

For a Grand Bargain with China; sustainability and justice; post-growth society

August 26, 2016



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Editorials

[For a Grand Bargain with China](#)

Few people who are in Asia or who are interested in Asia can afford not to study Kurt Campbell's new book *The Pivot: The Future of American Statecraft in Asia*.

Published in *The Diplomat*; click [here](#) to read.

[Responding to the End of Economic Growth](#)

Both the Democratic and Republican parties promise Americans more and better jobs, a vibrant

economy. But what if this is truly a dreaming field, which no one can build? The time has come to consider a fundamental change in what we aspire to.
Published in *The Huffington Post*; click [here](#) to read.

[US Continues to Ignore Massive Pedophilia in Afghanistan](#)

"In an Afghanistan ravaged by war and poverty, an ancient tradition has been secretly revived: Young boys sold by their families to wealthy merchants and warlords, taught to dance and entertain, and used for sex."

Published in *The WorldPost*; click [here](#) to read.

[Effective Assimilation Can Thwart Authoritarianism](#)

Both Haidt and Brooks may well be right that immigration is a very significant factor in the current reaction of the nationalists to the liberal policies favored by globalists; however, it is far from the only one. Two other major factors are involved: the march of individual rights, and the growing community deficit.

Published in *The National Interest*; click [here](#) to read.

Academic Pieces

[The Fusion of the Private and Public Sectors](#)

Much of contemporary analysis treats the public and private sectors as two rather separate and fundamentally different realms. Many see one of the two sectors as inherently virtuous and the other as corrupt. The paper shows, in considerable detail, that the two sectors are deeply intertwined. It follows that we need a rather different framework to study state and society.

Published in *Contemporary Politics* (online, July 27, 2016).

[The Surprising Link between Sustainability and Social Justice](#)

The economic downturn (and rising inequality) has contributed to the rise of political alienation; the rise of a variety of right-wing expressions including xenophobia, racism, and anti-Semitism; and support for radical right-wing parties and politicians. What do these developments portend for the future?

Published in *Agenda for Social Justice: Solutions 2016*, editors: Glenn W. Muschert; Brian V. Klocke; Robert Perrucci; Jon Shefner. Click [here](#) to read.

For the Record

The US is finally changing its rule of engagement in Afghanistan. The change is similar to changes we recommended in *Rules of Engagement and Abusive Citizens*. Click [here](#) to read more.

Our forthcoming article in the *Vanderbilt Journal of Entertainment & Technology Law*, "Keeping AI Legal" by Amitai Etzioni and Oren Etzioni has received wide coverage, including [The Sun](#), [Daily Mail](#), and [Artificial Intelligence Online](#). To read "Keeping AI Legal" on SSRN, click [here](#).

Video

We have a newly posted video on YouTube, "Sex in a Religious Libertarian and Communitarian Perspective." The lecture was presented as a session during The Center for the Interdisciplinary Study of Religion's Conference on Sex, Marriage, & Family and the Religions of the Book. Watch it [here](#).

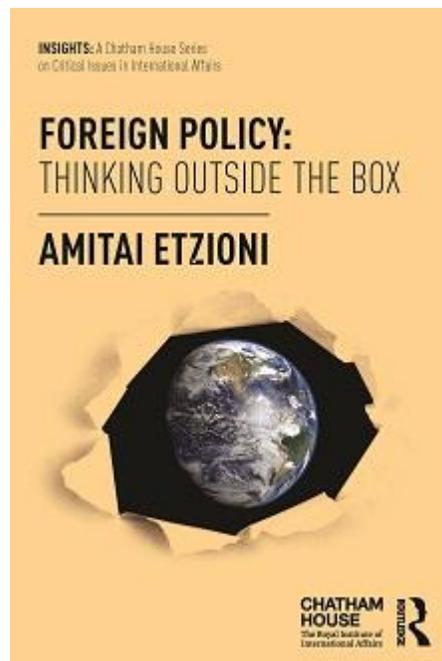
We also received a comment about our most popular video, "[You Don't Need to Buy This.](#)" An excerpt of it is included below (shared here with permission).

