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April 15, 1987

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A scandal of lawless amorality

WHETHER President Reagan and Vice President Bush are eventually found guilty of crime in office as a result of the administration's Iranian-contra arms dealings is less important than the need to understand those forces that have led to this sad chapter in our nation's history and to root them from our midst.

For a precious moment, the nation seems conscious and finally capable of glimpsing exactly what is being perpetrated by our nation's top political leaders in our names. Having offered largely passive consent to six years of amoral and frequently law-indifferent government, can the nation truly grasp the consequences of U.S. policies that are corrupting its foundations? This is the challenge we face.

Many of these lessons should have been learned after Watergate as the country appeared to reject the idea of an imperial presidency fueled by antidemocratic secrecy and excessive militarism. What is it about our collective national character and about our institutions that has

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again tolerated — even fostered — abusive White House power hardly a decade after former President Richard Nixon was forced from office in disgrace on a hot summer day in 1974?

The lessons then and the lessons now include the following:

- 1. No one not even a U.S. president can be allowed to live above the law without paying the consequences.
- 2. Democracy a fragile form of government depends on honest and open leadership.
- 3. Militarism corrupts democratic institutions and must not be allowed to set the course of U.S. foreign policy.
- 4. Upholding human rights is central to both U.S. domestic and foreign policy concerns.
- 5. True peacemaking grows out of strenuous efforts to build a more just world order.

Seemingly simple notions, these; yet the Reagan administration has never understood them. With its empty patriotism now exposed, can we delve to those depths required to really see our nation's tarnished soul? Can we understand the consistent amorality that has characterized our nation's actions? We have withdrawn in the past six years from the world community. Our actions have shown contempt for world opinion. Can we now see ourselves as others see us? The seriousness of this national infection can be seen in the failure of our leaders to question the morality of a policy to trade a handful of U.S. hostages for arms almost certain to cause the deaths of thousands of young Iraqis and Nicaraguan youth ordered or coaxed into war.

The indifference to law and the amorality of the Reagan administration come as no surprise to those who have followed it with a watchful eye. The only surprise is that it has taken six years for much of the Congress and press to wake from their sleep. The clandestine U.S. actions being

revealed almost daily were set into motion by policies formulated in the earliest days of the administration, policies founded on a virtual disregard for human rights, democratic institutions and world opinion. The seeds of today's scandal were sown within days after Reagan took office. Recall:

• Jan. 28, 1981, when Secretary of State Alexander Haig announced that the fight against international terrorism would take the place of human rights as the foundation of U.S. policy.

Feb. 2 when South V.

• Feb. 2, when South Korean General Chun Doo Hwan became the first head of state to meet Reagan as leader of the new administration. The administration held up an official human rights report so as not to interfere with the visit.

• Feb. 22, when Reagan lifted economic sanctions imposed against Chile for human rights violations.

 March 3, when Reagan reversed President Carter's policy and sent \$25 million in military supplies to El Salvador, circumventing the approval of Congress.

- March 9, when UN Ambassador Jeane Kirkpatrick met with South African military officers in contravention of a 20-year policy forbidding any military contact with South Africa.
- May 20, when the United States alone voted against an international code regulating the use of infant formula in Third World countries.
- May 21, when Under Secretary of State James Buckley announced that the new U.S. policy on arms sales would no longer be linked to the requirement to uphold human rights.
- June 15, when Reagan intentionally circumvented congressional human rights provisions and sent 100 jeeps and 50 half-ton trucks to the Guatemalan military.
- July 1, when Vice President Bush visited the Philippines and embraced dictator Ferdinand Marcos and praised him for his "adherence to democratic principles and democratic processes."
- July 1, when the Reagan administration announced it would vote for \$483 million in loans to Chile, Argentina, Uruguay and Paraguay in direct violation of Section 701 of the International Financial Institutions Act.
- Aug. 10, when Kirkpatrick visited Chile and praised General Augusto Pinochet and announced the U.S. intention to normalize relations. Two days later, Chile expelled four prominent opposition leaders, including the nation's leading human rights activist.

And who can forget, six years after their brutal murders at the hands of El Salvadoran military forces, the deaths of the four Catholic women missioners? Haig justified the action, saying they "ran a roadblock."

Kirkpatrick added apparent justification, calling them "political activists" working on behalf of the communist forces.

