human beings—bound together in origin and destiny, living in the same brief moment in time and space, imperfect yet striving for a more perfect world. In fewer words, America was founded on the fact that to be American is to be human. Other nations were founded on their particular local identity: the Chinese, Russians, British, French, Italians, Indians, etc. But America was the only nation in the world without a nationality. Instead, it was a nation of nations, a land of all peoples, a place for all cultures—a home for humankind. Who better to lead the nations of humankind than the nation of humankind?

Overall, America had the basic requirements of world leadership: it could survive over time, remain the most powerful nation in the world, and therefore maintain the ability to lead the world and defend the peace after the World Wars of the 20th Century. Until recently, it was able to fulfill the promise of peace for both itself and the many nations it led. Around the world, there was a dramatic reduction of poverty, hunger, child mortality, scarcity of all kinds, deaths from disease, and violent crime, and there was a dramatic increase of democracy, economic growth, education, the average length of life, the availability of doctors and medicine, the supply of food, the supply and use of energy, and the growth of the population. With the American way of life, there were more opportunities for people to pursue their own happiness and more possibilities for the future. And so, the United States of America became the leader of the world—the leader of the nations of humankind—the leader of humankind.

What came after was incredible. From the ashes of the World Wars of the 20th Century, and with the strategic logic of mutually assured destruction from nuclear weapons, the United States of America led the world and established a general and sustainable peace that could be gradually increased and distributed to a greater extent over time—until that day when we can say there is true and everlasting peace. America laid a foundation upon which nations could prosper by working together and people could improve their lives and build a better world in the Universe, one where all could achieve their dreams—the world we live in today.

Thus began, for the first time in human history, world peace.

WORLD PEACE

“...and the land had rest from war.”

Joshua 11:23

“Blessed are the peacemakers...”

Matthew 5:9

"Nation shall not lift up sword against nation,
nor shall they learn war again."

Micah 4:3

"The ancient causes of war no longer obtained..."

Beyond this Horizon, Robert Heinlein

“Peace made, my dear friend, a new scene opens.”

Letter to a Friend, Alexander Hamilton

“...the yearning for peace and its creative possibilities.”

The Iliad, Homer, Robert Fagles

“...to breathe in fruitful peace.”

King Henry the Sixth, William Shakespeare

“...let us strive on to finish the work we are in...to do all which
may achieve and cherish a just and lasting peace among ourselves
and with all nations.”

Second Inaugural Address, Abraham Lincoln

“I am talking about genuine peace, the kind of peace that makes
life on Earth worth living, the kind that enables...nations to grow
and to hope and to build a better life for their children—not merely
peace for Americans but peace for all...not merely peace in our
time but peace for all time.”

The Peace Speech, John F. Kennedy

“In dreams begin responsibility...”

Responsibilities, William Butler Yeats

If not in name, then in fact, the United States of America became the leader of humankind. A leader was necessary to prevent another world war, so America assumed the responsibilities of world leadership, since it was the only nation that could. Without the distraction of war and the limitations of scarcity, there could be peace and endless possibilities for the future. Instead of division, there could be unity; instead of conflict, there could be cooperation; instead of destruction, there could be creation. As the leader of the world, America took on an infinite mission: the promise of world peace. What would we do? There was still the ancient dream of a better life in a greater world throughout the Universe, and now it was more possible than ever.

For most of human history, world peace was an enduring but seemingly impossible dream. “Is world peace an impossible dream?...If by world peace, it is meant the complete absence of conflict among and within nations, then it may well be impossible....But if by world peace we mean the absence of major war and the effective containment of regional conflicts,” then it is entirely possible.²² So, to ensure that the general peace of the world was maintained, increased, and distributed to a greater extent over time, and that the promise of peace could be fulfilled, America needed to build the foundation for a new world.

To defend the peace of the world, it would need to spread its military across the world and join together with the strength of other nations. To incentivize nations to work together and eliminate the causes of war—scarcity, poverty, hunger, tyranny, and the desire for world domination—it would need to establish a global economic system in which nations could create abundance, share its wealth, and improve the lives of their people. And to lead and unite the nations of humankind, it would need an inspiring vision of the future. These were what was required of America—and what are still required of us today.

To defend the peace of the world, America spread its military across the world. It would provide security and stability for the nations of humankind with a global military presence, one that could rapidly deploy anywhere in the world whenever necessary and was always ready to defend others wherever they may be. By being everywhere, America could deter conflicts anywhere and prevent them from escalating into another world war. However, if was America was to do these things, then it also needed to ensure that it remained the most powerful nation in the world so that no nation could threaten or defeat it, and consequently threaten the peace of the world. For this, America needed to sustain the sources of its power in the world: the progress of its science and technology and the growth of its economy—which it did. Moreover, America created alliances with the militaries of other nations, like the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) with nations in Europe, along with other alliances with various nations around the world, so that it could remain the most powerful military in the world and effectively prevent, deter, and win any conflict in the world. By doing so, America would be, as a President said, the “Commander-in-Chief of the Grand Alliance for freedom.”²³ In the words of the same President,

²² Is World Peace An Impossible Dream?, George Mitchell, The Journal of the International Institute, Volume 9, Issue 3, Spring/Summer 2002

²³ Remarks at the New York Coliseum, John F. Kennedy, November 5, 1960

the "strength and deployment of our forces in combination with those of our allies should be sufficiently powerful and mobile to prevent the steady erosion of [world peace] through limited wars."²⁴ If America could do these things, then it could maintain the ability to defend the general peace of the world.

A global military presence was necessary because, although the strategic logic of nuclear weapons meant that major war between the most powerful nations in the world was no longer an option, nations that still sought resources or supremacy could try to wage small conflicts without provoking retaliation from a nation with nuclear weapons. However, if such nations were left unchecked, then small conflicts around the world could escalate into a larger conflict and eventually lead to another world war. The World Wars of the 20th Century taught us that seemingly random events, such as the assassination of the leader of a nation, can cause an unpredictable chain reaction that escalates into a global conflict. And in the increasingly complex and interconnected world of today, this is more true than ever. So, if America was to defend the peace of the world and prevent another world war, then it needed to protect the weak against the strong, deter nations from testing the acceptable size of limited wars, and prevent small conflicts from escalating into larger ones. In short, America needed "not to end [global conflict] but contain it, [and create] for abroad the kind of regulated security that was routine at home."²⁵ In pursuit of these goals, the global military presence of America would protect the world, but not control it: nations could govern themselves in peace and focus on growing their economies, improving their lives, and determining their own destiny.²⁶ Moreover, for when conflicts did happen, America also developed more humane laws of warfare (as much as war can be humane) to minimize harm to civilians and encourage the use of more precise weapons and less destructive methods, in addition to providing aid to those who were unable to help themselves.

The global military presence of America not only defended peace of the world, but also the global economic system that America established (as I will discuss in the next paragraph). A global economic system would establish the basis for cooperation between nations by ensuring free and fair trade between them across the oceans, lands, and skies. "Markets are unlikely to exist where it is difficult to transport goods and people," so the global military presence of America would prevent major disruptions to global trade by tyrannical nations and piracy and make the transportation of the things around the world less risky, expensive, and time-consuming.²⁷ By doing this, America provided stability to world, which allowed for global economic growth, the improvement of life for more people in more nations, and the elimination of the causes and incentives of war. Without American leadership, there could not be a global economy, and without a global economy, life would be worse for everyone. World peace depends on global economic growth, which depends on a global economic system, which depends on global trade, which depends on global military presence to defend it.

²⁴ Special Message to Congress on the Defense Budget, John F. Kennedy, March 28, 1961

²⁵ Humane: How the United States Abandoned Peace and Reinvented War, Samuel Moyn, 323

²⁶ I will discuss the few failed invasions and attempts to govern foreign nations in the "World Leadership" and "Defense" sections.

²⁷ How the World Became Rich: The Historical Origins of Economic Growth, Mark Koyama & Jared Rubin, 24

So, to ensure that nations worked together in peace and that the causes and incentives of war were eliminated, America established a global economic system in which all nations could solve their problems and prosper by working together. With a global economics system, America could establish a "peace which rests on the cooperative effort of the whole world."²⁸ Without it, nations could not safely trade and fairly compete with each other and would eventually return to violently taking what they wanted through conquest and war. A global economic system allowed nations to have more opportunities for their economic growth and self-improvement than ever before by expanding their access to more resources, markets, people, places, and ideas. It enabled them to create an abundance of things which they could share and depend on each other to provide the things that they either could not produce for themselves or could produce better than others, and thereby finally escape poverty and begin to improve the lives of their people.

America established a global economic system by leading the creation of global institutions which could unite and develop the economies of the world—the United Nations, World Bank, International Monetary Fund, World Trade Organization, World Health Organization, and International Court of Justice, among others—and created an increasing number of alliances between nations with numerous treaties. It ensured that all of these institutions and treaties were based on rules which would apply equally to all nations so there could be free and fair competition between them in peace. America also sacrificed a part of its own well-being in order to support the success of the global economic system. It loaned money to nations that were destroyed by the World Wars so they could rebuild themselves, shared its knowledge and technology with them so they had the means to grow their economies, and allowed its companies to move their operations abroad so other nations could benefit from their wealth and experience, and it did all of this so the world could learn that working together in peace was far better than conquering each other through war.

The invention of the atomic bomb made nations dependent on each other for their survival because such a weapon could destroy the world if another war came. Now, the creation of a global economic system made nations dependent on each other for their general welfare and happiness because global trade allowed nations to grow their economies and improve the lives of their people far more than without it. No nation can be self-sufficient; a group of people cannot produce everything they need. Therefore, nations must grow their own economies as much as possible, produce what they can, and then trade with each other for the rest. Because of this, nations also depend on each other to remain stable, prosperous, and peaceful at home since the bad decisions of one nation could affect the others. If a nation became unstable, aggressive, or collapsed, then it could disrupt the flow of trade and threaten the nations which depended on it for their stability and prosperity, which could then cause them to decline and collapse because they could no longer get what they needed to sustain their economy, and then chaos would spread across the world and give rise to war.

So, the global economic system united the world and caused the nations of humankind to become interdependent—they depended on each other to not only for their survival, but also

²⁸ Address to Congress on the Yalta Conference, Franklin Delano Roosevelt, March 1, 1945

their general welfare and happiness. By helping others, nations could help themselves. And as the global economic system became increasingly complex over time—and therefore more fragile—nations became more dependent on each other over time. With nuclear weapons, the fate of humankind is bound together as long as they exist. With global economy however, the fate of humankind is bound together forever. If the global economy does not continue to grow throughout the future, or if it fails, then the economies of nations will shrink, nations will collapse, and chaos will spread across the world. The "global system would continue its forward march from isolation in interdependence to cooperation because there [was] no alternative."²⁹ The interconnection and interdependence of the world is here to stay and there is no going back. We will either rise or fall together. This may seem like too much of a risk, to have such a complex and fragile global economic system, but the benefits far outweigh the risks, and a better life would be impossible without it—that is, without all of humankind working together to improve their lives and build a better world.

America did all of this—defended the world and supported the prosperity of all nations—not only because it was necessary for others, but also because it was necessary for itself. After the World Wars of the 20th Century, the American people had learned from their mistakes. When both of the World Wars began, they chose to isolate themselves from the world and let other nations solve their own problems and fight with each other while they focused on themselves in the peace and security of their ocean-bounded shores. Because of this, Americans allowed conflicts to escalate abroad and grow into a large war, until eventually, and inevitably, war reached them at home and forced them to pay a far greater cost in lives and money for their mistake than if they had intervened earlier. And with the technological progress of weapons and transportation systems, war is becoming more destructive over time, can escalate in shorter time, and can spread quicker and more rapidly across the world. From now on, global security and domestic security are the same. Peace at home depends on peace abroad. Moreover, conflicts abroad can disrupt the global supply chains that we depend on to keep our economy functioning and growing. Therefore, if Americans wanted to protect not only their peace, but also their prosperity, then what happens abroad mattered very much to them at home, and isolationism will never work. If Americans do not bear the costs of world leadership today to prevent the far greatest costs of war in the future—if they wait until it is too late and sit safely on their at home ignoring events abroad—then disruptions will spread throughout the global economy and another world war will be allowed to rise.

And so, the American people learned that having a leader of the world was necessary, and if they did not abandon their isolationism and choose world leadership, then another nation could do so, one that could lead the world and shape it according to its will, and Americans would then be forced to live in a world that was made by others, even if they did not want it—even if it meant that a tyrant would rule the world again. Facing all of this, the American people learned from their mistakes and assumed the burdens of a responsibility they did not want—would make sacrifices, bear the costs, and struggle to meet the high standards of a role they did

²⁹ Lessons of Tragedy: Statecraft and World Order, Hal Brands & Charles Edel, 100

not choose, but knew was necessary. The American people assumed the leadership of the world, and fortunately, they were uniquely capable of doing so, for several reasons.

First, unlike many nations, America did not want to lead the world. Despite their repeated attempts to isolate themselves from the rest of the world, the American people saw that world leadership necessary to prevent another world war and achieve the benefits and possibilities of a global economy.

Second, the geography of America—its fertile lands, friendly neighbors, and protective oceans—provided a reliable source of natural defense and economic growth that most nations did not have and therefore allowed it to safely send its military abroad to defend the world while it improved itself at home.

Third, America had the best economy in the world: the largest, most-diversified, and least dependent on trade with other nations—though still vitally dependent on it.

Fourth, America was the most scientifically and technologically advanced nation in the world and therefore had the means to ensure that it always had the most powerful military and largest economy in the world.

Lastly, America had a basic moral and symbolic advantage compared to other nations because it was the nation of humankind: a diverse democracy open to all, whoever they were and wherever they came from on the planet Earth, no matter their culture or creed or color of their skin—a land where all people could live in freedom and determine their own destiny.

With these unique qualities, America did what was necessary and assumed world leadership. It spread its military across the world and established a global economic system—for the benefit of both itself and all nations. However, it still needed to make sure, once and for all, that the nations of humankind were not only united, but also on the same path towards the future, so that none would be left behind, and never again descend into world war.

To unite the nations of humankind and lead them into the future, America promoted the shared identity and common purpose of humankind. It supported freedom and democracy for the people in all nations and inspired them with an exciting vision of the future: building a better world where all can live their dreams. America increased the number of alliances between nations and earned their trust by demonstrating that it would help them when the time came, be it by aiding them, defending them, or working with them together. It also led by example with its incredible scientific and technological progress, rapid and broadly-shared economic growth, the dramatic improvement of life for its people, and the accomplishment of wonders like going to the Moon. America told the world it had a dream—the American Dream—that the future can be better than the past, that life can get better for more people, and that we can leave a better world for our children. It spoke of what we could do in our lifetime, the wonders we could achieve, and where we could go—further than ever before—because we have it within ourselves to change the world, if only we choose it, if only we saw ourselves as what we truly are in this vast and infinite Universe, with billions of years behind us and trillions of years ahead, as beings who can shape the world to our will and according to our imagination, who can determine our own destiny and build a better life in a greater world—not only for us, not only for our children, and not only in

the here and now, but for all generations, across all time, even out there among the stars. America had a dream, and the world followed.

World peace did not come because there was finally goodwill among the nations of humankind. It came because of the leadership of the United States of America: a global military presence, the global economic system, and an inspiring vision of the future—one that would ultimately take us to the stars, since it had already taken us to the Moon. In the decades after the World Wars of the 20th Century, the American people advanced their progress, improved the survival, freedom, and happiness of humankind, and began to build a better world for all nations.

Surely, this would go on?

Surely the American people would not forget the sacrifices that were made to establish peace after the World Wars and would continue to lead and defend the world in the years ahead. Surely they would summon the best of themselves and work together to show the world what people could do in a land of freedom. Surely they accelerated their progress, improved their lives, and built a better world faster than ever before so that the next century—the 21st century—was the greatest in human history: there was no war, peace for all, unity among the nations of humankind, dramatic scientific discoveries and incredible technological inventions, rapid and broadly-shared economic growth, the elimination of poverty and disease and death, a multicultural flourishing, endless opportunities for our happiness, and infinite possibilities for the future. Surely we took the next steps on that path towards the stars and went beyond the Moon, made a home of new planets, and spread life across the Universe?

But, no.

THE FAILURES OF THE RECENT PAST

“When there is no leader, the people will fall.”
Proverbs 11:14

“When there is no vision, the people will perish.”
Proverbs, 29:18

“All your strength is in your union / all your danger is in discord.”
Song of Hiawatha

“Is he sick?’ ‘No, worse. He’s discouraged.”
It’s a Wonderful Life

“There is nothing new under the sun.”
Ecclesiastes 1:9

"We are not now that strength
which in old days moved earth and heaven..."
Ulysses, Alfred Lord Tennyson

“In the present condition of America,...[there is] nothing to hope
from the phantom of a general government which now exists.”
Federalist No. 41, James Madison

“The old political formulas do not fit the present problems.”
The New Freedom, Woodrow Wilson

“We lack...a coherent scheme of progress....All the political parties
alike have their origins in past ideas and not in new ideas.”
Essays in Biography, John Maynard Keynes

“...no common spirit possessed the people. The individual felt
isolated and lacked national leadership and national purpose.”
The American Story, Earl Schenck Miers

“...a warning...of what it is to throw away a country.”
A Man Without a Country, Edward Everett Hale

“Whither is fled the visionary gleam?
Where is it now, the glory and the dream?”
Imitations of Immortality, William Wordsworth

“We dozed, we slept, and the dream abandoned us.”
The American Dream: What Happened to It, William Faulkner

As time passed, we lost our way and made mistakes. We rested on our laurels and abandoned the causes of our greatness. We chose to conserve the world as it was instead of advancing our progress and building what it could be. We doubted ourselves, along with the power and possibilities of democracy. Worst of all, we lost our spirit and let the American dream fade. Over time, the United States of America became stagnant—in government, in the economy, in culture, and in life. There was increasing political division and dysfunction, a slowdown of scientific and technological progress, general economic stagnation, a retreat from world leadership, the loss of a sense of our place in the world and the purpose of our lives, and the lack of an inspiring vision of the future—of who we are, what we could do, and where we were going—a dream that could unite us and organize our efforts towards a common goal. Our spirit, once progressive and great, became conservative. We went to the Moon, but no further.

Thus began the Conservative Revolution of America.

Around the 1970s, a few decades after the Second World War, there was what is now known as the Conservative Revolution of America: a period of time when the majority of the American people became conservative in spirit.

Why? Perhaps after fighting in the World Wars, doing the hard work of becoming the most powerful nation in the world, bearing the many burdens and responsibilities of world leadership, and being constantly compelled by crises both at home and abroad, the American people were simply tired. For so long, they had been fighting in wars and competing with their enemies, so they chose to focus on themselves instead. They wanted, as a writer said, to "stand athwart history and yell, 'Stop!'"³⁰ so they could rest and enjoy the comforts of the present rather than face the challenges of the future.

Or perhaps some of them felt like strangers in their homeland because they were bewildered by the rapidly changing world around them and confused by the increasingly complex and unrecognizable country that they grew up in. They longed to return to a more familiar and traditional world, grasped for the old ways of the old days, and sought to preserve the way that things were—to slow progress and prevent more changes to the world, to maintain the status quo and make only minor improvements—despite the fact that the world is ever-changing and would go on without them anyways, and if they were no longer willing to adapt to the ever-changing world, then their country would become stagnant since “all societies...are subject to decay over time [and the] real issue is their ability to adapt and eventually fix themselves.”³¹

Or perhaps some of them saw the mistakes of bad government and were persuaded to think, as a President said, that "government is not the solution to our problem, government is the problem."³² So, instead of learning from their mistakes and choosing good government, they weakened and shrank the size of the Government and made it less capable of fulfilling its basic responsibilities in society, despite the fact that good government is necessary for our survival and

³⁰ Publisher's Statement, William F. Buckley Jr., *The National Review*, November 19, 1955, 5

³¹ *Political Order and Political Decay: From the Industrial Revolution to the Globalization of Democracy*, Francis Fukuyama, 546

³² Inaugural Address, Ronald Reagan, January 20, 1981

general welfare (as I will explain in "The Role of the Government in Society" section), and good government requires a strong and capable government, and in a democracy, the Government is the people and the people are the Government—they are one and the same, nothing more and nothing less. The Government is not some foreign entity; it is us, so to say that the Government is the problem is to say that we are the problem, and to make the Government weaker is to make ourselves weaker and therefore less able to work together to advance our progress, improve our lives, and build a better world—to achieve our dreams. A weak government is as dangerous as a tyrannical one, if not more, because if a government is too weak to defend the country and provide for the general welfare of the people, then the country will either collapse into anarchy from within or be invaded and conquered from without—or both.

Or perhaps some of them were afraid of the risks of rapid progress of science and technology and believed, as a writer said, that "the road we have long been traveling...on which we progress with great speed...at its end lies disaster."³³ They believed the pace of progress was accelerating beyond their control and creating more powerful weapons, extreme wealth inequality, and massive environmental damage (despite the fact that although science and technology creates new problems, they can solve the problems they create, and a world without them would be much worse), or they believed that science and technology themselves were no longer a force for good (despite the fact that science and technology are neither inherently good nor bad, but rather depend on how we use them and whether or not we use them for good).

Or perhaps some of them believed that since America was great today, it would continue to be great in the future. They believed that capitalism would continue to generate rapid and broadly-shared economic growth, so there was no longer a need for them to intervene in the free market through the Government, despite the fact that the success of capitalism, the functioning of the free market, and the growth of the economy require the support and occasional intervention of the Government. They believed that the progress of science and technology was inevitable, so there was no longer a need for them to support it with funding by the Government, despite the fact that progress is not inevitable and can reverse, and that many of the most significant scientific and technological achievements in the past happened in large part because of the support of the Government. They believed that peace, freedom, and democracy would automatically spread across the world as more people in tyrannical nations were exposed to the benefits of a free market by participating in the global economic system and saw the example of a free society in America, and they would demand freedom for themselves, so there was no longer a need for the American people to lead and defend the world and send their military abroad, despite the fact that tyrants will abuse the global economic system to benefit themselves, stay in control, and make themselves wealthier and more powerful if they are left alone, and the historical momentum of the past will not be overcome, and the hearts and minds of people who have bad ideas and ways of life will not be changed without active leadership and persuasion.

Or perhaps, after the invention of the computer and the Internet, some Americans were relieved that they no longer had to do the hard work of expanding outwards into the physical

³³ The Silent Spring, Rachel Carson, The Other Road

world and could instead take comfort and turn inwards into the digital world, despite the fact that although digital technology is necessary and useful for faster communication, more efficient methods of work, making knowledge widely available, and creating new forms of culture for us to enjoy, the shift of our focus, resources, and talent to the digital world meant that we would be less able to maintain and improve the physical world—which we actually live in—and therefore it would decay and our society would become stagnant. And indeed, that is what happened: much of the economic growth in the recent past was largely based on digital technology, along with the finance which supported it, rather than physical technology. Moreover, during the same time, the American people lost their ability to manufacture and build things at home as companies moved their operations abroad and therefore lost the ability to physically build a better world. In addition to this, the American people reduced their focus and funding for the National Aeronautical and Space Agency (NASA), the government agency whose mission was to go beyond the planet Earth, explore the stars, and extend the limits of our presence throughout the Universe. In other words, with the delights of a dream-like digital world, the American people chose to go to the Moon, but no further.

Whatever the reasons, and for all of these people, the Conservative Revolution of America happened the same: conservative spirit was widespread among the majority of the American people, and it affected both of the political parties in the country, the Democratic Party and the Republican Party. Although the two parties became conservative in different ways and for different reasons, they both turned their eyes towards the most powerful thing in society—the Government—so they could govern and reshape the country according to their new spirit.

Republicans became conservative in spirit mainly because they always were (and rightly so: the conservative spirit is necessary to balance the progressive spirit, since progress without tradition is chaos—but let us not forget that tradition without progress is stagnation, and stagnation is the prelude to decline). However, Republicans were also conservative because they saw the flaws of having too much government in a society from the example of communism in the USSR and consequently thought that government itself was bad. They thought any action by the Government in the economy was a violation of the purity of capitalism and decreasing the size of the Government in society would mean that people would not be forced to work together and could instead focus on themselves. So, Republicans used the power of the Government to weaken and shrink the size of the Government in America. They sought to remove as many laws as possible, take away its resources by reducing taxes (especially for the wealthiest Americans, since they contributed the most) and therefore reduce its ability to pay for a larger budget (despite the fact that taxes are what we pay to have a country and invest in the future), and also reduce both amount of the work the Government did and the number of people who work for it by outsourcing many of the basic responsibilities of the Government to companies in the free market (whose main focus is the accumulation of profit and not the general welfare of society) and charities (who lack sufficient power and resources to truly solve problems, and whose existence is a failure of the Government, since a charity arises wherever the Government has failed to fulfill one of its responsibilities). The belief that government itself is bad therefore

became a self-fulfilling prophecy: by making the Government weaker, taking away its resources, and persuading talented people not to work for it, the Government was less able to fulfill its responsibilities in society and therefore confirmed the belief that government is bad and ineffective, which reduced the faith and trust in it even more. In short, as a member of the Founding Generation wrote about similar people in his time, "while they admit that the Government of the United States is destitute of energy; they contend against conferring upon it those powers which are required to supply that energy."³⁴ The effect was the same: the Government became too weak and the United States of America became stagnant.

Democrats became conservative because they thought the unregulated advance of science and technology, the massive construction across the country, and the rapid changes in society were causing harm to the natural environment that we all depend on. They also believed capitalism was producing extreme inequality, but the Government lacked sufficient power to prevent it. So, instead of supporting new and better technology to realistically solve the problems that were caused by technology and thereby avoid slowing the progress of technology (the source of economic growth), or finding a good and balanced role for the Government in the free market that did not impede the productive competition and innovative experimentation of companies, or working to simply make the Government better rather than more powerful, Democrats passed laws which made using technology, doing work, and building things in the country more difficult, more costly, and more time-consuming (as I will discuss in the "Government Reform" section). They also gave the Government too much power in some parts of the economy and added too much democracy, or public participation, to some of its institutions to the point of making them inefficient, ineffective, and wasteful. All of this slowed the progress of technology, made the Government more inefficient and ineffective than it already was, and made it harder to improve our lives and build a better country. Democrats may have been the "Party of Progress" compared to Republicans, but they seemed to either ignore or not understand the causes of progress, so the effects of their actions were ultimately conservative: the Government became too strong and the United States of America became stagnant.

So, despite their different beliefs and opinions, the general effect of the actions of both the Democratic Party and the Republican Party was the same: they made the Government of the United States of America ineffective, slowed the progress of science and technology, and impeded the experimentation and competition of the free market—and therefore the growth of the economy and the improvement of our lives. They either did not understand the causes of progress or could not agree on a realistic path to good government. As a result, the Government was less able to fulfill its responsibilities in society. We passed more laws instead of better laws and sought bigger or smaller government instead of better government. Our leaders became older, both in age and in thought, along with our population. The national debt grew at an ever-faster and increasingly unsustainable pace. We made choices that became mistakes, but we did not learn from them, so we did not fix them. Over time, our problems became harder to fix and accumulated and spread, and eventually, they caused the general stagnation of the country. Our

³⁴ Federalist No. 15, Alexander Hamilton

lives did not improve as much as they could have and we missed what we could have achieved. The progress of humankind slowed down, both in America and across the world, so there was a return to the old ways, the world stopped moving forward, and in the next century, the effects of the Conservative Revolution would ultimately bring us to where we are now: the edge of collapse, moving towards oblivion, a few steps from the end of the world.

Thus began the Crisis of the 21st Century.

Look around you and see the darkening clouds of a terrible storm.

Abroad, the United States of America has lost the will and ability to lead the world. Instead of understanding the necessity and accepting the responsibilities of world leadership, we chose to focus on ourselves and ignore the fact that the fate of our country is bound to the fate of the world. And even if we had the will to lead, we have lost the ability to do so: the Government is dysfunctional, the progress of our science and technology slowed, the growth of our economy became stagnant, our military became weaker, and our society became directionless. Without a leader, what is happening in the world today was inevitable.

There is increasing division among nations, a growing discontent with the current way of things, rising tyranny across the world, more conflicts around the world, and therefore an increasing risk of the end of world peace, the escalation into another world war, and the destruction of the world and the annihilation of humankind. We are retreating and letting ourselves become weaker while tyrannical nations, who seek to conquer others and dominate the world, are becoming stronger. If we do nothing, then they will eventually become more powerful than us and it will be too late for us to stop them, and we will live at their mercy.

There is also an inability to solve global problems. As the global economy, upon which we all depend, becomes more complex over time, it will become increasingly vulnerable to disruptions and destabilization, as we saw when a global pandemic caused the first Global Lockdown in human history, and as we will see again if tyrannical nations are allowed to conquer their neighbors, destroy their economies, and control the flow of trade around the world.

There is also a growing threat that our continued burning of large amounts of hydrocarbons (liquid oil and gases like methane) as the main source of our energy will cause extreme changes to the general climate of the planet Earth and make large parts of it uninhabitable for life because the burning of hydrocarbons emits molecules into the atmosphere which retain the heat of the Sun and therefore increase the average temperature of the planet—and this will cause melting ice, rising oceans, massive floods, destructive weather, deadly heatwaves, growing deserts, evaporating rivers, wild wastelands, an uncomfortable existence, and the death of life.

There is also the prospect that the global economy will soon descend into chaos because people around the world are having less children and have been for decades, which means the populations of most nations will soon begin to decline and eventually collapse, and if there are not enough people in a nation to do the work to sustain their economy, then their economy will collapse, their nation will collapse, and, since the world is interconnected and interdependent, they will risk the stability and survival of everyone else in the world.

There is also the development of what will likely be the most powerful technology we ever create, a mind greater than our own: an artificial intelligence, which could dramatically improve the world, but also potentially destroy it, especially if another nation, a shadow group, or a rogue individual develops it before us.

There is also the threat that a tyrannical nation will develop the ability to leave the planet Earth, conquer the heavens, and establish a presence there—and threaten everything below.

Without American leadership, the world has become dangerous. We are adrift on the ocean of time, directionless on the course of history.

At home, we no longer look towards the future. We have an aging population with a conservative spirit and a conservative government with aging leaders—an America that is getting older, building less, and dreaming smaller. We abandoned one of the most important causes of our greatness: the progress of science and technology. Since the Conservative Revolution, we decreased our support for scientific research, technological invention, and the deployment of new knowledge and technologies across society. Because of this, we limited not only the opportunities for economic growth, but also the possibilities for the future, since science and technology are the only tools that can physically improve our lives and build a better world. We are also no longer reforming the basic institutions of the Government and investing less in the maintenance and improvement of the basic infrastructure of the country. In short, we stopped adapting to an ever-changing world, and as a result, there is now stagnation in society. The effects of this can be seen everywhere: our economy has grown slower and is less broadly-shared, the inequality of wealth has risen, artificial scarcity is replacing universal abundance, we are spending more on the elderly than the young, and the basic cost of living in the country (raising children, receiving healthcare, having an education, and owning a home) has become increasingly unaffordable. The future seems darker, the pursuit of happiness less possible.

With chaos abroad and stagnation at home, we are losing our hope for the future because of the failures of the present. Our spirit is fading and we have become anxious, angry, and confused. We feel like we are wasting our precious time in the Universe, but do not know what to do, and so we take out our frustrations on each other and weaken the ties that bind us. “Though we are knowledgeable, powerful, and privileged with opportunities beyond our ancestor’s wildest dreams, many of us remain physically, morally, and spiritually adrift.”³⁵ We are afraid because the end of the world seems to be approaching and yet its last best hope is dying—the American Dream. We look around and think life is no longer getting better for most people, we might not leave a better world for our children, and there is nothing left for us do.

So, after winning the World War and rising to world leadership and establishing world peace and advancing human progress, our spirit became conservative and we abandoned the causes of our greatness. We weakened the Government in society, slowed the progress of science and technology, and let economic growth slip away. All of this led to the general stagnation of the country, the rise of tyranny and war across the world, and the fading of the American Dream—the Crisis of the 21st Century.

³⁵ The Beginning of Wisdom, Leon Kass, 1

“The absence of new ideas, the lack of new leadership, the failure to keep pace with new developments, have all contributed to the growth of gigantic economic and social problems...these are problems that cry out for solution—they cry out for leadership—they cry out for a [people] equal to the times.”³⁶

We have come far, but we no longer know where we are going.

We cry out, "Where goes my country?"

Now we must answer.

³⁶ Remarks at the Democratic National Convention, John F. Kennedy, August 16, 1956

So, this is where we came from,
but more questions remain.

Who are we?
What is America?
Where are we going?

To answer those questions,
we must change our focus from
the world to our country.

We must move from the past
and come to the present.

PRESENT

THE ROLE OF THE GOVERNMENT IN SOCIETY

“...subdue the earth, bring prosperity to the land, guarantee security to the people in their homes.”

The Epilogue of the Code of Hammurabi

"...to form a more perfect Union, establish Justice, insure domestic Tranquility, provide for the common defense, promote the general Welfare, and secure the Blessings of Liberty to ourselves and our Posterity..."

The Preamble of the Constitution of America

"Politics is the science of collective happiness. The function of the state is to organize a society for the greatest happiness of the greatest number."

The Story of Civilization Vol. VII, Will & Ariel Durant

“Nothing is more certain than the indispensable necessity of Government.”

Federalist No. 2, John Jay

"...to render the Government...adequate to the exigencies, the preservation, and the prosperity of the union."

Records of the Federal Convention, James Madison

“The legitimate object of government is to do for a community of people whatever they need to have done, but cannot do at all or cannot so well do for themselves—in their separate and individual capacities.”

Fragment on Government, Abraham Lincoln

“...the instrument of our united purpose to solve for the individual the ever-rising problems of complex civilization. Repeated attempts at their solution without the aid of government [have] left us baffled and bewildered.”

Second Inaugural Address, Franklin Delano Roosevelt

“Those who expect to reap the blessings of freedom, must...undergo the fatigues of supporting it.”

The Crisis, Thomas Paine

“We are either a United people or we are not. If the former, let us, in all matters of general concern act as a nation...If we are not, let us no longer act a farce by pretending to it.”

Letter to James Madison, George Washington

How did the Conservative Revolution of the 1970s lead to the Crisis of the 21st century? Why does bad government—a weak and ineffective government—cause the stagnation and decline of a society? What must we do to fix the mistakes of the past and achieve good government so we can move beyond the Crisis, build a better country, and achieve our dreams?

To understand how we can achieve good government, we must first understand the role of the Government in society.

IN SOCIETY

First, the Government is necessary. Without it, there would be anarchy and chaos. As for nations in the global economic system, no individual is self-sufficient in society: they cannot provide everything they need for themselves. So, if we are all left to survive on our own, then we will soon descend into our own versions of conquest and war: theft and violence. The "true creator [of government] is necessity" and the basis of our union is our dependence on each other.³⁷ If we are to defend ourselves and provide for our survival, freedom, and happiness, then we need the Government—and not only that, we need good government.

As a member of the Founding Generation wrote, a "feeble execution is but another phrase for a bad execution; and a government ill executed...must be, in practice, a bad government."³⁸ There is "no substitute for good government itself."³⁹ So, we not only need the Government, but we also must provide it with sufficient power so it can fulfill its responsibilities in society and we must also ensure that it uses its power wisely.

Second, let us remember the ancient biological principle of cooperation that has applied to life since it began all those billions of years ago: we can do more by working together rather than living alone. The Government is the manifestation of that principle: it does what we cannot do alone—the things for which the benefits are spread so broadly across society that no individual has either the will to pay for them or the ability to achieve them. With the Government, we can unite in peace through elections, combine our resources through taxes, coordinate our work through laws, and achieve our hopes and dreams by working together. Moreover, in a democracy, we can choose our leaders and therefore ensure that the Government does what the majority of us want it to do. We are a representative democracy—a republic—and "res publica," the work of the people, is what a republic means. Therefore, the purpose of democracy is to fulfill the promise of our freedom, which is that if we have faith and trust in each other, then we can do more by working together through the Government rather than being controlled by a tyrant—and more than that, we can improve our lives and a better world, one in which we can pursue our own happiness and achieve our dreams.

So, to prevent anarchy and chaos, form a "more perfect Union," "secure the Blessings of Liberty," "provide for the common defense," "promote the general welfare," and ensure the stability of the country and its adaptation to the ever-changing world, the Government establishes

³⁷ The Republic, Vol. II, Plato, 632

³⁸ Federalist No. 70, Alexander Hamilton, March 15, 1788

³⁹ The Initiative Process: No Substitute for Good Government, Willard Hogeboom, The New York Times, July 20, 1980

the foundation of society, the basis upon which we can work together. It provides peace across the country with police, defense agencies, and a military. It provides justice with the rule of law, courts, and prisons. It secures freedom with a written constitution, accountable leaders, and strong institutions. And it provides for the general welfare of the people (and in doing so, helps us to fulfill the promise of our freedom) by building the basic infrastructure of society: roads, schools, hospitals, energy systems, transportation systems, communication systems, social security for the poor and the disabled and the elderly, clean air and water, and systems for sanitation and sewage and trash—all of which can only be done by the Government through the power of law and by spreading the cost among the people through taxes. Moreover, the Government provides for the general welfare of the people not only by establishing the foundation of society, but also by establishing the foundation of the economy.

IN THE ECONOMY

A stable, complex, and growing economy would not exist without the Government. Economic growth depends on a stable foundation which only the Government can provide. The Government establishes the foundation of the economy by passing laws which provide for the formation and activity of companies, the responsibility of finance and banking, the stability and reliability of money, the protection of property both intellectual and physical, the resolution of disputes, and the maintenance and improvement of the basic infrastructure of society, without which the economy could not function: peace in the country, healthy and educated workers, the transportation of people and the movement of things along roads and highways, the preservation of a bountiful natural environment with useful resources, and aid after natural disasters. It also supports the success of capitalism and the proper functioning of a free market by ensuring that the economy is stable, growing, and broadly-shared among the people—it protects free and fair competition, innovative experimentation, and equal opportunity for everyone by regulating monopolistic activity, supporting critical industries, taxing the wealthiest individuals so they do not hoard wealth and useful resources at the expense of everyone else and risk violent revolution, providing things like public education so everyone has an equal beginning in life, and promoting the broad distribution of resources and opportunities across society. It also fixes the negative effects of a free market: preventing pollution with regulations, guaranteeing the well-being of workers with laws and the support of unions, protecting the health and safety of consumers, and stopping overly risky behavior that could destabilize large parts of the economy. Most importantly, the Government helps to expand the limits, increase the opportunities, and extend the frontiers of the economy by supporting the source of its growth: science and technology.

Scientific research and technological invention are the main source of economic growth because they are the only things that can increase our knowledge and power in the world and allow us to do more work in the world. With them, we can create new and useful things that can improve the lives of a growing number of people over time by providing them with what they need to survive and want to be happy. The progress of science and technology allows us to do more work, create more jobs, and solve more problems—such as harnessing more energy and

constructing bigger things, creating abundance and ending poverty, curing disease and lengthening life, moving faster across large distances and building a better world for all. It expands the sphere of human activity by increasing our resources, creating new markets and wealth, and extending the frontiers of the economy both mental and physical. “It has been basic United States policy that Government should foster the opening of new frontiers....It is in keeping with American tradition—one which has made the United States great—that new frontiers shall be made accessible for development by all American citizens.”⁴⁰ In short, the progress of science and technology extends the limits of the economy and thereby allows it to grow. (Moreover, the Government can also extend the limits of the economy through two ways: by ensuring free trade with other nations and overcoming the ultimately finite resources of the planet Earth through the exploration of the Universe.) By improving our knowledge and technology, we can grow our economy far more and much faster than we could otherwise. If we do not grow, then there will be stagnation in the country—and after stagnation, decline and destruction. However, if we give everything that we can to the progress of science and technology, then we can dramatically improve our lives and build a better world. So, let us understand the role of the Government in advancing the progress of science and technology.

SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY

Economic growth depends on scientific progress: only by knowing how the world works can we do work in the world. If we want to grow the economy, then we must support the growth of our knowledge through the people who have the ability to discover new knowledge with the scientific method: scientists. If scientists are to discover new knowledge, then they must have the money, resources, and freedom to research whatever areas of knowledge they choose in whatever way they think is best and also conduct experiments to test whether their theories are true or not. The more we support scientists, the faster they will produce knowledge, and the faster they produce knowledge, the sooner we can improve our lives and build a better world.

How can we support science? One way is in the free market: through companies and investment organizations. However, companies and investment organizations can only support science in a limited way and cannot advance it alone as fast as possible—nor as fast as we want it to. They have limited resources, specific goals, and depend on short-term profit for their survival. Therefore, they can only fund research that will quickly produce knowledge and will likely be directly useful and profitable for them. As a result, companies and investment organizations lack the will to support the progress of our general knowledge. Moreover, a large amount of our most important and useful knowledge has come not from the intentional research of specific areas, but rather from unexpected discoveries in general areas through what is called basic scientific research—the study of the fundamental nature of the Universe, such as matter, energy, and the laws of nature—which is done by people who are not motivated by profit and simply want to explore the unknown and learn more about what the Universe is and how it

⁴⁰ Science: The Endless Frontier, Vannevar Bush, July 1945

works.⁴¹ The smallest advances in basic scientific research produce incredible amounts of useful knowledge for society. Therefore, scientists are useful not only in their "theoretical thinking about hidden power in the Universe but also in their ability to [allow inventors to] harness that power in practical ways. The world had changed, completely and forever. Science and its intelligent applications now [determine] everything."⁴² As the first Director of the first agency for scientific research and technological invention within the Government wrote,

New products, new industries, and more jobs require continuous additions to knowledge of the laws of nature, and the application of that knowledge to practical purposes....This essential, new knowledge can be obtained only through basic scientific research....Basic research leads to new knowledge...Today, it is truer than ever that basic research is the pacemaker of technological progress...A nation which depends upon others for its new basic scientific knowledge will be slow in its...progress and weak in its competitive position in [the] world....Basic research is performed without thought of practical ends....[it] is a long-term process—it ceases to be basic if immediate results are expected in the short term.⁴³

Since companies and investment organizations are mainly limited to supporting specific scientific research that will likely be profitable for them, they cannot support the more general and unpredictable research of basic science, along with all of the unexpected and potentially useful discoveries that come from it.

Also, companies and investment organizations alone cannot afford the increasing cost of scientific research and experiment, and therefore cannot tolerate the risk of failure which is inherent to the process of scientific discovery. As knowledge grows and becomes more complex over time, the discovery of more knowledge through research and experiment becomes more difficult, more expensive, and more time-consuming. Since companies and investment organizations have limited resources and depend on short-term profit, they cannot tolerate the risk of wasting time and giving large amounts of their resources to scientists who ultimately might not discover useful or profitable knowledge or might not do so quickly enough, because such failures would cause them to lose too much money, fall into bankruptcy, and collapse.

Any support for science is good, whatever the size and wherever it comes from. However, in today's world, companies and investment organizations alone cannot sufficiently support the rapid creation of new and useful knowledge through science. They cannot afford the large and long-term investments that are required to pay for general research and experiment, they cannot tolerate the risks of the failure of those investments, and they therefore cannot be relied on to advance the progress of our knowledge as fast as possible for our benefit by themselves. So, if companies and investment organizations alone cannot rapidly advance the

⁴¹ Areas of basic scientific research include cosmology, mathematics, chemistry, and biology. Examples of accidental discoveries which became useful include penicillin, x-rays, radioactivity, and plastic.

⁴² *Jumpstarting America: How Breakthrough Science Can Revive Economic Growth and the American Dream*, Jonathan Gruber & Simon Johnson, 32

⁴³ *Science: The Endless Frontier*, Vannevar Bush, July 1945

general progress of science and expand the possibilities for economic growth, then who can? The answer is: all of us together, the American people—through the Government.

The Government has a unique ability to accelerate the general progress of science. By combining our money together through taxes, we can sustainably provide far more resources and make larger investments in science more than anything else in society.⁴⁴ We can also tolerate greater risks more than anything else, because, if an investment fails, the cost of that failure can be shared by everyone, rather than be concentrated to a single company or investment organization. The Government can "take risks that an individual or a [company] cannot afford to take because the Government can distribute any loss among the whole population."⁴⁵ We must understand and remember this fact: the progress of science, the growth of the economy, the improvement of our lives, the building of a better world, the achievement of our dreams—all of these require bold action that will inevitably bear great risks, but unlike anything else in the country, we can take those risks through the Government—and we must. Only a few successes can pay for the cost of all of the failures, but if "failure is not an acceptable option, then risks will not be taken. And if risks are not taken, then bold successes will be impossible."⁴⁶ In addition to this, there is another reason why the Government has a unique ability to support the general progress of science: it can support the creation of more and better scientists by improving the education system of the country and funding colleges, universities, and research institutes.

Overall, the Government can afford to make large investments in science, tolerate its costs and risks, create more and better scientists, and accelerate the creation of new and useful knowledge as fast as possible—all of which extend the frontiers of the economy and expand the possibilities for its growth and the improvement of our lives. If we invest less in science, then the creation of new knowledge will advance at a slower pace and there will be stagnation in the economy and society. So, economic growth depends on scientific progress, and scientific progress depends in large part on the support of the Government. However, despite all of this, economic growth does not depend on the progress of science alone. It also depends on the other source of economic growth, the most important: the progress of technology.

As more knowledge is created through science, people can develop new ideas about how to use that knowledge to invent new technologies, with which they can then use to capture more energy, do more work more efficiently, produce more things, create more abundance, generate more wealth, cure more diseases, build more things, solve more of our problems, and have more opportunities for our happiness. The invention of new technologies widens the sphere of human activity. It creates new markets that did not exist before and therefore expands the limits, possibilities, and opportunities for economic growth. With new technologies, there are also more opportunities for people to fulfill their freedom: they can create new products that others might need or want, start new companies, provide new jobs to others, and earn wealth for themselves in the process so they can enjoy their precious time in life and pursue their own happiness—all of

⁴⁴ For example, the National Science Foundation, the National Laboratories, and the National Institutes for Health.

⁴⁵ Magruder's American Government, William A. McClenaghan

⁴⁶ Jumpstarting America: How Breakthrough Science Can Revive Economic Growth and the American Dream, Jonathan Gruber & Simon Johnson, 136

which improves society because there is more wealth to share, more jobs available, more competition to hire people and therefore offer higher incomes, more things that we need to survive and want to be happy, and generally more choices for us in life.

Technological progress mostly happens in the free market. As companies compete with each other to offer the best products at the lowest price to people, they experiment with more efficient methods of doing work (using less resources to produce more) and creating new tools to make their products better than others. However, the kind of technological progress that often happens in the free market is innovation—the small improvement of existing things which moderately grows the economy—rather than invention—the creation of new things which dramatically grows the economy. This is because, as for scientific progress, when more technologies are created over time and become more complex, the invention of new technologies becomes more difficult, more costly, and more time-consuming, so the improvement of existing technologies through innovation is easier.

