

Jane Jacobs, Systems of Survival, New York: 1992.

A. COMMERCIAL MORAL SYNDROME

Occupations associated with it concern commerce, production of goods, services for commerce, most scientific work.

The classic bourgeois values and virtues.

The condition characterized by these "symptoms" is viable commercial life.

Shun force
Come to voluntary agreements
Be honest
Collaborate easily with strangers and aliens
Compete
Respect contracts
Use initiative and enterprise
Be open to inventiveness and novelty
Be efficient
Promote comfort and convenience
Dissent for the sake of the task
Invest for Productive Purposes
Be industrious
Be thrifty
Be optimistic

B. GUARDIAN MORAL SYNDROME

Occupational groups: armed forces and police, aristocracies and landed gentry, government ministries and their bureaucracies, commercial monopolies, law courts, legislatures, religions (especially state religions).

The condition is the work of protecting, acquiring, exploiting, administering, or controlling territories.

Shun trading
Exert prowess
Be obedient and disciplined
Adhere to tradition
Respect hierarchy
Be loyal
Take vengeance
Deceive for the sake of the task
Make rich use of leisure
Be ostentatious
Dispense largesse
Be exclusive
Show fortitude
Be fatalistic
Treasure honor

The following universal items are not included because they are esteemed across the board, in all kinds of work, public life and personal life:

COOPERATION (...cooperation is probably the most important of the universals. We're social animals, and everything we are or have hangs on cooperation.)
COURAGE
MODERATION
MERCY
COMMON SENSE
FORESIGHT
JUDGMENT
COMPETENCE
PERSEVERANCE
FAITH
ENERGY
PATIENCE
WISDOM

These two lists...are the residues after I subtracted universals.... 25

...we have two distinct syndromes because we have two ways of making a living, no more and no less. ... All the other animals have only one. First, we're able to take what we want -- simply take, depending, of course, on what's available to be taken. That's what all other animals do.... 51 ...in

addition, we human beings are capable of trading -- exchanging for other goods and services, depending...on what's available.... ...voluntary agreement, the essence of trading. Some people get by on gifts, charity, or inheritances. but that means somebody else worked up the wherewithal. ...we've built no end of ingenuities into trading and taking. But the fact remains, getting a living is built upon them. 52 ...we have two contradictory ways of getting a living; therefore, we have two contradictory moral syndromes, one to suit each way and its derivatives. 53

COMMERCIAL MORAL SYNDROME

Shun force

...not always easily accomplished because commercial wealth is found in the midst of things. It's accessible to customers, suppliers, the public. It travels on common carriers. ...a second meaning. It also forbids commercial people themselves to use force. 33

Come to voluntary agreements

Be honest

...gives substance to voluntary agreement. ...by definition, dishonesty is kept down to supportable levels wherever commerce remains viable. ...commercial people need symbiotic help from guardians: to combat violent predators on commerce, of course, but also to mandate honesty and give the mandate teeth by ferreting out dishonesty in commercial life, investigating, exposing, disgracing, prosecuting, and punishing it -- in short, suppressing it down to supportable levels even if the ideal of eliminating it completely isn't realistic....34

Collaborate easily with strangers and aliens

...commercial people are compelled to deal with strangers and almost-strangers as suppliers or customers, and often enough with aliens. This requires enormous trust.... But trust is feasible only where honesty is usual. Commercial people invent devices to facilitate trust among strangers...receipts...cosmopolitanism.... The principal places in which strangers do business together are big commercial cities. The cosmopolitanism of these cities is no accident. It's an instance of functional necessity becoming a cultural trait. ...everyday deals with strangers and aliens...demands tolerance for people outside one own background and personal preferences and, often enough, even respect for them as well. 35
Cosmopolitanism and insularity are contrasts, but not a tidy, discrete pair. They're two poles...with shadings and degrees and mixtures all the way from one pole to the other. Those shadings and degrees are in great part a reflection of permanence and impermanence of relationships. 36

Compete

Its most obvious direct link is with voluntary agreement, which presupposes choice. Effective choice demands competition. Choice is impossible, and voluntary agreement a sham, if one of the parties to the agreement holds a monopoly. Competition also links with honesty and shunning force, because of the sheer costs of dishonesty and force.