"I was trying to explain to my twelve year old student that buying expensive sneakers will not make him happy. I did a web search and found your video "do not buy this" I shared it with him and we were prompted to call his local public works department to see how he could make a difference in his community. He was able to find many people who were willing to share information on ways to achieve this goal. (He lives in an area where finding empty drug bottles are unfortunately quite common). We will work together on scheduling a community clean up with a few of his classmates."

-Jennifer Glickman

Forthcoming: Two Events!

On September 14, 2016, John Hopkins SAIS will be hosting an "Author Meets His Critics" event for the recently released book *Foreign Policy: Thinking Outside the Box*. David Lampton, Dan Serwer, and Michael Green will critique the book, with Carla Freeman moderating. Amitai Etzioni will respond to their comments. The event is free and open to the public. RSVP required. Click [here](#) for more details.



On September 24, 2016 the Elliott School of International Affairs at The George Washington University will be hosting the event US-China Policy for the Next Administration. Former Deputy Secretary of State Jim Steinberg will be the keynote speaker. The event will take place from 3:30-5:30 at 1957 E Street, NW, in the Linder Family Commons (Room 602). It is free and open to the

public but attendees must RSVP. Click [here](#) for the link to RSVP.

Your Responses Are Requested

Each month we ask a question and share responses we receive in the next issue of the newsletter. This month the question is:

Are people who object to political correctness merely seeking to express their prejudices, or does political correctness stand in the way of free dialogue about sensitive issues?

Please send your comments with the subject line "Newsletter" to icps@gwu.edu. (Your comments may be published in the next issue of the newsletter.)

Feedback: Are Nations Becoming Ungovernable?

Last month we asked the following question:

Are nations becoming ungovernable? If so, what should be done?

Below is a response we received:

Susan Glover, Department of Government, American University

No, nations are not becoming ungovernable- to think so is to ignore the history of humanity and the great ebb and flow of communities and cultures. Nationalism itself has always been violent and divisive, but it has also allowed larger communities to define themselves through common cause. The more interesting question, I think, is to ask each citizen how his or her country defines "us" and "them." Is it inclusive, exclusive, or something in between? A citizen who chooses exclusivity is most likely one who has a more rigid, closed, smaller definition of nation. If he or she lives in a country whose laws embrace or protect inclusivity then that individual is also most likely one who feels disenfranchised. The obverse is true, as well- a citizen who wants his or her government to be more open but who sees exclusivity and exclusion will also feel disenfranchised. I think this is the struggle we see in the United States, across Europe, and in places like Russia, where the great diversity of that former empire is being rejected by state and (many) citizens in favor of a notion of exclusive "Russian-ness," while other citizens seek to expand national identity to reflect that diversity.

So, no- I do not believe that nations are becoming ungovernable. I believe we are instead facing struggles over defining us and them, and what rights and privileges and protections should be afforded which groups and individuals. If the struggles become violent or (more positively), become peaceful mass struggles that is not only nothing new, it is a sign that reform, remaking, and even revolution may be on the horizon.

Feedback: Happiness is the Wrong Metric

In an earlier issue of the newsletter, we posed the following question:

What is the conception of human nature you hold scholars and policy makers draw

on: Homo economicus, Homo sapiens, the "Moral Wrestler," or others?

Homo economicus *collects information, processes it well, and draws logical conclusions, is rational.* Homo sapiens *processes information poorly, is not rational, and is influenced by passions.*

"Moral Wrestler" *views the person as being subject to an irreconcilable conflict between the quest for happiness (of one kind or another) and the quest to live up to their moral values. For more discussion, see Happiness is the Wrong Metric (available [here](#)).*

Below is a response we would like to share with you:

Edward Fischer, Professor of Anthropology, Director at the Center for Latin American Studies, Vanderbilt University

We (academics, policy makers, human beings) seem to be drawn to stark distinctions. We are always diving the world up into good guys and bad guys, right and wrong. But, of course, people are more complicated than that—we are good *_and_* bad, right *_and_* wrong at different times (and sometimes, in what might be termed quantum morality, at the same time). We often allow this moral complexity and nuance for ourselves, and maybe our close family and friends, but deny it when we talk about Others and at the grand scale of policy and markets.