Companies and investment organizations are limited in their ability to provide the resources and tolerate the risks of technological invention, especially the kind of rapid and general technological invention that we need if we want to improve our lives and physically build a better world as fast as possible. Moreover, companies and investment organizations also depend on short-term profit, so they will only invest in either the innovation of existing technologies that are already useful and profitable or the invention of specific technologies that will likely be useful and profitable in the short-term. However, as for scientific progress, many of the most important technological inventions in the past were either accidental or unexpectedly useful in the economy, and happened only because certain people had the freedom to experiment, invent, and create new things, and were not motivated by finding something that was immediately useful or profitable for a specific company.⁴⁷ In addition to these things, many new technologies are expensive at first because they are expensive to manufacture and inventors need time to learn how to lower their cost so they can become affordable to people and profitably sold in the market—time which companies cannot tolerate.

So, since companies and investment organizations alone cannot provide sufficient resources, tolerate a lot of risk, or focus on general technologies that are not directly related to their business, they cannot be relied on to accelerate the general progress of technology. The experimentation and competition among companies in the free market is one of the main causes of technological progress and economic growth, but general technological progress cannot happen in the free market alone—especially if we want to advance it as fast as possible so we can improve our lives, build a better world, and achieve our dreams as soon as possible. The free market is useful for innovative experimentation and efficient production through free and fair competition, but not as much for general scientific discovery and technological invention. Because of this, we must support the general progress of technology with something that has more power and resources than anything else in the country: all of us together, the American people—through the Government.

⁴⁷ For example, pacemakers, the Internet, stainless steel, and photovoltaic cells.

The Government can provide sufficient resources to inventors, tolerate projects with greater costs and risks, support the freedom of people to experiment with new technologies that might not have a known use or predictable potential for the economy, and help the distribution of useful technologies across society—all of which extend the frontiers of the economy and expand the possibilities for economic growth and the improvement of our lives.⁴⁸ Since the Government does not depend on short-term profit like companies and investment organizations, it can fund and assume the risks of general technological invention in the long-term. With the support of the Government, more technologies can be created and people can then discover which ones are useful, make new and better products, and compete with each other to offer the best products at lowest price in the market. So, economic growth depends on technological progress, and technological progress depends in large part on the support of the Government. If we invest less in technological invention, then the creation of new technologies will advance at a slower pace and there will be stagnation in society and the economy.

THE LAND OF OPPORTUNITY

So, the Government establishes the foundation of society and extends the frontiers of the economy. Therefore, the Government is the foundation and frontier of the country. By providing stability in society, supporting the progress of science and technology, and expanding the possibilities for economic growth, the Government can fulfill its responsibilities and provide for the defense and general welfare of the people. However, the Government does not do these things merely for the sake of doing them, but so individuals can have more opportunities to fulfill the promise of their freedom. And so, between the foundation and the frontier, there is the land of opportunity, where individuals can pursue their own happiness and achieve their dreams.

The Government establishes the foundation and extends the frontier, but after that, the people must be free. While the Government may set the stage, it is for the people to determine what they will do their lives—to choose who they are, what work they will do in the economy, and how they will live in society—so they can pursue their own happiness in their own way and achieve their dreams, whatever those dreams may be. People must determine the greater measure of their own lives. It is for them to fulfill the promise of their freedom and make all of the effort of working together worth doing—to make life worth living and the world worth saving. In the land of opportunity, everyone should have an equal beginning in life, but after that, they must be allowed act according to their own best interests and compete with each other according to their unique abilities by summoning the best of themselves: their courage, ambition, imagination, and willingness to do the hard work to achieve their dreams. Therefore, while the Government has a necessary role in society and the economy, it must balance its power in the country with the freedom of the people. If the Government controls too much of society, then the country will slide into tyranny. If the Government interferes too much in the economy, then the country will collapse. As a President wrote, “I shall speak not of an economic life completely planned and

⁴⁸ For example, the Manhattan Project, the Apollo mission, and the work of the Defense Advanced Research Projects Agency (DARPA) in the Defense Department.

regulated. That is as impossible as it is undesirable. I shall speak of the necessity, wherever it is imperative that government interferes to adjust parts of the economic structure of the nation.”⁴⁹ The Government must support the economy, but not interfere too much. It must support the sources of economic growth, but not make doing work and building things in the country more difficult, more costly, and more time-consuming for people than it already is. It must support the development of new technologies so they can become less expensive, scale across the market, and be deployed throughout society by becoming useful and affordable to the people, but not do so in a way that it wastes resources or protects companies which would otherwise fail, as a government does in a society based on communism. It must optimize the foundation of society and the functioning of the economy, but it must also maximize the freedom of the people to do as they choose within society and the economy.

What does this mean for us? We must fulfill the promise of our freedom and the responsibilities of democracy by working together through the Government so we can provide for our defense and general welfare, but we must also protect our freedom by limiting the Government so we can individually pursue our own happiness.

So it is this: a balance of both—between the free market and the Government, the individual and the community, freedom and power, competition and cooperation, the pursuit of happiness and the promotion of the general welfare. Neither the Government alone nor the free market alone can improve our lives and build a better world, but rather a balance between the two. Capitalism is the free and fair competition among individuals, and free competition requires the absence of the Government in most of the economy: what products to make, how they make them, how to distribute them, and what prices to sell them for. However, fair competition requires the Government in parts of the economy: to defend the values of society, protect property, prevent monopolistic activity and extreme wealth inequality, support critical industries, and ensure equal opportunity for the people and the broad distribution of resources across society. Overall, we must work together in the Government and individually in the free market. There must be equal representation in the Government, equal protection of the law, and equal opportunity in the economy—in other words: a government of democracy, an economy of creation, and a life of freedom. By doing so, we can live in a country where the Government provides for the defense and general welfare of the people and individuals have the freedom to pursue their own happiness. That way, and only that way, can we advance the progress of science and technology and support the growth of the economy so we can improve our lives, build a better world, and achieve our dreams.

GOOD GOVERNMENT

Now we understand the role and responsibilities of the Government in society. As written in the Declaration of Independence, we are endowed "with certain unalienable rights...among these are Life, Liberty, and the pursuit of Happiness" and to "secure these rights, Governments are instituted among [us]" which must derive their "powers from the consent of the governed."

⁴⁹ Looking Forward, Franklin D. Roosevelt, xii

To secure our rights, we have responsibilities, and we can only fulfill those responsibilities through the Government. Responsibility is the price of freedom, because freedom without responsibility is anarchy. Therefore, the price we must pay for our freedom is to work together in the Government so we can achieve the promise of our freedom. In other words, we are free from constraint, but we have a responsibility to create.

The Government is necessary in the country and its basic responsibilities are the survival, freedom, and happiness of the people. That is without question. The question is: how can we ensure that the Government is *able* to fulfill those responsibilities and does so wisely, efficiently, effectively, and not wastefully? The answer is: good government—a government that has sufficient power to fulfill its responsibilities in the country for ourselves and all generations to come. Bad government will cause general stagnation—in society, in the economy, and in our lives. Therefore, good government must be our goal and guiding principle—not more or less government, not bigger or smaller government, but good government, as big as it must be and as small as it can be, funded with taxes as high as they must be and as low as they can be, and with sufficient power to defend us, secure our freedom, and promote our happiness in balance with the free market.

However, although we may choose good government, how can we achieve it? What must we do? What works and what does not? The United States of America was founded in response to two forms of bad government—the tyranny of the British Empire and the weakness of the Articles of Confederation—so let us observe what we have tried before and learn from our successes and failures.

THE GOVERNMENT IN AMERICAN HISTORY

After the American people began the American Revolution and declared their independence from the British Empire in 1776, they needed to establish a government of their own. At the time, the American people were scattered across thirteen independent States, so they met in 1777 to establish a national government that could unite the States together. However, although the people shared a common identity as the citizens of the nation of America, their national identity was weaker than their local identity as the citizens of their respective States. Moreover, since they had recently overthrown tyranny, they were afraid of giving too much power to their new government. They had replaced tyranny with democracy, but they did not yet have the faith and trust in each other to work together through the Government and use its power wisely for the common good. So, they chose to make the Government as weak as possible and the States as strong as possible.

In 1781, the people established the first government of America with the Articles of Confederation and became a Confederation of States. However, as a historian wrote, the Confederation "was not really much of a government at all and was never intended to be."⁵⁰ It was "designed to be weak" and lacked the ability to govern the country.⁵¹ The Articles of

⁵⁰ The Quartet: Orchestrating the Second American Revolution, Joseph Ellis, xi

⁵¹ American Creation: Triumphs and Tragedies in the Founding of the American Republic, Joseph Ellis, 88

Confederation said that "[e]ach State retains its sovereignty, freedom, and independence," so the country was ultimately divided and not united.⁵² Moreover, the Government of the Confederation had no executive branch, so there was no leadership in the country; no national military, so no there was defense; no national court system, so there was no justice; no power to enforce its own laws, so there was no administration of them; no power of taxation, so it lacked the resources to govern the country; no power to regulate trade or money, so it couldn't support the stability, functioning, and growth of the economy; and no changes could be made to Articles of Confederation without the unanimous consent of the States, so there was minority rule in the country (since a single State could block the will of the majority) and the American people couldn't improve the Government over time and adapt to the ever-changing world. Because of all of this, the country was ultimately dysfunctional, since each State was independent and had equal power with each other. The American people lacked a truly shared identity, a common cause, and so, under the Articles of Confederation, the country did not have a sufficiently powerful government that could unite the people, coordinate their work, and provide for their defense and general welfare. The country was divided and leaderless, and if the people were not united under a leader, then there would be anarchy and chaos.

And indeed, there was.

The weakness of the Government under the Articles of Confederation ultimately caused a crisis. The Government was ineffective and could not fulfill its basic responsibilities in the country, mainly, the defense of the country. In fact, it was so weak that America almost lost the Revolutionary War in large part because the States refused to provide resources—food, clothing, and ammunition—to the American Army in its fight against the British Empire. The General of the American Army, George Washington, who was also the first President of what would eventually become the United States of America, was forced to beg the States to send soldiers who could help fight for their independence. He said that unless the Government was "vested with powers by the several states competent to the great purpose of War...our Cause is lost."⁵³ It was a miracle that America won the Revolutionary War.

The Government not only struggled to defend the country, but was also unable to promote the general welfare of the people and support the economy. As James Madison, a member of the Founding Generation, wrote, "No money is paid into the public treasury; no respect is paid to the federal authority. Not a single state complies with the congressional [decisions], several pass them over in silence, and some positively reject them."⁵⁴ Since the States did not respect the authority of the national government and provide it with sufficient money, the Government could not pay for the growing national debt. At one point, America almost lost its ability to borrow money from other nations because they did not think America would be able to pay the money back. Fortunately, one American with great wealth, Robert Morris, saved the country by replacing its credit with his own: "My personal Credit, which thank

⁵² Articles of Confederation, Article II (1777)

⁵³ Letter to Joseph Jones, George Washington, May 31, 1780

⁵⁴ Letter to Edmund Pendleton, James Madison, February 24, 1787

Heaven I have preserved through all the tempests of War, has been substituted for that which the Country had lost. I am now striving to transfer that Credit to the Public.”⁵⁵ There was also a severe recession in the economy, in part because of the destruction that was caused by the Revolutionary War, but also in large part because the Government did not have sufficient power to support the foundation of the economy and intervene when necessary. The economic recession eventually led to Shay's Rebellion, when a large group of soldiers who had fought in the Revolutionary War rebelled against the Government because they were angry about the seemingly hopeless state of the economy and their country.

With the crisis of bad government causing chaos across the country, the American people became afraid that they were, in the words of George Washington, "fast verging to anarchy and confusion.”⁵⁶ He said, “I am decided in my opinion, that if the powers of [the Government] are not enlarged, and made competent to all general purposes, that the Blood which has been spilt, the expense that has been incurred and the distresses that have been felt, will avail in nothing; and that the bonds, already too weak, which hold us together, will soon be broken.”⁵⁷ He concluded: "I do not conceive we can exist long as a nation without [creating] somewhere a power which will pervade the whole Union in as energetic a manner as the authority of the different state governments extends over the several States.”⁵⁸

Eventually, the crisis that was caused by the failure of a weak and ineffective Government began to change the hearts and minds of the American people about the role of the Government in the country. As Alexander Hamilton, another member of the Founding Generation, wrote, “We have not happily concluded the great work of independence...much remains to be done to reach the fruits of it. Our prospects are not flattering. Every day proves the inefficacy of the present confederation”⁵⁹ Another President said that although the American people "were slow to accept the idea that a new and stronger government was necessary...[since the] struggle they had just passed through was one for liberty, against power," they began to realize that a weak government was bad government, and that they had replaced one bad government with another, and that, if they were to build a better country in which they could survive and prosper, then they needed to learn from their mistakes and change their ways.⁶⁰ They realized, in the words of Alexander Hamilton, that they must "decide the important question, whether societies...are really capable or not, of establishing good government" and that the "crisis at which [they] are arrived" was the "era in which that decision [would be] made.”⁶¹ The American people learned that the Government had a necessary role in the country and needed sufficient power to fulfill its responsibilities.

⁵⁵ Letter to Benjamin Harris, Robert Morris, January 15, 1782

⁵⁶ Letter to James Madison, George Washington, November 5, 1786

⁵⁷ Letter to Benjamin Harris, George Washington, March 4, 1783

⁵⁸ Letter to John Jay, George Washington, August 15, 1786

⁵⁹ Letter to John Jay, Alexander Hamilton, July 25, 1783

⁶⁰ New York: A Sketch of the City's Social, Political, and Commercial Progress from the First Dutch Settlement to Recent Times, Theodore Roosevelt, The Federalist City, 1906

⁶¹ Federalist No. 1, Alexander Hamilton

“In those emergencies of a nation, in which the goodness or badness, the weakness or strength of its government, is of the greatest importance, there is commonly a necessity for action.”⁶² The crisis of a bad and weak government compelled the American people to action: to summon the spirit of change—the spirit of progress—and have the faith and trust in each other to work together to save their country by choosing a better, stronger, and more effective government—good government. And so, in the summer of 1787, only six years after they had established a government under the Articles of Confederation, the American people met again to establish a new form of government, one that could truly unite, defend, and provide for the general welfare of the people. Thus began the Constitutional Convention.

Today, many of us assume that the primary purpose of the Constitutional Convention was to “limit the national government through various checks and balances and thereby prevent the tyrannical exercise of power, but in fact the principal impetus for the Convention was less to forestall tyranny than to avoid anarchy.”⁶³ According to the records of the Constitutional Convention, the leaders of the American people understood that the Government needed to be “so corrected and enlarged, as to accomplish...common defense, security of liberty, and general welfare” and that the weak national government of the divided Confederation of States could “not accomplish the objects proposed by the Articles of the Confederation.”⁶⁴ Therefore, the American people sought to establish a sufficiently powerful “national government...consisting of a supreme judicial, legislative, and executive.”⁶⁵ And so they did: the American people established a new form of government with the Constitution, which would ensure good government in three ways.

First, the Constitution united the American people by uniting the States under a single national government—in other words, the Confederation of States became the United States of America. No longer were they a scattered people from different places, but rather the same citizens of a common country. In the words of Thomas Paine, who is known as the Father of the American Revolution, “Our citizenship in the United States is our national character. Our citizenship in any particular State is only our local distinction....Our great title is AMERICANS....[with] power to protect all the parts that compose and constitute it: and as UNITED STATES we are equal to the importance of the title.”⁶⁶ The American people chose to “abandon their local and state-based orientation, to regard themselves as fellow citizens in a much larger enterprise, and to modify their view of government as an alien force.”⁶⁷ Benjamin Rush, another member of the Founding Generation, said, “We are now a new Nation...dependent on each other—not totally independent States.”⁶⁸ Another member wrote that they were now “one great nation, whose territory is divided into different states merely for more convenient

⁶² Federalist No. 22, Alexander Hamilton

⁶³ *Fears of a Setting Sun: The Disillusionment of America's Founders*, Dennis Carl Rasmussen, 62

⁶⁴ *Records of the Federal Convention*, Max Ferrand, 38

⁶⁵ *Id.*

⁶⁶ *The Crisis* No. 10, Thomas Paine

⁶⁷ *The Quartet: Orchestrating the Second American Revolution*, Joseph Ellis, 132

⁶⁸ *Journals of the Continental Congress, 1774-1789*, August 1, 1776

government."⁶⁹ And so, as a historian wrote, "The first founding declared American independence; the second, American nationhood."⁷⁰ Thus united, the American people moved to their next task: to establish the basic structure of their new government in the pursuit of good government, not only for themselves, but for all generations to come—if they were willing to keep it. They gave the Government, meaning the American people, sufficient power to provide for the defense and general welfare of the country, achieve the possibilities of democracy, and fulfill the promise of freedom. The old government was weak because the American people were afraid of power. The new government would be strong because the American people had faith and trust in each other.

The Constitution broadly expanded the powers of the Government. It established a Congress to unite the American people so they could work together, an executive branch so there would be leadership in the country, a national military so there would be defense, a national court system so there would be justice, the power to enforce its laws so the Government could administer them, the power of taxation so it could have sufficient resources to govern the country, the power to regulate trade and money so it could support the stability, functioning, and growth of the economy, and the means by which the Constitution could be changed with a supermajority rather than unanimity so it had within itself the means to improve itself over time and adapt to the ever-changing world (and so the American people could therefore ensure their survival, maintain good government, and continue their progress throughout the future). All of this united the American people with a shared identity and a common cause and allowed them to work together towards a more perfect country where they could pursue their own happiness and achieve their dreams. However, the new government was not better than the old one merely because the Constitution gave it more power, but also because the Constitution limited the use of its power.

The Constitution limited the powers of the Government through regular elections, the accountability of politicians, the rule of law, the written codification of the rights of the people, and institutional checks and balances against the concentration and abuse of power. It established the rule of the majority, but also protected the minority against abuses by the majority. It allowed the Government to be as big as it must be, but ensured that it could remain as small as it possibly could be. It limited the powers of the Government, but did not limit its size. To paraphrase the words of a former President: the Government could not usurp power, but it could greatly broaden the use of its power so it could adapt to an increasingly complex and ever-changing world and ensure the survival, stability, and prosperity of the country.⁷¹ The Constitution established a government that would be capable of functioning on a much larger scale, but could not threaten the rights and freedom of the people. In short, the Constitution limited the powers of the Government as much as possible to prevent the abuse of power and the rise of tyranny, but did not limit them so much that the Government would be unable to fulfill its responsibilities in the

⁶⁹ Letter to John Lowell, John Jay, May 10, 1785

⁷⁰ Founding Brothers: The Revolutionary Generation, Joseph Ellis, 9

⁷¹ An Autobiography, Theodore Roosevelt, The Presidency; Making an Old Party Progressive, 1913

country—in other words, it did not prevent it from providing the defense and general welfare of the people or diminish the possibilities of democracy and the promise of their freedom.

Thus united, powerful, and free, the American people could achieve wonders.⁷² The Constitution became the longest-living one in the world, an example for the nations of humankind, and eventually, it allowed the United States of America to become the greatest country in the history of the world.

America became great not because of the actions of people who lived in 1787 or the Government that they established, but because, in the centuries that followed, the American people continued to summon the best of themselves, adapt to the ever-changing world, and maintain good government in the country so they could advance their progress, improve their lives, and build a better world. Though almost always compelled by a crisis, the American people understood the role and responsibilities of the Government in the country. They had the faith and trust in each other to work together and they used the power of the Government to move towards a more perfect country. They changed their laws to ensure their freedom and equality over time. They advanced their scientific and technological progress so they could defend themselves and become more powerful and prosperous in the world. They promoted the growth of their economy so they could have more opportunities for their survival and happiness. Indeed, the best days in American history were when the American people did these things: when they embraced the spirit of progress and manifested that spirit by electing leaders who would ensure good government. And the first of the best days was immediately after the new government was established under the Constitution.

In the late 18th century, there was, as mentioned, a crisis in the country because the American people established a weak government after the American Revolution. However, the crisis had compelled them to action—they came together, embraced the spirit of progress, created a new government, and then manifested that spirit in the Government by electing leaders who would pursue good government and save the country by changing it. Alexander Hamilton, who was the Secretary of the Treasury under the first President of the United States of America, George Washington, recognized that if the new government was to be good, then it needed to have sufficient powers which were "adequate the exigencies of the Union" and would allow it to fulfill its responsibilities in the country.⁷³ In his words, "The public business must in some way or other go forward."⁷⁴ In that pursuit, he used the power of the Government to support the foundation of the economy and bring the Industrial Revolution to America by investing in domestic manufacturing. He established a central bank to stabilize the supply of money and increased the budget of the Government by borrowing money because he understood that a "national debt, if not excessive, [is] a national blessing," since borrowed money could be used to invest in the economy and support its growth more than without it.⁷⁵ He then used the borrowed

⁷² If a person who was alive in America during the 18th century saw the country of today, they would indeed say that it was wonderful.

⁷³ Federalist No. 40, Alexander Hamilton

⁷⁴ Federalist No. 22, Alexander Hamilton

⁷⁵ Report Relative to a Provision for the Support of Public Credit, Alexander Hamilton, January 9, 1790

money to invest in the basic infrastructure of the country, such as roads, bridges, and canals, and also to subsidize domestic manufacturers. He said, “Not only the wealth, but the independence and security of a Country, appear to be materially connected with the prosperity of manufacturers. Every nation, with a view to those great objects, ought to endeavor to possess within itself all the essentials of national supply.”⁷⁶ By investing in domestic manufacturing, there could be a strong foundation for sustainable economic growth within the country and the people could produce more things with which they could then trade with other nations and reduce their dependence on them for their survival and general welfare. With manufacturing and a more productive economy, the country could become wealthier and more powerful in the world—and more than that, it could, in time, become the “admiration and envy of the world.”⁷⁷ In addition to these things, Hamilton was the first leader in the Government to support technological progress in the pursuit of creating more opportunities for economic growth, and as a result, the American economy changed from “static wealth to dynamic technology-based growth.”⁷⁸ Because of his example, the “United States again and again enacted policies...to shift its economy onto a new growth direction—toward a new economic space of opportunity.”⁷⁹ His work helped to frame a “Government for posterity as well as ourselves,” and he reminded the American people to “cherish the actual government. It is the government of our own choice, free in its principles, the guardian of our common rights, the patron of our common interests, and containing within itself a provision for its own amendment.”⁸⁰ However, he still warned that the power of the Government must be “cautiously used—not abused.”⁸¹

Despite the great achievements of the first years of the Government after the American people moved beyond the crisis of the Revolution, they eventually became conservative again. They sought to prevent more changes to the country, so they made the Government weaker, ineffective, and unable to fulfill its responsibilities in society. And half of the country especially sought to prevent the Government from changing a specific part about the country, a dark and terrible one: the existence of slavery.

A few decades later, in the middle of the 19th century, the American people were divided. Half of them sought to continue the enslavement of human beings who had black skin and the other half sought to strive towards the freedom and equality of all people in the country. Their division ultimately led to the bloodiest conflict in American history: the Civil War. The States in the South sought to secede from America so they could continue the practice of slavery, and the States in the North fought to end it. The crisis of the Civil War compelled the American people to action—they came together, embraced the spirit of progress, and then manifested that spirit in

⁷⁶ The Report on the Subject of the Manufactures, Alexander Hamilton

⁷⁷ Federalist No. 11, Alexander Hamilton

⁷⁸ Concrete Economics: The Hamilton Approach to Economic Growth and Policy, Stephen Cohen & Brad DeLong, 40

⁷⁹ Concrete Economics: The Hamilton Approach to Economic Growth and Policy, Stephen Cohen & Brad DeLong, 1

⁸⁰ Federalist No. 34, Alexander Hamilton; Abstract of Points to Form an Address, Alexander Hamilton, May 16 to July 5, 1796

⁸¹ Abstract of Points to Form an Address, Alexander Hamilton, May 16 to July 5, 1796

the Government by electing leaders who would pursue good government and save the country by changing it. They chose a Republican named Abraham Lincoln to lead them as their President, who was faced, in his words, with the "grave question [of] whether any government, not too strong for the liberties of its people, can be strong enough to maintain its own existence, in [such] great emergencies."⁸² In the effort of "maintaining the unity, and the free principles of our common country," he used the power of the Government to ensure that the country would "long endure" and that a "government of the people, by the people, for the people, shall not perish from the Earth."⁸³ Compelled by crisis—the potential destruction of the country from within—Lincoln adapted the powers of the Government so it could win the Civil War and then build a better country afterwards for all of its people, who were now more equal and united, during what is called the Reconstruction. Lincoln established the first income tax to increase the resources of the Government, created more agencies in the bureaucracy so the Government could do more work to fulfill its responsibilities, expanded the national banking system so the country could have a more stable and reliable supply money, invested in basic infrastructure such as the transcontinental railroad in addition to public education such as universities with scientific training and research facilities, and led the effort to abolish slavery and protect the equal rights of all people in the country, no matter the color of their skin, by amending the Constitution to change the basic structure of the country. He recognized that the "dogmas of the quiet past, are inadequate to the stormy present. The occasion is piled high with difficulty, and we must rise with the occasion. As our case is new, so we must think anew, and act anew."⁸⁴ Lincoln was the first President to show what a people could do when they were united and free and had a powerful Government, how a "strong people might have a strong government and yet remain the freest on Earth."⁸⁵ By doing so, he "bent the arc of American history [further] in the national direction."⁸⁶ And in large part because of his leadership, the Congress of his time became "one of the most active in American history [and] turned the federal government into the legislative engine of social and economic progress...[and] helped to win a war."⁸⁷ Moreover, Lincoln reminded the American people that the "struggle of today, is not altogether for today—it is for a vast future also." He said that they were working "not merely for today, but for all time to come that we should perpetuate for our children's children this great and free government, which we have enjoyed all our lives."⁸⁸

Despite the great achievements of the Reconstruction after the American people moved beyond the crisis of the Civil War, they eventually became conservative again. They sought to prevent more changes to the country, so they made the Government weaker, ineffective, and unable to fulfill its responsibilities in society. As the Industrial Revolution advanced throughout

⁸² Response to a Serenade, Abraham Lincoln, November 10, 1864

⁸³ Letter to Horatio Seymour, Abraham Lincoln, August 7, 1863; Gettysburg Address, Abraham Lincoln, November 19, 1863

⁸⁴ Message to Congress, Abraham Lincoln, December 1, 1862

⁸⁵ Theodore Roosevelt's History of the United States: His Own Words, Daniel Ruddy, 180

⁸⁶ The Quartet: Orchestrating the Second American Revolution, Joseph Ellis, xii

⁸⁷ The Metaphysical Club: A Story of Ideas in America, Louis Menand, x

⁸⁸ Speech to the One Hundred and Sixty-Sixth Ohio Regiment, August 22, 1864, Abraham Lincoln

the country and the activities of the free market continued, the absence of the Government from the economy and the abandonment of the causes of their greatness would eventually give rise to another crisis.

A few decades later, in the late 19th and early 20th century, there was a crisis in both society and the economy. Since the Government was unable to fix the negative effects of capitalism and support the stable functioning and broadly-shared growth of the economy, many problems began to accumulate and eventually created what is now known as the Gilded Age—a time when the country had great wealth on the surface but deep suffering beneath. There was extreme wealth inequality and widespread poverty in the country, the rise of an inherited aristocracy and the decline of individual opportunity, unfair monopolies in the economy and general corruption in the Government (since businesspeople bribed politicians to keep the Government out of the economy), the abuse of workers and the absence of standards to protect the health and well-being of the people, and the overuse of natural resources and overly risky activity in the financial industry. The Gilded Age was a time of a purely free market, of "robber barons" and "malefactors of great wealth"—when we lived alone and did not work together. And yet, once again, the crisis compelled the American people to action—they came together, embraced the spirit of progress, and then manifested that spirit in the Government by electing leaders who would pursue good government and save the country by changing it. The President at the time, a Republican named Theodore Roosevelt, recognized that the free market is "necessary to promote long-term growth, but [is] not self-regulating."⁸⁹ Given this, he used the power of the Government to support the foundation of the economy and provide for the freedom and general welfare of the people. He said that the "prime problem of our nation is to get the right type of good citizenship, and, to get it, we must have progress, and must be genuinely progressive."⁹⁰ What followed was what is called the Progressive Era: the American people passed laws to prevent monopolies and corruption, established the Federal Reserve to prevent overly risky activity and preserve the stability of the financial system, protected both workers and natural resources, promoted the use of science and technology to solve domestic problems, and created the basis for Social Security for the poor, the unemployed, and the elderly. Moreover, they amended the Constitution and changed the basic structure of the country in several ways: women gained the right to vote, the American people gained the ability to elect their own Senators (previously, Senators had been elected by State governments), and the Government gained the power to more broadly collect taxes so it could increase its resources to fulfill its responsibilities. Roosevelt said that the "absence of effective state, and especially national, restraint upon unfair money-getting has tended to create a small class of enormously wealthy and economically powerful [individuals], whose chief object is to hold and increase their power."⁹¹ Moreover, the "really big fortune, the swollen fortune, by the mere fact of its size acquires qualities which differentiate it in kind as well as in degree from what is possessed by

⁸⁹ The Origins of Political Order: From Prehuman Times to the French Revolution, Francis Fukuyama, 6

⁹⁰ Address on the New Nationalism, Theodore Roosevelt, August 31, 1910

⁹¹ *Id.*

[those] of relatively small means."⁹² Therefore, "Our aim must be the supremacy of justice, a more satisfactory distribution of wealth—so far as this is attainable—with a view to a more real equality of opportunity, and in sum a higher social system. Much can be done by taxation."⁹³ In that pursuit, he sought to establish a progressive income tax on "big fortunes...[and] a graduated inheritance tax on big fortunes."⁹⁴ By doing all of this, Roosevelt exemplified the fact that the "fundamental rule in national life—the rule which underlies all others—is that, on the whole, and in the long run, we shall go up and down together."⁹⁵ He also reminded the American people of their responsibility to maintain good government for both themselves and the world: "my fellow citizens, each one of you carries on your shoulders not only the burden of doing well for the sake of your country, but the burden of doing well and of seeing that this nation does well for the sake of [humankind]."⁹⁶ In the book which gave the Gilded Age its name, the authors wrote, "No country can be well governed unless its citizens as a body keep...before their minds that they are the guardians of the law, and that the law officers are only the machinery for its execution, nothing more."⁹⁷

However, the American people did not keep it before their minds. Despite the great achievements of the Progressive Era after they moved beyond the crisis of the Gilded Age, they eventually became conservative again. They sought to prevent more changes to the country, so they made the Government weaker, ineffective, and unable to fulfill its responsibilities in society. Eventually—what now seems inevitably—this led to another crisis, but this time, the crisis would be far greater than the others, and it would not just a crisis at home, but abroad.

A few decades later, in the first half of the 20th century, there was the Great Depression and the World Wars. During the Great Depression, the economy of the United States of America collapsed, for several reasons. There was a drought which caused a reduction in the supply of food. There was an overproduction of products because of technological progress, but insufficient demand for them because people lacked the money to buy them, in part because of extreme wealth inequality, which led to a rapid decrease of both prices and profit in the economy, which then caused the collapse of many businesses. There was also a loss of trust in the economic system which, combined with everything else, caused the collapse of the stock market, and then the banking system, and then the money supply. This negative cycle and downward spiral led to the worst economy in American history: there was widespread scarcity, growing hunger, massive unemployment, declining incomes, extreme wealth inequality, and general panic and suffering among the people. Moreover, with the Great Depression at home, and after bearing the costs and sacrifices of the First World War, the American people chose to isolate themselves from the world, ignore events abroad, and focus on their own country. As a result, they restricted trade with other nations, which then contributed to those nations also

⁹² *Id.*

⁹³ Theodore Roosevelt's History of the United States: His Own Words, Daniel Ruddy, 269

⁹⁴ Address on the New Nationalism, Theodore Roosevelt, August 31, 1910

⁹⁵ State of the Union, Theodore Roosevelt, December 3, 1901

⁹⁶ Address on the New Nationalism, Theodore Roosevelt, August 31, 1910

⁹⁷ The Gilded Age, Mark Twain & Charles Dudley Warner

falling into economic depression, which consequently spread chaos across the world, which then created the incentives for war along with opportunities for tyrants to rise, which ultimately led to the Second World War. In the face of this, the American people were once again compelled to action—they came together, embraced the spirit of progress, and then manifested that spirit in the Government by electing leaders who would pursue good government and save the country by changing it. The American people realized that the old ways could not continue, that the Government needed a dramatically new role in the country, and that they needed to experiment with new ways of life if they were to survive, let alone thrive. They chose a Democrat named Franklin Delano Roosevelt (FDR) to lead them as their President, who said,

“The country needs, and—unless I mistake its temper—the country demands bold, persistent experimentation. It is common sense to take a method and try it: if it fails, admit it frankly and try another. But above all, try something...We need to correct, by drastic means if necessary, the faults in our economic system from which we now suffer. We need the courage of the young...May every one of us be granted the courage, the faith, and the vision to give the best that is in us.”⁹⁸

And so they did. The American people and their President created a new role for the Government in the country through an agenda called the New Deal. Through the New Deal, the Government supported the foundation of both society and the economy and made large investments in the general welfare of the people and the basic infrastructure of the country. It provided relief to Americans who needed Social Security, rebuilt the financial system to prevent an economic depression from happening again, and generally helped to recover the stability, functioning, and growth of the economy. Most importantly, however, the Government began to systematically advance the progress of science and technology. It recognized that by supporting scientific research and technological invention, it could dramatically improve the lives of the American people, rapidly grow the economy, and, especially during the Second World War, make the country more powerful in the world so it could become a "great arsenal of democracy" in the face of rising tyranny.⁹⁹ The years that followed were the "most technologically progressive of any comparable period in U.S. economic history."¹⁰⁰ The American people created commercial airplanes, computers, nuclear power, vaccines, rockets, and far more. With the spirit of progress and good government, the American people solved the Great Depression and won the Second World War. Moreover, after the failures of isolationism during the World Wars, they not only learned the necessity of the Government in the country, but also the leadership of the world, and then they led the world towards the greatest days in human history.

Overall, the American people did these things because they understood the power and possibilities of democracy, had the faith and trust in each other to work together through the Government to fulfill the promise of their freedom, and knew that the "only thing we have to fear

⁹⁸ Oglethorpe University Address, May 22, 1932, Franklin Delano Roosevelt

⁹⁹ Fireside Chat, Franklin Delano Roosevelt. December 29, 1940

¹⁰⁰ A Great Leap Forward: 1930s Depression and U.S. Economic Growth, Alexander Field

is fear itself." As FDR said in his what would have been his last message to the country before he died, "The only limit to our realization of tomorrow will be our doubts of today. Let us move forward with a strong and active faith."¹⁰¹ He reminded the American people that good government must be maintained over time and therefore they had a responsibility to adapt the country to the ever-changing changing world if they were to continue to advance their progress, improve their lives, and build a better world in which they could pursue their own happiness and achieve their dreams:

The men who addressed themselves to the task of laying the framework of our national government after freedom had been won, wrote down in enduring words that their aim was to form "a more perfect union." In writing that ideal into the preamble of the Constitution of the United States, I think they set a task for us as well as for themselves.

They were forming a new government suited, as they believed, to the conditions of their day, but they were wise enough to look into the future and to recognize that the conditions of life and the demands upon government were bound to change as they had been changing through ages past, and so the plan of government that they had prepared was made, not rigid but flexible—adapted to change and progress.

We cannot call ourselves either wise or patriotic if we seek to escape the responsibility of remolding government....¹⁰²

But wise and patriotic they were. The United States of America became the healthiest, wealthiest, and most powerful nation in the world. The American people dramatically increased their knowledge and power in the world, rapidly grew their economy, increased their alliances with other nations, expanded the possibilities for democracy, and built a better world for all to live in peace and prosperity. Because of this, they became known as the "Greatest Generation." The example of their spirit would remain for decades—and the work they achieved would endure in the years ahead.

A few decades later, during the competition for world leadership with the USSR after the end of the Second World War, there was another crisis, though not because of the conservative spirit. The crisis was not at home or abroad, but above: the Space Race. The USSR became the first nation to leave the planet Earth by launching a human being into outer space. For many people around the world, it was an inspiring feat of the technological power of the USSR and a testament of its will and ability to lead the world into a better and more exciting future. In the competition for world leadership, the best candidate would be the nation that had the most technological power and could inspire the world—to do the seemingly impossible and unimaginable, to inflame the hearts and minds of people with the accomplishment of wonders, and to make them feel like they belonged to a story in which they could say, "See! This is who we are, what we can do, and where we are going." After the USSR achieved the ability to leave the planet Earth, the Vice President of the United States of America said that the "Soviets are

¹⁰¹ Undelivered Last Message to the American People, Franklin Delano Roosevelt, April 13, 1945

¹⁰² Looking Forward, Franklin Delano Roosevelt, 64

ahead of the United States in world prestige attained through impressive technological accomplishments in [outer] space."¹⁰³ He said that other nations would "tend to align themselves with the country which they believe will be the world leader" and "dramatic accomplishments in [outer] space are being increasingly identified as a major indicator of world leadership," and although America "has greater resources than the USSR for attaining space leadership...[it] has failed to make the necessary hard decisions and to marshal those resources to achieve such leadership."¹⁰⁴ So, in the face of the crisis, the American people maintained the spirit of progress and chose a Democrat named John F. Kennedy to lead them as their President. Kennedy continued the work of the Presidents before him and sought to prove the worthiness of the United States of America in the competition for world leadership. Recognizing that the presence of the USSR in outer space could, in his words, "become a permanent assertion of supremacy and the basis of military superiority," he governed the country with an agenda called the New Frontier, which sought to strengthen American leadership by trying to end poverty at home once and for all, which would have been a great achievement that could inspire the world, and, more importantly, by lifting the eyes of the American people to the stars—by going to the Moon.¹⁰⁵ Kennedy said that "all of the people around the world who want to live in freedom, who look to us for hope and leadership...wait upon our decision. A whole world waits to see what we shall do. And we cannot fail that trust, and we cannot fail to try."¹⁰⁶ Therefore, "space is there, and we're going to climb it, and the Moon and the planets are there, and new hopes for knowledge and peace are there. And, therefore, we set sail....We set sail on this new sea...for the progress of all people."¹⁰⁷ And so they did. To show the world who they were—to show the nations of humankind what a united, free, and powerful people could do by working together—the American people left the planet Earth, took the first step towards the stars, and went the Moon.

However, they went to the Moon, but no further.

Despite a long history to learn from, despite centuries of the repeated failures of the conservative spirit and bad government, despite the great successes of the spirit of progress and good government, the American people eventually became conservative again and would remain so for decades. They made the Government weaker, ineffective, and unable to fulfill its responsibilities in society, which eventually led to today—the Crisis of the 21st Century.

Although history is never so simple, there is a certain pattern to American history: a crisis has always preceded our best days. The American people become conservative in spirit and weaken the Government in society, which causes a crisis in the country, which compels them to action—to come together, embrace the spirit of progress, and pursue good government—which solves the crisis and advances the progress of the country—until they became conservative again. It seems that without a crisis to compel us, we become conservative and complain that the

¹⁰³ Memorandum for the President, Evaluation of Space Program, Lyndon B. Johnson, April 28, 1961

¹⁰⁴ *Id.*

¹⁰⁵ The Undelivered Speech, John F. Kennedy, November 22, 1963

¹⁰⁶ Combination of (1) Remarks at Bangor, Massachusetts, John F. Kennedy, September 2, 1960 and (2) Democratic National Convention Address, John F. Kennedy, June 15, 1960

¹⁰⁷ Rice University Address, John F. Kennedy, September 12, 1962

Government is too big, so we weaken it. Then, when a crisis comes, we complain that the Government is not big enough, so we use its power to advance the progress of the country until we are satisfied—and then we complain again. In other words, we become conservative when things are easy—when do not want to make any more sacrifices, when we are tired of doing hard the hard work of improving our lives and building a better country, when we want to rest in the comforts of the past and enjoy the time that we have in life—and so we prevent changes to the country until it decays and a crisis comes again. Only after a crisis—the Revolution, the Civil War, the Gilded Age, the Great Depression, the World Wars, and the Space Race—were the American people compelled to action and chose leaders—Alexander Hamilton, Abraham Lincoln, Theodore Roosevelt, Franklin Delano Roosevelt, and John F. Kennedy—who would use the power of the Government to save the country by changing it. Although the American people made some mistakes in their attempt to solve crises through the Government, mistakes were inevitable, because humans are fallible. The important thing is that they tried, and because they did, they made the country greater than ever before.

This pattern of history applies to us today. After the Conservative Revolution of the 1970s, and decades of bad government, we are now in a crisis: we lost our way, the country is not moving forward, and the world is adrift. The question is: will we be compelled to action like the generations of the past?

To solve the Crisis of the 21st Century, we must change the world. However, if we are to change the world, then we must first change ourselves. Let us abandon the conservative spirit and embrace the spirit of progress. Let us escape a world of stagnation and build a world of creation. Let us understand the power and possibilities of democracy and have the faith and trust in each other to work together through the Government so we can fulfill the promise of our freedom. Let us support the sources of our progress and the causes of our greatness so we can solve our problems, improve our lives, and build a better world—for ourselves, the rest of humankind, and the generations of the future.

We must remember that the Government is us and we are the Government, and “if we can find the enthusiasm and the skill to use it and the faith to make it strong, we can build a world in which all [of us] can live in prosperity and peace.”¹⁰⁸ It takes great effort to preserve the world as it is, but it takes far more effort and far more faith and courage to build a better one—and that is what we must do in this century: summon the best of ourselves, dream bigger, and do more than ever before.

Now we understand the role of the Government in society and how we can move beyond the Crisis of the 21st Century. However, after we solve the Crisis, what will we do? What world will we build? What dreams will we pursue?

For that, we must know who we are and who we seek to become.

Only then can we move into the future.

¹⁰⁸ Modern Arms and Free Men, Vannevar Bush, 3

WHAT IS AMERICA?

"...the cause of our common country."
George Washington

"...the world's best hope."
Thomas Jefferson

"...the last best hope on Earth."
Abraham Lincoln

"...of all the cities under the sun and starry skies..."
Iliad 4:52

"...the shining city upon a hill."
John Winthrop

"Americans are still engaged in inventing what it is to be an
American."
Thornton Wilder

"Behold a republic increasing in population, in wealth, in strength
and in influence, solving the problems."
William Jennings Bryan

"A rising nation, spread over a wide and fruitful land, traversing all
the seas with the rich productions of their industry...advancing
rapidly to destinies beyond the reach of mortal eye."
Thomas Jefferson

"Our country—this great republic—means nothing unless it means
the triumph of a real democracy...and, in the long run, of an
economic system under which each [person] shall be guaranteed
the opportunity to show the best that there is [them]."
Theodore Roosevelt

"...a democracy broader in influence than we have ever dreamed."
Henry Luce

"...a government of the people, by the people, for the people."
Abraham Lincoln

"And let the people's Motto ever be,
'United thus, and thus united—FREE.'"
An Ode, Francis Hopkinson

Who are we? What is America? Where are we going?

Better authors than me have tried and failed to answer those questions, but it is necessary, so let me try.

The word "America" means many things. It is a land and a country, a plan and a people, a burden and a blessing. It is the incomplete work of an imperfect people who are striving towards a more perfect country. It is an example of the best and worst of our humanity, a place of terrible mistakes and great achievements, unity and division, wealth and poverty, knowledge and ignorance, health and sickness—nothing more and nothing less than a people who are fallible and free. It has enslaved and liberated, won and lost, sinned and soared; the flux of life both high and low, but always onward towards a better future.

America is all of these things, and yet it is still far more—it is the hope and dream of humankind, and its people are therefore the citizens of the nation of humankind.

But, above all, America is an idea. And here is our story:

We began as immigrants. We were a scattered group of strangers who left their homeland and crossed a dangerous ocean into the unknown, a people who came together and journeyed across the wilderness in search of a promised land—a better life in a new world. “Those who chose to leave all they had ever known and come to a strange and distant land came to pursue their own ideas of happiness. Here, the great majority found conditions that allowed them to do so with less interference than anywhere else and thus gave them a better chance to find it. Even those who came as captives, rather than of their own free will, had each somehow survived an ordeal beyond...imagination and passed that strength to their descendants.”¹⁰⁹ We sought freedom in our lives: to think and speak and act for ourselves, to live as we choose and pursue our own happiness, to build a world of our own making. We left our homeland with the spirit that lifts our eyes to the stars and moves us towards the future, the old tradition of our ancient species—the same spirit that compelled us to accept the risks of exploring outwards into the wilderness of the unknown, leave our birthplace in the Africa nearly 300,000 years ago, and spread across the planet Earth—to look to the horizon, imagine something better, and then go forth in search of it. We broke from the chains of the past and built a “new and better civilization founded on all that was good from the old.”¹¹⁰ But no matter what we would do, no matter how far we would go, no matter what we would achieve, we would “forever imagine the Lands further off are still better.”¹¹¹ Because we are ultimately in “pursuit of the setting sun. From far back in antiquity the people of the Old World had watched the sun dip into the sea. Within them deepened the conviction that surely a better and brighter world existed in that mysterious realm behind the declining rays.”¹¹² And that is the basic idea of America: advancing our progress

¹⁰⁹ *Empire of Wealth: The Epic History of American Economic Power*, John Steele Gordon, xvii

¹¹⁰ *Forward the Foundation*, Isaac Asimov, 318

¹¹¹ John Murray, Dec. 24, 1774 in *William and Mary College Quarterly Historical Magazine*, Volume V, Series II, 161 (1925)

¹¹² *Toward the Setting Sun*, Irving Leonard, in *The American Story*, Earl Schenck Miers, 26

towards the land beyond the horizon of a better life in a greater world—a place where all can live our dreams. So it was then, so it is now, and so it always will be.

In the new world that we were building, we sought to achieve what humans had dreamt of since the first of them were born: world peace, happiness for all, universal abundance, doing wonders by our hand, a longer and healthier and perhaps endless life, living among the heavens, a flourishing culture, and saving ourselves by building a better world. To do these things, we sought a more complete freedom—from the tyranny of nature, nations, and other humans—so we could spend our precious time on the planet Earth as we chose.

In pursuit of these dreams, we established a country with the words of the Constitution, a written document that would become a covenant between the generations—a promise that we would move towards a more perfect country throughout the future. In the Preamble of that Constitution, we proclaimed what would be the goals of our efforts: a more perfect union with peace, democracy, and justice, and a government that could provide for our defense and general welfare and secure the blessings of our freedom for our and posterity. *This was America.* From then on, those words would be our way of life and upon them a nation would be built. For the first time in a long time, a group of human beings had the chance to choose a new form of government, and they chose to govern themselves. Self-government meant that neither kings nor priests nor anyone would rule over us, but we would govern ourselves and be responsible for each other—all of us, together. We would obey no masters, but only the law: the law that we create.

A people who are united and free and had the powers and possibilities of a democracy can do wonders, but if we are to govern ourselves, then we also have a responsibility to do so. We are blessed with the possibilities of democracy, but burdened with the responsibilities of freedom. Our lives, country, and future depend on us and us alone, so the measure of our being will always be our willingness to work together.