Respect contracts

...gives substance to voluntary agreement. People doing commercial work need contracts, whether they're written or not.... They need assurance the courts will enforce contracts if need be...and will do so justly. ... Actions in conflict with recognized public policy are not

protected by contracts or the courts. (The Merchant of Venice) 37 ... What the contract says is of the essence; the social status of the parties to it is irrelevant. ...all ancient concepts of rights were connected to status. Rights were thought of as the by-products of duties, and duties were attached to status. 38 The medieval European Custom of Merchants let the genie of individual rights out of the bottle.... 39 ... So many of what we call civil rights are actually rights to make contracts as equals. ... The strange idea of rights unconnected to status was what medieval serfs referred to when they said, 'City air makes free.' By getting to the city and subscribing to its extraordinary customs, they wiggled out of hierarchical law and into contractual law.

Use initiative and enterprise

Contractual law allows ordinary people to Use initiative and enterprise -- makes it feasible as a practical matter. Initiative and enterprise are highly esteemed in commercial life, as well they should be. Wherever commerce flourishes over extended time, new products and services keep entering trade. And so do new ways of producing, distributing, and communicating. these all require initiative and enterprise. 40

Be open to inventiveness and novelty

Be efficient

Promote comfort and convenience

Dissent for the sake of the task

All of [the previous four items] link directly and tightly with competition. Commercial life affords so many ways to compete. ... The whole cluster of precepts...demand Dissent for the sake of the task. ...every single improvement in efficiency of production or distribution requires dissent from the way things were previously done. So does every new kind of material used in production. So does every innovative product -- even [41] the deplorable ones. Innumerable acts of dissent. Furthermore...when this commercial type of dissent is successful, it is often quickly and obviously so.

Invest for Productive Purposes

Be industrious

Be thrifty

These [three] are tightly linked with dissent, because changes in the way things are done commercially, and especially additions of new products or services into trade, demand productive investment. ... Making productive investment requires a surplus over current consumption -- in other words, it requires thrift. And producing surpluses requires industriousness. ...trade and production are viable only when people apply themselves in continuous effort, not sporadic fits and starts. Marx called [the three] exploitation of the workers, profiteering, and unjust ownership of the means of production. ...Weber called them the Protestant work ethic....

Be optimistic

[This is]...connected with fear of violence and dread of insecurity.... Business [42] people are forever trying to protect themselves from nasty surprises. They try to penetrate the

future with forecasts, surveys, and voracious consumption of news. ... People who take practical steps to forestall surprise and misfortunes are, by definition, optimists.

Science

...the arts can flourish magnificently in cultures and subcultures with little commerce to speak of. ... Science...develops only feebly in a culture until trade and production have already been developed vigorously. ...scientific investigation proliferates and scientific knowledge ramifies and accumulates in a sequel to flourishing commercial life. 44 ... Trade, production, and the technologies they use stimulate all manner of scientific curiosity; simultaneously, inventive commercial life provides diversifying tools for pursuing the curiosity. ...science needs the same values and precepts as commerce. Honesty is the bedrock of science. ... Voluntary agreement is the agreement that counts among scientists. ... Science thrives on dissent for the sake of the task. ...science is open to novelty. It's inventive. It demands initiative and enterprise. ...a major tenet is...'parsimony of explanation,' meaning the leanest and simplest explanation--the thriftiest--that accounts for the data is preferred over more extravagant, elaborate, or convoluted explanations. ...that isn't literal thrift but it shows a cast of mind that values economy of means, and this cast of mind also rules good technology. Science requires and values easy collaboration with strangers and aliens.... 45 Guardian values and rules...are...contradictory to the rules and values of science....

GUARDIAN MORAL SYNDROME

Shun trading

In the days of chivalry a man was unfit for knighthood if he had a parent, grandparent, or great-grandparent on either side who had been a merchant or craftsman.... ...principled aloofness from trade is standard today in [57] reigning royal families and not uncommon among tradition-minded gentry and aristocrats. 58 [1] Trading secrets to the enemy is fundamentally like any trading. Both parties strike a bargain voluntarily for mutual benefit. ... [2] In view of the danger, the personal disgrace of trading could not have been drummed in too thoroughly and early in the moral upbringing of children destined for military life. It is hard to think of a precaution more effective. [3] This practical and moral meaning of the taboo checks with its moral meaning in guardian work today. [Corrupt trading is]...one reason guardians themselves need guardians. 60 ...arm's-length buffers[:]...officials are forbidden to take a job in a business they have regulated, or a job lobbying former guardian colleagues...blind trusts.... the bastion that really counts...is respect for the precept...strong enough to overcome temptation. When that is missing within any guardian institution taken as a whole, no legalistic approach can adequately substitute. 61