With the course already set, it did not take long before the CIA was lying, denying it had printed manuals to teach the Nicaraguan contras effective assassination techniques and that it had mined Nicaraguan harbors. When the truth came out and the United States was taken to the world court, the United States denounced the international body of law and refused to participate in the trial.

With the course set in motion, it did not take long before the administration was refusing to abide by the law in enforcing environmental legislation; it wasn't long before the administration was refusing to abide by the law in enforcing civil rights legislation; it wasn't long before the administration was refusing to abide by the law in spending mandated public housing money; it wasn't long before a list of administration officials was refusing to abide by the law through influence-peddling almost from the moment they left the White House.

Lawlessness and a failure to grasp the most fundamental notions of morality are the most appropriate

characterizations of the Reagan years.

We will be repeatedly warned in the coming weeks that we must get this scandal behind us quickly so that strong White House leadership can be restored and the nation can again assert itself in foreign affairs. We need to resist these diversionary tactics. A weakened president is called for when strength is equated with reckless foreign adventurism in blatant opposition to public opinion, as is the case in the funding of the contras in Nicaragua; a weakened president is called for when strength is equated with the reckless abandonment of the SALT II treaty in blatant opposition to world public opinion, the desires of our NATO allies and the votes of both houses of Congress; a weakened president is called for when strength is equated with militaristic policies based on the premise that the only answer to legitimate differences of opinion is to throw ever more deadly weapons into the conflict.

It may be ironic, but it is by no means an accident that the "scandal" that has moved the Reagan administration to the edge of ruin has involved the shipping of U.S. arms overseas for profit; the use of arms as tools of U.S. foreign policy is at the core of the meaning of this administration.

Those who live by the sword die by the sword, it is written. Our nation's collective efforts must now be aimed at digesting and applying this biblical message to our times. We are not through the night yet, but the early light of dawn is visible — if only we know where to look.

National Catholic Reporter December 12, 1986 (Reprinted by permission of The Manchester Guardian Weekly

The team comes apart

IT is the oddest of crises, since it neither waxes nor wanes, but merely carries on and on. There has been no sudden bustle of Washington house cleaning — the guilty sacked, the new brooms installed. But drifting inactivity has not fudged away the problem in boredom either. Mr Ronald Reagan affects the belief that, in a fortnight or so, the public concern will have died and there will be "business as usual". But, almost simultaneously, Mrs Nancy Reagan sketches a rather different scenario. She sees the chief of the CIA and the chief of the White House staff departing in disgrace: not immediately though, but as doomed, sacrificial victims of an octopus of a scandal that gradually strangles the political life out of them.

The clues to the true nature of the Tehran debacle were laid out in the open long ago. Turn, for example, to General Alexander Haig's memoirs of his time with Ronald Reagan. There is no doubt at all that the president commands the affection (even respect) of those round him. He can propound simple concepts — such as never raise taxes again, and star wars - and watch the professionals who cluster in his office fall into line. But when Reagan is not playing the oracle from California, matters fall out rather differently. He sits as the laid-back chairman of his advisers, listening to what they say and waiting for some kind of genial consensus to emerge. Once that agreement has begun to surface he simplifies it for wider propagation. It was because Al Haig never played in a team, never contributed to the production of consensus, that he found himself swiftly frozen out of even the beginnings of the process.

The Reagan style should not be too glibly derided. Jimmy Carter buried himself in detail, trying to keep a finger in every pot. But there is, obviously, one fundamentai essential to the functioning of the laid-back

presidency. The advisers have to be good; they have to be loyal; they have to deliver the options and the wisdom. And the stark fact of the present crisis is that they are broken, warring men: Donald Regan is the most senior of them all, destined for the chop. John Poindexter was the right-hand man in foreign affairs: now he pleads only the fifth amendment. William Casey was number one for the covert world: but this week he has been caught tapdancing with the truth on Capitol Hill. Those on the outside of the circle — like Shultz and Weinberger — are angry, and determined to eschew responsibility. Those on the inside are finished. In short, the engine has fallen out of the Reagan administration.