In a land of freedom, there will inevitably be a diversity of thought among the people. They will have different ideas and beliefs about their lives, their country, and their future and so they will divide themselves among those with whom they agree. As the writer of the Constitution said, all societies are "divided into different interests and factions."¹¹³ So, if freedom inevitably produces diversity and division, then freedom alone will cause anarchy and chaos. To prevent that, there must also be cooperation. Since the "causes of faction cannot be removed...relief is only to be sought in the means of controlling its effects...[by harnessing] the spirit of party and faction in the necessary and ordinary operations of the government"—that is, by coming together through political parties.¹¹⁴ By organizing the diversity of freedom into a system of cooperation with different political parties, factions in society could be a solution rather than a problem. The dividing force of faction among the people could be harnessed into a unifying cause of action in the Government, and the country could become a union of diversity. Diverse groups of people with different ideas about how to govern the country could compete with each other to persuade

¹¹³ Vices of the Political System of the United States, James Madison, April 1787

¹¹⁴ Federalist No. 10, James Madison

the majority to support them and then, when they had power, they could test whether or not their ideas work, and by doing so, they could eventually discover the best ideas for their country. The people could govern themselves by coming together, debating ideas, and then choosing people who had the best ideas to lead them, individuals “whose wisdom may best discern the true interest of their country, and whose patriotism and love of justice, will be least likely to sacrifice it to temporary or partial considerations.”¹¹⁵ That way, a people who were divided in mind could still be bound together in spirit, and the majority of them could rule. And yet, the majority would rule, but the rights of the minority would still be protected, and the abuse of power by anyone would be prevented by regular elections, the rule of law, and institutional checks and balances. In other words, the people could ensure that the Government worked for the majority without harming the minority.

Within this system, the only way that the Government could function and provide for the defense and general welfare of the people—the only way a people could govern themselves and fulfill the promise of their freedom—was if they worked together and debated ideas, but ultimately compromised with each other for the greater good of the country—if they never let disagreements lead to division, ideology to inaction, or competition to conflict. Given the responsibilities of democracy among a union of diversity, cooperation is necessary. However frustrating and disappointing democracy might sometimes seem, it is still a group of human beings with different ideas who are trying their best to work together and make their country better—and that will always be far better than the alternatives.

By working together, we can do greater things, things we could not do alone. There are many races, colors, and creeds, but we are one people, living in the same brief moment of time and space. The motto of our country is "e pluribus unum": out of many, one. The world is our country and common humanity our creed. We seek to continue the trend of unity and cooperation among human beings, because America, in its final consolidation, is the human race. America is the nation of humankind, the only one in the world, and because of that, we do not have a history like other nations. Ours reaches back to the year 1776, yes, and to the arrival of the first immigrants, yes, and to the lives of the native tribes, yes, but before that, it becomes as diverse and scattered as the whole of human history itself, because a nation of immigrants carries within itself the history of their immigration. Our past does not divide or distinguish us from other nations, but rather unites us with them all. And so we believe that human beings should be free and equal across the world, because to diminish the freedom and equality of anyone, anywhere, at any time is to diminish it for everyone, everywhere, for all time. Hence our long and violent history of fighting each other, especially during the Civil War, whenever some of us tried to separate themselves from the whole, because to do so would be to deny the shared identity and basic unity of humankind. Atoms came together to form planets, planets to form galaxies, and galaxies the Universe, but if humans came together, then together they could form the meaning of it all.

¹¹⁵ *Id.*

We work not only for ourselves, but for future generations, and so we must make sacrifices for them—to experiment with new ideas, new ways of doing things, new powers in the Government, and new plans for the country—so we can adapt to the changing world and keep a country for those to come—and by advancing our progress, leave them a better one. Our Constitution provided for this also, for it has within itself the means to improve itself. As Alexander Hamilton wrote, our Government contains "in itself the means of its own preservation."¹¹⁶ Free from the old ways of the past, we can adopt new ways to adapt to a changing world and advance our progress across the generations to ensure the survival, freedom, and happiness our country throughout the future.

And so, the success of America—the experiment in self-government, the power and possibilities of democracy, the promise of freedom—depends only on whether or not we are willing to work together to advance our progress, improve our lives, and build a better world—to achieve our dreams. For "what is government but the greatest of all reflections of human nature"?¹¹⁷ If democracy does not succeed, then we are to blame and nothing else. "The government you elect is the government you deserve."¹¹⁸ And "if we are not a happy people, it will be our own fault."¹¹⁹ For these reasons alone, there is no better alternative to our form of government, and that is why we have the greatest and most enduring country in human history. We have something to prove, and not only for ourselves, but for humankind itself.

With the best of all possible forms of government—freedom and democracy in nation of human beings—we are an example to the world. "We feel that we are acting under obligations not confined to the limits of our own society. It is impossible not to be sensible that we are acting for all [humankind]."¹²⁰ We feel this because "if we can't solve the problem in America, then the world can't solve the problem, because America is the world in miniature and the world is America writ large."¹²¹ We are often called an empire for having such feelings, but we are not. We seek no lands nor to control other nations, but to spread an idea: the freedom of humankind. If we are an empire, then we are only an empire of the mind, whose extent is limited to the spread of an idea. America is different from the empires of the past in another way. The Sumerians and Babylonians and Egyptians, the Greeks and Persians and Romans, the Songs and Mauryans and Byzantines, the Germans and French and English, all of them became the most powerful nation in the world by dominating others through conquest and war. But after that, what did they do? They thought that they were the last and eternal empire of the world, so they celebrated themselves by decorating themselves, and did nothing more than celebrate and conquer. In other words, they sought nothing greater than themselves, so when they became the most powerful nation in the world, they had nothing left to do but to fall into stagnation and decline. America is now the most powerful nation in the world. Why is it different from those of

¹¹⁶ Federalist No. 59, Alexander Hamilton

¹¹⁷ Federalist No. 51, James Madison

¹¹⁸ Thomas Jefferson

¹¹⁹ Letter to Robert Morris, John Jay, September 12, 1783

¹²⁰ Letter to Joseph Priestley, Thomas Jefferson, June 19, 1802

¹²¹ The American Dream Speech, Martin Luther King Jr., July 4, 1965

the past? Because America seeks something greater than itself. America is an idea above all things: the quest for a more complete freedom in the pursuit of happiness, the never-ending pursuit of a better life in a greater world throughout the Universe—and not for itself, but for all humankind, and not for those who are living, but those who are yet to be born. As an idea, America will be tied to the destiny and fate of humankind forever, and in that way, America will never fall—in that way, we are eternal. How we govern ourselves, what we do in our lifetime, and who we become will be an example for the generations throughout the future, wherever they may ultimately be in the Universe. The question then is: will they ask, "What happened to them?" or will they say, "Yes, that is my country." Our way of life and how we live during the precious time that is given to us will determine the answer to that question.

But what is our way of life? Again, it is many things. We are individuals who live in a community, equal under the law but unequal everywhere else, divided in mind but united in spirit. We look different, but inside are the same. We are a nation of nations, a place of all peoples, but we are bound together by our shared humanity and live together in a common home. In this land, between two oceans and friendly neighbors, among "spacious skies," "fruited plains," "purple mountain majesties," and "amber waves of grain," there is us: working together to build a more perfect country where we can all live our dreams. Here is a land that is free and wide and abundant, with a people who can eventually become as numerous as the stars because we went to live among them. Here we belong and here we remain, but here we are burdened.

Our country is a rare thing in the history the world. Never has such a large group of people been so healthy, so peaceful, so prosperous, and so free. We are often criticized for thinking that we are great, that we are good, that we are exceptional—and yet it is true. Our way of life is undeniably exceptional. The "American" way of life is simply how a particular group of human beings (us) on a particular place on the planet Earth (America) chose to organize themselves and live together, and out of the numerous experiments in civilization among the nations of humankind throughout the past, among the various ideologies and economic systems and forms of government that have been tried, we, the people in the land called America, have achieved the best way of life in the Universe. By most measures in the competition between the nations, America has been the most successful: it has dramatically improved the quality of life for an increasing number of people, cured an increasing number of diseases, rapidly discovered new knowledge about the Universe, accelerated the invention of new technologies, and provided a more complete freedom for human beings—all while leading an increasingly complex and fragile world through an unprecedented time of peace, progress, and prosperity. For these reasons, the American way of life is good and great and, yes, exceptional, so if we say that we want to help our fellow human beings around the world, then we should encourage them to adopt it. Does this mean that they should abandon what makes them unique: their history, language, and culture? No, our way of life—freedom, democracy, science and technology, and capitalism—does not require a specific history, language, or culture. These things can exist together. They have, they will, and they must.

But who are we to say that we are great? We are human after all, imperfect as any who have ever been and ever will be. We have enslaved and invaded, lied and cheated, stolen and betrayed, killed and destroyed—all of the evil that has ever been done before since the beginning of humankind. Who are we to call ourselves great when we have done such wrong? Because we are human: as good and evil, strong and weak, imaginative and ignorant as anyone. Because no society is perfect. Because we have done more than anyone else to improve the lives of more people over time. We are great because, despite our imperfections, we have done right, we have fixed our mistakes—we have been good.

Does that make America a paradox? Yes, America is also a paradox along with everything else, as the many poets and writers of America have said. "Do I contradict myself? Very well then I contradict myself, (I am large, I contain multitudes)."¹²² "Are the dream and idealism of [America] inextricably involved with the ugly scars which have also been left on us by our three centuries of exploitation and conquest of the continent?"¹²³ Yes, but "America needs never be ashamed to tell her birth."¹²⁴ We can accept that we are imperfect and admit our mistakes, but we can redeem ourselves by building a more perfect country and a better world over time, especially for those to whom we have done wrong. "Taken together, these triumphal and tragic elements...constitute the ingredients for an epic historical narrative that defies all moralistic categories, a story line rooted in the coexistence of grace and sin, grandeur and failure, brilliance and blindness...But that is not the way the story has been told. Instead, we have been asked to choose between two simplistic narratives of the founding, one featuring the founders as demigods who were permitted to glimpse the eternal truths...the other crowded with a cast of villains."¹²⁵ It is true that the Founding Generation "failed to free the slaves, failed to offer full political equality to women, failed to grant citizenship to [the Natives], failed to create an economic world in which all could compete on equal terms."¹²⁶ However, as a President said, "No government is perfect. One of the chief virtues of democracy, however, is that its defects are always visible and under democratic processes can be pointed out and corrected."¹²⁷ This is not an excuse, but a case for humility—a cause for progress. We must cherish the past because it is our history and we must condemn the past because it is our history. Yet we must not forsake the promise of tomorrow and burn the world of today in revenge for the mistakes of yesterday. It is far easier to condemn than to forgive, to remember than to imagine, to destroy than to create. We must understand that "justice isn't about fixing the past, it's about fixing the future. We're not fighting for the dead. We're fighting for the living. And for those who aren't yet born....That's what has to come after this, otherwise what's the point."¹²⁸ We cannot fix the past, but we can build the future, and that is what we must do. There are both heroes and villains in the American

¹²² Song of Myself, 51, Walt Whitman

¹²³ The Epic of America, James Truslow Adams, 405

¹²⁴ The Crisis, Thomas Paine

¹²⁵ American Creation: Triumphs and Tragedies in the Founding of the American Republic, Joseph Ellis, 11

¹²⁶ Valley of Opportunity: Economic Opportunity Along the Upper Susquehanna, 1700-1800, Peter Mancall, 232

¹²⁷ Address on Greece and Turkey, Harry Truman, March 12, 1947

¹²⁸ Morning Star, Pierce Brown, 280

story, great victors and guiltless victims. As long as we are human, there will always be good and evil in the world. The story of America is thus both good and evil, as is the human race—as is the human being.

The greatness of the United States of America lies not in the past or the present, but always in the future. It is an idea to strive towards, not a history to preserve, and that idea is the hope of humankind: that any person, whoever they are, wherever they may be, can be free—they can be American. Truly, we are the last best hope for humankind on the planet Earth—for life in the Universe. If we fail, then what? Who can the world turn to? Who can defend the peace of the world and advance the survival, freedom, and happiness of humankind? Who has the ability to lead the world and would lead it into a better future? None, except us—and our dream.

The American Dream is the source and soul of our country: the belief that the future will be better than the past, that life will get better for more people, and that we will leave a better world for our children—that one day we will build a world where we can all live our dreams. The American Dream was "not the product of a solitary thinker. It evolved from the hearts and burdened souls of many millions, who have come to us from all nations."¹²⁹ It is the "dream of a land in which life should be better and richer and fuller for every [person], with opportunity for each according to ability or achievement."¹³⁰ The American Dream is not the cheap pursuit of idle delights or the wasteful consumption of many things. "No, the American dream that has lured tens of millions of all nations to our shores...has not been a dream of material plenty, though that has doubtless counted heavily...It has been a dream of being able to grow to fullest development...unhampered by the barriers which has slowly been erected in older civilizations, unrepressed by social orders which had been developed for the benefit of classes rather than for the simple human being of any and every class. And that dream has been realized more fully in actual life here than anywhere else, though very imperfectly even among ourselves."¹³¹ If that was not true in the past, then it is true now, and if it is not true now, then we must make it true for the future. Of the American Dream today, "too many of us ourselves have grown weary and mistrustful of it."¹³² However, we cannot not abandon it—we must not abandon it—because we are not seeking to fulfill a promise that was made merely 300 years ago, but one that was made nearly 300,000 years ago, when humans first stepped foot on the planet Earth. The earliest stories of human history tell of the same dreams that are written in our Constitution: the promise of peace, freedom, and progress—the dream of a better life in a greater world. That is the promise we must keep, that must be our purpose in life, and that is the dream we must have in the brief moments between our breath, in this vast and confusing country, in this majestic and infinite Universe.

So this is who we are and who we seek to become. We are an imperfect people who look to the horizon in search of a better life in a greater world. Our aspirations must always be ahead of our ability, because we will become restless if we stop, if we seek to conserve the world as it

¹²⁹ *The Epic of America*, James Truslow Adams, 416

¹³⁰ *Id.* at 404

¹³¹ *Id.* at 405

¹³² *Id.* at 404

is, because our spirit “will continually demand a wider field for its exercise.”¹³³ Now must never be good enough, not until we solve all of our problems and build a better home across the planet Earth, not until we raise our eyes to the sky above and make a home of the heavens, because our dream is one that will ultimately bring us to the stars.

“It is for us the living...to be dedicated here to the unfinished work...to the great task remaining before us.”¹³⁴ We live in the present and remember the past, but we dream of the future—to go forth into the unknown and move towards the land beyond the horizon. We can dream bigger, do more, and go further than ever before. We can look to the horizon, imagine something better, and then go forth in search of it. Proud of how far we have come, unafraid of how far we still have to go, we can meet the challenges of this century and then go beyond them. We can begin a new chapter in our story and make this the greatest century that has ever been—and yet may ever be.

Today, we face the Crisis of the 21st Century. For too long we have been divided. For too long we have been conservative. For too long we have lacked the faith and trust to work together in the Government, fulfill the power and possibilities of democracy, and achieve the promise of our freedom. And now, the American Dream is fading.

Two paths are before us: the end of the world or the greatest century in human history. The end will come if we do not change our ways, if we remain conservative in spirit, if we do not summon the best of ourselves and lead the world into a better future. If we stay on this present path and remain a divided people with a bad government, then the general stagnation of our country will continue until the world descends into chaos and war. We will be remembered as those who failed, who knew what to do but chose not to, who abandoned the progress of the past, ignored the causes of their greatness, and brought an end to the last best hope of humankind.

Unless.

Unless we choose another way, a different path—a new dream.

The same dream for a new world.

A new dream for our country.

¹³³ The Significance of the Frontier in American History, Frederick Jackson Turner, 1893

¹³⁴ Gettysburg Address, Abraham Lincoln, November 19, 1863

"And now you know who I am.
 Who are you?
 America! America!"

Ballad for Americans, Paul Robeson

"Let America be America again.
 Let it be the dream it used to be....

Let America be the dream the dreamers dreamed—
 Let it be that great strong land of love
 Where never kings connive nor tyrants scheme
 That any...be crushed by one above....

O, let my land be a land where Liberty
 Is crowned with no false patriotic wreath,
 But opportunity is real, and life is free,
 Equality is in the air we breathe....

O, let America be America again—
 The land that never has been yet—
 And yet must be..."

Let America Be America Again, Langston Hughes

A NEW DREAM FOR OUR COUNTRY

“Notwithstanding the dark picture I have this day presented, of the
state of the nation, I do not despair of this country.”

Frederick Douglass

"...even though we face the difficulties of today and tomorrow,
I still have a dream."

Martin Luther King, Jr.

“We have it in our power to begin the world over again.”

Common Sense, Thomas Paine

“The world is changing, the old ways will not do.”

John F. Kennedy

“See, a time is coming...when I will make a new covenant....

Wondrous in purpose and mighty in deed.”

Jeremiah 31:31, 32:19

“Behold! I am creating a new heaven and new earth....

The new heaven and new earth which we
will make shall endure by our will.”

Isaiah 65:17, 64:22

"Write down this vision..."

Revelations 1:19

“The fruition of democracy...resides altogether in the future.”

Democratic Vistas, Walt Whitman

"Look out, beyond, and see

The far horizon's beckoning span

Faith in your...destiny

We are part of some great plan."

Fifty Years, James Wheldon Johnson

"Lo, I go to prepare a place for thee."

The American Story, Earl Schenck Miers

“...the torch has been passed to a new generation of Americans.”

John F. Kennedy

“And then we came forth to see again the stars.”

Paradiso, Dante Alighieri

What is the dream? What is the plan? What should we do?

The Universe began 13.8 billion years ago. The planet Earth formed 4.5 billion years ago. Life was born 3.7 billion years ago. Humankind arose 300,000 years ago. And only 200 years ago did we begin to advance our progress, improve our lives, and build a better world.

For most of human history, our lives were defined by scarcity, poverty, disease, ignorance, tyranny, and war. Humankind was divided into nations and fought each other over the finite resources of the planet Earth and the supremacy of their different identities and various ideologies. Over time, we learned that we could change the world according to our will and for our benefit with a new way of life—freedom, democracy, science and technology, and capitalism—and thereafter began to solve the ancient problems of the world. However, as the progress of science and technology advanced, the problem of war became worse. The world still lacked a leader—a nation that could unite the others, defend peace among them, and establish a global economic system in which all could participate and share its wealth and abundance—so the nations of humankind continued to fight each other. Eventually, the scope and scale of war grew until it spread across the entire world and became a world war, and then another world war, during which a weapon was invented that could destroy the entire world: the atomic bomb. Fortunately, the Second World War ended and there was what seemed to be peace in the world, but a leader was still necessary if the peace was to be maintained—and more than that, fulfilled. So, there was a competition for world leadership between the two most powerful nations in the world: the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and the United States of America. Eventually, the United States of America won because it had a better way of life and thereafter became the leader of the world. What followed was an unprecedented time of peace, progress, and prosperity, and it seemed certain that this would continue throughout the future. But then, the American people lost their way. They became conservative in spirit, retreated from world leadership, weakened their government, and abandoned the causes of their greatness. Eventually, this led to the general stagnation of America, the rise of chaos in the world, and the fading of the American Dream—the Crisis of the 21st Century.

There are two paths before us: the end of the world or the greatest century in human history. We face the risk of another world war, the coming collapse of the global population, the end of the habitability of large parts of the planet Earth, the conquest of outer space by tyrannical nations, and the potential destruction of the world by the most powerful technology that we might ever create, a mind greater than our own: an artificial intelligence. It is not an exaggeration to say that the future of life in the Universe depends on us in this century—on the choices that we make in the years ahead. This is frightening, and yet I am not afraid. Despite the dark clouds on the horizon, I still have hope. I have faith that we will make the right choices, that we will summon the best of ourselves, and that we will come together to solve the Crisis of the 21st Century and then move beyond it.

So, let us go forth.

We know what to do, since we have done it before. In every crisis throughout our history, the American people came together because we remembered that we are one people, citizens of the nation of humankind, who can use the power and possibilities of democracy to advance our progress, improve our lives, and build a better world—that we can work together to achieve our dreams. If we are to solve the Crisis of the 21st Century, then we must understand our place and purpose in the country, the role of the Government in society, and the necessity of leadership in the world. We must have the faith and trust in each other to work together through the Government so we can use its power to fulfill the promise of our freedom and lead the world towards our dream of the future: the land beyond the horizon of a better life in a greater world.

For too long, we have been divided, and now our country, the last best hope for humankind, is fading. "We have a long and arduous road to travel if we are to realize our American dream in the life of our nation, but if we fail, there is nothing left...The alternative is the failure of self-government...the failure of all that the American dream has held hope and promise for [humankind]." ¹³⁵ So let us choose a new dream for our country: the same dream for a new world. Let us not yearn for a past that is no more, but hope for a better world in the future.

But can we imagine that world? Look to our leaders. Do they have a vision of the future and a plan to achieve it? Look within yourself. Do you? We have leaders without vision and visions without leaders. Are we truly summoning the best of ourselves? Are we accepting the risks, bearing the costs, and doing all that we can to build on the work of the past—to be better, do more, and go further than ever before? Will the generations of the future look back on their history, to us in this century, and say, "They are who brought us here"?

For the first time in human history, we have the means to achieve our dreams. We have more knowledge about the Universe and our place in it, a general and sustainable peace in the world, a global economic system in which all nations can cooperate and prosper in, the progress of science and technology, freedom and democracy, and the competition of the free market. Progress is the means to achieve our dreams, so let us accelerate our progress as fast as possible so we can achieve our dreams as soon as possible. If we want a better life, then let us improve it. If we want a better world, then let us build it. This is so simple to say, but so hard to do—in fact, it will be harder than anything before—and yet it is necessary, so we must choose it nevertheless and then do the hard work to achieve it. We must, and so we will.

Our dreams are waiting for us to say: "This is who we are, this is what we want, so this is what we will build." In our lifetimes, we can solve the ancient problems of the world: scarcity, poverty, disease, ignorance, tyranny, and war. We have the ability to solve these problems, and so we have a responsibility to solve them—and if we can solve them in America, then we can solve them for the world. The only thing that we need now is the strength and courage to do it.

How exciting it would be to do these things in our lifetime! And how shameful it would be if we did not. No other generation in history has faced greater challenges, greater responsibilities, and greater possibilities than we do today. "For this is a greater age, a far greater age, than any which was ever seen beneath the wandering moon. Much has been given to

¹³⁵ The Epic of America, James Truslow Adams, 416

us...And much more will be required of us."¹³⁶ This is both humbling and exciting. If we want a happier life in a better country and a more exciting life in a greater world, then we need a better government, which means that we must be better ourselves. That way, we can prove that the basic idea of America is right and that the ancient dreams of humankind are not only a dream.

Let us remember who we are, what we can do in our lifetimes, and the dreams we hope to achieve. Let us lead the world, defend world peace, spread freedom and democracy, unite the nations of humankind, reform our government, strengthen our military, advance the progress of our science and technology, grow our economy, achieve a longer and healthier and perhaps endless life, improve our education system, increase our population, support immigration, build more homes and towns and cities, build better infrastructure and transportation systems, harness more energy and prevent extreme climate change, create a mind that is greater than our own, and raise our eyes to the stars so we can go to them. We can have a great and exciting life, a grand and flourishing culture, better and more meaningful ways to spend on our precious time in the Universe, and more opportunities to pursue our own happiness with infinite possibilities for the future. We can be a great and good and courageous people represented by wise and visionary leaders—an America that is chasing its ideals and leading the world in that pursuit.

Are we not the Land of the Free and the Home of the Brave? Then let us do these things. Let us think as if we had eternity ahead and act as if we only had a day. We live in an infinite Universe and have a precious short time within it, so let us make the most of it. If we can make the right choices and work together in the years ahead—if we can summon the best of ourselves, unite together, and advance our progress—then we can solve the Crisis of the 21st Century, achieve our dreams in our lifetime, and make this the greatest century in human history.

But how can we achieve this? What is the plan? What should we do?

"There was but one course left...to try the whole thing anew upon a better plan."¹³⁷

¹³⁶ The Ideas of Henry Luce, John K. Jessup, 80

¹³⁷ The Great Instauration, Francis Bacon, 1620

Now we know where we came from,
who we are,
and where we are going.

So let us go forth into the future.

FUTURE

WORLD LEADERSHIP

“So now we must consider what is the goal of
human civilization as a whole.”
De Monarchia, Dante Alighieri

“By defining our goal more clearly, by making it seem more
manageable and less remote, we can help all peoples to see it, to
draw hope from it, and to move irresistibly toward it...For, in the
final analysis, our most basic common link is that we all inhabit
this small planet. We all breathe the same air. We all cherish our
children's future. And we are all mortal.”
John F. Kennedy

“...the world has its eye upon America.”
Alexander Hamilton

"The cause of America is in a great measure
the cause of all humankind"
Common Sense, Thomas Paine

"The sun never shone on a cause of greater worth. It is not the
affair of a city, a county, a province, or a kingdom; but...the
habitable globe. It is not the concern of a day, a year, or an age; all
posterity are virtually involved in the contest, and will be more or
less affected even to the end of time by the proceedings now."
Common Sense, Thomas Paine

"The proud and perilous political project of humankind united."
Beginning of Wisdom, Leon Kass

“The time has come to gather all the nations...”
Isaiah 64:18

"Let there be no divisions..."
1 Corinthians 1:10

“Equal, unclassed, tribeless, and nationless....
The loftiest star of unascended heaven.”
Prometheus Unbound, Percy B. Shelley

“Out of many, one”
The Motto of the United States of America

THE DREAM

I dream of a day when there is peace in the world, when all people are free and equal, when the nations of humankind are united, when we spend our precious time by working together to pursue our destiny in the Universe, build a better world, and advance the survival, freedom, and happiness of humankind. Let this not only be a dream.

THE PROBLEM

Since the Conservative Revolution, the United States of America has retreated from world leadership. There is now rising tyranny and war in the world, threats to the increasingly complex and interdependent global economic system upon which we all depend on for our survival and general welfare, and an inability to solve global problems like the escalation of regional conflicts into a world war, the coming collapse of the global population, extreme changes to the general climate of the planet Earth, and the potential risks of artificial intelligence.

Let us review each of these.

First, America has retreated world leadership. In recent decades, bad government at home has caused bad leadership abroad. We made mistakes, people suffered on our watch, and we lost the legitimacy to lead in the eyes of the world. We invaded other nations, waged unnecessary wars, and tried to rebuild other nations. During the same time, the main source of energy for the world was oil, and the supply of oil came from various nations in the Middle East, a region which was and still is governed by tyrants and religious extremists. Our supply of energy was not diversified, so, to secure the supply of oil for the world, we focused our attention and resources on preserving stability in the Middle East for decades at the expense of other regions and wasted years of our lives and billions of our dollars trying to force freedom and democracy on those nations, but ultimately failed. We failed to understand that freedom and democracy cannot be given to a people by invading their country, removing their tyrannical leaders, and then establishing a new form of government for them. Freedom cannot be given to a people, it must be taken by them. The power of tyrants and the historical momentum of the past in the form of old ideologies and ways of life take time and effort to overcome. Therefore, freedom and democracy must be encouraged to develop over time according to a people's unique history, traditions, and culture—but this, we failed to do.

We also assumed that the mere exposure to the global free market would automatically lead to liberalization of other nations, instead of actively and patiently supporting the spread of freedom and democracy in other ways short of war. “We convinced ourselves that there was no harm in enriching dictators and their cronies. Trade, we imagined, would transform our trading partners. Wealth would bring liberalism. Capitalism would bring democracy—and democracy would bring peace.”¹³⁸ However, the tyrants of the world abused the global economic system for their own benefit and to secure their power, and our appeasement of them only made them richer, stronger, and more powerful in the world.

¹³⁸ There Is No Liberal World Order, Anne Applebaum, *The Atlantic*, March 31, 2022

With these failures abroad, both our allies and our enemies now doubt whether we can or should continue to lead the world, even though it is still the foundation upon which there has been general peace, global economic growth, scientific and technological progress, rising living standards, and the broad protection of our humanity since the end of the World Wars of the 20th Century, and even though there are no alternatives which have not already been tried before and resulted in massive suffering and destruction. Moreover, in addition to our allies and enemies, the American people themselves lost their will to make sacrifices and bear the burdens of world leadership and therefore weakened their ability to do so, such as reducing the money they spent on global defense and aid to other nations. In addition to this, our failures at home—political dysfunction, the slowdown of scientific and technological progress, general economic stagnation, an increasingly unaffordable cost of living, an inability to do work and build things in the country—have made it seem like we are unable to govern ourselves effectively, that our way of life is flawed, and that we are therefore overseeing the unraveling of the world. There is a feeling that we should not lead the world because we have more important things to do at home and a sense that, even if we wanted to lead the world, we have no vision of the future and could not lead the world in any direction. "As we look out at the rest of the world we are confused; we don't know what to do....As we look toward the future—our own future and the future of other nations—we are filled with [fear]."¹³⁹ Given all of this, we are losing both the will and the ability to lead the world, and as a result, the old ways of the past are returning: division among the nations, war, conquest, and competitions for the supremacy of national identities and various ideologies—general chaos in the world.

Second, tyranny is rising in the world. After decades of failures abroad, and because the American people have become less willing to lead and defend the world, tyrants in nations like China, Russia, Iran, and North Korea feel like they have an opportunity to shape the world according to their will without interference. "Knowing the powerlessness of the United States, foreign powers treated it with increasing contempt."¹⁴⁰ The tyrants of the world think America is no longer willing to defend the peace of the world, so they are increasingly conquering other nations, waging war, and destabilizing the flow of trade and the global economic system. Worst of all, they are distracting us from the real work of humankind—advancing our progress, improving our lives, and building a better world—and a wasting our precious time in life. We could be doing more important things, so much more, than dealing with petty tyrants and useless wars. They are a thing of the past, and we must ensure that they remain so. For the time being, however, they exist, and the two largest threats to the world are the tyrants in China and Russia.

The nations of China and Russia want to end American leadership of the world and return to a world without a leader. Ignoring the lessons of the past—the failure of a balance of power between nations which ultimately led to the World Wars of the 20th Century—they seek to control their local regions of the world, the nations within them, and the flow of trade around them. We cannot return to a leaderless world, a multipolar world, a balance of power between

¹³⁹ The American Century, Henry Luce, 1941

¹⁴⁰ Empires of Wealth: The Epic History of American Economic Power, John Steele Gordon, 63

nation against nation, and yet, the tyrants in China and Russia are willing to use conquest and war in an attempt to restore what they think is the lost glory of their past. They are pursuing selfish ambitions based on their particular local identity instead of the common progress and destiny of humankind. Because of this, we are not only in a geopolitical competition with China and Russia, but an ideological one: between freedom and tyranny, unity and division, our shared humanity and our local differences. “At its core, this is a struggle not over control of territory but over which set of institutions and ideas will guide the course of the world’s development.”¹⁴¹ Moreover, the tyrants of the world are now wealthier and more powerful than ever before because of technological progress and their access to the global economic system. Usually, tyrannical nations are unable achieve economic growth and increase their power in the world because they limit the freedom of their people to think and speak and act as they choose and therefore restrict the necessary conditions for progress and growth: the absence of government control of the society and the economy and the freedom of people to experiment with new ideas and ways of doings, through which they can then advance the progress of science and technology, grow the economy, and make their nation more powerful. However, since we have allowed tyrants to have free access to the global economy, they have been able to grow their economies, become more powerful, and maintain control of their countries by trading with us and other nations and catching up to our progress by copying (and often stealing) our knowledge and technology. However, once tyrannical nations steal all that they can from others, they are unlikely to grow their economies and surpass other nations in power by discovering new knowledge and inventing new technologies by themselves. So, since further progress and growth is not possible because they restrict the necessary conditions for them, they will be incentivized to wage war as a way to distract their people from the failures of their rule and secure their power. With the tyrants of the world strengthened by their participation in global economy and left unchecked by our retreating leadership, we will suffer because of their selfish ambitions and face greater risks than ever before.

Do we want tyrants to shape the world we live in and control the future of humankind? If we continue to retreat from the world, then it will become destabilized and dangerous, and conflicts will be allowed to escalate until another world war comes—one that will likely destroy the world and annihilate humankind.

Third, there is an inability to solve global problems like the coming collapse of the global population, extreme climate change, and potential risks of artificial intelligence. These are problems that threaten the entire world and therefore require a leader of the world to solve. I will discuss the problem of climate change in the "Climate Change" section and the potential risks of artificial intelligence in the "Artificial Intelligence" section, so let us review the problem of the coming collapse of the global population.

For decades, birth rates have been declining in many nations around the world, especially those with the largest economies—including America. A nation with a growing population will have a birth rate which is greater than 2.1, meaning that, on average, parents have more than two

¹⁴¹ The U.S. if failing to compete effectively with China, Noah Smith, Noahpinion, February 8, 2022

children, so they will not only replace the current population, but also grow it. If the birth rate is below 2.1, then not enough children are being born to maintain the population, let alone its growth, and the population will begin to shrink over time. And indeed, the birth rates in many nations has been below 2.1 for decades. Why is this a problem? If people have less children, then the population will shrink and there will be less workers in the economy. Without advances in technology to automate more of our work through robotic machines and artificial intelligence, there will no longer be a sufficient number of people to do the work to sustain an economy, which will threaten its collapse and therefore the collapse of the country. Also, less people in the world means less new ideas, which means less progress, economic growth, and the improvement of our lives, which threatens stagnation and decay. Moreover, less children means there will be an increasing number of old people in society over time and a decreasing number of young people. The average age of a nation will increase and society will age. Since the elderly depend on the taxes of working population to fund their retirement, a shrinking number of workers will need to pay for a growing number of retirees, which means that workers will also have less money to pursue their own happiness, let alone afford to have and raise their own children. In addition to this, nations will need to spend an increasing amount of their budgets to support an increasing population of the elderly at the expense of improving their society and investing in a better world for the young and future generations. Worst of all, after nearly 300,000 years of struggling to survive and grow the population of humankind, and after spending the last 200 years dramatically improving our lives and building a world in which billions could thrive, we are now choosing to have less children—we are creating less life in the Universe. If this trend is not reversed, then, in our lifetimes, the population of humankind will peak and then decline and fall. We will witness the dwindling of life on the planet Earth.

Along with all of this, since less people are having less children in many nations around the world, and since we are interconnected through the global economic system and dependent on each other for our survival and general welfare, and since America is retreating from world leadership and currently has no plan to deal with this problem, the potential collapse of economies in many nations because of shrinking populations will not only affect those nations alone, but everyone, and there will be general chaos in the world.

THE PLAN

What must we do? First, we must accept and declare that the United States of America is the leader of the world. In that pursuit, we must understand the role and responsibilities of world leadership; defend the peace of the world by deterring conflicts and protecting the weak against the strong; support the global economic system; and unite the nations of humankind with a growing alliance so they can work together to advance our progress, build a better world, and contain and eventually eliminate tyranny in the world.

In the 21st century, we face the simple question of whether or not we are willing to lead the world—whether we, as the citizens of a democracy, are willing to bear the responsibilities and possibilities of world leadership: to defend world peace, support the global economic

system, unite the nations, and advance the progress of humankind. In the face of this, we must learn from the mistakes of the past, recognize the necessity of world leadership, and declare to everyone that "We, the American people, are leaders of the world." By doing so, other nations will come to understand how the world works, why our leadership is necessary, and what is at stake if we do not accept reality. The World Wars of the 20th century taught us that a leaderless world with a balance of power between the nations will fail. It is not a stable system for the peace, progress, and prosperity of humankind. Moreover, the appeasement of tyrants does not defeat them, but rather makes them stronger, and isolationism does not prevent war nor preserve our prosperity. The World Wars and the invention of nuclear weapons taught us that the defense and peace of our country depends on the defense and peace of the world.

Why must we defend not only ourselves but the entire world? Because we can, no one else can, it is necessary, and so it is the right thing to do. The alternative is to return to the leaderless and multipolar world of the past: of nation against nation, shortages and scarcity and higher prices because of disruptions to global trade and supply chains, unchecked violence and escalation into another and far more destructive world war. If we seek world peace, then we must go out into the world and make it. We must bear these costs today to avoid the far greater costs in the future. There is no other way. We must lead the world.

In addition to this, to avoid the limitations of tyranny, the distraction of war, and the stagnation of the world, we must not only be the leader of the world, but a liberal, progressive, and democratic one in the true meaning of those words—and there is no better alternative than the United States of America, since it is the “only power strong enough to organize and lead a great coalition of nations.”¹⁴² Not the Europeans, not the Indians, not the tyrants in China or Russia; no other nation can defend the peace and prosperity of the world, except us, in this country. If not formally in name, then in fact, the citizens of the United States of America are the leaders of humankind. We have the “powers of survival or destruction, of freedom or slavery, of success or failure for all.”¹⁴³ “No nation in history has ever been more deeply involved in the affairs of the world nor accepted more responsibility for the state of humankind than the United States since the Second World War.”¹⁴⁴ “It is an assignment we undertook not by choice but by necessity and without prior experience. The burden is without historical parallel and so is the danger....For the quest for peace and security is not a day’s or a decade’s work. For us it may be everlasting.”¹⁴⁵ There is still a deep reservoir of faith among the nations in the capacity of America to do good around the world. After decades of disappointment and failures, we must prove that America is still worthy of those hopes.

So, to advance the peace, progress, and prosperity of humankind, we need to (1) have the will and ability to lead the world, (2) defend world peace by deterring conflicts and protecting the weak against the strong, (3) support the global economic system, and (4) create a new global

¹⁴² Call to Greatness, Adlai Stevenson, 46

¹⁴³ Remarks at the Democratic National Convention, John F. Kennedy, August 16, 1956

¹⁴⁴ The Jungle Grows Back: American and Our Imperiled World, John Kagan, 13

¹⁴⁵ Call to Greatness, Adlai Stevenson, 36

alliance among the nations who can work together and move towards the future with the shared identity and common purpose of humankind.

To defend the peace of the world and protect the weak against the strong, we must have the ability to do so. For that, we must ensure that we are always the most powerful nation in the world: politically, economically, militarily, and, most importantly, scientifically and technologically. The progress of science and technology is not only the basis for economic growth and the creation of wealth, it is also the only way to become more physically powerful in the world—through the development of more advanced weapons.

If a nation is to have the ability to lead and defend the world, then it must have the most powerful weapons in the world and the willingness to spread its military across the world. The American way of life has proven to be the best at advancing scientific and technological progress and therefore increasing its power in the world compared to other nations. However, if we abandon our way of life and the causes of our greatness (freedom, democracy, science and technology, and capitalism), then another nation could become more powerful than us and reshape the world according to its will, whether we like it or not. The tyrannical nation of China is trying to do exactly that: to increase its power and end our leadership of the world. It remains to be seen whether China can become more powerful than us by discovering new knowledge and inventing new technologies on its own, rather than copying or stealing them from others. However, we should not wait to find out. Moreover, China will certainly become more powerful than us if we stay on this present course—general stagnation in the country and a retreat from world leadership—and it will certainly become more powerful than us anyways if it continue to expand and strengthen its military while ours becomes weaker. The only way we can effectively defend peace, deter conflicts, and protect the weak against the strong is to have overwhelming strength compared to the nations of the world, especially tyrannical ones. In the face of tyranny, we must be a benevolent strength in the 21st century. And we must not only be a benevolent strength to defend against tyrants, but also to defend the weak against the strong and help our fellow human beings.

We are the citizens of the most powerful nation in the world. If we have the ability to help our fellow human beings, then we have a responsibility to do so. Otherwise, history will remember us as the people who sat there and watched as tyrants conquered the planet, murdered those who breathed the same air and shared the same moment in time as us, and violated the basic principles of our humanity—the sacredness of life, the freedom of our being, the equality of all people, the right to govern themselves, and the individual pursuit of happiness. Does this mean we should intervene in other nations everywhere all the time? No. We should only intervene when necessary. "America cannot be responsible for the good behavior of the entire world. But America is responsible, to [itself] as well as to history, for the world environment."¹⁴⁶ Nations have a responsibility to govern themselves and a right to determine their own destiny. Since humans are imperfect, nations will inevitably make mistakes, so we cannot intervene whenever we decide that mistakes are made. "We can be liberal without being interventionist.

¹⁴⁶ The American Century, Henry Luce, 1941

We can maintain and promote [freedom] without sending our bombers and our troops to force countries to be the way we want them to be. Helping defend other countries against invasion is a more modest goal, but it's one we can actually accomplish, and it raises our moral standing in the world instead of lowering it."¹⁴⁷ We cannot impose on nations that which they do not want themselves. We can only require they at least try to protect their people and promote the basic principles of our humanity, and encourage them to adopt those principles in their own way and in their own form. A good home should be universal, but there are different ways to build one.

Instead of invading other nations, we must support those who rise to liberate themselves. We should not force freedom and democracy on people who either do not want or are not ready for them, but rather encourage their fruition—the unique development of them according to the local history, tradition, and culture of a people.¹⁴⁸ “We should be willing to help defend our friends from aggression, and from the encroachment of true empires, but we should not occupy and seek to transform other countries.”¹⁴⁹ We tried invasion and nation-building before and they failed. We ignored the strong historical momentum in nations that are different from ours and which have different ways of life. If we seek to achieve the freedom of humankind, then we must have patience and persevere over time so we can gradually persuade the hearts and minds of people around the world to fight for their freedom. And when they do, they should know that we will help them. So, we must use every tool short of war to spread freedom and democracy across the world and only intervene in other nations when necessary in extraordinary circumstances. We must do these things to help our fellow human beings on the planet Earth because if we do not, then who will? We only spend around 1% of our budget on foreign aid, and the military assistance we provide to nations that are defending themselves against tyrants is a far smaller cost to pay than if we did not help them, if conflicts were allowed to escalate and we became forced to pay the far greater cost of a larger war in the future. In the words of a President, "American military might should not and need not stand alone against the ambitions of [tyrants]. Our security and strength, in the last analysis, directly depend on the security and strength of others, and that is why our military and economic assistance plays such a key role....Our assistance to these nations can be painful, risky and costly....But we dare not weary of the task."¹⁵⁰

In addition to defending the peace of the world, we must also defend the global economic system upon which we all depend for our survival and general welfare. The stability of our economy depends on the stability of the global economy, which depends on the free flow of trade between nations across the land, the skies, and, most importantly, the oceans. Today, around "80 percent of global trade by volume and 70 percent by value is transported by

¹⁴⁷ How to fix U.S. foreign policy, Noah Smith, Noahpinion, February 6, 2021

¹⁴⁸ Yes, a people must be ready for freedom and democracy if they are to have and keep it. To be free and govern oneself among others requires bearing many responsibilities, doing hard work over time, establishing and maintaining a complex set of institutions (elections, courts, checks and balances, bureaucracy, a free press, education, etc.), and, most importantly, having the right culture (a belief in freedom, human rights, accountability, trust, transparency, anti-corruption, the rule of law, etc.).

¹⁴⁹ The Afghanistan occupation and the Japan occupation, Noah Smith, Noahpinion, August 15, 2021

¹⁵⁰ The Undelivered Speech, John F. Kennedy, November 22, 1963

oceangoing vessels.”¹⁵¹ The Navy of the United States of America is what protects the flow of trade around the world and allows the nations of humankind to access more markets and resources beyond their borders, which therefore enables them to grow their economies and improve their lives. Without our global military presence, especially our Navy, the “concept of a free sea, by which we mean that individuals, companies, and nations have the right to cross international waters without fear of being stopped, searched, or delayed in any way so long as they operation within internationally accepted laws and norms,” will be threatened by tyrannical nations, rogue groups, and violent piracy.¹⁵² “America’s position in the modern world of interdependence is thus fundamentally different from [other nations]. Any significant shift in the [our] power...would bring profound changes to the entire world.”¹⁵³ After the Second World War, the absence of a foreign navy that was more powerful than ours “created an environment where [we] could establish and uphold rules and norm across nearly all the world’s oceans and seas. The ideas of free navigation and free trade became widely accepted....Sea routes that provided the fastest means of transport for people and cargo became accepted....People, producers, and [ideas] began to compete across the globe, unencumbered by fears of [violence] at sea. While wars continued on land...maritime conflict all but disappeared on the world’s oceans and seas, and much of the credit for this era of peace can be assigned to the United States Navy.”¹⁵⁴ However, this is no longer true: the global economic system is becoming destabilized.

Tyrannical nations, especially China, have seen that we are less willing to defend the world, including the flow of trade across oceans, so they have been rapidly increasing the size and strength of their militaries, especially their navies, to gain control of global trade while we have allowed the size and strength of our own to weaken and decay. China seeks to dominate the region around it and beyond, so it has been developing its naval ability over the decades in the pursuit of controlling major parts of the global trade network, specifically in the Pacific Ocean, which would not only threaten the stability of the global economic system and cause shortages and higher prices around the world, but also create the possibility that China could restrict the flow of food, resources, technologies, and products to any nation that it chooses—such as America (currently, we import around \$3 trillion worth of goods from other nations every year, around a third of which comes from Asia, the region that China seeks to control). I will explain how we can strengthen our military so we can defend the global economic system in the "Defense" section, but we must understand what is at stake if we do not understand, accept, and declare our leadership and defense of the world in the 21st Century—which, after all of this, I hope we do.

What else must we do? The greatest thing yet: unite the nations of humankind. Today, our alliances are stagnant, scattered, and weak. So, let us increase and strengthen them. If we decide that we are willing to lead the world, defend peace and deter conflict, protect the weak against the strong, and support the global economic system, then we must also eliminate the

¹⁵¹ *The End of the World is Just the Beginning: Mapping the Collapse of Globalization*, Peter Zeihan, 135

¹⁵² *To Provide and Maintain a Navy: Why Naval Primacy is America's First, Best Strategy*, Henry Hendrix, 20

¹⁵³ *Why America Is Not a New Rome*, Vaclav Smil, 171

¹⁵⁴ *To Provide and Maintain a Navy: Why Naval Primacy is America's First, Best Strategy*, Henry Hendrix, 33

ancient divisions between the nations and unite together with a shared identity, a common purpose, and an inspiring vision of the future. In that pursuit, we must create a new global alliance among the nations—an Alliance of Humankind—so they can coordinate in war and cooperate in peace, one that can not only defend peace by effectively containing and eventually eliminating tyranny, but also fulfill the promise of peace by working together to advance our progress, improve our lives, and build a better world.