Exert prowess

...means having power and using it effectively. Prowess [honor, loyalty, and largesse were]...the four major virtues in the code of chivalry. For knights, [prowess]...meant bravery and skill in combat. ... In civil affairs, successful rulers and their regimes rely heavily on persuasion and custom to get their way. ...when persuasion fails, every effective government falls back on physical force. ... enforcement, backed up by the sheer physical power to prevail, is praiseworthy in guardian work. ... Prowess links directly with obedience and discipline.... 63

Be obedient and disciplined

Adhere to tradition

Tradition helps serve as a substitute for conscience in guardian work. That may be tradition's most important moral meaning. Normally, it sets limits to what's done. Adhering to tradition reassures a scrupulous or doubting recipient of [64] orders who has no practical choice but to obey them. When guardian commands do flout tradition, they're at least apt to receive more than ordinary scrutiny and require more than ordinary justification. ...one reason revolutionary governments have become cruel so easily and swiftly after ascendancy is that they've lost the brakes of tradition. ...that's exactly how precedent serves the law.... It's a brake. It helps protect us from arbitrariness and the whims and idiosyncracies of judges; juries, too.

Respect hierarchy

...is the chief principle of organization for guardians. Guardian morals and values come largely...from origins in the military. 65 [Differences in the view of hierarchy of commercial organizations:] Ambitious executives or skilled workers who find financial backing can quit and set up enterprises of their own. .. That's how most companies get their start.... Guardians in real regiments cannot set up independent regiments of their own.... ...if the board of a commercial enterprise wants, it can sell off units to another commercial enterprise, or it can buy up formerly autonomous units. ...it can set up joint ventures with foreigners on its own initiative, or move operations into foreign territories without involving the government and its hierarchies. ...think about the huge numbers of small businesses in commercial life, not sharing a higher command structure among them.

...guardian work is ruled by rank and therefore by hierarchical law -- instead of contractual law and its by-product of individual rights...[unless governments wants to give up that authority and grants citizens or aliens the right to sue] 66 ...where hierarchical law, pure and simple, always prevails is when government pulls its superior rank vis-a-vis all the rest of society....in bankruptcy cases the tax man gets first crack at the assets.... Legislators in parliamentary sessions can safely make remarks for which they would otherwise be liable to slander or defamation suits. Under right of eminent domain.... Rule of rank. ...martial law, military drafts.... ...an exception is made when a policeman is murdered.... ...hierarchical law reinforces prowess.

Be loyal

[The key precept in Guardian morality.] Government regard treason as the most wicked crime, bar none. during the reign of China's last imperial dynasty, conviction for treason meant that he offender was beheaded, and so were his male relatives over the age of fifteen, including sons, brothers, father, grandfather, paternal uncles and nephews, no matter where they lived or how [67] little contact they had with the traitor. ... Female relatives were liable to slavery. ...many stupidities and mistakes have been forgiven guardians whose loyalty it unimpeachable. ...political parties are guardian entities. So are organized religions...they lay stress on unconditional loyalty to the faith. ...loyalty reinforces obedience.... ...obedience is a one-way street, while loyalty works in both directions. A superior is morally obliged to reciprocate the loyalty of underlings, at sacrifice to himself if necessary. ...loyalty embodies a mystique transcending obedience--the mystique of unbreakable fraternity, unconditional comradeship. Bonds of loyalty thrive on shared adventure and success, but they also make fear and risk tolerable, and disappointment and tragedy enduring. Loyalty is a powerful comfort; it evens out differences in individual luck, strength, and competence because it makes pride in any individual pride of all, instead of a source of envy and disruption. ...Unbreakable loyalty does not seem to come naturally to us. It is like honesty in the commercial [68] syndrome. Both are key virtues. Yet neither can be depended upon without constant inculcation and watchfulness. Children everywhere are indoctrinated with the righteousness and worthiness of their nation. ... If you are elected