It is possible that something may yet be patched together. Mr Ed Meese - if he can escape the tentacles of scandal himself — is striving to save the presidency. Nancy is in there pitching. But the problems of recreating the consensus group round a manifestly old and bewildered man seem mountainous. It is not that the problems are not seen clearly. To the contrary, the Congressional clamour for a new, allpowerful crisis manager for the administration shows the way that even Mr Reagan's adversaries perceive real danger. For, intrinsically, these calls demand the appointment of a surrogate president to let Mr Reagan slide through his last two years. They assume that he cannot cope; and they are founded on the glum belief that no one who has his trust within the White House is capable of restoring the old checks and balances. That does not sound like a crisis that will go away; it sounds like the most profound and despairing of prognoses.

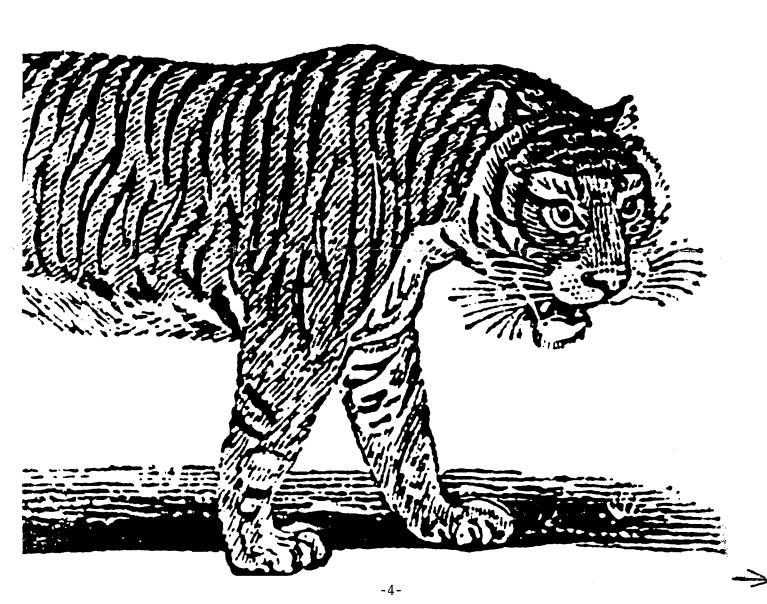
MANCHESTER GUARDIAN WEEKLY, December 21, 1986

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Global Education Associates, 475 Riverside Drive, Rock 570, New York, N.Y. 10017, Tel: 212-870-3290) (Fall 1986/Winter 1987, pp. 12-17)

OF TRANSITION:

A Guide to Riding the Tiger of Change



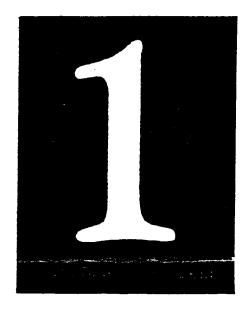
by Hazel Henderson

It is hardly news to anyone that industrial societies are undergoing massive structural changes and realigning themselves in a process of economic and technological globalization. Today, the planetization process is visibly accelerating, and three distinct zones of this unprecedented transition can be mapped to help decision-makers negotiate unfamiliar terrain: the Breakdown Zone, the Fibrillation Zone and the Breakthrough Zone.

Since all of us live in one or more of these zones, and few forecasting methods are broad enough to capture such overall dynamics, we must shift our attention from modelling content—the daily quantification of events and data—to modelling the context of events and the processes involved. The task makes amateurs of us all, and yet it is crucial in creating the new conceptual tools required if we are to learn to interpret events and to ride the tiger of change.

In the context of accelerating globalization—evident in areas from banking and finance to telecommunications, computerization, transportation, militarization and the speedup of technological innovation-we can expect increasing turbulence and new instabilities. Further, we should expect that more of the changes we see are irreversible, although most of our conceptual tools for mapping them—economics and conventional scientific approaches -are still based on Newton's ideas of mechanics and reversible models of locomotion in a clockwork universe. Therefore we can also expect accelerating "future shock" (to use Alvin Toffler's term), even in formerly stable areas of our lives. Still another effect to observe will be the ambivalence of events, with more confusion and conflicting interpretations (the "is it good news or bad news" syndrome).