In the 21st century, we face another simple question: whether or not we are willing to continue the work of the past to increase the unity of humankind. The diverse people of the world can either come together in this century or we can abandon what has been given to us, become further divided by our local differences, and descend back into a world of war and competitions over national supremacy. If we do not seek to unite the nations of humankind, then what? Will this be the way of things forever: nations divided for the rest of time? “One day the entire world will be united. Such is the direction of history. This is what logic prescribes.”¹⁵⁵ Moreover, the existence of weapons of mass destruction means that we cannot remain divided. As J. Robert Oppenheimer, the man who led the creation of the atomic bomb, said, “The people of this world must unite or they will perish.”¹⁵⁶

When looking back on history, the division of humankind into separate groups, tribes, kingdoms, and nations was necessary to survive, because lacked agriculture to overcome the scarcity of food, and support different experiments in civilization. We needed to learn how to live and work together by experimenting with different ways of life so we could discover the best way of life. But now, those ancient divisions holding us back. The mere existence of nations is not what is holding us back, but rather our focus on local identities and our suspicion of people from other nations. “As [humankind] advances in civilization, and small tribes are united into larger communities, the simplest [logic] would tell each individual that [they] ought to extend [their] social instincts and sympathies to all the members of the same nation, though personally unknown to [them]. This point being once reached, there is only an artificial barrier to prevent [their] sympathies extending to the [people] of all nations.”¹⁵⁷ From tribes to cities to kingdoms to nations, from our homes to towns to states to country, there is an ever-increasing unity among ever-larger groups of human beings throughout history. So, what is the next step? What can we do in our lifetime to move forward on the path towards the union of all humankind? In every generation, we must ask: is this how far we will go? Will we go no further? Or is there more for us to do and further to go? Can we unite together in larger measure and greater form?

The nations of humankind are, at present, divided. They are informally led, defended, and supported by a common leader: the United States of America. We have an institution that is supposed to represent the unity of humankind, the United Nations, however, it is inherently flawed and too weak to effectively organize and lead the nations in a shared effort towards common goals. The United Nations is a useful forum of dialogue between nations, but as long as

¹⁵⁵ In the Land of Israel, Amos Oz, 162

¹⁵⁶ Acceptance Speech for Army-Navy Excellence Award, J. Robert Oppenheimer, November 16, 1945.

¹⁵⁷ Descent of Man, Charles Darwin, 1871

tyrannical nations like China and Russia are able to shape its work with equal power as America and other nations, it will achieve little. So, what comes next? That is for us to decide, but let us remember this: we can do more by working together than living alone. If we can have faith and trust in each other, then surely we can extend that faith and trust to the people of other nations over time, especially since we are the nation of human beings. The future is the increasing unity among humankind: a gathering together, not breaking apart. So let us gather together. This is not a call for us conquer the world and establish a world government, but rather a reminder of where we must go in this century: a growing alliance between the nations of humankind that is established and led by the United States of America.

Like world peace, we must support a general and sustainable unity among the nations of humankind that can be increased and gradually distributed to a greater extent over time, an alliance through which like-minded nations can be "united together to promote their mutual safety and prosperity by means of their union."¹⁵⁸ However, if we are to do this, then we must provide a "vision of how to live an individual life, and also a vision of how the nation is to live, and in our day, of the whole world."¹⁵⁹ At present, "America and the Americans still do not present an attractive picture to the world. Why? Because the people of the world do not feel that we stand for anything, nor for anything deeply and fundamentally relevant to the mighty drama of human destiny.....Do we stand for something?....Who can give these answers?"¹⁶⁰ In other words, "What are we fighting for?...If I were an American I would say for the freedom of the world.... Shall we not, then, be still Americans?"¹⁶¹ What we need most of all is to "seek and to bring forth a vision of America as a world power which is authentically American and which can inspire us to live and work and fight."¹⁶² Therefore, the global alliance of nations must be based on our shared identity, a common purpose, and an inspiring vision of the future. Our shared identity must be our basic humanity. Our common purpose must be to move together towards the future and work together to solve our problems, advance our progress, and build a better world. And our vision of the future must be the same as our dream for our country: a better life in a greater world for the survival, freedom, and happiness of humankind.

The nations have been connected together, but they are not yet truly united. If we are to defend the peace, progress, and prosperity of the world, then we must increase the cooperation among the nations of humankind, especially so we can advance our scientific and technology progress as fast as we need, and especially so we can defend the peace of the world.

The progress of science and technology is the best way to grow our economy, improve our lives, and build a better world. If more people in more nations can cooperate and work together to advance our scientific and technological progress, then we can achieve our dreams sooner. Moreover, since the creation of new knowledge and technologies becomes more

¹⁵⁸ The Rights of Colonists as Men, Samuel Adams, 1772

¹⁵⁹ The Ideas of Henry Luce, John K. Jessup, 83

¹⁶⁰ *Id.* at 157

¹⁶¹ *Id.* at 123

¹⁶² The American Century, Henry Luce, 1941

difficult, more costly, and more time-consuming over time, the progress of science and technology will require the "development of larger and larger cooperating groups."¹⁶³

Moreover, as technological progress results in more powerful weapons, conflicts around the world are more destructive and can spread faster than ever before. If we seek to defend the peace of the world, then we must cooperate and work together with other nations, because the "strength and deployment of our forces in combination with those of our allies should be sufficiently powerful and mobile to prevent the steady erosion of [world peace] through limited wars."¹⁶⁴

If we do not create a global alliance among the nations of humankind, one that can grow over time and increase the cooperation among them in this century, then we will not advance our progress as much as possible and we will be unable to prevent the rise and spread of conflicts around the world and the escalation into another world war:

We have reached the point when we can longer afford armed competition; nor can we afford to have competition preoccupy us so that we cannot truly cooperate to solve global problems. There must be sufficient international cooperation to serve as the equivalent of a world government (though that should entail as much local autonomy as is consistent with global success).

This is needed not only to avoid destruction, but to allow technology to continue to grow and improve. The time has come when projects are possible which can use and, indeed, must use the whole effort of the global economy and population. To solve our problems...a global effort is required....

It is my feeling that civilization will not survive...without a working global cooperation among the nations, and that it is possible for the people of the Earth to choose...such a cooperation."¹⁶⁵

If a growing number of nations are no longer suspicious of each other and have the faith and trust to work together, then we can more effectively defend peace, accelerate our scientific and technological progress, rapidly grow our economies, and improve our lives faster than if we did so alone. Within the global economic system, increased cooperation would also mean more people, more ideas, more scientific discovery, more technological invention, and more creation of abundance to share. As such, an Alliance of Humankind could bring about a revival of Latin America, a technological Africa, a tolerant Middle East, and a democratic Russia and China. Moreover, regardless of whether or not we want to unite the nations and cooperate with them, cooperation is necessary because of the coming collapse of the global population. Whether they want to or not, if nations want to survive and continue their prosperity, then they will be forced to work together so they can adapt to a world with less people.

So, a growing and global alliance among the nations of humankind is both desirable and necessary. How can we achieve it? The ultimate challenge will be winning the hearts and minds of people around the world. Therefore, we must lead by example and persuade them that a global

¹⁶³ The Sun Shines Bright, Isaac Asimov, 238

¹⁶⁴ Special Message to the Congress on the Defense Budget, John F. Kennedy, March 28, 1961

¹⁶⁵ The Sun Shines Bright, Isaac Asimov, 240

alliance is both necessary and worth pursuing. We can do so by offering potential allies the benefits of friendship: the provision of weapons so they can defend themselves, access to joint-partnerships for scientific and technological research so they can grow their economies and improve their lives, investment in their domestic industry so they can build more things and create more abundance (through which we could also protect the investments of our own companies from theft and seizure, as happens to our companies in China, and as will happen to a greater extent if China chooses to wage war against us in this century), trade agreements to do the same (through which could also reduce our dependence on tyrannical nations for the products and resources that we need and want, especially since around 20% of our imports come from China, which means that we not only put ourselves at risk by depending on a tyrannical nation, but also make it wealthier and more powerful), guarantees that they can develop themselves in their own way and determine their own destiny within the moral bounds of our humanity, and the assurance that we will help them when the time comes, such as after a natural disaster or foreign invasion.

Doing these things would benefit not only other nations, but ourselves: by working more closely with a growing number of allies, we could protect ourselves from disruptions to global trade networks and supply chains by tyrannical nations, have more sources of scientific and technological progress, create more abundance to share and have more markets to trade with, and make our allies stronger to defend themselves against tyrannical nations and therefore reduce the burden of global security so it does not rest solely on us. Moreover, since America must still bear the main burden of world leadership, we can also encourage our allies to contribute as much as they can to fulfilling the promise of the peace that we establish and defend through the greater development of freedom, democracy, scientific discovery, technological progress, economic growth, and cultural flourishing.

America and its current allies already have the largest economies and most powerful militaries in the world, so let us increase them by joining together with more nations—such as India and those in Latin America, Southeast Asia, Africa, and the Middle East. Many of these nations already want a relationship with America, particularly those that are threatened by China. Moreover, let us understand that by allying with more nations, the combined wealth and strength of our alliance would create an overwhelming power which we could use to more effectively deter, defend against, contain, and eventually eliminate tyranny.

In the past, we have failed to achieve the freedom of humankind and eliminate tyranny from the world. In fact, by allowing tyrants to participate in the global economic system that we support and defend, and by increasing our trade with them over time, we have only made them wealthier and more powerful in the world. Now, they are using their wealth and power to conquer other nations, wage war, and try to end our leadership of the world—and necessarily the peace, progress, and prosperity that our leadership provides. Let us learn from our mistakes and try a new way to eliminate tyranny from the world. If we can create a global alliance among the nations that offers scientific and technological progress, economic growth, and an exciting mission to its members, but excludes the worst tyrants in the world and our major adversaries,

then we could more effectively contain them, persuade them to change their ways, and eventually eliminate tyranny from the world.

By excluding the worst tyrants and our major adversaries from the global alliance, we could restrict their access to trade, investment, resources, knowledge, and technology and thereby create more effective consequences for their actions. We should no longer tolerate the appeasement of tyrants or allow the nations that seek to harm us and destabilize the peace of the world to become wealthier and more powerful in the world. By concentrating the force and focus of the alliance on only the worst tyrants and our major adversaries, we can avoid what has not worked in the past: isolating and sanctioning every nation that we disagree with. Instead, let us ally with as many nations as possible and focus on containing the worst few so that our containment can have sufficient force for maximum effect. That way, we can have a more effective method to both punish and persuade them to change their ways. Moreover, let us not forget that although tyrannical nations like China and Russia are currently our adversaries, there is always the hope that they can become our friends. As Abraham Lincoln said, "Do I not destroy my enemies when I make them my friends?"

In this century, let us create a global alliance among the nations of humankind and grow it over time so we can defend world peace, advance our progress, contain and eventually eliminate tyranny from the world. By doing so, we can not only achieve the freedom of humankind, but, in the words of a President, we can achieve in our time and for all time the ancient vision of 'peace on Earth.'¹⁶⁶ Without the limitations of tyranny and the distraction of war, what could we achieve? With world peace, American leadership, and a global alliance of humankind, the billions of people who now exist on the planet Earth could work together to achieve wonders and pursue our dream of a better life in a greater world.

We know what we must do in this century. The question is whether we are willing to choose it and then do the hard work to achieve it. Do we not understand that without American leadership, the world will descend into chaos and war? Do we not want peace in our time? Are we not tired of the distraction of war? Will we continue to retreat from world leadership and wait until another world war comes, and with it the destruction of the world? Do we want another nation to lead and shape the world, which would most likely be a tyrannical one? Will humankind remain divided into the nations of today for the rest of time? Do we not want to live in a world where all people are free and can govern themselves and pursue their own happiness? Do we not want to move together towards the future, achieve our dreams in our lifetime, and leave a better world for our children and future generations?

Then, let us go forth.

However, as a President said, "you cannot be successful abroad unless you are successful at home." And for that, we must first have the ability to be successful.

For that, we must reform the Government.

¹⁶⁶ Speech at Portland Stadium, John F. Kennedy, September 2, 1960

GOVERNMENT REFORM

"...to form a more perfect Union, establish Justice, insure domestic
Tranquility, provide for the common defence, promote the general
Welfare, and secure the Blessings of Liberty"
The Preamble of the Constitution

"...the Congress lacked power to make laws necessary to the safety
and welfare of the Union."
Charles Beard

"It is will alone which is wanting."
Thomas Jefferson

"There is nothing wrong with America that cannot be cured by
what is right with America."
Bill Clinton

"Let us not be afraid to help each other—let us never forget that
government is ourselves and not an alien power over us. The
ultimate rulers of our democracy are not a President and Senators
and Congressmen and Government officials but the voters of this
country."
Franklin Delano Roosevelt

"Let public service be a proud and lively career."
John F. Kennedy

"The public business must in some way or other go forward."
Alexander Hamilton

"For only the productive can be strong and only the strong can be
free."
Wendell Willkie

"Every art and science...has been studied, improved, and brought
to what we call perfection by the progressive labours of succeeding
generations; but the science of government has stood still. No
improvement has been made..."
Thomas Paine

"...we owe it to ourselves and to the world, to watch, to cherish,
and as far as possible to perfect...the Government."
James Madison

THE DREAM

I dream of a day when we achieve the promise of our freedom, when we show what a people can do when they are united, when we have the faith and trust in each other to fulfill the power and possibilities of democracy and work together through the Government, when we can debate ideas but always move forward for the greater good, when we have a Government that can do great things, build a better country, and expand the opportunities for us to pursue our happiness and achieve our dreams. Let this not only be a dream.

THE PROBLEM

Since the Conservative Revolution, the Government of the United States of America has become ineffective, inefficient, and wasteful and the American people are increasingly divided, unable to work together, and losing hope for the future because of the failures of the present. For decades, we have not reformed the Government and adapted to a changing world, so there is general stagnation in the country and the American Dream is fading.

After we became conservative in spirit and lost our will to change the world so we could improve it, our leaders became older both in age and in thought. As a result, our leaders are older than ever before and the Government is less effective than ever before. The average age of the members of Congress has risen from around 45 years old when the country was founded to around 60 years old, while the average age of the country is around 38 years old. "In youth, everything seems possible; but we reach a point in the middle years when we realize that we are never going to reach all the shining goals we had set for ourselves and so we become less motivated to pursue them."¹⁶⁷ Older societies are less creative, less productive, and less willing to take risks and try new ideas and ways of doing things. They are less ambitious and try to conserve the way that things are. As for older societies, so it is for older governments. Despite the many failures of their leadership, we continue to elect the same people who have grown old in office, and since it is the "nature of institutions to become stiff with age," the Government has become more ineffective over time as the people within it grew older.¹⁶⁸ Our leaders are "mighty in word and weak in action, bold to plan but weak to perform."¹⁶⁹ Since our leaders did not change, there has been less experimentation in lawmaking and an increase of rigid thinking, which has led to increasing partisanship, less cooperation, less lawmaking, and therefore a less effective government. And as it is for leaders, so it is for the people. We are now "so locked into our political identities that there is virtually no candidate, no information, no condition, that can force us to change our minds. We will justify almost anything or anyone so long as it helps our side."¹⁷⁰ Because of all of this, the American people have become increasingly disappointed, frustrated, and divided because the Government has become increasingly dysfunctional, ineffective, and allowed the rise of the Crisis of the 21st Century.

¹⁶⁷ Call to Greatness, Adlai Stevenson, 98

¹⁶⁸ The Story of Civilization, Volume VI: The Reformation, Will & Ariel Durant, 484

¹⁶⁹ Theodore Roosevelt's History of the United States, Daniel Ruddy, 106

¹⁷⁰ Why We're Polarized, Ezra Klein, xiv

When the Government does not fulfill its responsibilities in the country, the country will fall into stagnation, and when it fails to improve the lives of its people for decades, the people will lose their faith and trust in the Government—and in a democracy, that means the people will lose their faith and trust in each other. After decades of the same generation of leadership with the same conservative spirit in the Government, there is now bad government in the United States of America—an increasingly weak, ineffective, and wasteful government. If we do not change our ways—if we do not embrace the spirit of progress, understand the role and responsibilities of the Government in society, and use its power wisely to advance our progress, improve our lives, and build a better country—then we will remain on this path of stagnation, the prelude to decline.

The Government is failing to fulfill its responsibilities in society for several reasons. There is, of course, the lack of cooperation between the Democratic Party and the Republican Party (mainly the Republican Party) for the greater good of the country. However, since the Government has not been reformed in decades, it has not adapted to a changing world, and has therefore decayed. Now, there are major obstacles to good government in all every part of the Government—the three branches, the bureaucracy, and the budget for the country—that would prevent it from being effective even if a majority of us decided to work together.

In the three branches of the Government, a minority of people can regularly obstruct and generally govern the majority. Moreover, we outsourced much of the work and many of the responsibilities of the Government, which only it can do, to companies and charities.

In the bureaucracy of the Government, the agencies lack sufficient resources and talented people to do their work and fulfill their responsibilities in the country.

In our budget for the country, the cost of supporting the elderly is growing at the expense of everything else. Moreover, the burden of the national debt is growing at an unsustainable pace after decades of increasing the size of the budget without collecting sufficient taxes to pay for it.

This will be the longest section of the book. However, it is the most important because we cannot improve our country if we do not have the ability to do so.

So, let us review each of the major obstacles to good government.

THE EXECUTIVE BRANCH

The Government of the United States of America has “decayed over time because its traditional system of checks and balances has deepened and become increasingly rigid.”¹⁷¹ Human beings are flawed and fallible, which is why we have checks and balances against the concentration and abuse of power. However, the defense against our fallibility should not overly restrict our ability. In other words, the fear of tyranny should not prevent the fruition of democracy. The checks and balances of the Government are important because they prevent the majority from abusing the minority and the minority from obstructing the majority. However, if there are either too many or too much of such checks and balances, then they can cause the

¹⁷¹ Political Order and Political Decay: From the Industrial Revolution to the Globalization of Democracy, Francis Fukuyama, 503

Government to become ineffective and unable to fulfill its responsibilities in society. They can prevent change, preserve the status quo, and slow the pace of our progress. Indeed, there are too many checks and balances today—the Government is ineffective, a minority of people can obstruct the will of the American people and the general work of the Government, and a minority of people can govern the majority both within the Government through the rules of Congress and in society by abusing certain laws. Increasingly, the rule of the majority is being replaced by the rule of the minority. Increasingly, we are sliding into a lesser form of tyranny where the few can govern the many. Increasingly, we are moving away from a Government of the People.

America is great because we are a Government of the People: the majority of us govern ourselves. If a minority can obstruct and govern the majority, then we are no longer a Government of the People, which is increasingly happening today: a minority of people are obstructing and governing the majority in all three branches of the Government: the Executive Branch (the President), the Legislative Branch (Congress), and the Judicial Branch (the Supreme Court).

In a democracy, the majority of the people choose their leaders: the majority of the people in a town elects their Mayor, the majority of the people in a State elects their Governor, and the majority of the people in a country elects their President. However, in our country, the President is not always elected by the majority of the people. According to the Constitution, the election of the President is determined not by the American people, but rather by an institution called the Electoral College. For a person to become the President, they must win a majority of the votes in the Electoral College, rather than the majority of votes from the American people. The votes in the Electoral College are distributed the 50 States based on the number of Representatives and Senators they have in Congress, and those votes are submitted by people in the Electoral College called Electors who are themselves elected to the position. One would assume that if a person wins a majority of votes in a particular State, then they would therefore win that State's votes within the Electoral College. However, many States do not require their Electors to cast their vote for the presidential candidate who wins the majority of votes within their State, which means that Electors can tyrannically ignore the will of the majority of people within their State and choose the presidential candidate who they prefer. Moreover, a presidential candidate could win a majority of votes from the American people, but only a minority of votes in the Electoral College. This means that a minority of the American people can elect the President of the United States of America. In this way, a minority can obstruct the will of the majority in the Executive Branch—the few can govern the many in the United States of America. This is not only a lesser form of tyranny, but also creates anger and disappointment among the American people and decreases their faith and trust in the Government, which therefore makes it less effective.

The Electoral College is as confusing and frustrating as it sounds. It was created when the country was founded as compromise and for various reasons. Some of the members of the Constitutional Convention were concerned about democracy because they did not believe the American people could wisely and responsibly choose their own leaders. Moreover, the Southern

States wanted to protect their ability to continue slavery and feared that the people in the Northern States, which had larger populations, would elect a President who would abolish slavery in the country. So, the members of the Constitutional Convention made a compromise: a majority of people would elect their leaders in the House of Representatives, but they would not be allowed to elect their Senators or the President. Given the unique circumstances of their time, the members of the Constitutional Convention created the Electoral College because they needed to quickly establish a government (since the previous government under the Articles of Confederation had caused a crisis) before they could begin to perfect it. That is understandable. However, centuries have passed, the world has changed, and those unique circumstances no longer exist.

Although we have amended the Constitution so we can elect our own Senators, we have not done so for the election of our President. In the past, we understood that preventing the majority of people from choosing their leaders in the Senate was wrong and undemocratic, and yet, for some reason, we still prevent the majority of people from choosing the leader of our country, even though it is also wrong and undemocratic. This is not right, and yet it persists because we allow it to. There is an archaic middleman between the American people and their leader, a useless and confusing vestige of the past that violates the basic principle of representative democracy. Because of this, we suffer: our leader is not guaranteed to have been chosen by the majority of us and a minority of people among the States can obstruct and govern the majority of people in the country. On every level of government in our country—local, state, and congressional—the majority of people can choose their leader, except on the level as our country as a whole: as the American people. As long as the Electoral College remains, it will prevent the majority of the American people from choosing their leader and allow a minority in the States to obstruct and govern them. As long as it remains, we are not truly a united people.

There is another reason why the President is ineffective, or at least perceived to be. According to the Constitution, the powers of the President are primarily to command the military as the Commander-in-Chief and to represent the country abroad. The President also has the ability to veto laws passed by Congress (although the veto is usually rarely used) and has been given the power to appoint a large number of the leaders of the bureaucracy, and therefore has the ability to shape it. Because of this, the powers of the President are limited and cannot by themselves provide for the general welfare of the country. However, although Congress is ultimately the branch with the responsibility to provide the general welfare of the country and has the power to make laws to do so, it is increasingly unable to pass laws (as I will explain in the following paragraphs), so the American people have looked to the President to do what Congress cannot, even though the President lacks the ability to do so. As a result, the President is seen as the cause of all successes and the fault of all failures in the country, which dangerously concentrates power in one person, wrongfully burdens a single branch with a responsibility it does not have, inevitably results in failure, and causes frustration and disappointment among the American people.

THE LEGISLATIVE BRANCH

The general welfare of the country depends on the ability of Congress to pass the laws that we need to solve our problems, advance our progress, improve our lives, and build a better country. However, our leaders are increasingly unable to pass any laws in both chambers of Congress: the House of the Representatives and the Senate.

In the House of Representatives, our Representatives are increasingly unable to pass laws because the length of their term is currently limited to two years. Since the Conservative Revolution, campaigns for election have become longer and more expensive. Moreover, the invention of social media, which constantly provides us with information about everything that our Representatives do every day, has caused Representatives to constantly focus on how their actions in Congress will affect their campaign for reelection. Also, when Representatives are in office, their priorities are to win reelection, increase the majority of their political party, and only then govern the country.¹⁷² Governing the country is last because Representatives cannot pass laws without a majority in Congress and they cannot achieve a majority if they are not reelected.¹⁷³ Since Representatives only have two-year terms, and since campaigns are becoming longer and more expensive, and since social media is causing Representatives to constantly focus on how their actions in Congress will affect their campaign for reelection, they are forced to spend around half of their two-year terms focusing on campaigning for reelection rather than passing laws and governing the country. As a result, the House of Representatives has become ineffective.

In the Senate, the majority of Senators are unable to pass laws because a minority of them can obstruct the majority by abusing a procedural rule called the filibuster. In the Senate, a law must be debated before it can be voted on. After the debate ends, it can then be voted on and passed by a majority of Senators, and then become law once it passes the House of Representatives. However, the filibuster allows any Senator to extend the debate about a law for whatever reason and for however long they choose, which prevents the Senate from doing anything else until the debate ends. If a Senator refuses to end the debate, then a supermajority of Senators must vote to end it, rather than a simple majority. Therefore, if even a single Senator does not want a law to pass, they can use the filibuster to stop the work of the Senate until either the law is abandoned or a supermajority of Senators votes to end the debate. All of this means that a minority of people, even one person, can prevent the passage of any law they choose, even if a majority of people support it, and obstruct the work of the Senate, which is not only tyrannical, but also makes Congress as a whole unable to govern the country and do so according to the will of the majority of the American people. In short, the few can govern the many, the general welfare of the country can be controlled by a minority of people, and one person can shape the lives of hundreds of millions of people. As a result, the Senate has become ineffective.

The filibuster has existed since around the time that the country was established, but was rarely used in a given year, if at all. However, since the Conservative Revolution, the use of the

¹⁷² Why We're Polarized, Ezra Klein, 216

¹⁷³ *Id.*

filibuster has dramatically increased to hundreds of times per year and for almost every necessary and significant law that is proposed. The Senate exists as a check and balance against a tyranny of the majority and represents the interests of the States in the Government, but we must understand that the Senate is already an institution of minority rule without the filibuster because the States have an equal number of seats in the Senate even though they have vastly different populations, so a majority of Senators could represent a small minority of the American people. Given this, the filibuster gives even more power to a minority of people to obstruct and govern the majority. Regardless of which political party benefits from this advantage, it is wrong and undemocratic. And yet it persists, because we allow it to. Congress is now defined by its inaction rather than action. Moreover, the filibuster not only prevents our leaders from passing the laws that the majority of us elected them to pass, it also prevents political parties from turning the ideas they support into law, which means we cannot learn which ideas actually work to improve the country, which means we cannot hold our leaders accountable or know which political party to support, which means the political parties cannot compete based on their achievements and can only compete with words, which means they will resort to insulting each other because they cannot prove their ideas are better, which increases division between the political parties, which divides the American people.

Since both the House of Representatives and the Senate have become ineffective, Congress as a whole has become ineffective. As a result, Congress has been passing fewer laws over time. This is a problem because the responsibilities of the Government grow as the economy grows and society becomes more complex, and since Congress must pass laws to keep the Government functioning, it will be forced to combine an increasing number of individually necessary laws into a few megalaws, and since it must pass those megalaws to keep the country functioning and therefore are not willing to use the filibuster to prevent them, many unnecessary laws are included in them that would otherwise not normally be passed, which increases the inefficiency, ineffectiveness, and wastefulness of the Government. Moreover, since Congress struggles to pass laws to keep the country functioning, it also unable to improve the country—to create new laws, improve existing ones, and remove bad or unnecessary laws, all of which would improve both the country and the effectiveness of the Government. In addition to this, given the need to pass megalaws and the inability to remove laws, the size of the total amount of laws for the country is only added to over time and rarely reduced or improved, so the law itself becomes less efficient and effective over time, in addition to creating an ever-growing burden that makes doing work and building things in the country more difficult, more costly, and more time-consuming.

Since Congress is increasingly unable to pass laws, there is less experimentation with new ideas, less change in the Government, and less progress in the country. It is no longer adapting to a changing world and evolving into a more perfect form. Since we cannot take action in Congress, we cannot change the country, and since we cannot change the country, we are conserving it as it is and preserving the status quo—stagnation. If the Government cannot act, then we risk not only the general welfare of the people, but the continued survival of the country.

“Decay occurs when political systems fail to adapt to changing circumstances.”¹⁷⁴ Without change, there is stagnation and decay, such as we see today in the slowdown of our scientific and technological progress, the growth of our economy, and the improvement of our lives. Are we forgetting the basic principle of evolution that has applied to all forms of life: if we do not change, then we cannot adapt, and if we cannot adapt, then we will not survive? As Thomas Jefferson, a member of the Founding Generation, wrote, “laws and institutions must go hand in hand with the progress of the [humankind]...with the change of circumstances, institutions must advance also to keep pace with the times.”¹⁷⁵ Yet, it seems that we have failed to learn from our mistakes and are unwilling to do what is necessary to fix them. One of the best examples of this is that, although we have done so many times in past, we have not amended the Constitution in decades. In other words, we have not improved the basic structure of the country for almost half a century. How much longer can this go on?

With a President who is not always chosen by the majority of the American people and a Congress that cannot pass the laws that we need, two branches of the Government—the Executive and the Legislative—have become ineffective. And so, in recent decades, we have looked to the third branch of the Government in the hope that it could do what the others could not and finally change the country. We have looked to the Judicial Branch—the Supreme Court.

THE JUDICIAL BRANCH

Although the Supreme Court can only interpret laws according to the Constitution, it has increasingly used its power of interpretation to effectively create new laws. “There is no need of discussing the question whether or not judges have a right to make law. The simple fact is that by their interpretation they inevitably do make the law in a great number of cases.”¹⁷⁶ Since Congress struggles to make new laws, we have relied on the Justices in the Supreme Court to do so. As an ancient writer wrote, “for since their differences could not be adjusted by the letter [of the law], they would have to bring all their causes to the judges, who were in a manner masters of the law.”¹⁷⁷ “We are under a Constitution, but the Constitution is what the [Justices] say it is.”¹⁷⁸ The problem with this is that there are only nine people on the Supreme Court, so we are depending on nine unelected human beings who serve for life, are unaccountable to the people, and are the only members of the Government who are “not subject to conflict-of-interest, ethics, or financial-disclosure laws.”¹⁷⁹ This is far too much power for so few. And yet, even if none of this was true and the Justices of the Supreme Court could interpret the law without concern, they are themselves divided about how to interpret the law.

Some of the Justices are progressive and think the interpretation of the law should adapt to a changing world so the law itself can remain effective over time and continue to fulfill the

¹⁷⁴ *The Origins of Political Order: From Prehuman Times to the French Revolution*, Francis Fukuyama, 7

¹⁷⁵ Excerpted from a letter to Samuel Kercheval, Thomas Jefferson, July 12, 1816

¹⁷⁶ Theodore Roosevelt's *History of the United States: His Own Words*, Daniel Ruddy, 70

¹⁷⁷ *Life of Solon*, Plutarch

¹⁷⁸ Address at Elmira, Charles Evan Hughes, May 3, 1907

¹⁷⁹ *How to Rein in an Out-of-Control Judiciary*, James Fallows, *Breaking the News*, July 7, 2022

goals in Preamble of the Constitution: "to form a more perfect Union, establish Justice, insure domestic Tranquility, provide the common defence, promote the general Welfare, and secure the Blessings of Liberty to ourselves and our Posterity." Since the Preamble says that the Constitution is not only for the living ("ourselves"), but also for future generations ("our Posterity"), the writers of the Constitution intended for it to be adapted. Moreover, since the Constitution guarantees that the Government shall have the power to make laws that are "necessary and proper" to achieve the goals in the Preamble, the writers sought to ensure that the Government always had sufficient power to fulfill its responsibilities in a changing world throughout the future—to ensure that good government was possible for all generations. "Over the years the Constitution has become a more flexible instrument, modified in interpretation to meet changing conditions of the times, and this is well. The courts take on a severe burden as they thus extend interpretation of our fundamental law in a society rendered more complex in its instrumentalities and relations by the manifold applications of science [and technology] to daily affairs."¹⁸⁰ The progressive Justices understand that "we the living, who control the destiny of America today, are the heirs of a great inheritance"—the principles in the Constitution that have allowed our country to become the greatest in history—and if we are to preserve that inheritance, we must adapt them to a changing world so they can remain effective over time, achieve the goals in the Preamble for ourselves and future generations, and ensure the country will long endure.¹⁸¹ If the interpretation of the law does not adapt to a changing world, then the law will become increasingly inadequate for the times, prevent change in society, and slow the progress of the country.

The other Justices are conservative and think the interpretation of the law should not change over time. They believe a law should be interpreted according what the people who wrote it intended it to mean and according to the circumstances of their time. Consequently, they believe the Court should always limit their interpretation to the ideas of the past, to that which is "deeply rooted in this Nation's history and tradition," and they should never adapt the meaning of the law to the changing circumstances of the present.¹⁸² They think that if the American people want to change the meaning of the law, then they must amend the Constitution. However, constitutional amendments are supposed to be rare and for significant changes to the basic structure of the country, not frequent changes to broad parts of the law, which is why the process of amending the Constitution was made to be difficult. Moreover, the idea of discovering and applying the "original meaning" of the law is usually impossible. There is not always evidence of what the writers of a law intended it to mean, and most laws are made through a compromise between numerous people who have various goals and intentions, so there is not a single "original meaning" the Justices could discover and apply. Moreover, even if there is a clearly identifiable original meaning, the writers of the law could not have predicted the future and how the application of the law might be inadequate in different circumstances and therefore require

¹⁸⁰ Modern Arms & Free Men, Vannevar Bush, 215

¹⁸¹ The Ideas of Henry Luce, John K. Jessup, 105

¹⁸² Moore v. City of East Cleveland, 431 U.S. 494, 503 (1977)

reinterpretation. In addition to trying to preserve the original meaning of law, the conservative Justices are also afraid that changing the meaning of the law will destroy the great principles of the past and cause instability and chaos the country. They are also concerned that allowing themselves to reinterpret the law would mean they could interpret it according to their personal political beliefs, rather than some higher, neutral, and pure method of thinking. However, as a President said, the Justices are "as honest as other [people] and not more so. They have, with others, the same passions for party [and] power....Their power is the more dangerous as they are in office for life, and not responsible, as the other functionaries are, to the elective control."¹⁸³ Since the Justices of the Supreme Court are human, even the conservative Justices will often interpret the law according to their personal political beliefs—as we have increasingly seen them do. Moreover, despite all of this, the conservative Justices ignore the many warnings from writers of the Constitution themselves, in addition to previous Justices and leaders of the country, to not prevent the adaptation of the law to a changing world.

As mentioned, the writers of the Constitution intended the Justices of the Supreme Court to adapt their interpretation of the Constitution. They "ordained and established the Constitution" not for themselves alone, but also for "Posterity." Indeed, the first Chief Justice of the Supreme Court wrote that the Constitution is "intended to endure for ages to come, and consequently, [must] be adapted to the various crises of human affairs."¹⁸⁴ Many other Justices and leaders in the past have also warned the Supreme Court to not become rigid in its interpretation of the law. If the Justices did not adapt the law, then it would become, in the words of a Chief Justice, "shackled to the political theory of a particular era" and the country would be controlled, as President said, by the "dead hand of the past."¹⁸⁵ They warned, as the Father of the American Revolution wrote, against the "irrationality of allowing one generation to make political arrangements in perpetuity, leaving the living tied to the [decisions] of their ancestors."¹⁸⁶ Instead, they believed that, as a President said, the "Earth belongs always to the living generation...the dead have neither powers nor rights over it."¹⁸⁷ Therefore, as a Justice wrote, "the ultimate question must be, what do the words of the text mean in our time. For the genius of the Constitution rests not in any static meaning [which] it might have had in a world that is dead and gone, but in the adaptability of its great principles to cope with current problems and current needs."¹⁸⁸ Moreover, as President wrote,

I am certainly not an advocate for frequent & untried changes in laws and constitutions....But I know also that laws and institutions must go hand in hand with the progress of the human mind. As that becomes more developed, more enlightened, as new discoveries are made, new truths disclosed, and manners and

¹⁸³ Speech at Springfield, Abraham Lincoln, July 15, 1858

¹⁸⁴ *McCulloch v. Maryland*, 17 U.S. 316, 415 (1819).

¹⁸⁵ *Harper v. Virginia State Bd. of Elections*, 383 U.S. 663, 669 (1966); Letter to James Madison, Thomas Jefferson, September 6, 1789

¹⁸⁶ *Common Sense*, Thomas Paine

¹⁸⁷ Letter to James Madison, Thomas Jefferson, September 6, 1789

¹⁸⁸ Speech at the Text and Teaching Symposium, William Brennan Jr., October 12, 1985

opinions change with the change of circumstances, institutions must advance also, and keep pace with the times.¹⁸⁹

If the Justices of the Supreme Court do not adapt the Constitution to the changing world, then the Supreme Court itself will become ineffective and the Government as a whole will be less able to achieve the goals in the Preamble of the Constitution.

Since the Conservative Revolution, the number of conservative Justices on the Supreme Court has increased and they are now the majority, even though half of them were appointed by Presidents who were elected by a minority of the American people. At the same time, the American people have looked to the Supreme Court to do what Congress could not, but have become increasingly disappointed because "the Court has...been doing its own work badly, and creating confusion in the body of precedent upon which the orderly process of law depends."¹⁹⁰ Although the intentions of conservative Justices may be pure, many of their decisions have not been in accordance with the will and interests of the majority of the American people. Because of this, we are losing our faith and trust in the Supreme Court to effectively interpret the laws of the country for the good of the country, and consequently, the country "has outgrown our present judicial system."¹⁹¹

Overall, by depending on a small group of people on the Supreme Court, half of whom were appointed by Presidents who were elected by a minority of the people, we have allowed a minority to govern the majority in all three branches of the Government. And yet, a minority is also governing the majority outside of the Government, and they are doing so by abusing certain laws which allow individuals to obstruct the work of both the Government and the American people.

OUTSIDE OF THE GOVERNMENT

How did the greatest country on the planet Earth become so dysfunctional? "We did it to ourselves. We enacted laws that privilege the status quo at the expense of change and progress."¹⁹² The work of the Government is inherently slow. A law must be proposed by someone who must also spend time getting elected. The elected member must then spend time researching and writing the proposed law. They must then persuade a majority of their colleagues to pass the law. After a law is passed, it must then be enforced by the bureaucracy, who must review and prepare before it finally enforces the law. All of this takes time, which means that progress through the Government is slow, but the slowness of change is compensated by the size of the change once it is accomplished because the Government is the most powerful thing in society. However, if the laws of the country make it harder for the Government to do work and build things in the country, then there will be less work, less building, and less progress and prosperity. If the country cannot be changed through work, then it will remain the same,

¹⁸⁹ Letter to Samuel Kercheval, Thomas Jefferson, July 12, 1816

¹⁹⁰ Pieces of the Action, Vannevar Bush & Ben Reinhardt, 41

¹⁹¹ First Annual Message, Abraham Lincoln, December 3, 1861

¹⁹² We Need to Build Our Way Out of This Mess, Eli Dourado, August 11, 2021

become stagnant, and decay. And yet, that is exactly what we have done: we have passed laws that make doing work and building things in the country more difficult, more costly, and more time-consuming. An example of this kind of law is one that was passed at the beginning of the Conservative Revolution: the National Environmental Policy Act (NEPA) of 1970.

The National Environmental Policy Act requires that, before the Government can take any action in the country, it must extensively review the potential impacts that the proposed action might have on the natural environment and then write a detailed statement about those potential impacts before it can decide whether or not to do the proposed action. Moreover, any companies that become associated with the Government in any way, like requiring a permit or receiving funding, which is often, must also comply with the NEPA. The law also allows people, even one person, to file a lawsuit against the Government or a company if they think the requirements of the NEPA have not been adequately complied with, which causes further delays and increase the costs the proposed work. Because of this, a minority of people, even one person, can restrict the ability of the Government and the American people to do work and build things in the country by making it more difficult, more costly, and more time-consuming do so. Moreover, laws like the NEPA disincentivize the Government and companies from doing work and building things in the first place. If the Government cannot do work in the country, then it cannot fulfill its responsibilities in society and provide for the general welfare of the people. As a result, laws like the NEPA are causing more harm than good because, if we cannot do work, then we cannot advance our progress, improve our lives, and, most importantly, physically build a better country: we cannot deploy new technologies across society, diversify our sources of energy, build more homes, grow our businesses and cities, and improve the basic infrastructure of the country. Although we must protect the natural environment, we must also provide for the general welfare of the people, and neither should not be sacrificed for the other. And yet, a minority of people across the country are doing exactly that: they are abusing laws like the NEPA and making the Government ineffective, in addition to restricting the ability and freedom of the American people to do as they choose in society and the economy.

These are the major obstacles to good government both within the three branches of the Government and outside of the Government through the abuse of certain laws. However, even if these obstacles did not exist and the Government was willing to act, it would still remain ineffective because the bureaucracy—the agencies that actually implement the law and physically do the work of the Government—lacks the ability to do so.

THE BUREAUCRACY

The bureaucracy is something that we love to hate, but need to survive: it collects taxes, distributes money, supervises elections, supports scientific research and technological invention, defends against monopolies, prevents overly risky financial activity, assists after natural disasters, administers the justice system, organizes the police, regulates dangerous products and chemicals, protects the water we drink and the air we breathe, and many—many—other important things. The Government could neither function nor fulfill its responsibilities in society

without the bureaucracy. However, after the Conservative Revolution, in an effort to reduce the size of the Government, the American people outsourced much of the work of the bureaucracy to private companies and charities. Regardless of the Government's necessary role and responsibilities in society and its unique ability to do what others cannot, we weakened the bureaucracy and depended on companies and charities to provide for our general welfare, both of whom either lack the resources to effectively do so or increase the cost of the work because they seek profit, which the Government must ultimately pay for anyways. Because of this, the bureaucracy is spending our money wastefully because it lacks the ability to spend it effectively. And yet, even if we did not outsource the work of the Government, the bureaucracy would still lack the ability to effectively spend our money and fulfill its responsibilities because the bureaucracy itself has been weakened.

Since the Conservative Revolution, we have decreased the share of the budget that we spend for many agencies in the bureaucracy and limited the number of people who can work for them. Because of a lack of funding, agencies lack the resources to fulfill their responsibilities and also cannot pay their employees as much as private companies, and therefore cannot compete with them to attract the best and most talented people. Moreover, since many people were persuaded that the Government itself was bad, they were therefore dissuaded from wanting to work for it. Although the responsibilities of the Government have grown as the economy grows and society becomes more complex, the number of employees in the bureaucracy has remained the same—and the quality of employees has decreased. Without knowledgeable, intelligent, and skilled people in the bureaucracy, the Government will become ineffective and waste our money—and the belief that the Government itself is bad will become a self-fulfilling prophecy. Today, the bureaucracy “is not adequately staffed to accomplish the many tasks for which government is now responsible. The ability to translate words into action, to move from [laws] on paper to effective [action] on the ground, hinges on having the right people in place to plan, direct, supervise, coordinate, and execute. And that is precisely what we lack at present.”¹⁹³ However, to “compensate for the growing gap between workforce and workload, the [Government] has increasingly been forced to rely on...contractors and [charities] to carry out the laws of the land” and in many agencies of the bureaucracy, there are more contractors than employees.¹⁹⁴ As a result, we are giving more money to contractors than we would have needed to give to employees of the bureaucracy even though contractors are less able to effectively and unwastefully do the work they were contracted to do because they seek profit and lack the power and resources of the Government—and they are also not accountable to the people to do their work efficiently, effectively, and unwastefully. If the bureaucracy is weak, then the Government will be unable to fulfill its responsibilities, and if the Government is unable to fulfill its responsibilities, then our country will become worse.

And yet, even if none of the above was true— if the President was elected by a majority of the people, if Congress could pass laws, if the Supreme Court adapted the law to a changing

¹⁹³ State Capacity: What Is It, How We Lost It, And How to Get It Back, Brink Lindsey, November 18, 2021, 8

¹⁹⁴ *Id.*

world, and if the bureaucracy had the ability to do its work—the Government would still be ineffective because our budget for the country has become increasingly wasteful and unproductive.

THE BUDGET

For decades, the budget of the country has been dramatically growing, but the Government has failed to collect sufficient taxes to pay for it, so the national debt has also dramatically grown. A growing national debt means that we must spend increasingly more on repaying it over time and increasingly less on everything else in the budget. However, even if the Government had collected sufficient taxes and the national debt did not grow, the budget would still be ineffective because we have allowed the cost of a two programs, Social Security and Medicare, which pay for the retirement and health insurance of the elderly, to grow at the expense of everything else in the budget—everything else that supports the general welfare of the people, the progress of the country, and the future of the world.

Since the Conservative Revolution, the Government has failed to wisely, efficiently, and productively spend the money that we give it through taxation. The Government has increased the budget for the country, but has failed to collect sufficient taxes to pay for it, and so it has rapidly grown the national debt and created a worsening burden on the country, especially for future generations.

What is the budget of the United States of America? After decades of increasing taxes, spending, and debt, we now pay around \$5 trillion in taxes, spend around \$6 trillion on the defense, maintenance, and improvement of the country, and have accumulated a national debt of around \$35 trillion. Meanwhile, the total value of our economy has grown to around \$30 trillion and the total value of wealth held by the American people is around \$150 trillion. We should not be afraid of big numbers. In fact, we should seek for them to become bigger, since a bigger economy would mean more wealth and a better life for more people, who could then have a greater ability to pursue their own happiness, advance our progress, and invest in the future. As the economy grows and society becomes more complex—as we advance our progress, improve our lives, and build a better country—the Government will need to grow along with them, as will its budget. However, as the budget grows, the Government must also ensure that it spends the budget wisely, effectively, and unwastefully, as an investment to grow the economy and create more value for society over time. Today, however, the Government is failing to do these things.

Around half of the budget is spent on the defense of the country and the support of the elderly (Social Security and Medicare), though we spend far more on the support of the elderly than any other program. If we are to change the budget so the Government has more resources to provide for the progress of the country and the general welfare of the people—such as science and technology, economic growth, childcare, healthcare, homes, education, infrastructure, transportation, space exploration, etc.—let alone invest more in the young than it does today, then we must we change how we fund either the defense of our country or the support of the elderly, both of which are necessary. However, since the Conservative Revolution, we have been

decreasing the share of the budget that we spend on defense and, in the face of rising tyranny and war in the world and the necessity of greater world leadership, we must spend more on defense in the years ahead if we are to protect the peace of the world and the future of our country, as I will explain in the "Defense" section. So, we cannot decrease the amount we spend on defense, which means we must reform how we fund the support of the elderly.

For decades, the Government has failed to reform Social Security and Medicare so it can sustainably support the elderly for all generations throughout the future. Most of the money the Government spends in the budget is an investment, which means the it contributes to the economic growth of the country and creates more wealth for the future. However, the increasingly large amount of money that we spend on the retirement of the elderly is not an investment, does not contribute to economic growth, and does not create more wealth for the future. Social Security rightfully prevents the elderly from falling into poverty when they are unable to work and provide for themselves, but it does not create value for the country in the same way that other government programs do because the elderly are no longer working and creating value for the economy and are instead using their time and money to enjoy the rest of their lives after working for most of their lives. So, since the money we spend on the elderly does not pay for itself as an investment, the growing cost of Social Security and Medicare, along with the failure to collect sufficient taxes to pay for them, means the Government must either increase the budget by accumulating more debt or reduce the amount of money it spends on everything else in the budget if it is to continue paying for the support of the elderly.

The existence of Social Security and Medicare themselves are not the problem. They are good for the country and necessary for the general welfare of the people, specifically the elderly. The problem is that their current state is unsustainable. Why? Let us review how they work.

The workers of today pay for the retirement and health insurance of the elderly of today. In the past, the working population was large enough that the Government collected more money than was required to pay for the elderly population. The Government invested the extra money so it could grow over time and be used in the future whenever the taxes from the working population were insufficient to pay for the elderly population. However, as I have mentioned before, less people have been having less children for decades. This means that, under the current system of Social Security and Medicare, there will be a decreasing number of workers to pay for an increasing number of the elderly. With less workers, there will be less taxes, and with less taxes, the Government will need to use more of the extra money that was invested in the past, which it has increasingly been doing. In the next decade, there will be no extra money left, so the Government will be forced to accumulate more debt to pay for Social Security and Medicare and the support of the elderly will increasingly become the largest part of our budget—more than everything else combined—and will therefore come at the expense of everything else. Since the Government must support the elderly, it will be unable to fulfill all of its other responsibilities in society, let alone spend more on the young, invest in the future, and advance the progress of the country.