to office you take a loyalty oath. If you go into the armed forces you take a loyalty oath. Question: If loyalty must be so drummed in, how did this virtue arise within cultures in the first place? ...armed men are dangerous to each other. ... To escape mayhem from each other, armed men need bonds so strong, so highly valued, so mystical that they aren't broken under pressure of greed, envy, jealousy, revenge, boredom, contempt for a commander's competence, or any other temptation to do in a brother-in-arms. ...male bonding.... 69 ...loyalty has to endure in humdrum periods and during intervals when cooperation makes few stirring demands, and it has to be strong enough to withstand contradictory pressures. Here's where the male bonding of hunters fall short. Hunter bonding seems to be fragile off duty. 70 ...no successful military force can countenance feuds among men recruited from different families, clans, villages. Willy-nilly, they must become a band of brothers. ...the virtue of loyalty within armed forces extended thereafter to other guardian concerns associated with conquest or protection of territory, and to all derivatives of guardian work taken generally. ...the indispensability of loyalty infuses all the work of ruling and its derivatives. It is a moral buttress against all manner of guardian betrayals, military or not. It is not for nothing that officials swear fealty to a constitution or a crown. ... If other guardian precepts in the syndrome break down, then loyalty converts from virtue to vice.

Take vengeance

The drive to retaliate packs enormous emotional power. It seems to come naturally to us... No need to inculcate it in children; on the contrary, it has to be tamed in them. It is forever ready to erupt. ...we can call ourselves the vengeful animals. ...why did guardians monopolize vengeance? 72 ...monopolizing vengeance also means taking responsibility for doing justice. ...among armed troops forbidden to wreak private vengeance, some substitute is necessary to deal with soldiers who do...inflict injuries on brother soldiers. ...a vengeance monopoly could originate only in a context of iron discipline, obedience, and hierarchy. ...the monopoly originated as a necessity in organized military units and extended, no doubt in fits and starts, into a generalized guardian monopoly. Partly to impose order among contentious subjects, but also to suppress threats to rulers' powers to rule. 74

Deceive for the sake of the task

The principles of virtuous guardian deception are...It must not be aimed at other members of the organization...it must be for the sake of carrying out a guardian task.... An ability to prevaricate cunningly is no disgrace.... ... Most guardian tasks in modern democratic societies carry no legitimate reasons for deception.... the job of most bureaucracies is to serve the public openly and aboveboard. Deceiving it is thus disloyal. 76

Make rich use of leisure

Hunting isn't a continuous, unremitting activity like most commercial work. It's sporadic, demanding intense and energetic bursts of concentration and energy. Men in contemporary hunting-and-gathering bands have enormous leisure.... 77 ...combat is episodic. In that respect it's like hunting life. ...successful hunting bands have a conservation ethic. They confine their activities to their needs. ... People with time on their hands can molder in sloth and boredom.... A way of getting around this is to take on demanding noneconomic activities. Maybe the first string music came from the twanged bow of an idle hunter. 78 ... The...guardian syndrome welcomes frolic and esteems the Muses. Think about the flowering of arts and sports among the knightly and noble classes in the heyday of European chivalry.... All this was savored by people who despised commercial occupations and ways. Think also about the long aristocratic tradition of the

amateur with time on his hands exerting himself strenuously for sheer love of a sport, an art, or a field of learning -- not for economic gain...royal and aristocratic patronage....

Physical evolution presents us with...co-opted epiphenomena. ...many physical organs had early uses different from those of their evolved derivatives. 79 ... Co-opting occurs culturally, too. ...the old hunters' morality of sporadic hunting still remains vital for human survival. ...Khmer Rouge in Cambodia...Nazi Germany...are examples of behavior that conforms neither to the intact guardian syndrome nor the intact commercial syndrome. This is behavior that picks and chooses precepts from both syndromes, creating monstrous moral hybrids. 80 You can't mix up...contradictory moral syndromes without opening up moral abysses and producing all kinds of functional messes. Commercial technologies are continually being absorbed into the arts.... And, in turn, commerce assimilates technologies from art.... ...cross-uses of technologies or their products, per se, don't strike at the moral nature of activities; but cross-uses of moral precepts do.

...both the fine and the folk arts are infused with tradition. Competitive games are too. Originality diffuses gradually into the arts as a rule, small bits at a time. Artists of great originality customarily work within a matrix or context of tradition. 81 ... They discern new potentialities within familiar phenomena. Even in politically revolutionary regimes, art remains astonishingly traditional.... Originality in the most radical sense, meaning art that deliberately rejects and jettisons tradition, is rare and usually transitory -- paradoxically, quickly dated, like so much of modern architecture. Even when the leisure affords nothing more glorious than a policeman's ball or the roistering of soldiers and sailors on leave, it reinforces loyalty. And of course arts and recreation of all kinds...give body, give human and cultural meaning, to territorial loyalties, meanings that geography alone, no matter how dear the geography, can't satisfy. 82