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In Zone 1, many of us feel that our lives and jobs are stultified, or that we are stuck in an unresponsive bureaucratic institution. This is natural in a time of change; individuals always learn faster than institutions, which often rigidify, become brittle and shatter, or simply stagnate and decay. In the Breakdown Zone, society and its obsolescent institutions are destructuring-a natural process like composting, creating a rich new soil for regeneration. Nature shows us how some species actually regress to an earlier, larval stage in their development when their adult form has become too rigid and ill-adapted. This process, paedomorphosis, allows the less structured, more adaptable form to carry on the species. We can thus see Zone 1 as containing "seeds" to the many metamorphoses we will find in Zone 3, the Breakthrough Zone.

In Zone 1, not only are institutional forms, cities, suburbs and rural areas destructuring, but also cultural and political forms and underlying value systems. Most industrial societies are in a state of confusion as they shift to the not-yet-defined "post-industrial" phase. The Soviets and other socialist societies experiment with marketplace heresies to overcome lack of incentive and enforced cooperation, while in the U.S. we yearn for less dog-eat-dog competition and retreat into churches, new religions and cults in search of community and kindness. Both capitalism and communism are revealed as superficial ideologies concerned merely with methods of production and distribution, rather than deeply sustaining philosophies of life. And their imposition on the rest of the

world is failing, from Africa and Asia to South and Central America.

Zone 1 is also a war zone, as conflicting cultures, ideologies and religions clash in the new global village, adding to international competition over territory and resources. Proxy wars, insurrections and terrorism will continue to be a response to the superpowers' struggle and to oppression and injustice. Zone 1 is also one of slow-motion crises: irreversible pollution, acid rain and desertification, and of large-scale industrial accidents, as humans attempt to manage and coordinate ever more complex organizations and technologies.

The political arena of Zone 1 is best summed up as "the politics of the last hurrah": in maladaptation to change, governments rigidify and try to defend their borders against the waves of globalization swamping their cherished national "sovereignty." This is best evidenced in the economic sphere, where \$150 to \$500 billion sloshes around the planet daily as electronically-transferred funds are deployed by the new breed of 24-hour asset managers. As the global "fast lane" speeds up, money loses its meaning and ceases to function as a viable means of keeping score. In this light, Peter Drucker contends in Foreign Affairs (Spring 1986) that the commodity economy has "uncoupled" from the industrial economy, which has uncoupled from the employment economy, and world trade has uncoupled from world financial flows. Staying within the traditional paradigm of economic and money-based analysis, Drucker misses the non-money-denominated sectors of total productivity (see chart) and fails to see the extent to which this new global funny money game, or symbol system as he terms it, has very little to do with the realities of any sector of production, consumption, investment or trade, or any actual geographic region or ecosystem on the planet.

Meanwhile, politicians wrestle with domestic unemployment, trade, retraining and industrial policies (a hopelessly outdated concept), all of which deal with real geography and real people; yet all such domestic plans, however well laid and executed, are destabilized daily as the currency exchange markets open in London, New York and Tokyo. Treaties and economic theories alike are swept along by this rising tide of financial flows—as well as by Third World debt, bouncing currencies and oil prices. These are all indicators of the need for global economic cooperation and a new Bretton Woods to write the necessary











"win-win" rules for the new global economic "commons." (The commons was the village green in feudal England where all villagers could graze their herds equally.) In markets, competitive, zero-sum, "win-lose" games prevail; in commons, unless cooperative "win-win" rules are substituted, all players lose and the commons is destroyed for everyone (see *Science*, Dec. 13, 1968).

Some governments respond to Zone 1 conditions by reconceptualizing the global commons. Others rigidify, try to turn the clock back, attempt diversionary military adventures, fudge the figures, or indulge in disinformation; the least adaptive political and organizational behaviors, of course, are totalitarianism and anarchy. If you are spending too much time in Zone 1, it is time to assess your options, recycle your skills and scan for opportunities to redeploy yourself and prepare for a wellinformed leap into Zone 3. However, to accomplish this you will first need to negotiate Zone 2.



In fibrillation, the human heart muscle temporarily vacillates under stress, either leading to a heart attack and possible death, or shifting to another regular rhythm. Zone 2, the Fibrillation Zone, is expanding rapidly as globalization accelerates, as the "ante is upped" and risk and uncertainty increase. Recent advances in mathematical modelling of Zone 2 show how the destructuring processes of Zone 1 give rise to uncertainties and to a maximum number of opportunities for shifting gears and restructuring for Zone 3, the Breakthrough Zone.