We are driven by moral values and a desire to live up to certain social (and idiosyncratic) ideals as much as by narrowly self-interested material gain. And the Homo economicus model has done great harm, as I have written about elsewhere (see, e.g., *_Cash on the Table_*), by reducing human motivation to one narrow aspect. At the same time, I can understand the appeal of such a single variable model, and I think it is important for us to acknowledge that we sometime are self-interested and rational. The rub is that we are not only that.

We have been too quick to disavow tough moral choices onto “the market” in recent years. We are Moral Wrestlers, but we need for our social institutions and political processes to create space for us to wrestle.

* * * * *

Additionally, we would like to share an excerpt of a critique of *Happiness is the Wrong Metric*, written by John Hyatt.

At the beginning of his essay, Professor Etzioni encourages his readers to view people as “moral wrestlers.” He clarifies this term’s meaning shortly thereafter: “This views the person as being subject to an irreconcilable conflict between the quest for happiness (of one kind or another) and the quest to live up to their moral values, with the completion of the latter resulting in a sense of affirmation.” And indeed, the “quest for happiness” often comes into conflict with the “quest to live up to...moral values.” Nearly every decision we make is laden with such a moral dilemma. When I choose steak over salad, I increase my likelihood of dying, if only by an infinitesimal degree. Isn’t this decision technically immoral, considering that my loved ones will grieve my

death for a longer period of time if I die sooner rather than later? The absurdity of this particular example is intended as a means of demonstrating how even trivial decisions carry the aforementioned moral dilemma.

However, “happiness” and “affirmation” do not appear irreconcilable if we interpret happiness as a fluid and unmeasurable state of consciousness. Just because Person X receives pleasure from hedonistic activities, Person X is not palpably “happier” than someone who is less inclined towards immoderation. Nor is Person X manifestly happier than an ascetic monk, or someone who dedicates his or her life to moral commitments. On the contrary, as Professor Etzioni shows in Part II, people who belong to religious and civic organizations are statistically happier (or “more satisfied”), as are married people and those with close friendships. Tellingly, however, these three forms of prosocial behavior demand various forms of sacrifice. Group membership demands time and resources; marriage obtrudes on and dilutes individual desires; friendships temper pure egotism (the unparalleled egotist of our time, Donald Trump, was recently described as having “no close friends”). Of course, sacrifice is part and parcel to “the quest to live up to... moral values.” Therefore, the requisite pain involved in achieving “a sense of affirmation” is not incompatible with happiness, but only if we conceive of happiness in broad, open-ended terms.

Feedback: On European Integration

Paul van Seters, Director of Globus and Professor of Globalization and Sustainable Development at TIAS School for Business and Society, The Netherlands

Maybe there is more community-building going on in the European Union than was suggested in the last issue of the newsletter. In a recent essay, I argue that the European Banking Union may be a good example of effective European community-building and integration.

The European Banking Union of 2014 was created by the European Union in reaction to the global financial crisis of 2008. Even though it took the EU many years to come up with specific measures to address this crisis, and even though most of these measures remain contested and criticized, it is a fact that the Banking Union is doing something about the root cause of the crisis, namely the so-called “bank–sovereign vicious circle.”

The high potential of the Banking Union has not been enough to convince the numerous critics of the crisis policies of the past few years. Underneath the wide variety of criticisms, there is a more general and widely shared complaint about a basic deficiency of the EU: its lack of democratic legitimacy and accountability, also often referred to as its democratic deficit. This negative judgment clearly predates the beginning of the financial crisis, but since 2008 the democracy critics of the EU have raised their voices greatly.

But imagine that a number of years from now most people would agree that the Banking Union functions well and contributes to peace and prosperity in Europe. Would it then be conceivable that the Banking Union at that same time in the future is also seen, by most of the citizens of Europe, as having contributed to stronger, more viable democracy in the EU? And would that then take the sting out of the arguments of the democracy critics who dominate the current discussion about the state of the EU?

The essay was published in Festschrift für Johannes Köndgen zum 70. Geburtstag (Köln: RWS Verlag Kommunikationsforum GmbH, 2016), pp. 579–597.