Be ostentatious

Virtuous guardian ostentation isn't self-indulgent.... Ostentation at its most naked, as in military shows, parades prowess and is calculated to evoke awe, fear, or reassurance. ...in most guises, guardian ostentation is somewhat subtler. It expresses pride, tradition, continuity, stability. Think of the rich paneling and high ceilings of important courtrooms, approached by wide flights of marble stairs.... ...trappings aren't substance. But those trappings reinforce respect for law and government, as the ostentation of churches or temples does for spiritual traditions and worship. Modern capitols, much like old royal or ducal palaces, or like cathedrals, make statements about hierarchy as well -- how firmly established authority is, how dignified, how impregnable, how worthy of obedience and loyalty. Governments also use ostentation to impress other governments.... Official guardian ostentation links back tightly with tradition.... Ostentatious tradition is highly visible continuity with the past; it thus also implies continuity with the future, therefore stability and security. Guardians treasure symbols of tradition to the point of adoring them -- flags, anthems, solemn days of remembrance -- and tirelessly cultivate veneration for the symbols throughout their territories. They're also devoted to traditional procedures.... ...the procedures help substitute for individual conscience....

...wisdom is a complex quality, combination of common sense, foresight, judgment, awareness, and moral courage. Paragons of these combined virtues, even when they exist, aren't necessarily in the [83] right places at the right times. Most societies have learned from experience to pool individuals with the object of contriving group wisdom: elders, councils, boards, cabinets, juries, appeal tribunals, parliaments. That's a wise tradition in itself, especially for guardians, considering how stupid, vicious, and even insane rulers can be when they consult only their own conceptions of wisdom.

Dispense largesse

True charity has only the well-being of its recipients as its aim.... Largesse often masquerades as charity, but it's not the same. ... Largesse is the guardian form of investment; specifically, investment in power, influence, and control. ... The art of dispensing serious largesse...is the art of calculating just who in a domestic population or a client state needs persuading, placating, or threatening at a given time. Largesse can win elections. Even the promise of it can win elections. ... Projects we call pork barrels are largesse in commercial masquerade. 84 ... Largesse manipulates.... That is its object. ...the consequences are not always ugly. Nor does it represent waste of capital.... Largesse...can not only buy loyalty...it can buy a measure of contentment and tranquility.... Largesse can finance desirable territorial amenities.... ...it is impossible to imagine governing a territory either badly or well without falling back on largesse. It is a powerful instrument for shaping the world, well or badly. All funds in guardian hands tend to be dictated by exigences of largesse, even when their initial goals are intended to serve development of commerce. That is why government 'economic development' projects so quickly convert to pork-barrel projects for political purposes, the world over. ...largesse...is not a primary means of enlarging material wealth. Rather it is distributive. ...if Robin Hood and his bandits had merely taken and taken and had not distributed some of the take as largesse, he would not have enjoyed enthusiastic local protection for long.... This is such a popular and appealing arrangement, it has been the policy of innumerable Robin Hoods, down to our own day. Even the most flagrant robbers of the [85] poor for the benefit of the rich -- like the Marcos regime in the Philippines -- typically make a show of their largesse to the needy. ...largesse distributed by established authority...creates dependency. ...dependency enjoined at once conformity and defiance. Conformity was necessary for survival; defiance was necessary for self-regard. ... Perhaps largesse originated as a religious practice, patronage, too, and was imitated by other guardian institutions. That might explain why largesse achieved its high reputation for virtuousness. ... The line between commercial largesse and commercial advertising is blurry....87

Be exclusive

It has links with loyalty and with deception for the sake of the task. ...organized military forces set their members conspicuously apart from the rest of society with uniforms, special insignia, special manners such as salutes, special traditions -- in all of which no one is permitted to share. 88 ... Clergy often use special garbs and customs and styles of life, setting them exclusively apart. An American reporter in Poland, while it was still under Communist rule, interviewed a former aristocrat, bred to guardianship but now excluded from guardian circles. The reporter asked if he recognized others like himself. Yes, said the former aristocrat. 'We all have exactly the same habits, starting with the way we eat.' ... The ostentation of top powerholders has often emphasized exclusiveness.... Guardian exclusiveness is likely on the rise in our times, after a period of decline. 89

Show fortitude

Accept hardship with uncomplaining stoicism. ... Fortitude has obvious roots in military life. It is greatly esteemed in police forces, and for clergy, too. ... Heroes are esteemed, among other things, for fortitude.... National heroes, mythical heroes, religious heroes; they aren't diverted from heroic duty by the easy life. Or if they are, they swiftly mend their ways and redeem themselves.