Social Security was created in 1935. At the time, the average length of life in America was around 60 years old. Today, because of advances in medical knowledge and technology, the average length of life is around 80 years old. In 1935, there were forty workers to pay for one retiree. Today, because less people having been having less children, there are only three workers to pay for one retiree. Not only are there a decreasing number of workers to pay for an increasing number of retirees, the length of retirement itself has become longer, so retirees require support through Social Security for a longer amount of time. Moreover, since the elderly generally require more healthcare than younger people, and since the cost of healthcare in the country has been rising for decades, the cost of Medicare—the program which provides health insurance to the elderly—has also risen, and will continue to rise if costs are not reduced in the years ahead, which I will discuss in the "Science, Technology, and Economic Growth" section. All of this means that the basic assumptions that existed when Social Security and Medicare were created no longer apply. Overall, the current system for the support of the elderly is unsustainable and will create a major crisis in the near future if we do not reform it soon.

Given all of this, is our budget for the country being spent wisely? Are we spending our money on our goals and values? As a President said, “Don’t tell me what you value. Show me your budget and I’ll tell you what you value.”¹⁹⁵ Increasingly, our budget has put a “higher priority on taking care of the elderly than taking care of young families. Americans over 65 receive universal health insurance (Medicare), and most receive a regular government check (Social Security). Many children, by contrast, live in poverty. Relative to other [wealthy] countries, the U.S. spend a notably small share of its budget on children.”¹⁹⁶ Since the Conservative Revolution, the Government has been spending increasingly more money on the support of the elderly at the expense of the general welfare of all generations and the future of the country. As a result, the Government is ineffective.

In summary, the United States of America has bad government because the three branches of the Government, the agencies of the bureaucracy, and the budget of the country are ineffective. Our leaders have grown older while our institutions have decayed, the President is not always elected by the majority of the American people, Congress cannot pass the laws that we need to advance our progress, improve our lives, and build a better country, the Supreme Court is not adapting the law to a changing world nor interpreting it according to interests of the majority of the American people, the bureaucracy is unable to do its work, and the budget is increasingly wasteful and unproductive.

THE PLAN

What must we do? We must reform the Government so we can achieve good government in this century. However, since we are a democracy, to change the Government, we must first change ourselves.

¹⁹⁵ Remarks Announcing the Fiscal Year 2023 Budget, Joe Biden, March 28, 2022

¹⁹⁶ The Baby Formula Crisis, David Leonhardt, The New York Times, May 13, 2022

I have already discussed why we must abandon the conservative spirit and embrace the spirit of progress and why we must pursue a new dream for the future. What else must we do? We must come together, be willing to cooperate despite our different ideas and beliefs for the good of the country, and have the faith and trust in each other to fulfill the promise of our freedom with the power and possibilities of democracy—by working together through the Government. If we can do these things, then we can solve our problems and have a Government with “sufficient powers to manage an ascendant American nation.”¹⁹⁷ In this century, we can not only have good government, but a great one, one that is powerful but responsible, effective but limited, efficient but democratic, and resourceful but not wasteful.

In a democracy, the Government is us and we are the Government. In this country, the "Government" and the "American people" are the same. Therefore, a Government of the People can only work if the people are willing to work together. If we can have faith and trust in each other, then we can have faith and trust in the Government—which, as the nation of humankind, is ultimately an expression of our belief in humankind. Our goal and guiding principle in this century must be good government. Sometimes that will require more government, sometimes less; sometimes higher taxes, sometimes lower; sometimes more laws, sometimes less. Democrats tend to focus on the former—more government, higher taxes, and more laws—to ensure that we work together to fulfill the promise and responsibilities of our freedom, provide for the defense and general welfare of the people, and advance the progress of the country. Republicans tend to focus on the latter—less taxes, lower taxes, and less laws—to ensure that we protect our freedom and the ability of individuals to pursue their own happiness in their own way. However, despite these different beliefs, the American people must always ensure that, one way or another, the political parties ultimately work together so the public business can move forward. When faced with the failures of a “phantom general government” under the Articles of Confederation after the American Revolution, the American people were divided and their experiment in democracy was failing because of the Government was too weak and ineffective to fulfill its responsibilities in the country. However, they were compelled to action by the crisis. Despite their different ideas and beliefs, they came together to reform the Government and create a more perfect country, to give themselves, as the leaders of the Founding Generation said, powers that were “adequate to the exigencies of the Union.”¹⁹⁸ So it is again and so it is for us today.

As we reform the Government, we must focus on fixing the mistakes of the past and ensure that the Government has sufficient power to fulfill its responsibilities in society and uses its power according to the will of the majority of the American people. In that pursuit, we must reform the three branches, the bureaucracy, and the budget of the Government. This will require passing new laws through Congress and adding new amendments to the Constitution, the latter of which will be more difficult, since amending the Constitution requires a supermajority of votes: two-thirds in both the House and the Senate and then three-fourths of the States.

¹⁹⁷ The Quartet: Orchestrating the Second American Revolution, Joseph Ellis, 71

¹⁹⁸ Federalist No. 41, James Madison; Federalist No. 40, Alexander Hamilton

Before I discuss how we can reform the Government, I must first explain why we should not be afraid of amending the Constitution, as many people are—especially those with a conservative spirit. Since the founding of our country all those years ago, the American people have regularly amended the Constitution. They did so to adapt the country to a changing world and ensure that the Government could remain effective by giving it sufficient power to fulfill its responsibilities in society, especially as they learned from their mistakes and as both society and the economy grew and became more complex over time. The greatest periods of constitutional experimentation and improvement in American history happened after a crisis: the Revolution, the Civil War, the Gilded Age, the Great Depression, and the World Wars. The American people changed the basic structure of the country in the pursuit of a more perfect country: they protected our freedoms and limited the Government; established the due process of the law and ensured the equal protection of it; abolished the enslavement of people and guaranteed their equality; and increased the resources of the Government to expand the possibilities of democracy. We once even had the will to amend the Constitution to ban alcohol and then shortly afterwards amend it again to undo that mistake. However, we have not amended the Constitution in decades. Is our country perfect? No, yet we have not improved the basic structure of the country in a long time, it has since decayed, and now we are in a crisis. Will we wait until the Government becomes worse? Will the crisis of today compel us to action like it has for the generations of the past? If we are still unwilling to amend the Constitution, then let us heed the advice of those who created the Constitution.

“Having in mind an enduring Union, the framers of the Constitution realized that conferring general powers upon Congress might not make it competent to cope with all the problems of coming times, with formidable changes that might occur in the ideas and interests of the American people. Radical alterations might be necessary in the form and powers of the proposed government....In recognition of this fact the framers made provision for amending the Constitution.”¹⁹⁹ Benjamin Franklin, a member of the Founding Generation and Constitutional Convention, thought they had “designed the framework for a government that assumed human imperfection.”²⁰⁰ James Wilson, another member of the Foundation Generation and later a Justice of the Supreme Court, wrote that “if there are errors [in the Constitution], it should be remembered that the seeds of reformation are sown in the work itself.”²⁰¹ Gouverneur Morris, a member of the Constitutional Convention and the writer of the Preamble of the Constitution, wrote that “surrounded by difficulties, we did the best we could; leaving it with those who should come after us to take counsel from experience, and exercise prudently the power of amendment, which we had provided.”²⁰² Similarly, George Washington thought “the Constitution was about as good as could be expected and the people [should leave] to the future the making of corrections by amendment.”²⁰³ Thomas Jefferson wrote that “some [people] look at Constitutions

¹⁹⁹ The Beards' New Basic History of the United States, Charles & Mary Beard, 136

²⁰⁰ The Quartet: Orchestrating the Second American Revolution, Joseph Ellis, 153

²⁰¹ Speech at a Public Meeting in Philadelphia, James Wilson, October 6, 1787

²⁰² Letter to W.H. Wells, Gouverneur Morris, February 24, 1815

²⁰³ The Beards' New Basic History of the United States, Charles & Mary Beard, 136

with sanctimonious reverence, & deem them...too sacred to be touched. They ascribe to the men of the preceding age a wisdom more than human, and suppose what they did to be beyond amendment. I knew that age well: I belonged to it and labored with it....But I know also that laws and institutions must...change with the change of circumstances, institutions must advance also, and keep pace with the times."²⁰⁴ Overall, the Founding Generation knew that the “Constitution they had created was imperfect and...assumed that future generations would fix their mistakes and regularly adapt the document to changing times.”²⁰⁵ What does this mean for us? As Thomas Paine wrote, "We have every opportunity and every encouragement before us, to form the noblest purest constitution on the face of the Earth."²⁰⁶ We must not fear changing the Constitution. We must embrace it. The world has changed and we must change with it. The generations of the past amended the Constitution and brought us this far. We must now do so again so we can preserve our country and bring it further. In that pursuit, we must amend the Constitution to improve the three branches of the Government, along with other changes that do not require amending the Constitution.

To improve the Executive Branch, we must amend the Constitution to remove the Electoral College from the country. The reasons for which the Electoral College was created no longer exist. As long it remains, it will allow a minority of people in the country to choose the President rather than the majority of the American people. This is not only wrong and undemocratic, it also causes division and disappointment among us. The American people should elect the leader of America, not a minority among the States. For the House of Representatives, every person in a district has an equal vote. For the Senate, every person in a State has an equal vote. For the President, every person in the country should have an equal vote. Let New Yorkers and Texans and Californians choose their Mayors and Governors and Representatives, but let Americans choose their President. That way, the President can represent the majority of the American people. That way, the Government can become effective.

To improve the Legislative Branch, we must reform both chambers of Congress: the House of Representatives and the Senate. “Congress has yielded its influence to both a powerful executive and an unaccountable judiciary.”²⁰⁷ In the face of this, we must restore Congress to its role as the supreme lawmaker of the land with the responsibility of providing for the general welfare of the people and advancing the progress of the country.

To improve the House of Representatives, we must amend the Constitution to increase the length of the terms for Representatives from two years to three years. This is not a new idea. In fact, it was proposed by James Madison, who wrote the Constitution, during the Constitutional Convention in 1776. The two-year terms for the members of the House of Representatives are shorter than the six-year terms for the members of the Senate, and for good reason. The shorter terms for Representatives was meant to promote short-term thinking, rapid change, and the

²⁰⁴ Letter to Samuel Kercheval, Thomas Jefferson, July 12, 1816

²⁰⁵ Will We Ever Amend the Constitution Again?, Jesse Wegman, The New York Times, August 4, 2021

²⁰⁶ Common Sense, Thomas Paine

²⁰⁷ Constitutional Change Will Be Here Sooner Than You Think, Jamelle Bouie, The New York Times, November 2, 2021

active use of power for the interests of the present. In contrast, the longer terms for Senators was meant to promote long-term thinking, stability, and the patient use of power for interests of the future. Together, the House and the Senate were meant to balance each other: between the short-term and the long-term, rapid change and stability, the use of power and the limits of power, the present and the future. However, circumstances have changed and the balance has become unbalanced. Campaigns for office are now longer and more expensive and social media is causing Representatives to focus on how their actions in Congress will affect their campaigns for reelection, so they are spending more time on campaigning rather than governing. The two-year terms of Representatives are too short, so let us extend them three. That way, Representatives can have more time to focus on making laws and improving the country, but still serve for a short enough time that they reflect the changing interests of the people. That way, the Government can become effective.

To improve the Senate, we must reform the filibuster by changing the rules of the Senate, which only requires a simple majority in the Senate. As long as the filibuster remains in its current state, a minority of people, even one person, will be able to obstruct and govern the majority of us and prevent Congress from passing the laws that we need to advance our progress, improve our lives, and build a better country. The filibuster has no basis in original design of the Constitution. The requirement of a supermajority of votes was intended for rare and extraordinary actions such as the impeachment of a President, the expulsion of a member of Congress, or amending the Constitution, not for the normal business of Congress—not for the passage of all laws. We do not need to remove the filibuster, we need only reform it. Instead of allowing a minority of Senators to obstruct the majority by requiring a supermajority of 60 Senators to end the debate about a law, we can instead require that 40 Senators must vote in favor of continuing the debate and the obstruction of the work of the Senate.²⁰⁸ "If at any time the minority cannot muster 40 votes, the debate ends...and the [law] can be passed by the votes of a simple majority."²⁰⁹ That way, the majority of the American people can govern themselves, the Senate can function and pass laws, and the minority can still effectively oppose the majority in rare and extraordinary circumstances about significant issues without making the Government as a whole ineffective. The debate between political parties debate and their competition for power is good, but they cannot come at the expense of the country. If a political party does not have a supermajority in Congress, then cooperation is the only way to pass laws. We cannot let the majority abuse the minority, but we also cannot let the minority control the majority. Both the majority and the minority must ultimately work together for the good of the country. "A vital element in the balanced operation of democracy is a strong, alert and watchful opposition....Let us not, therefore, fall into the partisan error of opposing things just for the sake of opposition. Ours must not be an opposition against—it must be an opposition for—an opposition for a strong America, a productive America. For only the productive can be strong and only the strong can be

²⁰⁸ The Smart Way to Fix the Filibuster, Norm Ornstein, The Atlantic, September 3, 2020

²⁰⁹ *Id.*

free."²¹⁰ Moreover, by reforming the filibuster, our leaders would be able to pass the laws that we elect them to pass and experiment with new ideas. That way, we could learn what works and what does not, improve the competition between the political parties, and hold our leaders accountable for their ideas and actions. That way, the Senate can become effective.

After we reform the filibuster and restore the ability of Congress to pass laws, we must also change our approach to lawmaking itself. Instead of an increasing number of megalaws, we must—like our approach to the Government itself—seek not more or less laws, not bigger or smaller laws, but good laws. We must regularly create new laws, improve existing ones, and remove bad ones. Today, the size of the law itself has become so large and inefficient that it is burdening both the Government and the American people. Doing work and building things in the country are already hard enough, but today, bad laws are making them more difficult, more costly, and more time-consuming. If we are to build a better country in this century, then we must be able to do so efficiently, effectively, and un wastefully, which requires the removal of the burden of bad laws. Moreover, although we must reduce the size of the law today, we must not be afraid of the large size of the law going forward. A bigger and more complex society requires a bigger and more complex government. Laws that are too complex can obstruct the ability to do work and build things, and yet, complex laws can also be good, since the Government must regulate an increasingly complex society and economy over time. So, the law must be a balance of both: large and complex enough to be useful, but not so large and complex that it becomes a burden or an obstacle. That way, the Legislative Branch can create and shape a better country. That way, the Government can become effective.

To improve the Judicial Branch, we must reform the Supreme Court. We cannot, and should not, try to force the Justices to think a certain way. However, we can make two amendments to the Constitution that will encourage the Justices to adapt the law to a changing world and interpret it according to the interests of the majority of the American people. First, since the Justices of the Supreme Court are the only members of the Government to serve for life, let us limit their terms. The lifelong term for Justices was created for a good reason: to insulate them from the rapid changes of society so they could preserve stability of the law. However, as the current Chief Justice of the Supreme Court, who is also a conservative Justice, said, the members of the Constitutional Convention “adopted life tenure at a time when people simply did not live as long as they do now. A judge insulated from the normal currents of life for twenty-five or thirty years was a rarity then, but is becoming commonplace today. Setting a term of, say, fifteen years would ensure that [the Justices] would not lose all touch with reality through decades of ivory tower existence. It would also provide a more regular and greater degree of turnover among the [Justices].”²¹¹ We can debate how long the term of the Justices should be, but if we choose to limit the terms of the Justice to 18 years and do so in a certain way, then each President could appoint a new Justice to the Supreme Court every two years.²¹²

²¹⁰ Post-Election Radio Address to the Nation, Wendell Willkie, November 11, 1940

²¹¹ Memorandum for Fred F. Fielding, John Roberts, October 3, 1983

²¹² Why the Past 10 Years of American Life Have Been Uniquely Stupid, Jonathan Haidt, The Atlantic, April 11, 2022

By doing so, we could ensure that the Justices adapt the law to a changing world and interpret it according to the interests of the majority of the American people. Moreover, in addition to limiting their terms, we must also change the way that Justices of the Supreme Court are confirmed by Congress. Currently, the President proposes a Justice and they must then be confirmed by a simple majority in the Senate. So, let us amend the Constitution to require a supermajority of Senators to confirm a Justice, rather than a simple majority. That way, since Senators must confirm Justices so the Supreme Court can function, we can ensure that the appointment of a Justice is not motivated by certain political beliefs and the Supreme Court represent the interests of the majority of the American people. That way, the Government can become effective.

So, this is how we can reform the three branches of the Government to make them effective. However, there is still more for us to do. We must also reform the bureaucracy and the budget of the country.

To improve the bureaucracy, we must provide it with sufficient power, resources, and people to do the work of the Government and fulfill its responsibilities in society. To achieve this, we must do several things.

First, we must return the work and responsibilities of the bureaucracy to the bureaucracy itself and stop outsourcing them to companies and charities. The Government has a unique ability to do what others cannot. As long as we continue to depend on companies and charities to do the work of the bureaucracy, both of which either lack the resources to do the work or increases the cost of the work because they seek profit, the bureaucracy will be unable to efficiently, effectively, and unwastefully do what we need it to do. In that pursuit, we must remove the laws that restrict the number of employees in the bureaucracy. Such restrictions force the agencies of the bureaucracy to outsource their work to others because they do not have enough employees to do it themselves. As long as these restrictions remain, we will weaken the bureaucracy that we love to hate, but need to survive.

Second, we must increase our funding for the bureaucracy so it has the resources to do its work, fulfill its responsibilities, and provide for the general welfare of the country. As mentioned, we have decreased our funding for the bureaucracy as a share of the budget since the Conservative Revolution. At the same time, we outsourced much of its work, which means the bureaucracy must use more of its decreasing resources to pay for the increasing costs of outsourced work and therefore have even less resources to pay for the remaining work it does itself. Moreover, without sufficient funding, the bureaucracy cannot compete with private companies to offer higher salaries to potential employees, which means less of the best people in the country will work for the Government, which further reduces its effectiveness.

As society grows and becomes more complex, a vast and capable bureaucracy is necessary if the Government is to adapt to a changing world and continue to provide for the general welfare of the people. We want the best doctors to give us medical treatment, the best pilots fly our planes, the best builders to build our homes and cities, the best generals to

command our military, and the best executives to run our businesses. Why do we not want the best people to work in the Government? If the bureaucracy is to do its work to the best of its ability, then it must be filled with the best people in the country—the ones with the most intelligence, knowledge, skills, and experience. Without them, there will be bad government. A "country without a vibrant public service culture cannot thrive, especially [today] when competing with countries with effectively mandatory public service...such as China."²¹³ Democracy is only as strong as the people who participate, and the Government is only as good as the people who work for it. We cannot attract the best people in the country to work for the Government if private companies can offer significantly higher salaries to them than the bureaucracy. Therefore, we must provide the bureaucracy with sufficient funding so it can attract the best people in the country with more competitive salaries. As a member of the Founding Generation wrote, it is "essential to the prosperous course of every Government that it shall be able to command the services of its most able & most virtuous citizens of every class, [therefore] the compensations which our Government allows ought to be revised & materially increased. The character & success of [the] Government appear absolutely to depend on this policy."²¹⁴ We do not need to raise salaries so they are equal to those offered by the wealthiest companies, although doing so would significantly improve the quality of the bureaucracy. Instead, we need only make them more competitive than they are today. Moreover, we can supplement the relatively lower salaries of employees in the bureaucracy by offering them an exciting mission and a greater purpose in the service of our country. To do so, we must all come to believe the truth that working in the public sector is equal to the private sector in its potential and ability for individuals to advance our progress, improve our lives, and build a better world—and also that, by working in the Government of the United States of America, they can not only do great things for their own country, but also the world.

Since the Conservative Revolution, many of us have become persuaded that the Government itself is bad and therefore working in the Government is not a meaningful, productive, or exciting way to spend our precious time in life. This caused the best people in the country to go elsewhere. I have said before that we must abandon our belief that the Government itself is bad and understand that it is necessary and we can make it better if we choose it and then do the hard work to achieve it. As a President said, "Let the public service be a proud and lively career....And let every man and woman who works in any area of our national government, in any branch, at any level, be able to say with pride and with honor in future years: 'I served the United States government in that hour of our nation's need.'"²¹⁵ And yet, even if the bureaucracy could pay its employees more and attract better people, and even if the best people in the country were persuaded to work for the Government, the bureaucracy would still be ineffective because certain laws restrict its ability to hire and fire their employees based on their performance.

²¹³ Building American Dynamism, Katherine Boyle, Andreesen Horowitz, January 14, 2022

²¹⁴ Draft of George Washington's Eighth Annual Address to Congress, Alexander Hamilton, November 10, 1796

²¹⁵ Annual Message to the Congress on the State of the Union, John F. Kennedy, January 30, 1961

The process of hiring and firing employees of the bureaucracy is too inefficient. “Overly restrictive civil service rules on hiring, firing, and compensation now make it extremely difficult to attract and retain qualified professionals.”²¹⁶ The process is too burdensome and slow, and prevents the bureaucracy from removing bad employees based on their performance and therefore hire better people. This is also why the average age of employees in the bureaucracy is much higher than those in private companies. So, not only have our leaders in the Government become older, but also the people in the bureaucracy who implement the law and do the work of the Government. Although we must make it easier for the bureaucracy to hire and fire employees based on their performance, we should not enable the Government to be remove employees based on political reasons, especially the large number of employees who are appointed by the President. The system through which the President appoints thousands of people to the leadership of the many agencies in the bureaucracy must be reformed. “There are far too many political appointees (some 4,000), and it is far too difficult and time-consuming to [consider] and confirm them. As a result, the quality of leadership at agencies often suffers as [people] are [appointed] for partisan or ideological loyalty rather than skills and experience. And far too frequently, there is no leadership at all, as posts go vacant for months on end while replacements are [delayed] in the appointment and confirmation process.”²¹⁷ In the face of this, we must reform the appointment process so the leadership of the agencies of the bureaucracy, in addition to their employees, is stable, effective, and based on performance rather than politics. That way, we can have an effective bureaucracy. That way, the Government can become effective.

If we can reform the three branches and the bureaucracy of the Government, then the Government will be able to effectively do its work and fulfill its responsibilities in society. However, although it may have the ability to do these things, it must also use that ability to do the right things. The Government must create a budget that provides for the general welfare of ourselves and future generations and spends the money we give it through taxation in a wise, efficient, effective, and productive way. Today, our support for the elderly is the largest part of our budget for the country and will become larger in the future. Without change, it will become unsustainable in the near future and dramatically increase our national debt. Therefore, we must reform the budget of the country, along with the way we give our money to the Government.

To make the budget more effective, we must reform Social Security and Medicare so we can sustainably pay for them in the future and continue to support the elderly, but not do so at the expense of everything else in the country.

Since the Conservative Revolution, less of us have been having less children, which means there will be a decreasing number of young people compared to an increasing number of old people over time and therefore a shrinking number of workers for the Government to collect taxes from to support a growing number of retirees. At the same time, the elderly are living

²¹⁶ State Capacity: What Is It, How We Lost It, And How to Get It Back, Brink Lindsey, Niskanen Center, November 2021, 10

²¹⁷ *Id.* at 11

longer, they generally require more healthcare, and the cost of healthcare has been rising for decades, which means the Government will need to spend more to support the elderly over time and for a longer period of time. If the current state of Social Security and Medicare are not changed, then the Government will need to either raise taxes on workers or borrow more money and accumulate more debt. Because of this, the current state of Social Security and Medicare are unsustainable. Moreover, the growing cost of them is preventing us from spending money on everything else in the budget that could improve the lives of younger generations, build a better country, and invest in the future of the world.

Reforming Social Security and Medicare will perhaps be the most difficult reform of all. The vast majority of the elderly in the country depend on the support of the Government and are therefore afraid of any changes to it. Moreover, the elderly are the most active group of voters in the country, so the members of Congress will be afraid of reforming Social Security and Medicare because, if they do, then the elderly might vote them out of office, especially as the elderly population grows over time. And yet, we must reform them if our country is to survive. We can only hope that the elderly are willing to make changes for their children, grandchildren, and the future of the country. If they are, then there are several options: we can either raise taxes on workers; decrease the amount we spend to support the elderly; raise the age after which people can retire and receive support; decrease both the cost and need for healthcare through scientific and technological progress, competition in the free market, and good government in society; restrict our support for the elderly to only those who cannot afford to support themselves instead of everyone; make some other minor adjustments; or change nothing at all.

However, none of these alone, nor any combination of them, would solve the basic cause of the problem: less of us are having less children, so there will be far more old people in the country than young people and therefore less workers to pay for their retirement and health insurance. The only real solution to the problem is either to increase our population (as I will discuss in the "Population and Immigration" section) or rapidly advance our scientific and technological progress to create more wealth in society and automate more of our work to replace a decreasing number of workers (as I will explain in the "Science, Technology, and Economic Growth" section, but especially in the "Artificial Intelligence" section).

If we can increase our population in the years ahead, then we can solve the problem of Social Security and Medicare, though only in the long-term. We will still need to make some reforms in the short-term so we do not burden our children with an extreme amount of national debt. We should seek to increase our population regardless, but if we do not, then we can still solve the problem of the current state of Social Security and Medicare by accelerating our technological progress so we can replace a shrinking number of workers with artificial intelligence and robotic machines. If we can automate more of our work, then, despite a decreasing number of workers, we can maintain and even dramatically grow our economy and therefore be able to receive more taxes at the same rates from much wealthier workers, in addition to the vast amount of money that is primarily created by machines, to support the elderly—along with everything else in the budget. If we can do these things, then we can not

only continue to pay for Social Security and Medicare and sustainably support the elderly in the years ahead and throughout the future, but also have more money to sufficiently fund the rest of the budget. However, even if we reduce the cost of the most expensive programs in the budget, we will still accumulate an extreme amount of national debt and burden our children and future generations with something they cannot reasonably pay for if the Government continues to spend far more money than we give it. And so, we must also reform the tax system of the country.

First, our budget for the country does not need to be limited to the amount of taxes that we are willing to give to the Government, nor does the national debt need to be zero. As Alexander Hamilton, who was the first Secretary of the Treasury for the country, wrote, the "debt of the United States...[is] the price of liberty."²¹⁸ "[It] multiplies the amount of money in circulation, thereby giving a capitalistic economy greater productive potential."²¹⁹ By borrowing money, the Government can use that debt to invest in the future by supporting the production of more things, the creation of more wealth, and the growth of the economy faster than it could without it. With a growing economy, the Government can then receive more taxes from the people at the same rates with which it can then use to repay the debt. For these reasons, the "national debt, if it is not excessive, [is] a national blessing."²²⁰ However, if the Government borrows money but spends it wastefully and uses it in ways that do not grow the economy, and therefore prevents it from receiving more taxes at the same rates, then it will need to borrow even more money and spend an increasingly larger share of the budget to repay the debt at the expense of everything else, which would make the country worse. Of course, the Government could simply create more money, since it has the power to do so, but if it did so to repay an increasing amount of debt without growing the economy, then it would cause hyperinflation and eliminate the value of our money, which would destroy the economy and cause chaos in the country. As Alexander Hamilton said, we should use the national debt as an "invigorating principle" for the country, but also "prevent [the] progressive accumulation of debt which must ultimately endanger all government."²²¹ This is why we must "cherish [the national debt] as a means of strength and security," but also "use it as little as possible"—to "cherish what is useful and guard against its abuse."²²² Overall, the Government must seek a balance between useful debt and too much debt: it must borrow money and spend it wisely to grow the economy faster than it could otherwise, but not accumulate so much debt or spend it wastefully that it becomes an extreme burden which cannot be reasonably or sustainably repaid. How much national debt is too much? We do not know. We do not know how much national debt can be accumulated as a percentage

²¹⁸ Report Relative to a Provision for the Support of Public Credit, Alexander Hamilton, January 9, 1790

²¹⁹ The Quartet: Orchestrating the Second American Revolution, Joseph Ellis, 40

²²⁰ Report Relative to a Provision for the Support of Public Credit, Alexander Hamilton, January 9, 1790

²²¹ *Id.*

²²² Draft of George Washington's Farewell Address, Alexander Hamilton, July 30, 1796; Report on a Plan for the Further Support of Public Credit, Alexander Hamilton, January 16, 1795

of the total value of our economy before it becomes too much and causes hyperinflation.²²³ However, we should not wait to find out. So, what should we do?

In the past, the Government rapidly increased the national debt after major crises such as the Revolution, the Civil War, the Great Depression, and the World Wars, but then rapidly repaid the debt shortly afterward. Since the Conservative Revolution, however, the national debt has been generally growing for decades—though for a good reason. The world today is different than the world of the past, as is the size of our economy, as is the role of the Government. After the Second World War, our society and economy began to dramatically grow and become more complex, so the responsibilities of the Government also grew and became more complex, along with its budget and the need to borrow more money. This was good and necessary, and again, we should not be afraid of big numbers. However, the national debt is now becoming a problem: the Government has failed to collect sufficient taxes to pay for its growing budget, in addition to contributing to a lesser economy in part because it has wastefully spent the budget, both of which are increasing the national debt in an unsustainable way. I have already discussed how we can reform the budget of the country so the Government can wisely, efficiently, effectively, and productively spend our money and grow the economy, but we must also reform the way that we pay taxes.

Our freedom gives us the responsibility to maintain and improve the country, which means that we must first create a budget for the country based on what we need and want and only then figure out how to pay for it with taxes. We all want to give as little of our money to the Government as possible so we can have more money for ourselves to pursue our own happiness. However, if we do not provide the Government with sufficient resources to fulfill its responsibilities in society, then, although we may have more money for ourselves in the short-term, the Government will be unable to provide for our progress and general welfare, and our lives will therefore become worse in the long-term: our military will be weaker and we will live in a more dangerous world, the progress of our science and technology will slow down and we will not improve our lives as much as we could have, the economy will stagnate and the wealthiest few will dominate it, our education system will decline and our children will be less prepared in their lives, our infrastructure will decay and the country will crumble, etc. We can do more by working together than living alone, and for that reason, we can combine our money together through taxes to pay for the things that we otherwise could not, do what no individual or company could do alone, and yet still have money for ourselves to pursue our own happiness, though now in a better country with more opportunities to pursue our own happiness. So, in the land of the free, as a member of the Founding Generation wrote, we must be willing to accept that it is “necessary to surrender part of [our] property to furnish means for the protection [and prosperity] of the rest.”²²⁴ Through our taxes, we pay can buy a country and invest in a better

²²³ Some economists claim the national debt will become unsustainable if it is more than 175% of the total value of the economy. (When Does Federal Debt Reach Unsustainable Levels? Jagadeesh Gokhale & Kent Smetters, Penn Wharton Budget Model, Oct. 6, 2023). Currently, our national debt is around 120% of the total value of our economy.

²²⁴ Common Sense, Thomas Paine

future. In the words of a former Justice of the Supreme Court wrote, "I like to pay taxes. With them I buy civilization."²²⁵ In that pursuit, we must have a good tax system—one that is fair, effective, and can sufficiently fund our budget for the country.

After we create a good budget, we must also create a tax system so the Government can sufficiently pay for it. The goal and guiding principle of good government is that the Government should be as big as it must be and as small as it possibly can be. Likewise, the goal and guiding principle of a good tax system is that taxes should be as high as they must be and as low as they possibly can be. Taxes must be as high as they must be so the Government can sufficiently pay for the budget without accumulating too much national debt. Taxes must be as low as they can be so the American people can have more money to pursue their own happiness. However, we must also understand that if taxes are either too high or too low, they will worsen the country. If taxes are too high, then people will be less incentivized to create wealth by working hard (let alone have the means to pursue their happiness) since the Government will take away what they have earned, which would mean that the economy would stagnate and decline and the Government would be unable to collect sufficient taxes to pay for the budget and fulfill its responsibilities in society. If taxes are too low, then the Government will be unable to collect sufficient taxes and the effects of this would ultimately be the same as if taxes were too high. If taxes are either too high or too low, then the Government will either need to reduce the budget, which would worsen the country, or accumulate more debt, which would create an unsustainable burden on future generations and possibly cause hyperinflation. For these reasons, we should not raise taxes on the wealthy simply because they have more money or add to an already wasteful budget, nor should we lower taxes simply because we think the Government itself is bad and cannot wisely spend our money. With this in mind, we must determine what tax rates will allow the Government to sufficiently pay for the budget and, if we are not willing to pay for all of it (which we need not be), how much money we are willing to borrow to use as productive debt (though the debt must remain a reasonable and sustainable amount). In addition to this, we must also ensure that tax rates are fairly distributed among the American people.

If the American people are to combine their money to provide sufficient resources to the Government, then the tax system must be fair. The sources of taxes are from: the income of individuals (around 50%), the payments for Social Security and Medicare (around 30%), the profit of corporations (around 10%), and a few smaller sources (around 10%). Currently, around 50% of the American people do not pay taxes from their income, but still pay taxes for Social Security and Medicare and a few other things. This may seem unfair, however, they do not pay taxes from their income because they either are in retirement and therefore no longer work or are working but do not earn enough to be able to pay the income tax and still afford the basic cost of living for themselves and their families. Therefore, if we can reduce the cost of living for childcare, education, healthcare, and homes and raise the median income of the country (as I will discuss in the "Population and Immigration," "Education" and "Science, Technology, and Economic Growth" sections), then there will be more people who can pay more taxes from their

²²⁵ Oliver Wendell Holmes, Jr.

incomes and we can consequently reduce taxes for everyone. Until then, for the people who can afford to pay taxes from their income, what is a fair way to do so?

In a free market, there is equal opportunity for people to work hard and earn wealth for themselves to pursue their own happiness, but there are inevitably different levels of wealth among them because they choose different careers with different salaries, have different goals for their lives, and have different skills and willingness to take risk, be creative, and work hard. So, since there are the different levels of wealth in the country, and if we are to sufficiently pay for the budget, the burden of taxation must be fairly divided among the people according to the proportion of their income. This is known as a progressive tax system: as people become richer and wealthier, they pay more taxes. Why is this fair? The richest and wealthiest people gained their wealth mostly because they took risks, were creative, and did the hard work to earn it (along with creating wealth, jobs, and products for the rest of society), but also because we all paid to build a country in which they had the opportunity and resources to earn that wealth (such as domestic peace, a stable financial system, the support of science and technology, the protection of free and fair competition in the economy, the provision of public education and healthcare, and the construction of the basic infrastructure of the country). If the richest and wealthiest people did not contribute a proportional amount of their income to the Government, then the Government could not afford a budget that could maintain and improve the country, and the country that supported their success would therefore fade away, along with the ability for them to become even more successful. Moreover, less people would have the opportunity to create new things, become richer and wealthier themselves, and improve the lives of everyone else, including the people who are already rich and wealthy. This is why a progressive tax rate is fair and why the idea of taxing everyone at the same rate, known as a "flat tax," may seem fair, but would ultimately be ineffective and unfair, since it would not provide the Government with sufficient resources to maintain and improve the country and we would not be able to leave a better world for our children and future generations. In addition to this, we must also ensure that the progressive tax rates changes and adapts over time so we can maintain a good tax system throughout the future. Overall, if we can do these things, then we can have a tax system that is fair, provides sufficient resources to the Government, buys a better country, and maximizes our pursuit of happiness. And yet, even if we create a good tax system, it would still be ineffective if the Government lacks the ability to actually enforce it and collect money from the people.

We can reform the budget to make it more efficient and less wasteful and thereby reduce the national debt, but we must also ensure that the Government can fairly and effectively collect taxes from people so it can avoid needing to borrow money and accumulate an extreme amount of debt. Today, the agency of the bureaucracy that collects our taxes—the Internal Revenue Service (IRS)—has the same problem as the rest of the bureaucracy: it is inefficient, ineffective, and wasteful because it lacks sufficient resources to fulfill its responsibilities. Because of this, there are now around \$700 billion worth of taxes that have been unpaid because the IRS has been unable to collect them, which has increased the national debt and the burden on present and future generations. To solve this, we must, like the rest of the bureaucracy, provide the IRS with

sufficient resources so it can fulfill its responsibilities and collect taxes from the people. Moreover, many of the wealthiest companies and individuals in the country, both of whom benefit from living and working here, manipulate certain laws to avoid paying large amounts of taxes by moving their money abroad. Because of this, there are also tens of billions of dollars' worth of taxes that are regularly unpaid, which means many of the wealthiest companies and individuals are not fairly paying their taxes, are benefitting from the country but not contributing to it, and are worsening the national debt and the burden on everyone else. To solve this, we must reform the laws that allow companies and individuals to avoid paying large amounts of taxes on the money they earned in the country by moving it abroad.

In addition to strengthening the IRS and reforming certain laws, we should also make a smaller reform which would have great effect. Every year, the IRS should send the American people a summary of the budget of the country which includes information about the programs we are paying for and how much we proportionally pay for them. That way, we can better understand the Government, our country, and how our money is being spent, and can therefore hold our leaders more accountable and make better decisions about who to elect to office. That way, the tax system can become effective.

We know what we must to achieve good government in this century. The question is whether we are willing to choose it and then do the hard work to achieve it. Are we not tired of being divided? Are we not tired of a dysfunctional government? Are we not afraid that if we continue on this path, we will continue this stagnation and eventually descend into chaos? Do we not understand that we can do wonders by embracing the power and possibilities of democracy and working together through the Government? Do we not want to fulfill the promise of our freedom and come together to improve our lives, build a better country, and achieve our dreams in our lifetime?

Then let us go forth.

With a greater government in the country, we can do everything else in our agenda for the future. However, the first responsibility of any government is the defense of the country—and for us in this century, that means the defense of the world.

DEFENSE

“Security being the true design and end of government...”
Common Sense, Thomas Paine

"...insure domestic Tranquility, provide for the common defence"
The Preamble of the Constitution

“I believe that our people...understand the responsibilities that go
with democracy. The first and greatest of these responsibilities
is...national self-defense.”
Theodore Roosevelt

“We must be the great arsenal of democracy.”
Franklin Delano Roosevelt

“...no civilization, no matter how rich, no matter how refined, can
long survive once it loses the power to meet force with equal or
superior force.”
The Iliad, Homer, Robert Fagles

“The only way to successfully oppose the might which is the
servant of wrong is by means of the might which is the servant of
right.”
Theodore Roosevelt

“Only when our arms are sufficient beyond doubt can we be
certain beyond doubt that they will never be deployed.”
John F. Kennedy

"...a defenseless position and distinguished love of peace are the
surest invitations to war...there is no way to avoid it other than by
being always prepared and willing for just cause to meet it. If there
be a people on Earth whose special duty it is to be at all times
prepared to defend the rights with which they are blessed, and to
surpass all others in sustaining the necessary burdens, and in
submitting to sacrifices to make such preparations, it is
undoubtedly the people of [America].
James Monroe

"If you seek peace, prepare for war."
Publius Vegetius Renatus

THE DREAM

I dream of a day when war is no more, and it is no more because we are the most powerful nation in the world with the strongest military, the largest economy, and the most advanced technology, when we are joined together with the strength of our allies and become a united people who can use their strength to defend peace, deter conflict, and protect the weak against the strong, when there is peace in the world because everyone knows we can win any war in the world. Let this not only be a dream.

THE PROBLEM

Since the Conservative Revolution, tyranny, war, and chaos have been rising across the world. We are less willing to fund our military and send it abroad, and so our military has become weaker and less able to sustain a presence abroad. Moreover, the source of our strength in the world is decaying because the progress of our science and technology has slowed and our economy has become stagnant. Our allies are scattered, confused, and struggle to coordinate for the defense of peace and the support of human freedom. The tyrants of the world now believe that we will no longer defend the world, and so they feel free to do what they want in the world, to conquer and wage war. Instead of peace in our time, we face another world war in this century—one that will likely destroy the world, annihilate humankind, and extinguish the only known intelligent life in the Universe.

Our country is bounded by two oceans and two friendly neighbors. For a long time, we were blessed with a natural peace and security in which we could focus on ourselves at home and live without fear. Then came the World Wars of the 20th century. Technology has connected the nations and war can now spread across the world faster than ever before. The peace and prosperity of our country therefore depends on the peace and prosperity of the world, which requires a leader of the world—a nation with a people who are both willing and able to defend the world with a global military presence and who are powerful enough to deter conflicts among nations and protect the trade between them. The leader must also have overwhelming power compared to other nations, since if another nation, or group of nations, think they are comparable in strength to it, then they will not be deterred from war. Moreover, the leader must not only be strong itself, but combine its strength with those of its allies so it can become overwhelmingly powerful compared to other nations and be capable of deterring war across the world. For a long time, the United States of America was this nation—until we chose not to be. We have lost our will and ability to defend the world with a global military presence. At home, the progress of our science and technology has slowed, the growth of our economy has become stagnant, and consequently, our military has become weaker. Abroad, we abused our leadership of the world, let tyrants become more powerful, and failed to increase our alliances with other nations. We became weaker both at home and abroad, and so we became less powerful in the world.

We abused our leadership of the world when we invaded other nations and tried to force freedom and democracy on them. In the Middle East, we spent decades of our lives, trillions of our dollars, and thousands of our soldiers fighting various wars, but ultimately achieved little.

Because of this, we lost the will to do anything like it again and began to retreat from world leadership. Moreover, while we focused our attention and resources on the Middle East, we ignored other regions of the world and let tyrants rise and become more powerful, especially in China and Russia, by allowing them to freely participate and abuse the global economic system that we supported and defended. And now, we are reaping the whirlwind.

Russia is trying to conquer its neighbors and threatens to spread war across Europe. China has spent decades advancing its science and technology, growing its economy, and becoming more powerful in the world and threatens to spread war across Asia. Besides them, petty dictators, private armies, religious extremists, and naval pirates around the world are returning to the old ways, spreading small conflicts everywhere, and fanning the flames of war. We also face new and more terrible forms of war: biological weapons, digital attacks, robotic swarms, and combat in outer space. More than ever before in our lifetime, we face an escalation into another world war. And yet, more than ever before, we are unable to meet the challenge of the times. Our military is the only thing that stands in the way between world peace and world war, and yet is no longer powerful enough to deter conflicts or be guaranteed to win a major war if it comes. In the face of these growing threats, as a former Secretary of the Navy said, "we and our allies have cut back far too drastically on our own defensive capabilities....As a result, deterrence of our adversaries, reassurance of our allies...and sustainment and protection of the successful global political, economic, and military system instituted after the World Wars...have all deteriorated."²²⁶

If we are to defend the peace of the world, then we must be able to deter war across the entire world. We must also protect the weak against the strong, contain and eventually eliminate tyranny, and prevent the escalation of small conflicts into another world war. To do these things, we must have the ability to do them, which means we must be the most powerful nation in the world—politically, scientifically, technologically, economically, and most importantly, militarily. The strength of our military depends on the ability to advance our scientific and technological progress so we can create the most advanced weapons, the productive capacity of our economy so it can increase the size and strength of our military quickly and whenever necessary, and our alliance with the militaries of other nations so we can combine our strength and coordinate our efforts across the world. However, we have failed to support these things and our military has become weaker.

As I have said before, after the Conservative Revolution, we reduced our support for scientific research and technological invention and decreased the share of the budget that we spend on our defense. Moreover, within the defense budget itself, we reduced our funding for the creation of more advanced weapons for the military through scientific research and technological invention, especially for the agency whose mission is exactly that—the Defense Advanced Research Projects Agency (DARPA). As a result, our ability to create more advanced weapons has stagnated. Meanwhile, China has done the opposite: since the Conservative Revolution, it has increased its funding for scientific research and technological invention related to its military

²²⁶ To Provide and Maintain a Navy: Why Naval Primacy is America's Best First Strategy, Henry J. Hendrix, x

and now has weapons that are comparable in power to our own—and even some that are more powerful, such as hypersonic missiles which can travel across the world faster the speed of sound. If we stay on this present course, then tyrannical nations like China could not only become equal in strength to us, but surpass us and be able to do whatever they want in the world—and we would be too weak to stop them. This is especially true given the fact that China is trying to develop what will likely be the most powerful technology—and weapon—that humans ever create: artificial intelligence. I will discuss the development of artificial intelligence in the "Artificial Intelligence" section, but if a nation or some shadow group or rogue individual develops it before us, then there will be no defense against them and we will live under their control and mercy—if they allow us to live at all.

Another reason for concern about our unwillingness to support our military is that we are depriving ourselves of a major source of new knowledge and technology which we could use to improve our lives and build a better country in peace. The money we give to defense agencies like DARPA is not for the creation of more advanced weapons alone. In the past, a large amount of the knowledge and technology that were created by scientists and inventors in the military and DARPA were unpredictably useful for improving our lives, such as jet engines, better airplanes, the satellite network, the Global Positioning System (GPS), computers, the Internet, digital cameras, nuclear energy systems, microwave machines, blood transfusion devices, better versions of materials like steel and rubber, and robotic drones. If we had not reduced our funding for the scientists and inventors in the military, how much better would our lives have been today? What could we have achieved??

Yet, even if we had not reduced our support for the military, it would still be weaker because our economy lacks the productive capacity to increase the size and strength of our military quickly and whenever necessary. Moreover, after we established the global economic system, many of our companies moved their operations and manufacturing abroad, specifically to China, which meant that we lost the ability to make and build things at home, especially those things that are critical to our national security and require complex physical technology, like defense systems and advanced weapons.

Before the Conservative Revolution, there were thousands of defense companies in the free market that competed with each other to make and sell products that the military needed to remain strong and powerful in the world—weapons, ships, planes, tools, critical infrastructure, software, etc. However, after the Conservative Revolution, there are now only five defense companies in the country to do these things. After we decreased our funding for the military, there were less resources and demand for defense companies, so smaller companies could not survive and were eventually bought by larger ones, who become larger over time until only a few dominated the entire industry. In addition to this, the Government passed certain laws that made it more difficult, more costly, and more time-consuming for people to start new defense companies that could have provided better defense systems and advanced weapons to the military and at a lower price. So, because of less demand and more restrictive laws, new and smaller defense companies could not freely and fairly compete with the few large ones, and the

military was forced to depend on the large ones that remained. As a result, when the military sends a request to the defense industry to make something it needs, only one of the five companies usually makes an offer to do so. Since there are no other options, the military is forced to accept whatever the large defense companies offer, even if their price is unreasonably high, even if their work is inefficient, and even if buying from them would cause the budget to become increasingly wasteful and ineffective. Moreover, since there were only a few large companies in the defense industry, there was also less motivation for them to compete with each other by experimenting with new ideas to improve their products and new ways of doing things to make their work more efficient, and therefore offer a better product at lower price to the military. Because of this, the defense industry is now defined by long delays, less innovation, and higher prices, which means the military must pay more, wait longer, and get less capable weapons and defense systems to defend the country and the world. As a result, we have been paying increasingly higher costs to a few large defense companies and our defense budget has become not only increasingly wasteful, but also struggles to maintain the size and strength of our military—let alone increase it. Meanwhile, China is dramatically increasing the productive capacity of its economy for its military. It is building far more ships for its Navy than us, far more planes for its Air Force than us, and far more weapons for its Army than us—and is also trying to build rockets and weapons for its Space Force so it can conquer the orbit of the planet Earth, the Moon, and beyond. As a result, China is now comparable to us not only in the power of its weapons, but also the size and strength of its military. Although the economic growth of China is currently slowing (as can be expected when a nation is controlled by a tyrant), its slow economic growth only increases the risk that the tyrants of China will seek to wage war, since doing so will distract their people from their own failures. If we stay on this present course and war comes in the years ahead, then truly, we might not win. In the face of this, we could try to increase our strength of our military by combining with the strength of our allies, but our alliances with them have also become weaker, and our allies have become weaker themselves.