Zone 2 is characterized by "flip-flop" processes, as whole systems reach new thresholds and shift into new states and configurations. In Zone 2, more individuals, institutions and nations must make choices because they are nearing such thresholds and pushing against their margins (for example, the boundaries and nationalistic belief systems of today's nation-states have become dysfunctional as a result of the breakdown of traditional national "sovereignty").

Thus, choices are required, but unless situations are also reconceptualized, actions may be maladaptive and relegate the system or person back to Zone 1. Zone 2 demands the most clear-eyed and rigorous reexamination of assumptions, priorities and goals, and of values—the basic driving force in all technical, economic and political systems.

The price of not challenging the old forms is loss of the leadership needed to "pull" a system into its new state. In the U.S., the Democratic Party's current disarray stems from its attempt to emulate Republican policies rather than envision a new direction for the country. The Republican "politics of the last hurrah" successfully repackaged Keynesianism as "supply-side" economics and flipped the "malaise" of the Carter administration into the soaring deficits and fervid over-optimism of the "high frontier" and "Star Wars." Neither party reexamined basic values, but simply sloganized traditional values

of optimism, entrepreneurship, sharing and cooperation, without reconceptualizing the geopolitical and economic dogmas of competition and the outdated worldview of the U.S. as Number One, Fortress America, dominating its rivals with military and economic superiority.

In Zone 2, we should expect more and better "good" news, and more and worse "bad" news—simply another indicator of systems reaching maximum stress thresholds. Only policies addressing the basic causes of problems can hope to succeed; those aimed at ameliorating or suppressing symptoms can lead to worse results. For example, trying to deal with unstable domestic economies using the narrowly focused. superficial remedies of traditional "flat earth" macroeconomic policies—inflating/deflating, regulating/deregulating, privatizing/nationalizing, raising/lowering interest rates, as if the society were a hydraulic system—can make things considerably worse, possibly irreversibly. Since globalization has changed the game, only global agreements can now work.

In Zone 2, the proliferating "good" and "bad" news becomes ambivalent. and it is increasingly unrealistic to view any news in such categorical, either/or terms. Interpretation is everything. So, if you, like most of us, find yourself living much of your life in Zone 2, the best course is to dig deeper for the answers and to turn issues and events (whether reported as "good" or "bad") around. looking at all their facets. Zone 2 is the arena of tradeoffs between adaptation and adaptability. If we or our institutions have become too well-adapted to vanishing conditions, we will be less able to meet new conditions. Thus less industrialized countries like China, India and Sri Lanka may be able to forge ahead by taking the best from all the earlier experimenters in Europe, North America and Japan, leapfrogging to a Third Way . . . and entering Zone 3.

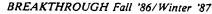
























Total Productive System of an Industrial Society (Three-Layer Cake with Icing):

GNP-Monetized
½ of Cake
Top Two Layers
Monetized, Officially
Measured GNP
Generates All
Economic Statistics
(15% "Underground"

illegal, Tax-Dodging)

Non-Monetized
Productive ½ of Cake
Lower Two Layers NonMonetized Altruism, Sharing
"Counter-Economy" Subsidizes Top Two GNP-Cash
Sectors with Unpaid Labor
and Environmental Costs
Absorbed or Unaccounted,
Risks Passed to Future
Generations

Official Market Economy All Cash Transactions

"Private" Sector Production, Employment, Consumption, Investment, Savings

Defense, State and Local Govt.
"Public" Sector Infrastructure (Roads, Maintenance,
Sewers, Bridges, Subways, Schools,
Municipal Government)

Cash-Based "Underground Economy" Tax Dodges

"Sweat-Equity": Do-it-Yourself, Bartering Social, Familial, Community Structures Unpaid Household & Parenting, Volunteering Sharing, Mutual Aid, Caring for Old and Sick Home-Based Production for Use-Subsistence Agriculture

MOTHER NATURE
Natural Resource Base—Absorbs Costs of Pollution,
Recycles Wastes If Tolerances Not Exceeded.
GNP Sectors "External" Costs Hidden
(Toxic Dumps, etc.)