See <https://www.tias.edu/en/knowledgeareas/area/finance/article/can-the-european-banking-union-bridge-the-gap-between-capitalism-and-democracy>. For an earlier version of this essay, see [http://www.scfoundation.org/pagina/252/News to Share](http://www.scfoundation.org/pagina/252/News_to_Share).

I Read

In *The Abundant Community: Awakening the Power of Families and Neighborhoods*, John McKnight and Peter Block assert that communal bonds are important for leading a satisfied life. They call on citizens to take responsibility for community building and foster social cohesion.

An article published in *The Economist* last month titled "The see-through sea" discussed ocean exploration. Our piece, *Final Frontier vs. Fruitful Frontier: The Case for Increasing Ocean Exploration* may be read [here](#).

Peter Minowitz, professor of political science at Santa Clara University, recently had an article published in *Perspectives on Political Science* titled "Rescuing 'Diversity' from Affirmative Action and Campus Activism." The abstract is below, and the full article may be read free of charge until August 28 by clicking [here](#).

Although diversity is constantly celebrated, the word is regularly used in a distorted if not dishonest manner. In connection with Fisher v. University of Texas and the 2003 Supreme Court cases involving the University of Michigan, for example, critics of racial preferences who promote color-blindness have been portrayed as enemies of "diversity." Scrutinizing the recent explosion of racially-themed campus protests reveals tendencies that are even more alarming. First, activists are demanding rapid increases in the hiring of minority faculty and staff while ignoring the antidiscrimination mandates imposed by the Civil Rights Act. Novel dangers to academic freedom and intellectual rigor, moreover, have been surfacing as student groups assert imperious authority over university affairs, threaten to squelch criticisms of Black Lives Matter, and demand that professors be evaluated for "microaggressions."

My Diary

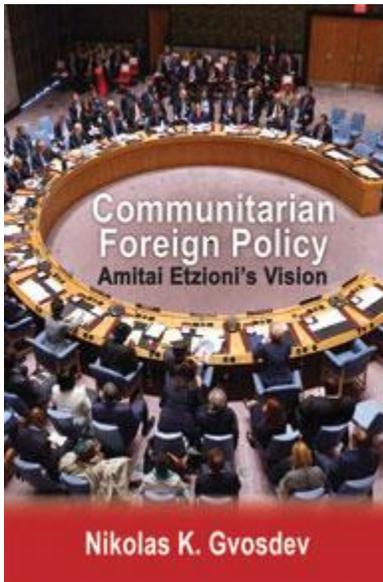
Sanneh asks whether we might best serve those who are most in need by helping them leave the ghetto. This view overlooks the loss of membership in a community. People who are forced to move cannot take their community with them, or readily find a new one. For more than a century, sociologists have studied how people, as they move from villages to cities, lose communal bonds and moral codes, which are essential to one's psychological well-being. Many inner-city neighborhoods now constitute similarly vibrant communities, and leaving them can have profoundly negative consequences. To prevent such social dislocation, we need to lessen the incentives that are driving gentrification. We should increase the stock of housing, offer microcredit in poor neighborhoods, and provide legal protection against unscrupulous banks and real-estate agents. Otherwise, gentrification will continue to drive people from the places where they have history.

Published in *The New Yorker* on August 22, 2016 with reference to Kalefa Sanneh's piece "Is

Gentrification Really a Problem?"

With reference to Nikolas Gvosdev's book *Communitarian Foreign Policy*, I'd like to share the following note:

Professor Nikolas Gvosdev took elements of some of my books, fragments of thoughts from some of my articles, and wove them together into a comprehensive communitarian foreign policy. To mix metaphors, I provided some bricks; he built a cathedral. The credit for this achievement is all his.



Tweets You May Have Missed

Feds to stop using private prisons. Good job! Next stop using profit-makers for interrogation, intelligence collection

No guns for those on the terror watchlist? A baby step to the moon: <http://ow.ly/m0sW302SOeP>

[#AGirlInTheRiver](#) is an absolute must-see re: honor killings. It will spoil your dinner, but it's worth it: <http://ow.ly/LSOS302DIB9>

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