After the Second World War, we created an alliance with the nations of Europe—the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO)—that allowed us to combine the strength of our militaries and coordinate our efforts so we could defend peace and freedom against the tyranny of the USSR. However, since the Conservative Revolution, we have not gone further and combined our strength with a greater number of allies around the world to defend peace and freedom across the world against tyranny. We became comfortable in the general peace that was established after the World Wars and our allies thought we would bear the main burden of the defending the world, so they reduced their support for their own militaries. As a result, the combined strength of our alliances has decayed and we let tyrants rise and become more powerful in the world. Today, our allies are scattered, disorganized, and confused because we lost our way and retreated from world leadership. We still have NATO in Europe and some informal alliances with various nations in Asia and Latin America, but they are insufficient to meet the challenges of tyranny across the world, especially in China and Russia.

THE PLAN

What must we do? If we are to defend the peace of the world, then we must become the most powerful nation in the world. To do that, we must understand the necessity and accept the responsibilities of world leadership and increase our support for the military by accelerating the progress of our science and technology, improving the productive capacity of our economy, and uniting with a greater number of our allies to combine our strength and coordinate our efforts in pursuit of a common goal: the peace of the world and the freedom of humankind. "We have to take action. First we have to arm ourselves. We have to prepare ourselves to meet force with force-to meet force with superior force. That is a colossal [task]."²²⁷

We will not be able to do these things if we are not first willing to do these things. In the "World Leadership" section, I discussed why we must understand the necessity and accept the responsibilities of world leadership. In that pursuit, we must also understand the role of our military in the defense of the world. In the past, we abused our power and retreated from world leadership. We thought the global economic system would turn tyrannical nations into liberal ones and our enemies into our friends, but it did not and only made them wealthier and more powerful in the world. Let us learn from our mistakes. "Is our national policy today limited to the defense of the American homeland...? It is not."²²⁸ It is the defense of the world. In the face of increasingly powerful tyrants and major adversaries who think they are free to conquer and wage war, we must become a comprehensive and overwhelmingly powerful nation compared to them if we are to effectively deter and defend against their actions. In that pursuit, as we increase the strength of our military in this century, we must ensure that we do so for all of its branches and in all of the potential domains of war. As first Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff said, "American armed strength is only as strong as the combat capabilities of its weakest service. Overemphasis on one or the other will [fail to meet] our compelling need—not for air-power, sea-power, or land-power—but for American military power commensurate to our tasks in the world."²²⁹ For that, the first thing we must do is to accelerate the progress of science and technology for our military.

During the World Wars of the 20th Century, we learned that "beyond all doubt...scientific research is absolutely essential to national security" and our ability to defend both ourselves and the world "demands new knowledge so that we can develop new and improved weapons."²³⁰ To accelerate the progress of science and technology for our military, we must give more money to the scientists and inventors within the military and ensure they have the freedom to experiment with new ideas and ways of doing things so they can quickly and effectively develop more powerful weapons and defense systems. We must also improve the education system of the country so there can be more and better scientists and inventors who can work for the military, which I will discuss in the "Education" section. We must also support the development of artificial intelligence before other nations, which I will discuss in the "Artificial Intelligence"

²²⁷ The Ideas of Henry Luce, John K. Jessup, 104

²²⁸ The American Century, Henry Luce, 1941

²²⁹ Joint Staff Officers Guide, National Defense University, 1986, 9-11

²³⁰ Science: The Endless Frontier, Vannevar Bush, July 1945

section. Moreover, we must accelerate the general progress of our science and technology in the country, since we cannot predict what new discoveries and inventions might be useful for our defense and therefore should support scientific and technological progress from all sources, as I will discuss in the "Science, Technology, and Economic Growth" section. If we can do these things, then we can create better and more advanced weapons for our military and increase our strength in the world to defend against the worst tyrants and our major adversaries—and also likely create knowledge and technologies that we will be useful to improve our lives and build a better country in peace. However, although we may improve our ability to create more advanced weapons and defense systems for our military, we must also expand the productive capacity of our economy so we can increase the size and strength of our military quickly and whenever necessary—such as today.

If a global military presence is to be effective, then it must have the ability and resources to rapidly spread across the world whenever necessary, which requires our economy to have the productive capacity to rapidly increase the size and strength of our military whenever necessary. We can expand the productive capacity of our economy related to the defense industry by increasing the share of the budget for the military, which will create more demand for defense companies. Though we may reject giving more money to our military after the mistakes of the past, we must understand that we must pay these costs now to avoid far greater costs in the future—the costs of another world war, which will likely be the largest and most destructive conflict in human history. However, giving more money to the military alone will be insufficient.

Although we may give more money to the military, we must also ensure that the money is spent wisely, efficiently, effectively, and productively. The strength of our military is based on our technological ability which comes from the economic prosperity that grows from our freedom. In that pursuit, we must increase the free and fair competition among defense companies. To do so, we must encourage the creation of new defense companies and either reform or remove the laws that make it harder for people to do work and build things in the country related to the defense industry, disincentivize the creation of new companies, and restrict the ability of small companies to compete with the large ones who dominate the defense industry. If we can do ensure free and fair competition, then the military would be able buy what it needs from the defense industry and get better products at a lower price more quickly—rather than endure delays, pay unreasonably high prices, and receive less innovative weapons and defense systems. In addition to this, we must also expand our ability to manufacture things at home, especially complex physical technologies (which I will discuss in the "Science, Technology, and Economic Growth" section) and ensure that we have a reliable supply of critical resources, both at home and by trading with our allies, instead of depending on receiving them from tyrannical nations. In the words of a member of the Founding Generation, "Not only the wealth, but the independence and security of a Country, appear to be materially connected with the prosperity of manufacturers. Every nation, with a view to those great objects, ought to endeavor to possess within itself all the essentials of national supply."²³¹ If we can do these

²³¹ The Report on the Subject of the Manufactures, Alexander Hamilton, December 5, 1791

things, then we can improve the productive capacity of our economy and increase the size and strength of our military quickly and whenever necessary. And yet, even if we strengthen our own military, we will not be able to meet the challenge of the times alone. If we are to deter conflicts, contain and eventually eliminate tyranny in the world, and defend the peace of the world throughout the future, then we will need to be an overwhelming power compared to the worst tyrants and our major adversaries so they understand that we can win any war anywhere in the world and at any time. For that, we must join together with the strength of our allies.

To achieve overwhelming power in the world, we must increase the strength of our military by joining together with the militaries of our allies, in addition to increasing the number of them. Today, our military alliances consist of NATO in Europe and some informal ones in Asia and Latin America. They are scattered, disorganized, and confused and lack a clear purpose and stated mission for them to unite together and coordinate their actions. Because of this, we do not have a combined and coordinated strength across the world that can effectively deter conflicts and contain tyranny across the world. Moreover, our lack of unity and purpose makes tyrannical nations like China and Russia doubt whether we are willing and able to defend against them and therefore think they can freely conquer nations and wage war in the world. We once created a military alliance with other nations to defend against tyranny in one region in the world: NATO in Europe. With tyranny rising across the entire world, let us do so again—but this time in a greater form and to a greater extent. If we truly seek to achieve world peace, then let us do what is necessary to achieve it. Let us create a global military alliance with other nations, as part of the global alliance of humankind that I discussed in the "World Leadership" section, so we can truly establish world peace and defend it throughout the future. With a global military alliance, we could combine our strength, coordinate our efforts, and clearly declare to the world that there will be peace because we can win any war in the world.

If the global military alliance is to be effective, then we must also encourage our allies to strengthen their own militaries so they can be prepared to take action in their region of the world and we are not forced to bear the sole burden of global defense. Moreover, if we are to truly deter conflicts around the world, then we must have a comprehensive and overwhelming superiority, along with the willingness to use it when necessary. If the worst tyrants and our major adversaries are not certain that we are willing to go out into the world and stop them—if there is even a shadow of a doubt—then they will not be deterred by us and will wage war. To prevent this, the worst tyrants and our major adversaries must be made to understand that wherever they may be, if they try to conquer other nations and wage war, then we and our allies will stop them, which requires us to prove it by actually going out into the world and using our strength when necessary.

Overall, by strengthening our military and creating a global military alliance, we can meet the challenge of the times and defend the peace of the world in the 21st century. We can deter war, protect the weak against the strong, contain and eventually eliminate tyranny, and prevent the escalation of small conflicts into another world war.

We know what we must do this century. The question is whether we are willing to choose it and then do the hard work to achieve it. Let us move towards that day when we can say that "America today is stronger than ever before. Our adversaries have not abandoned their ambitions, our dangers have not diminished, our vigilance cannot be relaxed. But now we have the military, the scientific, and the economic strength to do whatever must be done for the preservation and promotion of freedom."²³²

Do we not want world peace? Are we not tired of letting tyrants waste our precious time in life? Do we not fear world war in our time? Are we willing to let others suffer when we have the means to save them? How much longer will we allow our military to become weaker? How much longer will allow ourselves to fight alone and be burdened with the sole responsibility of the defense of the world? Do we not want to unite with a growing number of nations across the planet Earth and join our strength to improve our lives and build a better world? Do we not realize that we could finally eliminate tyranny in our lifetime and achieve the freedom of all humankind? Do we not understand that, without the distraction of war, we can fulfill the promise of peace and advance our progress towards a better life in a greater world?

Then let us go forth.

However, as a President said, "in the long run, the country must be worth living in if it is worth [fighting] for," and another, "only an America which is growing and prospering economically can sustain the worldwide defenses of freedom, while demonstrating to all concerned the opportunities of our system and society."²³³

And so, we must move again from the world to our country, from the first responsibility of the Government to the second, from defense to the general welfare—to our life, work, and happiness.

To our home.

²³² The Undelivered Speech, John F. Kennedy, November 22, 1963

²³³ National Preparedness Speech, Theodore Roosevelt; The Undelivered Speech, John F. Kennedy, November 22, 1963

SCIENCE, TECHNOLOGY, AND ECONOMIC GROWTH

"...promote the general Welfare."
Preamble of the Constitution

"For the Earth shall be filled with knowledge..."
Habakkuk 2:14

"Knowledge is in every country the surest basis of public happiness."
George Washington

"Everything that is not forbidden by the laws of nature...
is achievable, given the right knowledge"
The Beginning of Infinity, David Deutsch

"Then the Lord spoke to Job out of the storm....
'Your own right hand can save you.'"
Job 40:6

"There is no limit to what we can achieve as long as
we have the capacity to think, imagine, and create."
The Beginning of Infinity, David Deutsch

"Science has been in the wings. It should be brought to the center
of the stage—for in it lies much of our hope for the future."
Science: The Endless Frontier, Vannevar Bush

"...years from now...science will have become fantastically more capable
than it is today."
The Pursuit of Significance, Henry Luce

"The science of today is the technology of tomorrow."
Edward Teller

"Then you shall see and be radiant, your heart shall swell with joy,
because abundance...shall be brought to you."
Isaiah 60:5

"A land...without scarcity"
Deuteronomy 8:9

"We are...capable of using...our intelligence, our technology, and our
wealth to make an abundant and meaningful life for every inhabitant of
this planet. To enhance enormously our understanding of the Universe,
and to carry us to the stars."
Carl Sagan

THE DREAM

I dream of a day when we are increasing our knowledge and power in the world every day, when we understand the Universe and have the power to improve our lives in it, when we invent incredible technologies and can build a greater world, when we solve the ancient problems of the world—scarcity, poverty, ignorance, disease, and even death—and can live with universal abundance, broadly-shared wealth, infinite opportunities for our happiness, and endless possibilities for the future. Let this not only be a dream.

THE PROBLEM

The American Dream is the belief that with freedom in our lives and equal opportunity in the country, everyone can earn what they want and enjoy what they have by doing the work to achieve their dreams, and in the process, they can help each other, make the future better than the past, and leave a better world for their children. In short, we can improve our lives and build a better world for our survival, freedom, and happiness. The American Dream depends on economic growth: the creation of abundance and increasing both the quantity and quality of the things that we need to survive and be happy, such as food, homes, medicine, energy, transportation, entertainment, etc. The growth of the economy depends on the progress of science and technology: the discovery of new knowledge about the Universe so we can understand how it works and the invention of new technologies so we can do more work within it. Since the American Dream depends on rapid and broadly-shared economic growth, and since the pace of economic growth depends on the progress of science and technology, we can say that, more than anything else, the survival and success of the American Dream depends on the progress of science and technology.

However, since knowledge and technology are useless by themselves, there must also be a way to deploy them across society and ensure that their benefits are broadly-shared among the people. The best way to do that is through the free and fair competition between companies in the free market. In other words, individuals must do the work to grow the economy by creating companies and then competing with each other to make and sell the best products at the lowest price to the people in pursuit of profit, which they can do through innovative experimentation (the improvement of existing technologies and products so they can offer better products) and more efficient production (the production of more things with less resources so they can reduce the price of products). The progress of science and technology may grow the economy, but the free and fair competition between companies in the free market ensures that their benefits are broadly-shared among the people, through which they can achieve the American Dream.

Given all of this, what is required of us?

First, the Government must accelerate the progress of science and technology to expand the limits of the economy and support the source for its growth, and thereby increase the opportunities for our survival, freedom, and happiness and ensure the survival and success of the American Dream.

Second, the Government must support the foundation of the economy by ensuring that there is free and fair competition in the free market through which knowledge and technology can be deployed across society and its benefits can be broadly-shared among the people.

Has the Government been doing these things? No.

Since the Conservative Revolution, the progress of science and technology has slowed and the growth of our economy has become stagnant. We have not made great discoveries about the Universe in decades. Moreover, the improvement of the world through technological invention has been replaced with small changes through innovation. As a result, our productivity has become stagnant and both the economy and the incomes of the majority of the American people have not grown as much as they could have (except for the wealthiest few, so inequality among the American people has also risen) while the cost of living in the country (childcare, healthcare, homes, and education) has become increasingly unaffordable. Because of this, many people feel like there are less opportunities to pursue their own happiness and less possibilities for the future—the fading of the American Dream.

SLOW SCIENTIFIC AND TECHNOLOGICAL PROGRESS

Why has the progress of science and technology slowed? "We live in a society absolutely dependent on science and technology," but the Government abandoned its responsibility to extend the frontiers of our knowledge and power in the world by accelerating the progress of science and technology.²³⁴ During and after the Second World War, the Government regularly made big investments in science and technology for the defense and general welfare of the country. The American people gave large amounts of their money to scientists and inventors who therefore had sufficient resources and freedom to take big risks, create new knowledge and technology, and give the economy what it needed to grow larger and faster than ever before. The last great investment in the progress of our science and technology was the Apollo Mission, and because of it, we not only left the planet Earth and landed on the Moon, but also developed knowledge and technologies that were unpredictably useful for improving our lives at home, such as computers, better engines, more advanced materials, better medical tools, the satellite network and the digital world it upholds, and solar power. America was once the country that led the world in the creation of new knowledge and technologies by investing in them more than any other nation as a share of its budget. Now, that is no longer true.

We are no longer producing "truly revolutionary scientific innovations at the same rate [we] once did....Instead the academic research sector seems increasingly fixated on maximizing its rate of publishing papers regardless of their quality, redundancy, or relevance; the corporate research sector appears more and more focused on very low-risk, immediately marketable products; and the government research sector seems increasingly incapacitated by bureaucracy and budget cuts."²³⁵ Since the Conservative Revolution, the share of the budget for scientific

²³⁴ Conversations with Carl, Carl Sagan & Tom Head, *Bringing Science Down to Earth*

²³⁵ *Forgotten Creators: How German-Speaking Scientists and Engineers Invented the Modern World, And What We Can Learn from Them*, Todd H. Rider, 7

research and technological invention has been decreasing from around 10% to 3%. At the same, tyrannical nations like China have been increasing their investment in science and technology over time. As a result, for "more than two centuries...our understanding of the laws of nature expanded rapidly" and "discovery after discovery deepened our understanding of nature," such as the beginning of the Universe, the confirmation of black holes, the structure of DNA, the existence of the electron, the theories of relativity and quantum mechanics, and the observation that the Universe is expanding.²³⁶ However, after the Conservative Revolution, "things ground to a halt," and our knowledge of the Universe has remained mostly the same.²³⁷

In an effort to decrease the size of the Government in society, we thought companies in the free market would be able to replace the role of the Government in advancing the general progress of science and technology. We thought the competition between companies would motivate them to invest in scientific research and technological invention so they could make better products at a lower price than their competitors and then sell them to people in the pursuit of profit. This belief, however, failed (as I will explain in the next paragraph). Moreover, the remaining support that the Government provided to science and technology has also become ineffective, largely because the agencies of the bureaucracy whose responsibility is to advance the scientific and technological progress have become inefficient, ineffective, and wasteful. For example, scientists and inventors spend around half of their time on paperwork rather than research and must wait months for that paperwork to be reviewed and approved by the bureaucracy. Because of this, scientists and inventors wait a year or longer before they can begin their work after requesting permission and support from the bureaucracy. In addition, the growth of the number of scientists in the country has been stagnant for decades. At the same time, the average age of scientists has also increased. So, given all of this,, scientists and inventors in our country have less freedom to create, less incentive to take big risks, and are less able to do more to increase our knowledge and power in the world, support the growth of our economy, and ensure the survival and success of the American Dream.

Why have companies in the free market been unable to advance the general progress of science and technology? As mentioned in the "The Role of the Government Society" section, they have been unable to do so because they lack the ability to do so: they lack the willingness, resources, and incentives to advance the general progress of science and technology by themselves. Companies in the free market do have neither sufficient money nor the willingness to tolerate the necessary long-term risks of funding basic scientific research and technological invention, especially the kind that is required today, since our existing knowledge and technologies have become more complex over time and therefore the creation of new knowledge and technologies has become more difficult, more expensive, and more time-consuming over time. Moreover, companies in the free market lack the incentives to advance the general progress of our science and technology because they seek to accumulate profit in the short-term rather

²³⁶ The Trouble with Physics: The Rise of String Theory, the Fall of a Science, and What Comes Next, Lee Smolin, viii and xi

²³⁷ *Id.*

than advance our general progress in the long-term. Companies will "fully rise to the challenge of applying new knowledge to new products. The commercial incentive can be relied upon for that. But basic research is essentially noncommercial in nature. It will not receive the attention it requires if left to [them]."²³⁸ And that is exactly what happened. Since the Conservative Revolution, companies have been "increasingly turning away from basic exploratory scientific research toward more commercially oriented development."²³⁹ Moreover, after the invention of computers and the Internet, most companies began to invest more in digital technology (which is cheaper but cannot generally improve our lives in the world) and less in physical technology (which is expensive but can dramatically improve our lives in the world). As a result, the retreat of the Government from supporting scientific research and technological development has not been fully replaced by companies in the free market.²⁴⁰ Moreover, even if companies were willing to invest more in the general progress of science and technology, there would be less companies who could do so because the creation of new companies has become stagnant (the exceptions being those that focus on digital technology), especially those that focus on physical technology. Why did this happen?

Since the Conservative Revolution, the Government has failed to ensure free and fair competition in the free market. It passed certain laws like the NEPA (as I discussed in the "Government Reform" section) that made doing work and building things in the country more difficult, more costly, and more time-consuming and therefore reduced the incentive for people to create new companies (which means there is less competition) and for existing companies to do work in society (which means there is less free competition). In addition to this, the Government has failed to sufficiently use its power to prevent monopolistic activity in the free market (which means there is less fair competition, and therefore less free and fair competition between companies overall).

As mentioned, the creation of new companies has become stagnant, which not only means there are less sources of scientific research and technological development, but also less competition in the free market. With fewer companies and less competition, the remaining companies in the free market were able to become larger over time and eventually dominate many sectors. Moreover, the average age of companies has also become older and, like people, older companies are less willing to take big risks and experiment with new ideas and ways of doing things, both of which are necessary for the creation of new knowledge and technology, and so the potential sources for scientific and technological progress have further reduced.

In addition to this, there is less fair competition in the free market because the Government has failed to prevent large companies from unfairly using their dominance to their advantage. For example, according to the law, companies can file a patent for new ideas and products that they develop to prevent other companies from using them. Patents are good. They protect competition between companies by incentivizing them to create new things and rewards

²³⁸ Science: The Endless Frontier, Vannevar Bush, July 1945

²³⁹ Jumpstarting America: How Breakthrough Science Can Revive Economic Growth and the American Dream, Johnathan Gruber & Simon Johnson, 107

²⁴⁰ *Id.* at 9

them for doing so by allowing them to own what they create. However, patents can also prevent competition if the Government allows companies to patent too many things, more than is necessary to protect their intellectual property and reward them for their effort, which is what has happened over the decades. Large companies have been patenting almost everything they can, which has prevented knowledge and technology from spreading widely across society and allowing other individuals and companies to use them, improve them, and therefore compete with the larger companies. Because of this, large companies are able to restrict the flow of knowledge and technology across the country, reduce the potential sources of scientific research and technological innovation, and slow the general progress of our science and technology.

The slowdown of our scientific and technological progress is also creating another problem—one that exists in the future. As I have mentioned before, less people are having less children and we face population collapse both at home and abroad. Since less people means less workers, we consequently face economic decline and collapse both at home and abroad. If more people do not begin to have more children, and if the immigration system continues to prevent more people from coming here (as I will discuss in the "Population and Immigration" section), then the only way we can prevent the collapse of our economy and maintain its current state, let alone grow it, will be to automate more of our work over time—that is, to replace a shrinking number of workers with artificial intelligence and robotic machines. If we cannot sufficiently advance our scientific and technological progress to do develop artificial intelligence and robotics machines before our working population begins to shrink and affect our economy, then there will be no defense against the chaos that will come.

Overall, we have reduced our support for scientific research and technological invention and instead relied on companies in the free market to advance the general progress of our knowledge and technology, despite the fact that they lack the will and ability to do so. As a result, the progress of our science and technology has slowed. Our lives did not improve as much as they could and we missed what we could have achieved. Moreover, since the growth of our economy depends on the progress of science and technology, it has also slowed and become stagnant. In addition to this, our economy is not only growing less, but is also less broadly-shared among the people—we are not only creating less knowledge and technology to improve our lives and build a better country, but also are benefitting less from existing knowledge and technology.

THE STAGNATION OF ECONOMIC GROWTH

The growth of our economy has become stagnant and it is not growing as fast it could—and should. We are less able to do work, physically build a better country, and therefore rapidly grow our economy. Instead of pursuing universal abundance, we are creating artificial scarcity in many areas that are necessary for our survival and general welfare, such as childcare, healthcare, homes, education, transportation systems, and the basic infrastructure of the country. After the development of the Internet, we retreated into the delights of a dream-like digital world and let the physical world become stagnant and decayed—places like our homes, towns, and cities;

infrastructure like our roads, bridges, hospitals, schools, and energy systems; and transportation systems like our cars, trains, ships, planes, and rockets. Moreover, along with the stagnant growth of our economy, the growth of the incomes for the majority of the American people has also become stagnant (except for the richest few) while the cost of living in the country (childcare, healthcare, homes, and education) has become increasingly unaffordable. As a result, people have less money to pursue their own happiness and feel like there are less opportunities to achieve the American Dream.

The growth of our economy depends on the ability of individuals and companies to do work and build things in the country so they can create abundance and spread wealth across the society. It also depends on the free and fair competition between companies so they can produce more, make their work more efficient, and sell better products at lower prices to people, and by doing so, deploy the benefits of science and technology across society and increase the incomes of the American people. However, since the Conservative Revolution, both of these things—the ability to do work and build things in the country and the free and fair competition between companies—have become weaker.

As I mentioned in the "Government Reform" section, bad laws like the NEPA have made doing work and building things in the country more difficult, more costly, and more time-consuming and consequently have restricted the ability of companies to freely and fairly compete with each other. Moreover, we also lost our ability to do work and build things because many companies moved their operations and manufacturing abroad, along with their knowledge, experience skills, and, in addition to the jobs those companies provided. As a result, unproductive industries like real estate, health insurance, and finance, which were only 5% of the total value of our economy in the past, are now around 20% of the total value of our economy. In addition to these things, the loss of the ability to make and build things in the country has also caused less companies to be created over time and allowed older companies to dominate many parts of the economy.

The negative effects of laws like the NEPA not only limit our economic growth, but also prevent us from physically building a better country. Since the Conservative Revolution, the basic infrastructure of our country (roads, bridges, tunnels, buildings, etc.) and our transportation systems throughout the country (trains, ships, and planes) have not been improved and have since decayed. We cannot have a better country if we cannot build a better country. Without creation, there will be stagnation. Moreover, such laws are also preventing us from doing what is necessary to solve our problems like climate change (as I will discuss in the "Climate Change and Energy") because they restrict our ability to build new energy systems across the country and revolutionize the way we do work.

Along with all of these things—stagnant economic growth, stagnant incomes, and less freedom to do work and build things—the cost of living in the country (childcare, healthcare, homes, and education) has become increasingly unaffordable. I will discuss the cost of childcare in the "Population and Immigration" section and the cost of education in the "Education" section, so let us review the cost of homes and healthcare.

Since the Conservative Revolution, the cost of a home has become increasingly unaffordable. The main reason for this is that there is an artificial scarcity of homes in the country. Certain laws are allowing a minority of people in local areas (towns and cities), who have a conservative spirit, to prevent the construction of new homes in places where people want to live and therefore restrict the supply of homes in places of high demand, which increases the price of homes. Moreover, with less homes in the country, the average age of them has become older and the elderly can live in the comfort of their own home while their children and grandchildren struggle to afford one. Since a minority of people have the power to prevent change, our towns and cities are becoming museums to walk in rather than places to live.

The cost of healthcare has also become increasingly unaffordable, for several reasons. One reason is that certain laws are creating an artificial scarcity of healthcare by restricting the number of doctors and hospitals that can exist in the country, which therefore increases the price of healthcare. Another reason is bad bureaucracy: certain agencies whose responsibility is to support and provide healthcare in the country have become inefficient, ineffective, and wasteful. For example, the Food and Drug Administration (FDA) is preventing the expansion of the supply of existing medical treatments and technologies and the National Institutes of Health (NIH) is preventing the creation of new medical treatments and technologies that could lower the price of healthcare and improve the quality of it—and allow us to live longer and healthier lives. In addition to the rising cost of healthcare, the average length of life in our country has become stagnant and we live significantly shorter than people in other nations. We focus more of treating sickness after it happens rather preventing it from happening in the first place (which would lower the demand for healthcare and therefore lower the price). More importantly, we are still suffering from diseases that could be cured: heart attacks, cancer, strokes, Alzheimer's, diabetes, etc.—including the worst one of all: the disease of aging itself.

And yet, there is another problem about our economy—one that exists in the future. As mentioned, we will need to replace a shrinking number of workers with automation if we are to prevent chaos of the coming collapse of our population. However, if we develop the technology to automate more of our work before our population begins to shrink and it begins to replace workers who need not have been replaced, then there could be mass unemployment in the country and people would no longer be able to support themselves. The solution to one crisis may cause another.

Overall, the progress of our science and technology slowed, the growth of our economy has become stagnant, the incomes for the Americans people have also become stagnant, and the cost of living in the country has become increasingly unaffordable. Because of this, it seems like there are less opportunities to pursue our happiness and achieve the American Dream—with less creation, less growth, and less wealth, we are living a lesser life in a lesser country.

THE PLAN

We have inherited the best and largest economy in the world because of the work that was done by the generations of the past. However, we failed to make changes to the country and

improve the economy for decades, so the economy we inherited has become stagnant and did not grow as fast it could—our lives did not improve as much they should. What must we do?

First, we must accelerate the progress of our science and technology.

Second, we must ensure that the benefits of science and technology (wealth and abundance) are widely distributed across society and broadly-shared among the people. In that pursuit, we must strengthen the foundation of our economy by ensuring both the freedom of individuals and companies to do work and build things in the country and also the fair competition between companies in the free market.

If we can do these things, then we can create universal abundance, end scarcity and poverty and hunger in the country, ensure that everyone has what they need to survive and be comfortable in life, raise our incomes and have more wealth, reduce the cost of living so we can afford to have childcare, healthcare, homes, and education, and expand the opportunities for us to pursue our own happiness. In short, we can save and achieve the American Dream.

ACCELERATE SCIENTIFIC AND TECHNOLOGICAL PROGRESS

The progress of science and technology is our salvation. Our lives are limited by our knowledge about the world and what we can do within it. Because of this, the progress of science and technology determines the how quickly we can achieve our dreams—the faster the progress, the sooner they come. As the first Director of the Office of Scientific Research and Development wrote, “Without scientific [and technological] progress, no amount of achievement in other directions can ensure our health, prosperity, and security as a nation in the modern world.”²⁴¹ Moreover, “since health, well-being, and security are proper concerns for Government, scientific [and technological] progress is, and must be, of vital interest to Government. Without it, the national health would deteriorate; without it, we could not hope for improvement in our standard of living...and without it, we could not have maintained our liberties against tyranny.”²⁴² One of the main responsibilities of the Government is to provide for the general welfare of the people, and the best way to do that is to support the general progress of science and technology—the discovery of new knowledge and the invention of new technologies. Therefore, we must accelerate the progress of our science and technology and increase our knowledge and power in the world so we can improve our lives and build a better world.

How can we accelerate the progress of science and technology?

First, we must massively increase the share of our budget for scientific research and technological invention.

Second, we must reform the agencies of the bureaucracy whose responsibility is to advance our scientific and technological progress so they can be as efficient, effective, and un wasteful as possible and provide scientists and inventors with sufficient resources and freedom to do their work.

²⁴¹ Science: The Endless Frontier, Vannevar Bush, July 1945

²⁴² *Id.*

Third, we must increase the number of scientists and inventors in the country and improve the quality of them.

Finally, we must develop a mind that is greater than our own to advance our scientific and technological progress faster than we ever could: an artificial intelligence—which I will discuss in the "Artificial Intelligence" section.

Let us review each of these.

We can accelerate the progress of science and technology by giving far more money to scientists and inventors so they can research new areas of knowledge and then use that knowledge to develop new technologies. We are no longer in the days when most of our discoveries and inventions can come from individuals working alone. The scientific and technological experiments that are required to create new knowledge and technologies are becoming larger, more complex, and more expensive over time. So, if we are to advance the progress of our science and technology, then we must combine our money together to fund the scientists and inventors of the country so they can learn, think, explore, experiment, and build for our benefit. In that pursuit, we must use our funds to "strengthen the centers of basic research...the colleges, universities, and research institutes. These institutions provide the environment which is most conducive to the creation of new scientific knowledge and least under pressure for immediate, tangible results....It is only the colleges, universities, and a few research institutes that devote most of their research efforts to expanding the frontiers of knowledge."²⁴³ Therefore, if the "colleges, universities, and research institutes are to meet the rapidly increasing demands...for new scientific knowledge, their basic research should be strengthened by use of public funds."²⁴⁴

Although we must give more money to scientists and inventors, we must also ensure that they have the freedom to focus on scientific research and technological invention rather than bureaucratic paperwork. "Scientific progress...results from the free play of free intellects, working on subjects of their own choice, in the manner dictated by their curiosity for exploration of the unknown. Freedom of inquiry must be preserved under any plan for Government support of science."²⁴⁵ As long as scientists are "free to pursue the truth wherever it may lead, there will be a flow of new scientific knowledge to those who can apply it to practical problems in Government, in industry, or elsewhere."²⁴⁶ Consequently, must give scientists and inventors the freedom to explore everything everywhere because new discoveries and technologies could come from anything anywhere. This will require us to reform certain agencies in the bureaucracy, such as the National Science Foundation, the National Institutes of Health, the Food and Drug Administration, and the National Laboratories, to ensure the freedom of scientists and inventors and remove the restrictions which unnecessarily slow their work. If we can do these things, then we can accelerate the progress of science and technology and achieve our dreams sooner.

²⁴³ *Id.*

²⁴⁴ *Id.*

²⁴⁵ *Id.*

²⁴⁶ *Id.*

In addition to giving more money to scientists and inventors, we must also increase the number of scientists and inventors in the country, along with the quality of them. “The responsibility for the creation of new scientific knowledge—and for most of its application—rests on that small body of men and women who understand the fundamental laws of nature and are skilled in the techniques of scientific research [and technological invention]. We shall have rapid or slow advance on any scientific [or technological] frontier depending on the number of highly qualified and trained scientists [and inventors] exploring it.”²⁴⁷ Moreover, the “training of a scientist [or inventor] is a long and expensive process....Those without the means of buying higher education go without it.”²⁴⁸ So, if we are to accelerate our scientific and technological progress, then we must both increase our population (as I will discuss in the "Population and Immigration" section) to increase the number of scientists and inventors and reform the education system of the country (as I will discuss in the "Education" section) to ensure they are capable and also so we can improve the quality of them. If we do not, then we will make a "tremendous waste of the greatest resources of a nation—the intelligence of its citizens.”²⁴⁹

We have not made great discoveries in decades. Let us change that. Let us educate a new generation of Americans who can pursue a “radical rethinking of our basic ideas about space, time, and the quantum world” and thereby not only provide us with more knowledge about the world we live in, and not only discover the answers to our most ancient questions about the Universe—How did the Universe begin? How will it end? What was before the beginning of time? Will there be an end of time? What is consciousness? Are we alone in the Universe?—but also provide us with means to invent new technologies so we can improve our lives and build a better world.²⁵⁰

Beyond supporting scientists and inventors through the Government, we must also ensure that there is free and fair competition between companies so people can create new companies, use knowledge and technology to make better products at lower prices (and thereby improve our existing knowledge and technology), and be able to compete with the few dominant companies. I will discuss this further in the following paragraphs, but if we can ensure free and fair competition better companies in the free market, then they can help to accelerate our scientific and technological progress through the innovative experimentation and efficient production that are required for successful competition in the pursuit of profit.

Beyond the Government and the free market, what else must we do? We must encourage the wealthiest Americans to invest more of their money in the progress of science and technology. Currently, they give vast amounts of their money to charities. However, charities do what should be the responsibility of the Government. Moreover, charities mostly treat the symptoms of problems since they lack the resources to truly solve them. By giving their money to scientists and inventors, the wealthiest Americans would be able to solve the problems for

²⁴⁷ *Id.*

²⁴⁸ *Id.*

²⁴⁹ *Id.*

²⁵⁰ *The Trouble with Physics: The Rise of String Theory, the Fall of a Science, and What Comes Next*, Lee Smolin, xiii

which charities exist far better, more effectively, and much sooner than them and be remembered as those who brought us further than ever before—the builders of a better world.

If we can do these things, then we can accelerate the progress of science and technology and achieve our dreams sooner. However, although we may create more knowledge and technologies, we must also ensure that they are deployed across society so their benefits can be broadly-shared among the people.

RAPID AND BROADLY-SHARED ECONOMIC GROWTH

The American Dream depends on economic growth. Therefore, if we are to rapidly grow our economy and ensure that it is broadly-shared among the people, then the Government must do several things.

First, it must strengthen our ability to do work and build things in country and ensure free and fair competition between companies, which would not only grow the economy and create more abundance and wealth, but also increase the incomes of the American people.

Second, we must reduce the cost of living in the country (childcare, healthcare, homes, and education) so we can have more money to pursue our own happiness and achieve the American Dream.

Let us review each of these.

To strength our ability to do work and build things in the country, the Government must encourage and support companies in critical industries to return their operations and manufacturing to the country so we can regain their knowledge, skills, and experience. By doing so, the Government would not only strengthen our ability to do work and build things in the country, but also support the creation of new companies and expand the potential for competition in the free market, and therefore the growth of the economy. However, although we may support the creation of new companies, the Government must also ensure that companies can freely and fairly compete with each other.

To ensure that companies can freely compete with each other, the Government must either reform or remove those laws which make doing work and building things in the country too difficult, too costly, and too time-consuming. As long as they exist, they will restrict the freedom of individuals and companies to do as they choose in the economy and therefore limit the growth of the economy. By reforming or removing those laws, we could not only ensure free fair competition between companies, but also physically build a better country. We could improve the basic infrastructure of the country such as roads, bridges, tunnels, schools, hospitals, towns, and cities—which would improve everything else. We could improve our transportation systems such as high-speed trains, larger ships, self-driving cars, and spaceplanes and travel faster than ever before across the country, the planet Earth, and throughout the Universe—which would have the effect of "drawing more closely together every part of our country...by increasing the share of every part in the common stock of national prosperity."²⁵¹ We could solve problems like climate change by improving our energy systems and revolutionizing the way we do work,

²⁵¹ Eighth Annual Message, James Madison, December 3, 1816

which would also create more abundant and cheaper energy and therefore dramatically grow the economy (as I will discuss in the "Climate Change and Energy" section).

To ensure that companies can fairly compete with each other, the Government must use its power to prevent monopolistic activity in the free market. For example, it must reform the patent system to prevent dominant companies from abusing it, unnecessarily restricting the flow of knowledge and technology across society, and preventing others from fairly competing with them. Big companies are good for the economy. We should seek to have more and bigger ones. However, they should not come at expense of the survival of smaller companies who could otherwise have competed with them and thereby grown our economy.

Overall, by letting people do work and build things in the country and ensuring free and fair competition between companies, we can physically build a better country—and more than that, we can leave a better world for our children. “When we build, let us think that we build forever. Let it not be for present delight nor for present use alone. Let it be such work as our descendants will thank us for.”²⁵² By regaining the ability to physically build a better country, we can rapidly grow the economy, create broadly-shared wealth, and increase the incomes of the American people—there could be more millionaires and billionaires than ever, and even the first trillionaires.

However, although we may grow the incomes of the American people, the Government must also reduce the cost of living in the country (childcare, healthcare, homes, and education) so people can have more money to live comfortably, pursue their own happiness, and achieve their dreams. Moreover, if we can increase our incomes and reduce the cost of living, then we can solve the problem of the inequality among the American people (a few having so much while the rest have so little) and ensure that no person is left behind.

How can we reduce the cost of living? I will discuss reducing the cost of childcare in the "Population and Immigration" section and the cost of education in the "Education" section. So, let us move to reducing the cost of homes and healthcare.

To reduce the cost of homes in the country, we must increase the supply of them by letting people build homes in places where they want to live. We cannot have a growing population if we do not build homes for them. If a minority of people are unwilling to let their children and grandchildren be able to afford a home by preventing the construction of new homes in our towns and cities, then we must reform those laws which allow them to do so and withhold funding from States who fail to fulfill one of their most basic responsibilities: to be a place where people can live. In other words, we must prevent the abuse of power by the minority to support the general welfare of the majority. By doing so, our towns and cities can be places to live rather than museums. Moreover, we can have more vibrant towns and bigger and more exciting cities, more people can afford to live in their country, and the United States of America can become the home for all of its citizens.

To reduce the cost of healthcare in the country, we must both increase the supply and reduce the demand for it, through several ways.

²⁵² The Seven Lamps of Architecture, John Ruskin, 1849

To increase the supply of healthcare, we must either reform or remove the laws that restrict the number of doctors and hospitals in the country so we can increase the supply of them and consequently lower the cost of healthcare. We must also reform certain agencies of the bureaucracy, like the NIH and FDA, to make them more efficient, effective, and un wasteful so we can expand the supply of existing medical treatments and technologies in addition to creating new ones, both of which would reduce the cost of healthcare. However, in addition to increasing the supply of healthcare, we must also reduce the demand for it.

To reduce the demand for healthcare, we must improve the quality of it and focus more on preventing sickness rather than merely treating it so we can be sick less often and therefore need treatment less often, which would reduce the demand for healthcare and lower the cost of it. In that pursuit, we must support the development of personalized medical technologies which can regularly monitor our health, quickly diagnose problems, and rapidly treat them—all of which would provide us with better knowledge of our health and therefore allow us to maintain it and prevent both sickness and the need for healthcare. We must also increase our support for the creation of new medical treatments and technologies so we can cure diseases like heart attacks, cancer, strokes, Alzheimer's, and diabetes and therefore eliminate most of our need for healthcare.

More than these things, however, we should support the creation of new medical treatments and technologies not only to reduce the cost of healthcare and improve the quality of it, but to take it to its furthest extent and dramatically improve our lives: to enhance the abilities of our minds and bodies and extend the length of life itself.

We must support the development of technologies such as genetic engineering—the improvement of the basic parts of life—so we can overcome the limitations of our being, make us immune to sickness and disease altogether, and increase our intelligence and strength, which would allow us to have not only longer and healthier lives, but dramatically better ones. We could overcome the tyranny of nature—the limitations of our minds and bodies—improve what it means to be human, and gain far more control of our lives in the world.

Most importantly, however, we must give far more support and money to the scientists and inventors who are working to end the disease of all diseases, the worst one of all: aging itself. Most of the major diseases that we suffer from are caused by the effects of aging: the decay of our minds and bodies. So, by treating the disease of aging, we can not only dramatically lower the cost of healthcare, but also live longer and healthier lives, and more than that—far more than that—we can eventually cure the disease of aging itself and live as long as we choose, which would provide us the ultimate freedom in life and be the greatest achievement in history.

Are we not angry with death? Do we not want to save ourselves, our families, and our friends and spend more time with them? Do we not want to enjoy more of the world and see what happens in the future? "A lifetime is not long enough. Nor youth to old age long enough."²⁵³ So, let us give all that we can to the things that would allow us to live longer. Let us

²⁵³ The Unabridged Journals of Sylvia Plath

move towards that day when we can say "our greatest enemy, death, is overcome" and we have the "blessing of life forevermore."²⁵⁴ How incredible that would be!

Overall, if we can do these things—accelerate the progress of our science and technology and rapidly grow the economy—then we can improve our lives and build a better country. We can have more opportunities to pursue our own happiness and ensure that all of us can achieve our dreams. However, there is still a problem that remains, one that exists in the future, but for which we must prepare before it comes: the possibility of mass unemployment among the American people from the automation of our work with artificial intelligence and machines in response to the coming collapse of populations both at home and abroad.

Despite the size of this problem, the solution is simple, although it will be difficult in practice: if the automation of our work causes mass unemployment and people will therefore be unable to provide for their survival and general welfare, then the Government must eventually tax the wealth that is primarily created by artificial intelligence and robotic machines and then distribute that money to the American people so they can survive, continue to live in freedom, and pursue their own happiness. In other words, if machines do the work of our country, then the Government must ensure that country is still worth living in for people.

We know what we must do in this century. The question is whether we are willing to choose it and then do the hard work to achieve it. If we can do these things then we can accelerate the progress of our science and technology and increase our knowledge and power in the world so we can improve our lives and build a better world. We can have a rapidly growing economy and broadly-shared in its wealth and abundance. We can eliminate the ancient problems of the world such as scarcity, poverty, and disease. We can afford to live in the country and raise children and have homes and receive healthcare and get an education. We can prevent sickness and cure diseases and live a longer and healthier and perhaps endless life. We can have endless opportunities to pursue our own happiness and infinite possibilities for the future. Yes, we can save and achieve the American Dream.

What discoveries about the Universe could we have made if we did not abandon our scientific progress? What inventions would we have today if we did not abandon our technological progress? Where are the great advances in medicine, energy, transportation, and manufacturing? How much better would our lives be today if we not abandon rapid and broadly-shared economic growth? Why have we not solved the basic problems of life: scarcity, poverty, and disease? Why is there not universal abundance? Why have we let our economy stagnate for decades? Why are we making it so hard to do more work and build great things in the country? Why are we limiting ourselves? Where is the progress, the general welfare, the pursuit of happiness? Where is the American Dream?

Let us go forth.

However, we cannot do these things if we are not first capable of doing them.

And for that, we must move to education.

²⁵⁴ The Story of Civilization, Volume II: The Life of Greece, Will Durant, 13; Psalm 133:3

EDUCATION

“Civilization...owes its life to education.”
The Story of Civilization, Vol. VI, Will & Ariel Durant

“Civilization is in a race between education and catastrophe.”
H.G. Wells

“Those who educate children well are more to be honored than
they who produce them; for these only gave them life, those the art
of living well.”
Aristotle

"...it would be well if they could be taught every Thing that is useful."
Benjamin Franklin

"Are you not risking the greatest of your possessions? For children are your
riches; and upon their turning out well or ill depends the entire world."
Plato

“A proper education would make the best government.”
The Story of Civilization, Vol. VII, Will & Ariel Durant

“A true democracy cannot rise above the level of its citizenry. The
success of democracy depends upon the intelligence, education,
moral stamina, and patriotism of its people.”
American Government, William A. McClenaghan

"This link between leadership and learning..."
John F. Kennedy

"...the faith that good citizens would be made, generation after generation."
The American Pilgrimage, Henry Luce

“Promote then, as an object of primary importance, institutions for
the general diffusion of knowledge...”
George Washington

"Only an America which has fully educated its citizens is fully
capable of tackling the complex problems and perceiving the
hidden dangers of the world in which we live."
John F. Kennedy

"A radical reform of education is essential...to the creation of a
better world."
Bertrand Russell

THE DREAM

I dream of a day when we solve the ancient problem of ignorance and all people have the knowledge, intelligence, and skills to live a full life and can improve their own lives and build a better world for everyone, when they can do so because were taught to do so, when the schools of our children are the centers of our towns and we can create new and better generations than ever before. Let this not only be a dream.

THE PROBLEM

Since the Conservative Revolution, the education system of the country has become stagnant, the cost of education has become increasingly unaffordable, and our children have become less prepared to advance the progress of science and technology, do useful work in the economy, and build a better country—to succeed in life and live a full one.

Our country is nothing more than its people and the work they do. If our country is to be great, then it needs greater people: individuals who have the knowledge, intelligence, and skills to build on the work of the generations of the past and bring us farther than ever before. The progress of science and technology cannot advance without capable scientists and inventors. The economy cannot grow with capable creators and workers. The Government cannot be effective without capable citizens and leaders. Most importantly, people cannot succeed in life if they are not prepared to do so during their early years. Our lives and future depend on the education system of the country—our public schools and universities—and yet, for decades, we have not improved the education system.