GNP "Private" Sector

Rests | on

GNP "Public" Sector

Rests | on

Social Cooperative Counter-Economy

Rests | on

Nature's Layer

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The breakthroughs in this zone were almost invisible during the 1960s and 1970s, because they could not emerge until sufficient de-structuring had occurred. As the Breakdown Zone widened and led to the expanding Fibrillation Zone, so, too, the breakthroughs grew and became more visible: new compacts among nations, such as those bordering the Mediterranean Sea to clean up their common pollution; treaties to guard against the militarization of outer space and to protect the South Pole from exploitation; and many United Nations-sponsored conferences on global issues crossing national boundaries: Law of the Sea, food, population, health, education, habitat, renewable energy sources, science and technology for development. These brave beginnings in global social management technologies were coupled with new human capabilities in unlocking the basic code of life, the DNA molecule, and such advances as the eradication of smallpox. Dialogues between rich and poor nations emerged, as did a new appreciation of the diversity and richness of ethnic cultures; and at last, a concrete vision of planetary identity flashed from space to a whole generation of the human family.

Zone 3 is where old "problems" and "crises" are revealed as new opportunities, and the good news in the bad news becomes apparent. Formed in response to unsatisfactory conditions, growing citizens' movements in many countries are working for peace, human rights, government and corporate accountability, and ecological sanity. "Socially responsible" investment funds are proliferating. Tyrannical regimes have fallen in Iran, Haiti and the Philippines, while others, like that in South Africa, totter. Old-style industrialism.

based on inadequate understanding of human needs and limited awareness of nature's crucial role in production, is now leading to more humane, participatory organizations, cooperatives, worker-owned and -managed businesses, as well as production methods, recycling and recovery systems that work with nature.

I have termed this shift toward sustainable forms of production, consumption and investment a shift toward a dawning "solar age," an Age of Light. Today we are already moving beyond the "information age," based on electronic technologies, to the Age of Light and its lightwave technologies: from lasers, fiber optics, optical scanners and computing, to photovoltaics and other thermal and chemical energy-conversion processes based on a deeper understanding of natural processes, from solar collectors based on the chloroplasts in every green leaf to biotechnologies based on the genetic code (see The Futurist. August 1986).

Another lesson to emerge from a "crisis" is in agriculture, where our costly, mechanized, chemical- and energy-dependent techniques have produced the massive monoculture crops now glutting world markets. As agriculture restructures under the stress of globalization, the same diversification and entrepreneurship now restructuring industrial sectors is at work. The future lies in lower-cost, lower-input forms of agriculture, in smaller-scale farms, new crops, specialty and organically grown foods, and genetically engineered varieties tolerant of poor soils, excessive salt and lack of water.

Here too, we see that the planetary storehouse of genetic diversity is a "commons," just like the oceans and the air. Therefore, we must conclude global compacts as rapidly as possible to move toward "win-win" rules to manage these precious resources cooperatively, for the benefit of all the human family, rather than in the obsolete, self-destructive, competitive mode of today's biotechnology sector, whose research base, after all, is underwritten by public funding and taxes. Such technologies are too precious and potentially hazardous to be left to the mercies of a few unscrupulous or careless companies.

Similar doctrinaire, laissez-faire assumptions are hampering the wider development of the computer sector, where competitive, zero-sum rules are creating a Tower of Babel of incom-

patibilities, preventing the wider use of computers in the global networking modes to which they are naturally suited. Yet another global information "commons" has emerged: more than thirty companies have already joined a consortium, the Corporation for Open Systems, which is trying to promulgate a new set of worldwide "win-win" standards. Meanwhile, France has led the way by offering free home terminals so all householders can benefit from access, thus opening up a vast market for services.

Zone 3 involves not only breakthroughs of restructuring, new forms and adaptations, but also a broad "politics of reconceptualization" of all the basic assumptions and conditions underlying the "problems" and "crises" of Zone 2. Knowledge is restructured from old, single disciplines such as economics into new, transdisciplinary policy tools: for example. from macroeconomics to "posteconomic" policy studies including technology and risk assessment, environmental and social impact statements, futures studies, scenario building, cross-impact analyses and systems research—all with global, rather than national, frameworks. This composting and recycling of our knowledge is already leading to new maps of such unnoticed territory as the informal, nonmoney-denominated sectors of production, services and investment, which match and often subsidize the more familiar money-denominated, GNPmeasured half of the picture (see chart).