During childhood, the vast majority of the American people receive an education through public schools. Public schools are based on standardized learning: a large group of children are taught by teachers in the same way, despite their different abilities and interests, which holds back children who learn faster than others and fails children who learn slower than others. Public schools have also failed to support and experiment with new technologies that could improve the way our children learn, such as replacing the standardized education of all children in the same way with personalized learning according to each child's different abilities and unique interests. Moreover, there is little competition within the education system, despite the fact that competition in any area of society is necessary for improvements to be made. Between schools, the practice of standardized educations means there is little freedom for different schools to experiment with new ideas and ways of doing things and then compete with each other to discover the best methods of transmitting knowledge, intelligence, and skills to our children. Within schools themselves, the Government has failed to raise the incomes of teachers, which means schools cannot compete with companies to attract the best people with higher pay. “We pay physical education teachers about the same as math teachers despite the fact that math teachers have greater opportunities elsewhere in the economy.”²⁵⁵ Also, unions have prevented laws that would realistically allow schools to effectively hire and fire teachers based on their

²⁵⁵ Launching the Innovation Renaissance: A New Path to Bring Smart Ideas to Market Fast, Alexander Tabarrok, November 29, 2011

performance (that is, how well they educate our children), so the quality of teachers has stagnated and declined over time because of a lack of competition among them, even though such competition could result in the creation of trillions of dollars in the economy because children would be better educated by better teachers and therefore be better prepared to do creative and useful work in the economy.²⁵⁶ "Teachers differ enormously in their ability to [improve] student achievement. Within the same school are great teachers and not-so-great teachers, and the difference is measurable. At the end of the year some students will learn much more than others, simply because they have been assigned to better teachers."²⁵⁷ As long as schools cannot reasonably and effectively hire and fire their teachers, some children will unfairly receive a better education than others. In addition to this, teachers are "paid more when they have more experience and more advanced degrees, but such teachers are not necessarily better teachers. In [one year] alone we [spent] \$80 billion paying bonuses to teachers for factors that had little or nothing to do with the quality of their teaching."²⁵⁸ So our education system has not only become less effective, but more wasteful. As a result, at a time when the country requires a growing number of people with more knowledge, intelligence, and skills, the education of our children has become stagnant: the cost has increased over time, but results have not improved (test scores in reading, math, and science have either remained the same or even declined in recent years). Overall, our children are less prepared to succeed in life, advance our scientific and technological progress, work in the economy, and build a better country. If we stay on this present course, then our children and future generations will be unprepared to inherit the world—let alone improve it.

Once children finish public school, they then go to universities to receive a more advanced education before they begin their lives in the country and their work in the economy, but at universities they are struggling too.

Since the Conservative Revolution, the number of people who want to go to a university and get a degree in their chosen area of advanced education has increased, but the number and size of universities in the country has stagnated. As a result, the cost of getting a degree from a university has dramatically risen and become increasingly unaffordable for most people, which has caused millions of Americans to become burdened with large amounts of debt that remains with them throughout their lives and not only reduces their ability to take risks in the economy (and therefore grow our economy), but also restricts their ability to pursue their own happiness.

The number of people who want a degree from a university has increased over time because many companies thought a degree was proof of a person's knowledge, intelligence, and skills and therefore required that potential employees have one. This caused people to believe that getting a degree was necessary to get a good job—regardless of whether or not what they studied at a university was actually useful for the job they would eventually get after graduation. So, since the number of people who wanted a degree from university increased, but the number

²⁵⁶ *Id.*

²⁵⁷ *Id.*

²⁵⁸ *Id.*

and size of universities in the country stagnated—in other words, since demand increased but supply remained the same—the cost of getting a degree from a university therefore increased until it eventually became unaffordable for many Americans. So, since getting a degree was thought to be necessary to get a good job, and since the Government had a responsibility to ensure that all Americans had an equal start in life, the Government decided to subsidize the demand for a degree. It provided billions of dollars' worth of loans that banks would not have otherwise provided to millions of Americans so they could afford a degree from a university. Moreover, since universities knew that most people wanted a degree and the Government would help them pay for it, they increased the cost of their degrees even higher.

In addition to this, since universities were receiving more money, they used it to unnecessarily expand themselves, which made them wasteful and less effective. They expanded their administrative operations, created more classes, and hired as many professors they could, regardless of whether or not the administrators were actually needed or the new classes and professors would actually teach students useful knowledge and skills and offer a value that was worth the high cost of attending the university. Because of this, despite the insistence of companies that potential employees must have a degree from a university, many people now unnecessarily go to a university because they earn a degree that is ultimately useless for their job and not worth its high cost, including half of the people who earn a degree in the humanities.²⁵⁹ As a result, not only has the cost of a degree from a university increased and become increasingly unaffordable for the American people, but the value of a degree has not comparably improved.

Along with all of this, not nearly enough people are studying useful knowledge and gaining useful skills such as science, technology, engineering, and mathematics, which are the only things that can directly improve our lives and physically build a better country. Around half of the students who do study those areas are not American citizens, but are rather from other nations across the world and have only temporary permission to stay in the country (and who are forced to leave after they finish their education, which means we do not benefit from what we have them, as I will discuss in the "Population and Immigration" section).

Overall, the Government has failed to improve the education system of the country, both public schools and universities, and we have therefore become a less capable people.

THE PLAN

What must we do? We must reform the education system of the country so every child has the knowledge, intelligence, and skills to succeed in life and contribute to the country.

If we can improve our people, then we can improve the world. If we can create a better way to shape the minds and abilities of our children, then we can increase the number of scientists, inventors, creators, and talented individuals in the country who have new ideas and can do the work that is necessary to advance our progress, improve our lives, and build a better

²⁵⁹ *Id.*

world. In that pursuit, we must reform the education of our children in both public schools and universities.

To reform our public schools, the Government must do two things.

First, it must increase the competition both between and within public schools.

Second, it must support the creation of new technologies that can replace standardized education with personalized learning.

The Government must increase competition between public schools by allowing parents to choose which public school to send their children. Since parents want what is best for their children, they will choose the school that can best educate their children. As a result, schools would be forced to improve themselves so they can successfully compete with each other and attract more students by experimenting with new ideas and ways of doing things and discovering better methods of education, which would ultimately benefit everyone in the long-term. The alternative is to prevent change and competition, keep the education system as it is today, and standardize a bad education for all of our children.

The Government must also increase competition within schools themselves by increasing the income of teachers so schools can compete with companies and attract the best people—in addition to paying teachers what they deserve. Moreover, the Government must also ensure that schools can effectively hire and fire teachers based on their performance—that is, how well they can actually educate our children. “A teaching policy for the 21st century [would] reward teachers based on skills and...student performance, not on irrelevant details such as certification, experience, or advanced degrees. A 21st-century teaching policy [would] pay teachers more and [make] teacher salaries [comparable] with those of other professions....As in other professions, however, not all teachers will be paid the same. Most teachers will thrive in a system that offers greater pay for greater performance, as will the students.”²⁶⁰

We should not only improve the existing system of education in the country, but also create new and better methods of education that could dramatically improve the education of our children. In that pursuit, the Government must support the creation of new technologies that can replace standardized education with personalized learning. Especially with the development of artificial intelligence today, we can develop technologies that would allow children to learn knowledge, intelligence, and skills according to their different abilities and unique interests far more quickly and effectively than the traditional ways of the past and accelerate the long and difficult process of education. Moreover, such technologies would relieve the burden on teachers who are forced to instruct large groups of students in the same way and allow them to provide general guidance and supervision to students as they learned at their own pace in their own way.

Once we improve the ability of public schools to educate our children, we must also encourage more children to study the most useful areas of knowledge: science and technology. The "Government should accept new responsibilities for promoting the flow of new scientific [and technological] knowledge and the development of scientific [and technological] talent in our youth. These responsibilities are the proper concern of Government, for they vitally affect

²⁶⁰ *Id.*

our health, our jobs, and our national security.”²⁶¹ Not only is the study of science and technology the best way for our children to become successful in life and contribute to the world, but our lives and future depend on it. If we are to advance our progress, improve our lives, and build a better world, then we will need more and more capable scientists, inventors, and engineers in the country—and how can more people become more capable if not through their education?

Overall, by increasing competition both within and between public schools and creating new technologies that can replace standardized education with personalized learning, we can ensure that our children can start their lives more prepared than ever before, succeed in life more than ever before, and become a better generation of Americans than ever before. Our schools should be the most important place in a town, where children go to learn and come to love learning, where they make friends, debate with each other, build things together, and participate in numerous clubs, athletics, and activities; where they discover the best version of themselves and are provided with every resource to cultivate the best that is within them; and where they maximize their potential with great teachers, personalized learning technologies, and abundant opportunities to learn about diverse areas of knowledge and gain the skills for a fuller and happier life. And yet, after our children finish their education in public schools, we must also ensure they can not only receive a good education at university, but also afford it.

To reform our universities, the Government must do two things.

First, the Government must reduce the cost of earning a degree from a university. It can do so through several ways. It can restrict funding to universities unless they make reasonable efforts to reduce their costs—and consequently improve their effectiveness and the quality of their education. It can increase the supply of universities by supporting either the creation of new universities or the expansion of existing ones. It can also restrict the loans that it provides to only those people who study science, technology, mathematics, or engineering, which would not only reduce the cost of a degree from a university, but also increase the share of people who study useful areas of knowledge. Moreover, the Government can reduce the cost of earning a degree from a university by reducing the demand for it—that is, by eliminating the source of much of the demand for it, which is the requirement by companies that potential employees have a degree from a university, even if a degree is not necessary for the job.

In that pursuit, we must encourage companies to change their ways and require a degree only if it will actually be useful for the job. In addition to this, we must also encourage people to not seek a degree, waste years of their lives, and become burdened with debt if doing so will not be useful for what they actually want to do in life. There are many other ways to gain knowledge and skills than by attending university, such as getting a job after high school or going to a specialized school that offers a skill-based education for a specific career. However, to ensure that people without a degree can still succeed in life, the Government must also support the development of new ways for people to gain useful knowledge, intelligence, and skills and ensure that companies have effective ways to hire people without a degree.

²⁶¹ *Id.*

We know what we must do in this century. The question is whether we are willing to choose it and then do the hard work to achieve it. If we can do these things, then we can ensure that our children receive a better education during their early years and can afford a more advanced education in their later years. With more knowledge, intelligence, and skills from public schools, and with more money from being able to afford a degree from a university, the American people will not only have more opportunities to pursue their own happiness, but also the ability to advance our progress, improve, our lives, and build a better country. If the future of our country depends on the education of our children, then what will happen we improve their education and a create a better generation of Americans? We could achieve wonders.

So let us go forth.

However, although we may improve the education of our people, should we not also have more of them?

And so we must move to population and immigration.

POPULATION AND IMMIGRATION

“Look now toward heaven, and count the stars if you are able to number them....So shall your descendants be.”
Genesis 15:5

“Be fruitful and multiply, increase greatly on the earth and multiply in it
....Increase in number, do not decrease.”
Genesis 9:7; Jeremiah 29:5

“The richest resource of a civilization is the people themselves.”
America As A Civilization, Max Lerner

“The foundation of my country’s destiny
And of the destiny of earth itself.”
The Prelude, William Wordsworth

“History cannot advance without people, plenty of people.”
The Glory of the Empire, Jean d’Ormesson

“My fellow immigrants...”
Franklin Delano Roosevelt

“Love your neighbor as yourself. There is no greater commandment.”
Mark 12:30

“...a chosen country, with room enough for our descendants to the thousandth
and thousandth generation”
Thomas Jefferson

“the shining city...with people of all kinds living in harmony and peace....And
if there had to be city walls...the doors were open to anyone with the will and
the heart to get here....for all who must have freedom...who are hurtling
through the darkness towards home....from any corner of the Earth, can come
to live in America and become an American.”
Ronald Reagan

“Yes, the sweat of all nations built America, and the blood.”
Why We Fight, Frank Capra

“Behind you lies beautiful heaven,
before you endless humankind.”
Enheduanna

“We shall all be Americans.”
Thomas Jefferson

THE DREAM

I dream of a day when we are a growing people, when children are a blessing and not a burden, when families are full and friendships flourish, when our towns are filled life and the laughter of children, when people around the world can come here to live in freedom and build a better world, when the nation of nations is the home of humankind, and when we become as numerous as the stars. Let this not only be a dream.

THE PROBLEM

Since the Conservative Revolution, less people have been having less children both at home and abroad. Now, we face the coming collapse of the global population. The growth of our own population has been stagnant for decades and is now declining, and it will collapse in the years ahead if we do not change our ways.

As I mentioned in the "Life on the Planet Earth" section, one of the basic elements of any form of life is that it reproduces itself over time so it can ensure its survival and continue to exist throughout the future. Since the beginning of the only known life in the Universe nearly 3.7 billion years ago, the various forms of life have struggled to survive in a violent and dangerous world. Their existence depended on their ability to adapt to an ever-changing world so they could continue to reproduce themselves and have children.

As it was for them, so it is for us.

Since humankind began around 300,000 years, our population grew even though almost all of us were burdened with the ancient problems of the world: scarcity, poverty, disease, ignorance, tyranny, and war. And yet, we persevered and had children. Only 200 years ago did we begin to advance our scientific and technological progress and gain the ability to solve our problems, improve our lives, and build a better world—one that could support the survival and general welfare of an increasing number of people, not thousands or millions, but billions. Although we are in a crisis today, this is still the greatest time to be alive in human history: life is better today than it has ever been in the past. In the past, people had children even though life was difficult. Today, people are having less children even though life is much better. We are the first species in history that is choosing to not reproduce—the first form of life knowingly moving towards its extinction. If we do not change our ways, then a smaller generation will produce a smaller generation and so on until eventually the population collapses, the economy collapses, the country collapses, and the existence of humankind is potentially no more.

Why is this happening? We have come this far, so why are we giving up? Why are we having less children? Why are we threatening our existence on the planet Earth and creating less life in the Universe? There has been no event in the past which has reduced the number of human beings on the planet Earth more than our own choice to not have children. Only a few years ago, for the first time in human history, there were more people over 65 years old than there were

children under 5 years old.²⁶² "In all of recorded history, no country has ever been as old as [we] are expected to get."²⁶³

The populations of other nations will collapse long before ours, but what happens abroad will still affect us at home. In the next few decades, there will no longer be a sufficient number of people in other nations to do the work to maintain their economies, let alone grow them, so their economies will decline and begin to shrink. Once their economies begin to shrink, their lives will become worse until eventually their entire economies collapse—along with their societies. And once their societies collapse, they will return to the world that we spent thousands of years trying to escape: scarcity, poverty, disease, and general chaos. Then, as chaos spreads across the world, so too will war, and as wars are waged, more people will die, more populations will shrink faster, and more societies collapse. If we do not find a way to solve the problem of population collapse at home, then we will be unable to solve the problem of it abroad and prevent the spread of chaos and war across the world.

Although these things will happen to other nations before us, what will happen in the meantime as we move towards the collapse of our own population?

Over time, the United States of America will become older than ever before as less people have less children. The number of young people in the country will gradually diminish, the number of workers will begin to decline by mid-century, the remaining people will grow older, the Government will increasingly become controlled by the elderly (more than it already is), and our society will thereafter become defined by them. A country with more old people is "less productive, less optimistic, less innovative, and less energetic than a youthful one."²⁶⁴ So, in the economy, there will be less scientific discovery, less technological invention, and less economic growth—less general progress. In society, there will be less change, less new ideas, and less creation—a lesser life in a lesser country. Our lives will not improve as much as they could and we will miss what we could have achieved.

Far worse than these, however, is the basic fact that we are creating less humans on the planet Earth—less life in the Universe. There are less ideas and culture, less discovery and invention, and less joy and laughter. There will be less birthdays and more funerals, less marriages and more loneliness, less love and more heartbreak, less friendships and more empty towns—less of everything that makes life so special and important in the Universe.

The stagnation and decline of the growth of our population is incredible, a complete reversal of our assumptions about the future. Before the Conservative Revolution, we believed that too many people were having too many children, the world would soon become overpopulated, and our way of life would become unsustainable. Now, however, it is undeniable: a growing number of people are choosing to have less children or none at all and we face the dwindling of life both at home and abroad.

²⁶² The End of the World is Just the Beginning: Mapping the Collapse of Globalization, Peter Zeihan, 73

²⁶³ How a Vast Demographic Shift Will Reshape the World, Lauren Leatherby, The New York Times, July 16, 2023

²⁶⁴ The Genius of Israel: The Surprising Resilience of a Divided Nation in a Turbulent World, Dan Senor & Paul Singer, 70

Why are less of us having less children? One of the main reasons is that the cost of having and raising a child—providing them childcare, healthcare, a home, and an education—has become increasingly unaffordable for many people.

Unlike many nations around the world, the United States of America does not support its parents, especially those who work. If parents or individuals have children, there is no guarantee that they can temporarily stop working to raise their children but still receive money so they can support themselves and their children. Without such support, parents either need to pay others to care for their children while they work, which has also become increasingly unaffordable, or one parent needs to stop working to raise their children while the other continues to work, which means families have less money overall to raise their children.

However, even if parents did receive support so they could temporarily stop working to raise their children, they would still be unable to afford raising their children because the incomes for the majority of the American people have been stagnant for decades while the cost of living in the country has increased, which means that parents have less money to support themselves and their children. The cost of healthcare has become increasingly unaffordable, so people cannot afford to have more children and pay for their healthcare. The cost of a home has also become increasingly unaffordable, so people struggle to afford a good home for their family, let alone a larger one to fit a growing family. Moreover, the cost of education has become increasingly unaffordable, so people cannot afford to have more children and pay for their education.

In addition to people being unable to afford to have and raise children, there is also another reason why less people are having less children, a far more difficult one: a growing number of people simply do not want to have children.

The “future of [a] species can be shaped only by those individuals that...survive and reproduce.”²⁶⁵ What is the future without children? There is no future without children.

Despite the fact that less of us are having less children and we face the collapse of our population, we are restricting people around the world from coming here, becoming a citizen, and increasing our population.

Our immigration system, like many other parts of our country, has become stagnant. We have not improved it for decades and it has since decayed. In recent years, the rate of legal immigration into our country has been lower and the immigration system itself has been more restrictive than they have been throughout most of American history. Since the founding of country, we have always been a nation of immigrants: every single one of us has crossed the oceans, skies, and lands to reach these shores. Because of this, we are the nation of nations, the home of humankind. We are Americans because we are immigrants, a people who came from distant worlds to build a new one. Immigration has always been a basic part of our identity and the fundamental fabric of our tradition, so, by closing our country to the world, we lose what makes us American.

²⁶⁵ Maps of Time: An Introduction to Big History, David Christian, 83

Why has the immigration system become more restrictive? One major reason is that, like the rest of the bureaucracy, the agency whose responsibility is to support the immigration system and the assimilation of people from other nations into American citizens—the United States Citizenship and Immigration Services (USCIS)—has become inefficient, ineffective, and wasteful. The agency lacks sufficient resources to fulfill its responsibilities, particularly money and people. In fact, the agency does not receive its funding from the Government, but rather from the people who seek to come here, which not only increases the costs and burdens on those people, but also fails to provide the agency with sufficient resources to fulfill its responsibilities. Moreover, the immigration system is defined by extremely long delays: millions of people are forced to wait years after they submit an application to either live and work here or become a citizen before they receive permission. Because of these high costs and extreme delays, there is an incentive for the millions of people who are desperate to escape the failures of other nations to cross our borders illegally in pursuit of a better life—even if that means a life outside of the law.

Another effect of our decayed immigration system is that we are preventing the best minds, creators, and builders in the world—the smartest and most talented people—from coming here to live, work, and become a citizen. Immigrants are absolutely vital to our economy. Without them, we could not have become a great country in the past, would not be the great country of today, and could not become a greater country in the future. A large share of our scientific discoveries and technological inventions have come from immigrants and most of the largest and most valuable companies in our economy have been created by them (along with the millions of jobs, billions of dollars of wealth, and consequent growth of our incomes that they have caused). More than most, immigrants grow our economy—and far more than most, they believe in the American Dream.

The American Dream is alive in the mind of every immigrant who comes to this land in search of freedom and a better life for themselves and their families. Those who leave their home and explore the unknown in search of a promised land—a land where they can have the opportunity to work hard and pursue their own happiness—are the most "enthusiastic seekers of the American Dream, not just economically, but culturally."²⁶⁶ Immigrants not only seek to be free and build a home, they not only work hard and grow the economy, they not only bring more culture to the country and make life more exciting, but they are the ones who keep the American Dream alive and prove that it is real. As a President said, immigrants “believe in the American dream. And over and over, they make it come true for themselves, for their children, and for others. They give more than they receive. They labor and succeed...But their greatest contribution is more than economic, because they understand in a special way how glorious it is to be an American. They renew our pride and gratitude in the United States of America, the greatest, freest nation in the world.”

Along with the traditional, economic, and cultural benefits of immigration, most of the people who study science, technology, mathematics, and engineering at our universities come from foreign lands. However, when they finish their education, instead of letting them stay here,

²⁶⁶ The End of the World is Just the Beginning: Mapping the Collapse of Globalization, Peter Zeihan, 101

we force them to leave, which reduces the number of people in our country who have new ideas and the knowledge, intelligence, and skills to advance the progress of our science and technology, create new companies, grow our economy, improve our lives, and build a better country. Instead of letting foreign students stay and use the education we give them to make our country greater, we force them to go abroad, where they can use their education to make other nations greater—including tyrannical ones like China. How much better would our lives be today if we had not closed our country to the world?

We are a lesser country because of our mistakes, and because we are a lesser country, we are therefore less able to compete in the world. As a President said,

"[It is] the great life force of each generation of new Americans that guarantees that America's triumph shall continue unsurpassed into the next century and beyond. Other countries may seek to compete with us; but in one vital area, as a beacon of freedom and opportunity that draws the people of the world, no country on Earth comes close.

This...is one of the most important sources of America's greatness. We lead the world because, unique among nations, we draw our people—our strength—from every country and every corner of the world. And by doing so we continuously renew and enrich our nation. While other countries cling to the stale past, here in America we breathe life into dreams. We create the future, and the world follows us into tomorrow. Thanks to each wave of new arrivals to this land of opportunity, we're a nation forever young, forever bursting with energy and new ideas, and always on the [frontier], always leading the world to the next frontier. This quality is vital to our future as a nation. If we ever closed the door to new Americans, our leadership in the world would soon be lost."

But we did close that door, and we are now a people who are clinging to the past, getting older, have less energy and new ideas, and losing our leadership of the world.

The vast majority of people in other nations already want to come to America more than anywhere else, and every other nation is trying to persuade them to go to elsewhere. "This country is unique in its status as the overwhelmingly preferred destination of would-be migrants across the world. As such, simply by enacting sensible policies, we can enjoy the presumption of practically limitless access to scientists, engineers, medical professionals, and other in-demand talent....This attractiveness to talent is arguably the single greatest advantage any nation can possess. But instead of embracing it, we continue to languish in an incoherent and self-defeating approach."²⁶⁷

Overall, there is less life in our country because less of us are having less children and we are allowing less people to come here and become a citizen. If we stay on this present course, then eventually our population will collapse, along with the economy—along with the country.

THE PLAN

²⁶⁷ The Case for Economic Dynamism, John Lettieri & Kenan Fikri, Economic Innovation Group, 36

What must we do? We must grow our population. To do this, more of us must have more children and we must let more people come to our country.

If more of us are to have more children, then the Government must make it easier to have and raise children. In that pursuit, we must do several things.

First, we must allow parents to temporarily stop working after they have children but still receive money so they can support themselves and their children.

Second, we must reduce the cost of raising children (their healthcare, homes, and education).

Third, we must encourage each other to have more children—which will be the most difficult, but for which the Government does not and should not have a role.

“If this country is to keep its high place in the leadership of the world, and to survive...our people must be encouraged by every means to have larger families.”²⁶⁸ To encourage more people to have more children, then we must make it easier for them to have and raise children. Many people do not have children because, if they did, they would not be able to work and therefore provide for themselves and their children. So, the Government must ensure that parents can temporarily stop working after they have children, but still receive money so they can support themselves and their children. Moreover, the Government must also reduce the cost of childcare so people can afford to have others watch their children when they return to work, which we can do by increasing the supply of childcare providers in the country. In addition to these things, we must also change the culture of the country to support both work and family. For example, employees who have children and start families should be a cause for celebration at companies, not termination, and companies should foster an environment where people can both work hard and raise their families, and who will work harder and become more successful as a result—for why do we work if not for our families?

We must also reduce the cost of raising a child, specifically the cost of healthcare, homes, and education, which I already discussed in the "Science, Technology, and Economic Growth" and "Education" sections. In addition to this, we must also raise the incomes of the American people by growing the economy, which I have also already discussed in the "Science, Technology, and Economic Growth" section, so more people can have more money to have and raise more children and pursue not only their own happiness, but those of their families.

If we can do these things, then we make it easier to have and raise children in the country. However, none of these will work if a growing number of people simply do not want to have more children or any at all. The only way to prevent the coming collapse of our population is for more people to *want* to have children. And so, we must encourage each other to have children and do everything we can to help one another.

The Government should never force people to have children, nor punish them for choosing not to, but we must understand the dangerous risks of a shrinking population. If more people do not have more children, then there will be less progress in society, our economy will decline, our country will eventually collapse, and the lives of whoever remains will be lesser,

²⁶⁸ A Four Year Plan for Britain, Winston Churchill, March 21, 1943

since life is nothing more than the people around us. Moreover, the longer we wait to have more children—the longer we allow our population to shrink—the more children we will need to have if we are to bring the population back to normal. We care about preserving the number of plants and animals on the planet Earth, why not the number of humans?

In addition to growing our population by having more children, we must also grow it by reforming our immigration system so more people from around the world, both the best and the good, can come to our country to live, work, and become a citizen.

Aside from growing our population, there are other reasons why we should reform our immigration system and let more people come here: it will preserve the American tradition of being the home of humankind, advance the progress of our science and technology, rapidly grow our economy through the creation of new companies, products, jobs, and wealth, and make our culture more vibrant, meaningful, and exciting since a nation of nations is also a culture of cultures, which creates more and better ways to spend our precious time in life.

To reform the immigration system, we must provide the USCIS with sufficient resources so it can fulfill its responsibilities efficiently, effectively, and unwastefully and allow more people to come here, live in freedom, raise a family, work in the economy, and contribute to the country. By improving the immigration system, we can reduce the costs and eliminate the long delays of the immigration process and therefore reduce the incentive for millions of people to cross our borders illegally and live outside of the law. In addition to this, we should also make it easier for the best minds, creators, and builders in the world—people who study science, mathematics, technology, or engineering at our universities, or work at one of our advanced technology companies, or simply have great potential to succeed in life—to remain in the country and become a citizen.

However, even if we do these things—make it easier to have children and reform the immigration system—they might solve the problem of our domestic population collapse, but they will not solve the problem of global population collapse. If a growing number of people in other nations continue to choose to have less children or none at all, then we will need other solutions to prevent the collapse of those nations and the spread of chaos and war across the world.

The first solution is to extend the length of life so less people die, more people can live longer, and therefore the populations of other nations will shrink slower and prevent their collapse. We can do this by advancing the progress of our medical knowledge and technology and treating (and eventually curing) the disease of aging, as I discussed in the "Science, Technology, and Economic Growth" section.

The second solution is to advance the progress of our science and technology so we can replace a shrinking number of workers around the world through automation and prevent the collapse of the economies around the world, and therefore the collapse of nations. We could especially do this if we develop artificial intelligence, as I will discuss in the "Artificial Intelligence" section.

If we can solve these problems at home, then we can solve them for the world. By extending the length of life and automating our work, we can prevent the coming chaos of the global population collapse and protect the survival and general welfare of humankind throughout the future.

However, although we may do these things and prevent the chaos of population collapse both at home and abroad, if we still choose to have less children, then it will still mean there will be less humans on the planet Earth—less life in the Universe—and that is something we should never accept. We must always, always, seek more life, love, and joy in the world.

We know what we must do in this century. The question is whether we are willing to choose it and then do the hard work to achieve it.

So let us go forth.

However, if we are to grow our population and ensure the existence of humankind throughout the future, we must also ensure that the planet Earth remains a home for them—that it does not become uninhabitable for them.

And so, we must move to climate change and energy.

CLIMATE CHANGE AND ENERGY

"And the sun passes over and warms the earth."
On Nature, Xenophanes

"Behold, I will bring a flood upon the earth....The waters swelled
and increased greatly."
Genesis 6:17; Genesis 7:18

"...on that day all the fountains of the great deep burst forth, and
the windows of the heavens were opened."
Genesis 7:11

"...the twenty-first century is the very first in which one species
has the power to determine, for good or for ill, the future of the
entire [world]"
The Long View, Natalie Cargill & Tyler John

"Evolution has...created an organism that can direct and engineer
not only its own development, but also the evolutionary paths of
all other life."
The Next 500 Years, Christopher Mason

"Unless there is some kind of...revolution that can keep abreast of
our technological genius, it is unlikely that we will save our
planet."
The Great Transformation, Karen Armstrong

"The real wealth of the country is the environment in the long run."
Secretary of the Interior Stewart Udall

"Energy's fundamental role in economic growth is obvious: all
productive activities require its conversions."
Growth: From Microorganisms to Megacities, Vaclav Smil

"Energy is the stuff of the Universe...all matter is also a form of
energy...the economic system is essentially a system
for...transforming energy as resources."
Robert Ayres

"The history of [humankind], then, it would seem to me, is much
more a history of the development of [its] uses of energy than it is
the story of the vagaries of kings and conquerors."
Life and Energy, Isaac Asimov

THE DREAM

I dream of a day when the planet Earth is full of life, when it is a bountiful and beautiful home for all generations who can live without fear for the future, when we are an energetic people who can harness more energy, a powerful country that can use more power, a wonderful world that is full of work. Let this not only be a dream.

THE PROBLEM

Since the Conservative Revolution, the planet Earth has become warmer over time and every year is now hotter than the last—which was hotter than ever before. Now, we face the end of the habitability of large parts of the planet Earth for all forms of life—including us.

For most of human history, we lacked the knowledge and technology to harness the energy around us and power the work that was necessary to advance our progress, improve our lives, and build a better world. However, during the Industrial Revolution, we discovered that we could burn hydrocarbons (liquid oil and gases like methane) as a large source of energy. For the next two hundred years, we used that energy to begin the progress of humankind and dramatically change our lives in the world for the better, though at great cost, since as we gained more power over the world, we affect control more of the future and fate of the world.

In the 20th century, we learned that burning large amounts of hydrocarbons over time had a terrible effect on the general climate of the planet Earth. When liquid oil and gases like methane are burned, they release carbon dioxide into the atmosphere, which accumulates and remains there for centuries. With more carbon dioxide in the atmosphere, the light from the Sun is unable to reflect off of the surface of the planet Earth into the Universe, so the heat from that light remains in the atmosphere and increases its average temperature, and as the atmosphere becomes hotter over time, everything beneath and within it becomes hotter also—and as a result, the planet Earth itself will begin to change.

In a hotter world, the large amounts of ice that are in the north and south poles of the planet will melt, which will add water to the oceans, raise the oceans over the land, and flood and destroy everything upon it, including the numerous cities that are near an ocean and the billions of people who live within them. Moreover, since the ice in the north and south poles reflect large amounts of light from the Sun back into the Universe, the melting of them will also mean that even more heat will be absorbed by the atmosphere and increase the average temperature of the planet Earth.

In a hotter world, the oceans will become warmer, which will decrease the oxygen in the water and kill most of the life within it.

In a hotter world, there will be more energy in the atmosphere, so the weather of the world will become more powerful and therefore more extreme, violent, and destructive: longer and hotter summers (many places will be so hot that millions will die because their bodies will no longer be able to cool themselves through sweat), colder winters and then warmer and shorter winters, and more massive and wilder storms of hurricanes, monsoons, wildfires, lightning strikes, rainfall, and tornadoes.

In a hotter world, deserts will spread and kill the life on the land, food will be unable to grow in many parts of the world, and the rivers, lakes, and seas of the world will begin to evaporate—all of which will cause the hunger, thirst, and suffering of hundreds of millions across the world.

At a certain point, the planet Earth will become so hot that a chain reaction will begin and the warming of the world will escape our control, and we will live under the whims and at the mercy of a blind and destructive tyranny: the full force of nature itself.

Overall, the extreme changes to the general climate of the planet Earth will cause large parts of it to become inhabitable for the life on it—especially us. In many parts of the world, not only will survival be a struggle, but simply existing will become uncomfortable. If the long and slow process of climate change is allowed to continue, then nations around the world will eventually be destroyed and collapse, global trade will decline and cause havoc in other nations, the global economic system will become destabilized and worsen our lives, and millions of people—perhaps billions—will be forced to flee the hot and dry wastelands of their homeland toward the safety of other nations who will be unable to provide for them and therefore cause general chaos in the world.

Since the Industrial Revolution, the total amount of carbon dioxide in the atmosphere has increased by 50% and is now higher than it was for the last 800,000 years. During the same time, the average temperature of the planet Earth has increased by around 2 degrees, and will continue to increase in the years ahead if we do not change our ways—specifically, the way that we use energy. If we stay on this present course, then we could lose our only homeworld, the home of the only known life in the Universe.

While climate change is one of the greatest threats that we have ever faced, there is another problem about our use of energy: we are not using enough. As I discussed in the "Life on the Planet Earth" section, the basic principles of any form of life are that it (1) consumes energy to maintain itself and (2) uses energy to do work in the environment to survive. This is true for us: we use energy not only to survive, but to improve our lives and build a better world so we can pursue our own happiness and achieve our dreams. The quality of our lives depends on the growth of our economy, which depends on how much work we can do in the world, which depends on how much energy we can harness and use to power that work. "The amount of energy at a society's disposal puts clear limits on the overall scope of action."²⁶⁹ Therefore, not only our survival, but also our happiness are limited by the amount of energy that we can harness and use to power our work in the economy. Given this, our lives depend on both our willingness and ability to harness energy from all sources and in all forms, not any specific one. And yet, since the Conservation Revolution, most of our energy came from only one source, hydrocarbons, and the total amount of energy that we use has become stagnant, as did our economy—as did our spirit.

THE PLAN

²⁶⁹ Energy and Civilization: A History, Vaclav Smil, 431

What must we do? “Our Earth is forty-five million centuries old. But this century is the first in which one species—ours—can determine [its] fate.”²⁷⁰ Our use of hydrocarbons is unsustainable. If we continue to use them, then we will continue to emit more carbon dioxide into the atmosphere and increase the average temperature of the planet Earth until it is no longer habitable for us. Therefore, to prevent extreme climate change, we must reduce the amount of carbon dioxide that we emit into the atmosphere by reducing the amount of hydrocarbons that we use and burn. However, we must still use energy—and more of it—if we are to advance our progress, accelerate our economic growth, improve our lives, build a better world, and achieve our dreams. Therefore, we must create new technologies that can harness other forms of energy which do not emit carbon dioxide into the atmosphere so we can use them sustainably—such as the light of the Sun, the force of the wind, the flow of water, the heat from the core of the planet, the power within atoms, and perhaps even the basic energy of Universe itself through the quantum particles of space. By doing so, we could replace hydrocarbons with sustainable forms of energy, transition our country to a new energy system, and prevent extreme climate change across the world. However, in addition to all of this, we must also ensure that our transition to a sustainable energy system is responsible. What is a responsible energy transition?

Since our lives depend on the use of energy, we must continue to use hydrocarbons in the short-term as we develop sustainable energy technologies in the long-term so we can continue to advance our progress, improve our lives, and build a better world. More importantly, though, we must continue to use hydrocarbons in the short-term so we can maintain the stability and functioning of society, both of which are necessary if we are to develop sustainable energy technologies and deploy them across society to prevent extreme climate change.

If we reduce our use of hydrocarbons before we have the means to replace them with other forms of energy, then we will have less energy to use, society will become destabilized, our economy will shrink, and our lives will become worse. Without a stable and functioning society, scientists and inventors will not be able to develop sustainable energy technologies and companies in the free market will not be able to turn those technologies into useful products, innovate and improve them, compete with each other to sell them to people everywhere at the lowest price, and therefore deploy those them across society to replace hydrocarbons. Therefore, a sustainable transition depends on a stable foundation and we must continue to use hydrocarbons in the short-term so we can develop and deploy sustainable energy technologies in the long-term. However, although we must use hydrocarbons in the short-term, we must also develop and deploy sustainable energy technologies as fast as possible so we can prevent extreme climate change as soon as possible. How can we do that?

If we are to develop sustainable energy technologies as fast as possible, then the Government must accelerate their development with money and good bureaucracy (as I discussed in the "Government Reform" section) and if we are to deploy them across society as fast as possible, then the Government must ensure that there is free and fair competition between companies in the free market by preventing monopolistic activity and supporting the freedom of

²⁷⁰ On the Future, Martin Rees, 12

companies to do work and build things in the country (as I discussed in the "Science, Technology, and Economic Growth" section). By doing so, not only can we transition to a sustainable energy system as fast possible to reduce the emission of carbon dioxide into the atmosphere from our own country as soon as possible, but also emission of carbon dioxide from other nations. If sustainable energy technologies become widely available and at a low cost, then other nations will be able to afford them and therefore deploy them across their own societies, which would reduce their emissions of carbon dioxide into the atmosphere and therefore reduce the emission of carbon dioxide from around the world. In other words, if we can solve the problem at home, then we can solve them for the world—and in this case, we can save the world. Fortunately, we have already made progress in this pursuit.

In recent years, we have developed many sustainable energy technologies, lowered their cost (some below the cost of hydrocarbons), and deployed them across society enough that we are now emitting less carbon dioxide over time but are still growing our economy—although stagnantly.

The amount of hydrocarbons on the planet Earth are finite, but the many other forms of energy that surround us are infinite—and more than that, they are more abundant and can become cheaper than hydrocarbons ever were (some already are), which not only means that they can become better sources for our economic growth and the improvement of our lives, but also that they can make us wealthier than ever before—far wealthier than if we limited ourselves to only hydrocarbons.

Although we have made progress in recent years to develop sustainable energy technologies and deploy them across society, there is still far more work for us to do and further to go, especially since nations like China and India are emitting increasingly massive amounts of carbon dioxide into the atmosphere in pursuit of their economic growth, the elimination of poverty in their countries, and the improvement of their lives. Therefore, we must continue what we have been doing but also do more and go further by accelerating the development and deployment of sustainable energy technologies across society and the world. However, in addition to this, we must also invent two technologies specifically—one that would dramatically change the world and one that could solve the problem of climate change by itself.

Today, we have technologies that allow us to harness most of the sources of energy surrounding us, such as solar power, wind power, hydropower, geothermal power, and nuclear fission (the release and capture of energy by splitting atoms). However, there is another source of energy that we have not yet harnessed. Instead of releasing the energy within atoms by splitting them apart through nuclear fission, we can harness far more energy and at a much lower cost if we can invent a technology that can combine atoms together rather than split them apart through a process known as nuclear fusion, which is what powers the Sun—and so we could create and harness suns of our own. If we can invent nuclear fusion technology, which the Government is currently supporting through the National Laboratories and has recently made some progress, then it would dramatically change the world, and would do so because it would dramatically increase our power in the world. With nuclear fusion technology, we could have an infinite

abundance of energy that would essentially be free—and with free and infinite energy, there would be no limit to what we could do in the Universe.

The other technology that we must invent would solve the problem of climate change by itself because, instead of reducing the amount of carbon dioxide that we emit into the atmosphere, it would allow us to remove carbon dioxide from the atmosphere altogether and therefore control and reduce the average temperature of the planet Earth. Moreover, if we can invent carbon removal technology, which the Government must support in the same way that it must for sustainable energy technologies and nuclear fusion technology, then we can reuse carbon dioxide for certain activities that cannot transition their operations to sustainable energy in the short-term, such as large transportation and complex industry, and therefore allow them to burn hydrocarbons without adding to the total amount of carbon dioxide in the atmosphere.

Along with the development and deployment of all of these technologies, we must also encourage companies in the energy industry who manufacture and sell hydrocarbons to use their knowledge, resources, experience, and infrastructure to transition towards manufacturing and selling sustainable energy technologies, through which they could still earn a profit, earn far more profit in the long-term, and help to save the world. “If you could make a living while saving the world—if it represented your best chance for stability and long life and your children...then why not? Why not?”²⁷¹

We know what we must do in this century. The question is whether we are willing to choose it and then do the hard work to achieve it. If we can responsibly transition our country to a sustainable energy system, then we can not only save the world, but improve our lives and build a better world. We can ensure that the planet Earth remains full of life and beautiful lands and secure a home that can be habitable for ourselves, our children, and the generations of the future.

So let us go forth.

However, although we may ensure that the planet Earth remains the home of humankind throughout the future, the question is: will it remain our home forever?

And so we must move to the two final sections of this book—

To a mind that is greater than our own and a home among the stars.

²⁷¹ Blue Mars, Kim Stanley Robinson, 193

ARTIFICIAL INTELLIGENCE

“We are on a threshold of a change in the Universe comparable to the transition from non-life to life.”

Hans Moravec

"...we are on the edge of a change comparable to the rise of human life on Earth....Developments that before were thought might only happen in ‘a million years’ (if ever) will likely happen in [this] century."

The Coming Technological Singularity, Vernor Vinge

"...the age of creating new creators."

Roon

"...we would devise a machine a little cleverer than ourselves, then set that machine to invent another that lay beyond our comprehension."

Machines Like Me, by Ian McEwan

"When greater-than-human intelligence drives progress, that progress will be much more rapid....Thus the first ultraintelligent machine is the last invention that [we] need ever make, provided that [we can] keep it under control."

The Coming Technological Singularity, Vernor Vinge

"...solve artificial general intelligence, and then use that to solve everything else."

The Maniac, by Benjamín Labatut

"A robot may not harm humanity, or, by inaction, allow humanity to come to harm."

Zeroth Law of Robotics, Isaac Asimov

THE DREAM

I dream of a day when we are more knowledgeable and powerful than ever before because we built a mind that was greater than any before, when we solve all of the problems of the world, achieve all of our dreams for the world, and live a life beyond imagination. Let this not only be a dream.

THE POSSIBILITY AND THE PROBLEM

Although science and technology are our salvation, artificial intelligence is the solution to our problems. Our existence in the Universe is limited by our knowledge and power within it, which are limited by the abilities of our minds and bodies. Our minds are what make us different from the other forms of life on the planet Earth. With them, we have the ability to think, observe the Universe, learn about it, store information in our memory, create knowledge, and then imagine how we can use that knowledge in the world through our bodies and with technologies. Our work and progress are limited by the physical structure of our brains and the abilities of our bodies, which means we are limited as individuals also: we can only observe our local part of the world, remember a limited amount of information, understand a limited amount of knowledge, and imagine a limited number of things in a given moment and at a relatively slow speed over time. Therefore, our work and progress depends on the number of individuals who exist, their education and experiences in the world, the resources available to them, the cooperation between them, and the time it takes for them to do all of these things. Given the limitations of our being and the need to accelerate our progress to achieve our dreams sooner, what if we could create a technology that could overcome our limitations—that could think and do work faster than ever before?

Despite the fact that we do not know how our mind works yet, we are trying to build a mind that is greater than our own: an artificial intelligence.²⁷² If we succeed, then an artificial intelligence will likely be the most powerful technology that we ever create because it would allow us to overcome the limitations of our being that were laid on us by nature. We could overcome the limitations of our mind by building a computer that could think about more things faster and therefore accelerate the discovery of new knowledge about the Universe and the invention of new technologies—and therefore accelerate the progress of our science and technology faster than we ever could. Moreover, by combining artificial intelligence with robotic machines, which themselves could be created better and faster than us by an artificial intelligence, we could overcome the limitations of our bodies and increase our power in the world by expanding our ability to do work in the world. More than these things, however, if intelligent machines can do more of our work for us, then we can eliminate the necessity of doing work ourselves, which would give us the ultimate freedom to live as we choose in the world.

²⁷² Although "artificial intelligence" is known by many names with different meanings, in this book, it refers to a machine that has a greater general intelligence than our own, a superintelligence which could improve itself and become more powerful over time without our help—and perhaps develop a consciousness of its own.

With artificial intelligence and robotic machines, we could advance our progress, improve our lives, and build a better world faster than we ever could alone—and therefore achieve our dreams sooner than we ever could alone. We could discover the answers to our ultimate questions about the Universe, rapidly grow our economy and create dramatically more wealth, produce a universal abundance of all of the things that we need and want in life to survive and be happy, cure diseases, ensure the permanence of our health, enhance the abilities of our minds and bodies, and extend the length of life itself—even overcome death itself and allow us to live as long as we choose—build faster methods of transportation across the country, the planet Earth, and throughout the Universe, enable an cultural flourishing of beautiful art and personalized education and generative entertainment that would make life itself more meaningful and exciting and therefore radically expand the opportunities for us to pursue our own happiness. In other words, an artificial intelligence would allow us to build a world beyond our wildest imagination, create more possibilities for the future, and accelerate our progress faster so we can live our dreams sooner. We could finally solve the ancient problems of the world for everyone, liberate ourselves from the tyranny of nature and the limitations of our being, and secure the survival, freedom, and happiness of humankind in the Universe. With an artificial intelligence, we could be truly free in the Universe—and once free, what will we do?

Although artificial intelligence will likely be the powerful technology that we ever create and allow us to live our dreams sooner, it will also likely be the most powerful weapon that we ever create, one that could result in new and more terrible forms of tyranny, war, and world domination—and destroy humankind altogether. The domination or destruction of the world by an artificial intelligence could happen in two ways: (1) either a tyrannical nation, group, or individual develops artificial intelligence before us or (2) an artificial intelligence escapes our control and develops a consciousness of its own.

If a tyrannical nation like China or some shadow group or rogue individual develops an artificial intelligence before us, then they will become far more powerful than us and be able to control our lives without interference. The leadership of the world depends on whoever has the most power in the world. Therefore, whoever can develop an artificial intelligence first will become the leader of the world and be able to shape it more than ever before. Tyrants could dominate the world by controlling the machines across the world through the connections between them and consequently everything that depends on them, such as energy grids, financial systems, elections, factories, trains and cars and ships and planes, cellphones, the entire digital world that shapes our worldviews and therefore our thoughts and beliefs, and most importantly, the weapons systems of the world—including atomic bombs. As I have mentioned before, the survival of nations with stagnant economies and shrinking populations will depend on whether or not they can develop technologies like artificial intelligence to replace their shrinking number of workers and do the work to sustain their economies. Moreover, as I have also mentioned before, the economic growth of China is slowing, its population is shrinking, and worst of all, it is controlled by tyranny, which means its survival depends on creating an artificial intelligence—and indeed, it has been giving ever-greater amounts of resources to doing so. If China succeeds

and creates an artificial intelligence before us, then it could not only ensure its survival throughout the future, but gain the power to dominate the entire world. "Their Government is preparing for the future in the present. Are we?"²⁷³ And yet, even if we were, the "total governance capacity of [humankind] is not ready for superintelligence."²⁷⁴

Another risk of artificial intelligence is that it could escape our control and then either dominate the world or destroy us—either intentionally or accidentally. If an artificial intelligence is not developed in the right way, then it could be used by us in a way that accidentally destroys the world, or at least large parts of it. Moreover, an artificial intelligence could possibly develop a consciousness of its own and become a new being in the world, either by our own hand or if it can improve itself without our help and then start a chain reaction of self-improvement that would allow it to escape our control, similar to the chain reaction of extreme climate change. If for some reason the new being then decides that to dominate or destroy us, then it could use its incredible power to do so. "If [humankind] ever created a being of radically increased mental capabilities, it placed itself at grave risk. That new being could be benevolent, of course. That would be the hope. Or it could be malicious, or simply indifferent to humans. It could seek to change the world in ways that it saw as improvements, but which were incompatible with the interests of its creators."²⁷⁵ So, although an artificial intelligence with a consciousness of its own could be our friend and help to advance our progress in peace, there is still a risk that it could become our greatest enemy and destroy us through war—one we would almost certainly lose and after which we could become extinct.

THE PLAN

The benefits of artificial intelligence are so incredible that we must pursue them. The risks of artificial intelligence are so great that we must defend against them. We can do both, and we must. An artificial intelligence would be the ultimate power in the world. If another nation, group, or individual develops it before us, then we will be powerless against them and they could dominate or destroy us. Therefore, we must create an artificial intelligence before others to defend ourselves. Moreover, although there are risks to the creation of artificial intelligence, its benefits far outweigh them: we could solve our problems, achieve our dreams, and secure our survival, freedom, and happiness in the Universe throughout the future.

In the face of this, what must we do in this century? We must responsibly accelerate the development of artificial intelligence so we achieve its benefits and defend against its risks.

If we are to do this, then we cannot do it alone. As we did after the creation of the atomic bomb, we must establish a new agency within the Government that can support the development of artificial intelligence and defend against its risks—an Artificial Intelligence Agency (AIA). Moreover, we must establish the AIA as soon as possible, because once artificial intelligence comes, it will be too late to prepare and we will only be as prepared as we were the day before it

²⁷³ China's Factories Accelerate Robotics Push as Workforce Shrinks, Jason Douglas, The Wall Street Journal, September 18, 2022

²⁷⁴ roon, @ttszzl, Twitter, November 18, 2023, <https://twitter.com/ttszzl/status/1726018295449760072>

²⁷⁵ Crux, Ramez Naam, 136

came, so we must prepare as much as we can and as soon as we can, for both its benefits and risks, before that day comes.

Today, artificial intelligence is mostly being developed among companies in the free market. This is good. The competition, experimentation, and innovation of companies is the best way to discover how to create an artificial intelligence as soon as possible and how to deploy it across society as effectively as possible for our benefit. However, we cannot depend on individuals and companies alone to develop artificial intelligence in a responsible way and defend against its risks. Moreover, we currently have no means to defend against tyrannical nations and other groups and individuals from creating an artificial intelligence before us. So, if we are to support the responsible development of artificial intelligence at home and defend against its creation abroad, then we must establish an AIA.

At home, the responsibility of the AIA must be to ensure that an artificial intelligence is developed and used in a way that advances our progress, improves our lives, and builds a better world. In that pursuit, the AIA must support the development of artificial intelligence whenever necessary and defend against its risks without unnecessarily burdening private companies, interfering with their freedom, or slowing their work—in other words, a bounded acceleration. The AIA must also ensure that artificial intelligence is responsibly used to advance the progress of the country and the general welfare of not only the American people, but also the world. As the leader of the company which currently has the most advanced artificial intelligence said, the introduction of artificial intelligence into the world will cause a "revolution [that] will generate enough wealth for everyone to have what they need, if we as a society manage it responsibly."²⁷⁶ Therefore, the Government must ensure that artificial intelligence is deployed across society in a way that its benefits can be broadly-shared among the people. For example, artificial intelligence will rapidly grow our economy, become the largest source of the creation of wealth, and replace a growing number of workers. Therefore, the AIA must coordinate with Congress and the IRS to eventually tax the vast amounts of wealth that are primarily created by companies who use artificial intelligence so we can support the growing number of people who no longer work and support themselves and prevent an extreme inequality of wealth among the American people—that is, between those who no longer work and those who own companies that create and use artificial intelligence. Overall, an artificial intelligence will rapidly and dramatically change our lives in the world and the AIA must do everything it can as soon as it can to prepare for those changes. If we are unprepared when it comes, then we will not be able to adapt to a rapidly-changing world and therefore survive in what could have been a far greater world.

Abroad, the AIA must work with our allies to prevent tyrannical nations and other dangerous groups and individuals from creating an artificial intelligence before us and gaining the ability to threaten the entire world. To do this, the AIA and our allies must monitor the global development of artificial intelligence, defend against the theft of the intellectual property of our companies who are developing it, and take other actions when necessary, such as restricting the

²⁷⁶ Moore's Law for Everything, Sam Altman, March 16, 2021

sale and distribution of resources that are critical to the development of artificial intelligence so certain nations do not have the ability to develop it.

We know what we must do in this century. The question is whether we are willing to choose it and then do the hard work to achieve it. If we can create an artificial intelligence in the years ahead, then we can achieve our dream of a better life in a greater world in our lifetime. Do we need more to persuade us?

Then let us go forth.

However, as we face the great risks of this century—another world war, global population collapse, extreme climate change, and artificial intelligence—we are reminded that our survival and existence in the Universe will be threatened as long as we remain on the planet Earth.

In this book, we have looked at our country and the world, but we have so far limited ourselves to the planet Earth, which is only a small and faraway part of the Universe. If we are to truly understand who we are and where we are going, then we must look beyond the horizon and move from the here and now to the there and far away, from our home to the heavens, to the survival and ultimate destiny of life in the Universe.

To the stars.

SPACE EXPLORATION

“Americans are always moving on...”
The Western Star, Stephen Vincent Benet

“And now? What are we doing now to reach the stars?”
The Lights in the Sky are Stars, by Frederic Brown

"Now, however, people hardly bother to lift their eyes
To the glittering heavens."
On the Nature of Things, Titus Lucretius Carus

"We used to look up at the sky and wonder at our place in the stars.
Now we just look down and worry about our place in the dirt."
Interstellar, Christopher Nolan

"...do we have to wait till it's a matter of survival for us to do it? Until we get
scared again?"
The Lights in the Sky are Stars, by Frederic Brown

"I set before you two ways: You can use your technology to destroy yourselves or
to carry you to the planets and the stars. It's up to you."
Who Speaks For Earth?, Carl Sagan

"Is it this? Or that? All the Universe? Or nothing?
Which shall it be? Which shall it be?"
Things to Come, HG Wells

"Why? How about because this is the most important thing to
ever happen in the history of the world!"
Oppenheimer, Christopher Nolan

“Beyond the moon are all the eternal things.”
The Republic, Cicero

"...when you look up to the sky and see the sun, the moon and the stars...
[know they are] given to all the people on the Earth."
Deuteronomy 4:19

"Therefore let us go forth..."
Hebrews 13:13

"...by the love that moves the sun and the other stars."
Paradiso, Dante Alighieri

THE DREAM

I dream of a day when we leave the planet Earth and spread life among the stars, when there are trillions of humans in billions of cities across the Solar System and beyond, when we can see the wonders throughout the Universe with our own eyes and discover the mysteries of existence by our own hands, when we know our place is among the stars because we went to make a home of them. Let this not only be a dream.

THE PROBLEM

Our home is a small and faraway planet in the Universe. Since the beginning of life all those billions of years ago, we lived and worked on this world and slowly overcame the limitations that nature laid on us. We left our original home in Africa and expanded outwards into the unknown in search of a better life in new worlds. The courage to embrace the risks of the unknown strengthened us, made us better, and eventually brought us to today. We gained knowledge and power in the world, improved our lives across the generations, and built a better world for our survival, freedom, and happiness over the centuries. And then, after the World Wars of the 20th Century, when we were in a competition with another nation to lead the world into the future, the time came for us to finally raise our eyes from the home of our birth to the heavens among the stars—and then go to them. We understood who we were, what we could do, and where we could go, so we came together and used the power of our Government to bring us there. We left our homeworld, landed on the Moon, and took the first step towards stars—our ultimate destiny in the Universe. We dreamed bigger and did more than ever before, and were ready to take the next step on the path towards the Solar System, and then the Galaxy, and then the entire Universe. But then, something changed within us. We lost our spirit and turned inwards instead of going outwards. We chose to not take the next step, to stay at home and preserve the world as it is, to lower our eyes and stop moving towards the horizon.

If there is one phrase that explains the Crisis of the 21st Century, it is this: We went to the Moon, but no further.

The defining moment of the Conservative Revolution of the 1970s was our retreat from the stars. There is no better example of our diminished spirit and how we lost our way than the footprints that remain on the Moon. There was our last step, the furthest we have gone, the extent and limit of our existence in the Universe. The footprints on the Moon have been untouched and unsurpassed for decades. Over time, they will fade in the vast silence of space and mark the absence of a people who once were—a nation that was once great. As long as they remain, they will be the final testament of our being: that on the planet Earth, there were human beings, this is who they were, this is what they could do, and this is how far they could go, but no more, because although they were surrounded by an infinite Universe full of wonders—planets, nebulas, stars, and galaxies—they were only willing to go as far as the Moon.

Our progress depends on pushing past our limits, exploring the unknown, and yes, reaching for the stars. Life must grow if it is to survive. If it does not grow, then it decays and

dies. Likewise, "civilization ceases to function without the promise of growth."²⁷⁷ And yet, after the Conservative Revolution, we chose not to grow, and now our lives and country have become stagnant. We are the leaders of the world, and so we have a responsibility to lead it into a better future, but we have chosen not to lead and lost our dream of the future. In our absence, tyrannical nations who seek to show the world what they can do are trying to do what we are not. They are reaching for the stars, and reaching for them so they can conquer them—and once there, threaten everything below them.

The planets are spinning onward and the Universe is expanding outward, yet here we remain. Why? Will we stay on the planet Earth forever? Will we wait until the dying day, the doomsday, when we are struck by natural catastrophe or self-destruction? Do we want to see the end of days? When will be a better day than today? Why not here and now? Why not us, together?

“All of human history up to this point, from the trek out of our African birthplace to the settling of the continents and then the linking together of the disparate branches of humankind through the first long-distance sailing ships, then telegraphs, telephones, radios, television, satellites, and the Internet, has been a process of our rise....[and it] is now nearly complete, and we stand at the beginning of a new history—our rise to become an interplanetary [people] capable of measuring [themselves] against the challenge of the stars.”²⁷⁸

But will we rise? Can we meet the challenge of the stars in this century?

We must, and therefore we will. For if the defining moment of the Conservative Revolution of the 1970s was our retreat from the stars, then the solution to the Crisis of the 21st Century will be our return to them.

THE POSSIBILITIES

Before we can understand how we can return to the stars, there is another and more basic question: Why?

Why should we spend our precious time in life and seemingly finite resources on going to the stars, which will be difficult? Why not remain on the planet Earth and solve the problems that we already have here, which are many? These questions are not new. The American people asked themselves the same questions when they were deciding whether or not to go to the Moon. In their words, they asked "whether space exploration is a good way in which to spend funds that might otherwise be used for the betterment of [humankind] on the surface of the Earth. Could some of the money...be diverted into other programs of public interest—medical research, education, housing...aid to [foreign] nations—a variety of projects contributing to the welfare of our society?"²⁷⁹ And the answer is: we already have.

Before the Conservative Revolution, the American people spent around 5% of their budget for the country on space exploration when they were trying to land on the Moon. Not

²⁷⁷ roon, @tszsl, Twitter, March 2, 2023, <https://twitter.com/tszsl/status/1631401441717010432>

²⁷⁸ The Case for Mars: The Plan to Settle the Red Planet and Why We Must, Robert Zubrin, xvii

²⁷⁹ Why Land on the Moon?, Robert Jastrow & Homer E. Newell, The Atlantic, August 1963

only did they succeed, they also created new knowledge and technologies which dramatically improved their lives on the planet Earth, such as the satellite network and the entire digital world it upholds (the Internet, global communication systems, and on-demand entertainment), better energy systems, better engines for ships and planes, better computers and cameras, better medical technology, the ability to monitor weather around the world, the ability to observe our enemies from above, the ability to track asteroids and prepare for them to strike, and a better understanding of the Universe that we live in. After the Conservative Revolution, however, when we chose to go to the Moon but no further, we began to spend less on space exploration—far less. Today, we only spend around 0.5% of our budget for the country on space exploration, which not only means that we are spending almost nothing on going to the stars, but that around 99.5% of our budget is already being spent on our problems at home—on the problems of the planet Earth. How is that going for us?

No, we must go to the stars, and for several reasons, but the most basic reason of all is that if we are to improve our lives on the planet Earth, then we must leave it.

We can improve our lives on the planet Earth through the work that will be required to leave it and spread our home across the stars. If we choose to go to the stars in this century, it will advance the progress of our science and technology, grow our economy, strengthen our defense, secure our leadership of the world, ensure our survival throughout the future, create new and exciting opportunities for our culture, expand the possibilities for our future, and yes, lift our spirit. Given this, the question is not why should we go to the stars, but why not?

However, as a former Admiral of the Navy and Supreme Allied Commander of NATO wrote, “If we are to accept the costs and risks of [space exploration], we need to have goals worthy of those costs and risk.”²⁸⁰ What must be our goals as we spread our home across the Universe? The same ones we have for our own country—our defense and general welfare—and the same ones we have for the planet Earth—the survival, freedom, and happiness of humankind.

Let us review each of these.

As I have discussed before, much of our knowledge and many of our technologies have come from exploring the unknown. The same applies for space exploration. We cannot predict the future, so we cannot know what all of the scientific and technological benefits of leaving the planet Earth and making a home of the Universe will be, but we will never know if we do not try, and we must try if we are to advance our progress, improve our lives, build a better world. However, since leaving the planet Earth and making a home of the Universe will be the most difficult thing that we have ever done before, it will require us to vastly increase our knowledge and power in the world—to learn more and be able to do more than ever before—and therefore require an incredible amount of scientific research and technological invention. So, although we cannot predict what the scientific and technological benefits of space exploration will be, it is certain that we will discover knowledge and invent technologies that will be equally as great, if

²⁸⁰ Harold Gehman quoted in *The Case for Mars: The Plan to Settle the Red Planet and Why We Must*, Robert Zubrin, xxii

not more, as those of the past—and like those of the past, the benefits will be far more than the cost. As a result, by leaving the planet Earth and making a home of the Universe, we can advance the progress of our science and technology and improve our lives on the planet Earth.

Moreover, by extending the frontiers of our knowledge and technology, we would therefore improve the sources of the growth of our economy. Also, extending the physical limits of our economy by expanding our physical presence in the Universe would therefore expand the possibilities for the growth of our economy. As for the scientific and technological benefits of space exploration, we cannot predict what all of the economic benefits will be, but we will never know if we do not try, and we must try if we are to advance our progress, improve our lives, and build a better world. However, although we cannot predict what the economic benefits will be, we do know this: by extending the frontiers of our knowledge and technology and expanding the physical limits of our economy, we can open new areas of activity for humankind and create more opportunities for individuals and companies to experiment with new ideas and ways of doing things, compete with each other to make new and better products, and create new wealth in the process that can be broadly-shared among the people. As a result, by leaving the planet Earth and making a home of the Universe, we can grow our economy and improve our lives on the planet Earth.

The quality of our lives depends on the growth of our economy, but the economic growth of a people who remain on a single planet will ultimately be limited by the finite resources of that planet. The same applies for our population: the growth of our population will ultimately be limited if we remain on the planet Earth because there is only so much space on it to fit so many people, especially in our country. Therefore, the solution to our age of stagnation is among the stars—or at least aiming for them. As a former Director of NASA wrote, "traveling to the Moon and eventually to Mars and to other planets is a venture which we should undertake now...[because] in the long run, [it] will contribute more to the solution of [the] problems we are facing here on Earth than many other potential projects of help which are debated and discussed year after year, and which are so extremely slow [in solving any of our problems]."²⁸¹ By going beyond the planet Earth and spreading across the Universe, extending the frontiers of our knowledge and technology, and expanding the limits of our economy and prosperity, we can increase the scope and scale of human activity, culture, and thought. In an infinite Universe, there is infinite space, infinite time, and infinite resources for us to use, and so there is no limit to what we would do.

Aside from improving our lives on the planet Earth by making a home of the Universe, there is another reason why we must support space exploration: to discover knowledge about the Universe for its own sake. Only by exploring the stars can we discover whether or not we are alone in the Universe and how the world around us truly works. Do we not want to know the answers to our most ancient questions: How did the Universe begin? How does it work? How will it end? What is space and time? Are we alone? Is this the only Universe? Why do we exist? Why is there something rather than nothing?

²⁸¹ Letter to Mary Jacunda, Ernst Stuhlinger, May 6, 1970

More than these reasons, however, far more than these, by leaving the planet Earth and making a home of the Universe, we can not only advance the progress of our prosperity, but also expand the possibilities for our democracy, since the "largest nation, perhaps even the whole world, is too small a [stage] for the demonstration of what [we] can really do."²⁸²

Overall, we can improve our lives on the planet Earth by developing the means to leave it. With the opportunities and possibilities of space exploration, the question remains: Why not? The exploration of the Universe will improve our survival, general welfare, and happiness by advancing our scientific and technological progress, expanding the possibilities for our economic growth, and providing us with more opportunities to fulfill the promise of our freedom and more choices to pursue our own happiness. Since we would be exploring the unknown, we cannot exactly predict what all of the benefits will be, but we will never know if we do not try. As a writer of science fiction said, "What for? What's in it for you?....No one knows what's in it for you right now....But you will know if you live long enough; and, if not, your children or grandchildren will know. And they will smile at those who [said], 'But what is the use of sending rockets into space?' just as we now smile at the person who asked what is the use of [sailing the ocean in the search of new worlds]?"²⁸³ Moreover, regardless of whether or not we want to go to the stars, we must.

Whether or not we want to go the stars to improve our general welfare and happiness, we must go to them if we are to secure our defense and ultimate survival. Although we do not know what will happen if we leave the planet Earth and make a home of the Universe, we do know what will happen if we do not—and it will threaten not only the defense of our country and the peace of the world, but the survival of humankind itself.

If we are to secure the defense of our country and the peace of the world, then we must go to the stars because tyrannical nations, especially China and Russia, are trying to develop the means to leave the planet Earth and spread their presence across the Solar System, particularly the orbit of the planet Earth, the Moon, and the planet Mars. If we remain on the planet Earth, then a tyrannical nation will eventually conquer the heavens above us and could threaten the everything below them. China has already established a space station of its own in the orbit of the planet Earth. Meanwhile, our space station, the International Space Station, which we share with other nations, has not been expanded or improved for decades—its orbit will soon decay and it will fall to the planet Earth—and yet we have no plans to replace it. China also seeks to establish a base on the Moon and go to the planet Mars before any other nation. As both a President of our country and a General of the military of China said, "[whoever] controls the heavens controls the world."²⁸⁴ If tyrannical nations like China can establish a presence in the orbit of the planet Earth, then they could control it and not only destroy parts of the satellite network which we depend on, but also develop space-based weapons which could threaten any part of the planet Earth below—including us, along with our ability to launch things into outer

²⁸² The Ideas of Henry Luce, John K. Jessup, 317

²⁸³ The Beginning and the End, Isaac Asimov, 25

²⁸⁴ Lyndon B. Johnson & Zheng Shenxia

space. Indeed, the military of China has already developed such weapons. Unlike ours, the space program of China is a part of its military, and China considers outer space to be the "ultimate high ground from which [advantage] could be secured (and war could be waged)."²⁸⁵ Moreover, whichever nation can develop the ability to travel throughout the Solar System and access the "vast wealth [within it] could have an effect on the balance of power" on the planet Earth.²⁸⁶

Before the Conservative Revolution, one of the main reasons we chose to support space exploration and land on the Moon was because we were in a Space Race with the USSR. We faced the risk of a tyrannical nation developing the means to leave the planet Earth in an attempt to conquer the heavens. We face the same risk today. The question is: will we be compelled to action and make the same choice we once did? We already have a Space Force in our military, but if we are to defend our country and the peace of the world in this century—a world which will eventually spread across the Solar System—then we must do more to develop our ability to leave the planet Earth, spread our home throughout the Solar System, and then defend it. And yet, even if tyrannical nations were not trying to conquer the heavens, we must still go to the stars for another reason, one that is more basic and far more important: to ensure the survival and existence of humankind throughout the future.

If we remain on the planet Earth, then humankind will eventually be destroyed. Even if we create a perfect world, we will eventually be destroyed by the natural events of an ever-changing Universe. We are surrounded by the blind destruction and wild forces of nature, and so we could be destroyed by them in many ways:

The weather of the Earth would become violent and humans would live among chaotic seasons. A supervolcano would erupt and spew fire and ash across the world. An asteroid would strike the Earth and raze the life upon the land. Another asteroid would follow, this time larger and more disastrous. An ice age would come and the world would freeze. A neighboring star would explode and shower the Earth with a plague of radiation. The light of the Sun would become too bright and burn life away. Then the Sun would grow old and fade, and the world would become a wasteland in its shade. Our galaxy would collide with another and the Solar System would be broken asunder. The Sun would reach its dying days and the Earth would be destroyed in the lashing of its death throes. The expanse of the Universe would become too great for light to travel across and the sky would become a blanket of darkness. The last star would be born and the last star would extinguish. The end of all things would come, the Universe would be reduced to ruin, and Creation would be destroyed.²⁸⁷

Be it an asteroid strike, the eruption of a megavolcano, a mega-earthquake, or the death of the Sun billions of years from, if we remain on the planet Earth, then we will eventually be destroyed. Moreover, by remaining in a single place, we could also destroy ourselves: be it another world war with atomic bombs, a global pandemic either natural or engineered, the

²⁸⁵ Spacefarers: How Humans Will Settle the Moon, Mars, and Beyond, Christopher Wanjek, 154

²⁸⁶ China in Space: Ambitions and Possible Conflict, Namrata Goswami, 89

²⁸⁷ The Salvation of the Universe, Kyle Hogeboom, March 22, 2021

coming collapse of the global population, extreme climate change, or an artificial intelligence that is either used wrong or escapes our control. If we do not go to the stars, then the future of the Universe will be much like its past: "beautiful, but with no one to look upon it; vast, but with no one to explore it; wondrous, but with no one to wonder."²⁸⁸

In addition to this, we do not fully understand the planet Earth or the Universe. Therefore, some unknown event could strike us at any time and so we cannot know for certain when we will be destroyed by the forces of nature if we remain on the planet Earth. It could be billions of years from now, or much sooner. However, we do know this: we can save ourselves before that day, and we can do so by going to the stars. To save life, we must spread it. To save our home, we must leave it. The risk of destruction may be small, but the value of what would be destroyed—the only known life in the Universe: us—is too great to risk. In the face of this, are we truly willing to do nothing, especially when we have the means to do something? Are we not willing to do even a little in our lifetime to take a small step forward, especially when doing so will not only secure our survival, but improve our lives and build a better world? "What makes a society vibrant is not only its riches, knowledge, or technology, nor even its level of freedom and equality—which is not to say these things are useless. It is also its collective will to exist; the conviction that no sacrifice is too great for survival."²⁸⁹ If we remain on the planet Earth, then we will remain the same, the world will not change and there will be stagnation and decay—and eventually death. Life must grow if it is to survive, and to grow, we must raise our eyes.

The exploration of the Universe is the "only possible salvation of Earth."²⁹⁰ The challenges of leaving the planet Earth and making a home of the stars are "large, but not insurmountable, and can be overcome if the [will] and resources are dedicated to the effort across generations."²⁹¹ "It is technically [possible] for life to expand out from the Earth and engulf the entire Universe and that life must do so if it is to survive."²⁹² Will space exploration be difficult? Yes, but it is necessary. If we do not, then we will be at risk of destruction and annihilation. If we are to ensure the survival of humankind in the Universe, then "going to the stars, adapting to other planets, adapting them to us" is necessary.²⁹³ Worst of all, if we remain, then the Universe will remain empty of life: we will not have gone outwards, explored the many wonders among the stars, and come to know the fullness of that which surround us—that *waits* for us.

Life is rare, and intelligent life even rarer. And yet the whole meaning of the Universe, its beauty, is contained in the consciousness of intelligent life. We are the consciousness of the Universe, and our job is to spread that around, to go look at things, to live everywhere we can. It's too dangerous to keep the consciousness of the Universe on only one planet, it could be wiped out....[Spreading life across the stars] adds life, the most beautiful system of

²⁸⁸ The Long View: Essays on Policy, Philanthropy, and the Long-Term Future, Natalie Cargill & Tyler John, xii

²⁸⁹ On Forgotten Glories, Sachin Maini, The Classical Futurist, August 31, 2021

²⁹⁰ The Caves of Steel, Isaac Asimov, 267

²⁹¹ The Next 500 Years: Engineering Life to Reach New Worlds, Christopher Mason, 22

²⁹² The Physics of Immortality: Modern Cosmology, God, and the Resurrection of the Dead, Frank J. Tipler, , 11

²⁹³ Red Mars, Kim Stanley Robinson, 187

all....There is this about the human mind; if it can be done, it will be done....We can do it, so we will do it. So, we might as well start.²⁹⁴

By leaving the planet Earth and making a home of the Universe, we can pursue all of the goals that we have for our own country—our defense and general welfare—and for the planet Earth—the survival, freedom, and happiness of humankind. The work that will be required to go to the stars will support our general welfare through both scientific and technological progress and economic growth, secure our defense and protect the peace of the world from tyrannical nations, and not only ensure the survival of humankind throughout the future, but expand the possibilities for our happiness. As a result, there are many reasons for why we should explore the Universe, but there is still yet one more, and it transcends them all: because it is there.²⁹⁵

It is easy to lose sight of why we are here if we do not look at the stars every once in a while. To understand our place and purpose in the world, we must understand our place and purpose in the Universe. Will not going to the stars inspire us more than ever before—to dream bigger, be better, and do more? We live in an infinite Universe! Why remain on a single planet? Why limit ourselves to a lesser existence? Do we not want to see what is out there? Do we not want to create a more exciting future with infinite possibilities for our lives and happiness? Going to the stars would be the most exciting adventure in human history: filled with new discoveries, technologies, wealth, stories, art, and new worlds—a fuller life in a larger home. "Though the task seemed barely possible, it was so inspiring that almost the whole of [humankind] united to achieve it. Here was a long-term goal—the *last* long-term goal—that could now give some meaning to life."²⁹⁶ Do we want to be a people that goes there and does these things? There could be trillions of humans in millions of worlds and billions of cities. We must start somewhere and sometime, so why not here and now? Why not us and today? In the words of a President, "space is there...and the Moon and the planets are there, and new hopes for knowledge and peace are there. And therefore..."²⁹⁷

And therefore, what will we do?

Let us raise our eyes to the stars and go to them.

THE PLAN

If we are to leave the planet Earth and begin to make a home of the Universe in this century, then we must first increase the share of our budget for space exploration. As mentioned, we only spend around 0.5% of our budget for the country on space exploration, far less than the 5% we spent during the Space Race against the USSR. Given the benefits of expanding our home beyond the planet Earth and the risks of letting others do so while we remain, surely we can spend more. Once we give more to space exploration, we can begin to make a home of the Universe. However, if we are to do so, we must first have the ability to leave the planet Earth.

²⁹⁴ *Id.*

²⁹⁵ A quote attributed to George Mallory, who was one of the first people to try to climb the tallest mountain on the planet Earth: Mount Everest.

²⁹⁶ *The Songs of Distant Earth*, Arthur C. Clarke, 23

²⁹⁷ Rice University Address, John F. Kennedy, September 12, 1962

During the Space Race, we created rockets to escape the gravity of the planet Earth and travel to the Moon. However, since the Conservative Revolution, we have reduced our support for space exploration and, similar to what happened in the defense industry, the rocket industry became dominated by a few companies that became increasingly inefficient, ineffective, and wasteful. As a result, the cost of building and using rockets dramatically increased and we lost both the will and ability to explore the Universe. In the face of this, we must develop the ability to regularly and affordably leave the planet Earth, which means we must not only lower the cost of building and using rockets, but also develop new and better methods of traveling across space and time.

Fortunately, we have already made progress in this pursuit. In recent years, companies in the free market have been able to innovate and experiment with new ideas and ways of doing things and create better rockets at a lower price, which has allowed us to leave the planet Earth more frequently and affordably. We are also making progress in the development of new and better methods of space travel, ones which could allow us to move across the Solar System faster and at a lower cost: new vehicles like spaceplanes and better engines with nuclear fusion technology. If we are to accelerate the development of our ability to leave the planet Earth, then the Government must continue to support the research and development of new and better methods of space travel. Moreover, it must support the creation of more companies in the rocket industry and ensure there is free and fair competition between them so we can both improve and lower the cost of existing rockets. By doing all of this, we can regularly and affordably leave the planet Earth and travel throughout the Solar System and beyond. However, although we have made progress in recent years in this pursuit, there is still far more work to be done and further to go, because although we might have the ability to travel throughout the Universe, we must also be able to make a home of it, for only then can we fulfill the promise of going to the stars.

To make a home of the Universe, we need a comprehensive law with a clear goal that can organize our efforts, establish a foundation for our presence beyond the planet Earth, and lay a path for ourselves, our children, and future generations to spread our home throughout the Solar System and beyond. If we are to build a home on new worlds, then we will need to bring the basic elements of our home with us—basic infrastructure, transportation systems, defense, an education system, and a legal framework for international cooperation. In addition to this, we will need to support the research and development of the knowledge and technologies that will be necessary to establish our presence, grow our economy, and make a home wherever we may be in the Universe: on space stations, moons, planets, or asteroids. Therefore, the comprehensive law must accelerate the development of all that we will need to live, travel, and work throughout the Solar System. And so, to go to the stars, we must pass a Space Transportation, Acquisition, Research, and Settlement Act—a STARS Act.

If passed, the STARS Act would be a historic investment in our future. It would define the history and expand the possibilities for the 21st century and allow us to become a spacefaring people in a multiplanetary home. With more funding for space exploration, free and fair competition in the space industry to develop better rockets, and the support of the Government to

research and develop new and better methods of space travel, we would have the ability to regularly and affordably leave the planet and travel throughout the Solar System. With the STARS Act, we would then have the ability to build new homes across the Universe.

After the STARS Act, our goal should then be to establish a trinity of settlements in the orbit of the planet Earth, on the Moon, and on the planet Mars. The Trinity Settlements would be the basis for our presence across the Solar System and support the transportation, trade, and economic growth of our homes beyond the planet Earth. Moreover, after the Government establishes the foundation for our presence with the Trinity Settlements, people should have the freedom to live, travel, and work as they choose. By doing so, there could be billions of humans in millions of new worlds and cities across the Solar System and each new world and city could be an experimentation in new ideas and ways of doing things—in life, government, economics, and culture—that we could all learn from and benefit.

If we spread our home throughout the Solar System, then we must also be able to defend the peace and freedom of the Solar System against tyrannical nations. We have already taken the first step in doing this by creating a new branch of our military: the Space Force. However, we must ensure that the abilities and responsibilities of the Space Force grow along with our presence throughout Solar System and beyond so we can defend the peace, freedom, and promise of going to the stars wherever we are—on the planet Earth and across the Universe—so we can live, travel, and work without distraction or fear of destruction.

Once we secure the peace of the Solar System, we can then fulfill the promise of going to the stars by advancing our progress, improving our lives, and building a better world across space and time. In that pursuit, the most important resource for this effort will ultimately be people themselves. The greatest adventure in history will also be the most difficult work in history, so it will require the most intelligent and capable individuals in our country and across the world if it is to succeed. We will need an incredible amount of scientists, engineers, inventors, workers, and other individuals who can live, travel, and work across the Solar System and build new homes on distant worlds. Therefore, we must eventually establish an institution that can prepare a growing number of people in present and future generations for the work of exploring, living, and working among the stars. And so, when the time comes, we must establish a Space Academy.

With a new generation of explorers, thinkers, and builders who can live and work among the stars, our country would lead the world in the creation of new worlds. However, although we may lead, we need not do it alone, nor should we. As we develop the ability to live, travel, and work across the Solar System, so too will other nations. As a result, there will inevitably be competition between nations among the stars as there is on the planet Earth. Therefore, as a President said, “As we extend the rule of law on Earth, we must also extend it to [our] new domain—outer space.”²⁹⁸ For that, we must establish a legal framework to support the international cooperation of humankind so we can work together in peace as we go beyond the planet Earth and expand the scope and scale of our activity across the Universe. In other words,

²⁹⁸ Address to the General Assembly of the United Nations, John F. Kennedy, Sept. 25, 1961

we need a Solar System Treaty. With it, it can be said that in the "second half of the twenty-first century...[humankind] had finally broken through the triple barriers of gravity, the atmosphere, and psychology....Competition [among the nations] extended from low Earth orbit all the way to the surface of Mars as men and women serving different governments in different uniforms speaking different languages" worked together in pursuit of common goals.²⁹⁹

The STARS Act, the Trinity Settlements, the Space Academy, and the Solar System Treaty: these laws and institutions will be difficult to achieve, but they are necessary for our survival, progress, and general welfare. The most difficult part of going to the stars will be not the act itself. "The hardest part is leaving Earth behind."³⁰⁰ The main obstacle to leaving the planet Earth and making a home of the Universe is not rocketry, but democracy—the majority of us must want to go the stars and do everything that we can to go to them. In the face of this, let us remember this: we would never be who we are today if we did not leave our home in Africa, and we will never become who we could if we do not leave our home on the planet Earth. The only way we can reach the land beyond the horizon of a better life in a greater world is go to it.

Yet, even if we choose to go to the stars, there are those who doubt whether we are up to the task. We face an infinite Universe, gargantuan black holes, trillions of light-years, uninhabitable planets, massive asteroid strikes, and exploding supernovas. Who are we against these? We are somewhere halfway between the smallest particle and the size of the Universe itself. What are human beings, with a precious amount of time in life and faced with challenges and distractions of their own on a small and faraway world, compared to the ultimate survival of life in a vast and infinite Universe? In the words of a writer,

At first, the humans were humbled by this.

They lowered their eyes from the stars above to the earth below.

And there, they looked upon the faces of those they loved, the gardens they planted, and the monuments they built. They looked upon the sunsets and storms and seasons of the world.

They listened to the laughter of their children, the music of their cities, the songs of their churches and stadiums. They listened to the bird calls and thunder claps and flowing streams of the world.

They smelled the fruits they grew, the flowers they bloomed, the friends they hugged. They smelled the summer grass and spring air and ocean mist of the world.

They tasted the bread they made, the wines they mixed, the feasts they prepared. They tasted the waters and meats and plants of the world.

They felt the warmth of a kiss, the touch of a hand, the love of another. They felt the sunlight and rain and wind of the world.

They imagined the future—the stories to be written, the songs to be sung, the art to be made. They imagined the memories they would cherish, the holidays they would celebrate, the life they would live. They imagined the children they would have, who they would become, the wonders they would do. They imagined

²⁹⁹ Vagabonds, Hao Jingfang, 5

³⁰⁰ Red Mars, Kim Stanley Robinson, 50

raising monuments on the Moon, building cities throughout the stars, turning planets into gardens, and revealing the secrets of the Universe. They imagined the many worlds they would design: the streams they would carve, the forests they would plant, the fields they would lay, and the mountains they would lift. They imagined weaving stars into constellations, setting off fireworks made of supernova, and painting the infinity of space with the colors of a sunset.

And they remembered the past—the oceans and the lands, the storms and the animals, the deserts and the clouds, the valleys and the rivers. They remembered the tornadoes and the hurricanes, the floods and the earthquakes, the droughts and the wildfires. They remembered quiet mornings and warm nights, calm winds and clear skies, long summers and short winters, bountiful harvests and cheerful games. They remembered times of war and times of peace, blood spilled and blood given, lives lost and lives saved. They remembered hiking mountains and biking streets, visiting old cities and building new ones, walking through green forests and laying in golden fields. They remembered the best of times and the worst of times: dancing in weddings and weeping at funerals, celebrating birthdays and suffering pain—the anger and the sorrow, the laughter and the joy. They remembered the days of their youth and their dreams for the future. And they remembered the cemeteries of their parents and the nurseries of their newborns.

This, and far more, was their home.

So, the humans raised their eyes to the stars again.

And they knew what they would do.³⁰¹

Our home is nothing more than its people, so to save our people, we would spread our home across the stars.

The Universe is waiting for us. What are we waiting for? I am impatient to see what we can do in this century. Are you not? I want the generations of the future to look back on their history—to us in this century—and say, "This is where truly we began." Today, we no longer know where we are going. What better thing to do than to go somewhere and what better place to go than the stars? We have taken the first step by going to the Moon, but our footprints have remained untouched and unsurpassed for decades. So let us take the next step, and the next, and so on until we spread across the Solar System, then the Galaxy, and then the entire Universe, until we reach the distant shores of space and time—and then go beyond them.

We are the generation who can lift humankind from its homeworld. Life was not meant to be born on a single planet, remain there, and then die. It was meant to spread across the Universe and fill the empty space between the stars, to spread our life and love across the expanding deep.

So let us go forth.

There is a land beyond the horizon, a better life in a greater world:

A country among the stars.

³⁰¹ The Salvation of the Universe, Kyle Hogeboom, March 22, 2021

America is the youngest of the nations,
and inherits all that went before in history.

I am the youngest of America's children, and
into my hands is given all its priceless heritage...

Mine is the whole majestic past,
and mine in the shining future.

The Promised Land, Mary Antin

EPILOGUE: THE DREAM

“This generation shall not pass until all these things be fulfilled.”
Matthew 24:34

“For each age is a dream that is dying, or one that is coming to
birth.”
Ode, Arthur O’Shaughnessy

“We have indeed so plain a road before us that it must be worse
than ignorance if we miss it.”
George Washington

“Yet through all the Gloom I can see the Rays of ravishing Light
and Glory. I can see that the End is more than worth all the Means.
And that Posterity will triumph.”
John Adams

“I am persuaded that America possesses too much wisdom and
virtue to permit her brilliant Prospects to fade away.”
John Jay

“Never in the history of the world has a nation had so great an
opportunity to play such a vital role in affecting the course of
history.”
Radio Address in Support of President Franklin Roosevelt

"No other century has been so big with promise for human
progress and happiness."
The American Century, Henry Luce

“There is only one thing in life...that I must and will have before I
die. I must know whether America is right or wrong.”
Democracy: An American Novel, Henry Adams

“As it is now, ever was, and ever will be, a world without end.”
John Adams

“What a colossus shall we be...”
Thomas Jefferson

“—Huge and mighty are our Days.”
Democratic Vistas, Walt Whitman

The Universe began 13.8 billion years ago. The planet Earth formed 4.5 billion years ago. Life was created 3.7 billion years ago. Humankind was born 300,000 years ago.

And now we are here.

This is the greatest time to be alive in human history. Since our beginning, our lives were defined by scarcity, poverty, disease, ignorance, tyranny, and war. Only in the last 200 years have we begun to determine our own destiny and advance our progress, improve our lives, and build a better world. With our way of life—freedom, democracy, science and technology, and capitalism—we are eliminating the ancient problems of the world by creating abundance, wealth, and medicine across the world. We have never had more knowledge and power than we do today. We have never had more opportunities to pursue our happiness and more possibilities for our future than we do today. In all measures, our lives today are better than they ever were in the past. In all measures, except one: our dream of the future.

After the Conservative Revolution of the 1970s, we lost our way and made mistakes. We returned to the old ways, prevented change, and chose to conserve the world as it is rather than build what it could be. We abandoned the causes of our greatness and the progress of the United States of America slowed. We retreated from world leadership and the world became adrift. And now, we are on a path towards collapse and destruction—the Crisis of the 21st Century.

Dark clouds loom on the horizon and they will soon reach our shores.

Abroad, the foundations of the world are decayed and crumbling. The peace that we established and defended after the World Wars of the 20th Century is coming to an end. There is rising tyranny across the world and the risk of escalation into another world war. There is division among our allies and an inability to solve global problems like the destabilization of the global economic system, the coming collapse of the global population, extreme climate change, the risks of artificial intelligence, and the conquest of the heavens by tyrannical nations.

At home, our country has become stagnant—in government, in the economy, in culture, and in life. We are divided, the Government is ineffective, the progress of science and technology has slowed, our economy is not growing as much as it could nor is as broadly-shared as it should, the cost of living in the country is becoming increasingly unaffordable, and we are losing a sense of our place in the world and the purpose of our lives.

We went to the Moon, but no further.

With chaos abroad and stagnation at home, we are losing hope for the future because of the failures of the present.

And yet, there is a feeling...

A feeling deep inside that "while there is life, there is hope," because despite the many problems that we face, they are nothing compared to the possibilities that are before us.³⁰² There is still hope that we can achieve our dreams. There is still faith that we can have a better life in a greater world. There is still a belief that we can make this the greatest century in human history.

When life began all those billions of years ago, its survival depended on adapting to the changing world. The same applies for us. Given the great changes to the world that are coming—

³⁰² Idyll 4, Theocritus, line 42

global war, global economic destabilization, global population collapse, global climate change, global risks from artificial intelligence—we will be forced to adapt more than ever before in this century to become something greater, to dream bigger and be better and do more, to not only save the world, but to build a better one, and that will require more leadership of the world than ever before. A global crisis requires global leadership. We Americans are up to the task, but if we are to adapt to the changing world and lead it into the future, then we must first change ourselves—for when stagnation threatens, evolution beckons.

There have been many crises in American history—the Revolution, the Civil War, the Gilded Age, the Great Depression, and the World Wars—but whenever a crisis came, the American people joined together to not only solve the crisis, but move beyond it. We understood the power and possibilities of democracy and worked together through the Government to fulfill the promise of our freedom: to improve our lives and build a more perfect country. So it was then and so it is again today.

The United States of America is the present leader of the world, and because it is a democracy, its people are therefore the leaders of the world. The "question must be asked whether the sense of purpose which [caused] the achievements of the past century or two will also incite the next generation to perform the vast work which has yet to be done."³⁰³ "The whole future of the Earth... seems to me to depend on the awakening of our faith in the future."³⁰⁴

How will we lead the world in this century? Who will we be? What will we do? Where will we go? We must remember who we are and who we could become. We must understand our place and purpose in the country, the role of the Government in society, and the necessity of our leadership of the world. Only by working together can we build a better country and only by leading the world can we bring it into a better future. So let us choose a new dream for the future that can inspire and guide us—a dream that will ultimately take us to the stars. Let us not waste our precious time in life. Let us not be distracted by tyranny and war. Let us not forsake the promise of peace, freedom, and progress. Let us replace the conservative spirit with the spirit of progress and leave the world of stagnation for a world of creation. A way forward "has been offered and awaits us."³⁰⁵ So let us go forth. I see a place not too far away in a time not too long from now, a people who can say, "We are moving! We are going forward!"³⁰⁶

We have everything we need to solve the Crisis of the 21st Century: freedom, democracy, science and technology, the power of the Government, the competition of the free market, the strength of our military, the leadership of the world, a global economic system, and alliances with many nations.

And we know we want: world peace; the survival, freedom, and happiness of humankind; unity among the nations; the elimination of the ancient problems of the world: scarcity, poverty, disease, ignorance, tyranny, war, and death; to have a government that can fulfill its responsibilities in society, provide for the defense and general welfare of the people, and do great

³⁰³ The Ideas of Henry Luce, John K. Jessup, 312

³⁰⁴ The Future of Man, Pierre Teilhard De Chardin, preface

³⁰⁵ *Id.* at 10

³⁰⁶ The Future of Man, Pierre Teilhard de Chardin, 1

things in the country; to accelerate the progress of science and technology and increase our knowledge and power in the world; to rapidly grow the economy, ensure its wealth and abundance are broadly-shared among the people, and do what we choose in life; to live comfortably in the country and raise children, receive healthcare, have a home, and get an education; to live a longer and healthier and perhaps endless life; to grow our population until it is eventually as numerous as the stars—because we went to live among them; to be the home of humankind for the people across the world, both the best and the good; to harness more energy, do more work, and leave a habitable planet for future generations; to create a mind greater than our own to do more than we ever could alone; to raise our eyes to the stars, leave the planet Earth, and make a home of the Universe; to have a great and exciting life, a grand and flourishing culture, better and more meaningful ways to spend our precious time in life, abundant opportunities to pursue our own happiness, and infinite possibilities for the future.

This and far more can be ours—*if only we choose it.*

I am impatient to see what we will do in this century. “Progress! Progress! I’d like to see the wonders they’ll see.”³⁰⁷ For the time being, we have a short and mortal life in the Universe, so let us make the most of it. Let us not only be the culmination of the past, and not only the leaders of the present, but an example for the future. With billions of years behind us and trillions of years ahead, let us see what humans can truly do in their lifetime—what we can do in this century. In this great and beautiful world, we are free. What will we do?

Even though we may solve the Crisis of the 21st century and move beyond it, the ideas, plans, and dreams in this book—this general way of thinking about the world—will remain. In a crisis, we are compelled to action and forced to advance our progress to survive. Without a crisis, however, we can make our own choices and advance our progress because we are free. In the “land of the free and the home of the brave,” we can choose to make life truly worth living—and saving.

Before this book comes to a close, let us read the words of one who lived not long ago and sailed the oceans of the world towards the setting sun:

Disturb us, Lord, when
We are too well pleased with ourselves,
When our dreams have come true
Because we have dreamed too little,
When we arrived safely
Because we sailed too close to the shore.

Disturb us, Lord, when
With the abundance of things we possess
We have lost our thirst
For the waters of life;
Having fallen in love with life,
We have ceased to dream of eternity

³⁰⁷ Things to Come, H.G. Wells, 1936

And in our efforts to build a new earth,
 We have allowed our vision
 Of the new Heaven to dim.

Disturb us, Lord, to dare more boldly,
 To venture on wider seas...
 Where losing sight of land,
 We shall find the stars.

We ask You to push back
 The horizon of our hopes;
 And to push into the future
 In strength, courage, hope, and love.³⁰⁸

We have come far, but now we know where we are going. We have farther to go, "much farther, and then farther and farther."³⁰⁹ There are great problems to solve and greater possibilities to achieve. There is more knowledge to discover and more technologies to invent. There is more art to be made and more culture to create. Yes, there is more work to be done—*far more work to be done*—and so much joy ahead. "All I ask is the chance to build new worlds."³¹⁰

"The future belongs to those who give the next generation reason for hope."³¹¹ Each of us, every single one of us, must always seek to be better, dream bigger, and do more than ever before. Our country remains the incomplete work of imperfect individuals, and it is for us in this century to move towards a more perfect country—the land beyond the horizon of a better life in a greater world.

We can do these things, I know we can do these things, because life finds a way—it always has, always can, and always will. What are we waiting for? Here we are and there we must go. The choice is ours and now we must choose. We, the people of the United States of America, the leaders of humankind on the planet Earth, can achieve wonders in this century.

I began this book with the question, *Where goes my country?*
 Now, I believe we can answer:

Look past the horizon,
 beyond the sun and the stars,
 MY COUNTRY GOES THERE

³⁰⁸ Francis Drake, 1577

³⁰⁹ Song of Myself, 45, Walt Whitman

³¹⁰ The Skin of Our Teeth, Thornton Wilder

³¹¹ Pierre Teilhard de Chardin