As these new maps clarify the terrain, new criteria for measuring "success," "performance" and "development" are emerging. As I described in The Politics of the Solar Age, the simplistic model of the Gross National Product (GNP) is slowly giving way, in some government agencies and academic textbooks. to broader indicators, such as Japan's Net National Welfare (NNW), the Overseas Development Council's Physical Quality of Life Index (PQLI). and the Basic Human Needs (BHN) indicator developed by the United Nations Environment Program. Using such indicators, a very different picture emerges, and countries like Sri Lanka and China are highlighted because of progress in health, education, shelter and environmental quality, in addition to mere growth of per-capita averaged money income (which often masks severe inequities in distribution). At least in part, these countries are achieving their successes because of re-prioritizing:

for instance, China's military expenditure has steadily decreased over the past thirteen years.

In Zone 3, we also see that the old "either/or" debate gives way to a "yin/yang" view of complementarity. For example, the debate moves beyond competition or cooperation, to the understanding that both these equally principles operate important simultaneously at every level in human societies and in nature. In many countries, we see also that both politics and economics are moving beyond the onedimensional, left-right perspective to a more fully-dimensioned debate of major factors that now must be included: 1) globalization; 2) ecology; 3) the nonmoney-denominated sectors of production, exchange and investment (25 percent of all world trade is now conducted in barter), the cooperative, voluntary sectors, and changing lifestyles and values; 4) the long-term costs, benefits, tradeoffs and intergenerational risks and rewards of our short-term actions.

Already Zone 3 is replete with new concepts, models and examples of "winwin," breakthrough strategies; but these appear insignificant to Newtoniantrained scientists with single-disciplined or "clockwork" models. Many statistical "cameras" are still focused for the vanishing phenomena of a more discrete, static, orderly world. For example, social policy in the U.S. is still largely based on the old model of the single-breadwinner, nuclear family, with stay-at-home wife and two children, even though such families now account for only about ten percent of the total. We hear of all the giant corporations in the U.S. that fail or close plants, while most of the 700,000 small companies formed each year go unnoticed: the Census Bureau does not count companies with fewer than 20 employees. Similarly, economic statistics ignore the flows of services in world trade, now enormous, while economic models cannot embrace information, the ubiquitous new commodity which is not scarce and therefore conforms to "win-win" rules.

For our mental health, it is well to remember that the focus of most academics, statisticians and mass media is still the super-charged atmosphere as we move further into Zone 2's flip-flop modes. Thus the breakthroughs are continually overlooked or drowned out by saturation reporting of the daily shocks, threats, confrontations and senseless violence of Zone 1, while the opportunities and choices of Zone 2 are underreported or misinterpreted. The quiet building and restructuring taking place in Zone 3 is "slow-motion good news" and cannot be summed up in 30-second pictures between commercial breaks; yet it is vastly more important to our future than most of today's photo-opportunity journalism.

The really good news of Zone 3 is that many solutions to "crises" and "problems" are turning out to be simple and inexpensive, rather than requiring massive, costly new technologies. When "problems" are fundamentally reexamined, solutions often arise in the rethinking process, as in the "lateral thinking" and creativity exercises used organizational development theorists. For example, the muchbemoaned world population "problem" may actually be stabilized by saving lives: the prevention of millions of early infant deaths from diarrhea through the World Health Organization's oral rehydration therapy program (the simple, swift, inexpensive administering of a drinking solution of water, glucose and salt) has resulted in reduced birthrates in affected countries, rather than

the opposite, as Newtonian-oriented studies expected. And costly high-tech medical systems to "cure" disease are giving way to less costly remedies: healthier lifestyles, better nutrition, education and prevention.

The human species is at a new evolutionary juncture, and is undergoing the timeless drama of all species: the play between adaptation and adaptability, between maladaptation, paedomorphosis, learning, transformation and metamorphosis. As we deal with the heightened stakes of the Fibrillation Zone with its unavoidable choices, we can all take part in the millions of necessary small steps and wise decisions leading us toward the further expansion of the territory of the Breakthrough Zone. The vision of successful globalization will govern the "win-win" politics of building an equitable, culturally diverse, ecologically harmonious and therefore peaceful planet. In this allembracing context, our individual selfinterests become coterminous in the selfinterest of our now truly interdependent human family.



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