Be fatalistic

...links with fortitude.... Fatalism is useful, and maybe necessary, for people in highly chancy pursuits like warfare, police work, and even running for election. ...fatalism often encourages superstition. That may be another reason why science makes little headway in noncommercial cultures. 90 Science is interested in superstition. But superstition isn't interested in science.

Treasure honor

It's not honesty, with which it's often vulgarly confused. [It is used in such a variety of ways, there is confusion about its meaning.] ... Honor is recognition of status and the respect owed to status. It's much the same as 'face' in China. Here is the crux, for either honor or face. The respect is owed, and the self-respect earned, because honor implies moral obligations, and its possession certifies that the obligations attached to a position -- whatever they may be -- are admirably fulfilled. The concept of honor arose in the guardian life and has always been taken most seriously there. when the guardian life is lived honorably [91] and responsibly, constant sacrifices are expected in service to duty. ...forfeiting freedom to associate with whomever one pleases, freedom to air personal opinions openly if they conflict with policy, and, often enough, freedom to speak the simple truth; also forfeiting easy and casual privacy, except through the difficult stratagem of being incognito. ... Authoritarian and totalitarian rulers...act on the premise that what's right for guardians is right for everybody. such a mistake. As great a mistake ...as the one commercial people make when they suppose governments should be run like businesses. 92

Organized crime (italics mine) fits in as one of those monstrous hybrids of the two syndromes ...Mafia...Columbian drug lords...Neapolitan Camorra...Hong Kong crime associations...Corsican gangs...street and housing-project gangs in Chicago.... 93 the Mafia bears ample marks of guardian moral provenance: Prowess.... Respect for hierarchy...loyalty...venerates tradition and rituals...is exclusive...dispenses largesse...thrives on deceit for the sake of its operations...makes a cult of fortitude...employs ostentation.... Where the Mafia most resembles legitimate guardians and differs [94] from other crime groups is in its protection of city or suburban neighborhoods where important members live. ...a tight Mafia neighborhood is a wonderfully safe place to live as long as you remain incurious why. 95

If you put economic planning into guardian hands, you get planning for guardian priorities. 99

Traders add more things to trade as they go along. As a by-product of the increasing diversity of things traded, volume of trade expands too. In contrast, hunters and gatherers working a territory only for themselves, much as other animals do, can multiply things available only by expanding their territory or abandoning a poor one for a better one. That approach was bound, sooner or later, to lead to raiding and then to warfare. ... If a raided group had any sense of self-preservation, its own hunters would convert to ad hoc warriors, either for retaliation or for defense when they feared another foray from their neighbors. The next stage...would be border jockeying, that is, both sides would try to enlarge their territorial defense buffers, each at the expense of the other. ... Border jockeying is so usual that it wasn't until 1718 that maps of Europe first fixed borders between states as lines. Previously the borders had been understood and located as zones of contention, called marches, fluctuating back and forth with the fortunes of war. 105 ... Making territorial conquests stick is more difficult and complex. Conquest demands more discipline than raiding. It requires sophisticated military organizations...loyalty, vengeance, courts-martial, hierarchies, obedience, and shunning trading to keep treachery in hand. ... to make conquests stick it would be necessary either to wipe out the prior inhabitants or else to treat them, too, as resources for the taking: enslave them, assimilate them by forced concubinage, force them to yield tribute. Gods might be expunged or trivialized, to bring the territory under the spiritual protection of the conquerors' gods. ... Conquest that sticks demands more than military force. It requires calculated physical and

psychological techniques to impose internal peace in the territory as far as that is possible. It also requires deliberate protection of the territory from outside rivals...and...a regularized method of ensuring guardians' upkeep, by levying tribute and taxes in kind and eventually in money.

Taking and trading are themselves fundamentally different from each other. ... It's bootless to try to harmonize commerce and guardianship into one joint system of morality. ... The contradictions are innate. We have no way to escape them. ...the two...support and complement each other...commerce needs the support and help of guardians and...guardians need the support and help of commerce. Symbiosis.... 106

...the guardian function of maintaining internal peace. In cases of conquest, that task requires, among other things, trying to get people in a conquered territory to see things from the conquerors' point of view.... This can be easy...is the conquered territory is repopulated with the conquerors' own people. Otherwise it is very difficult. ... even after the passage of centuries, dim and long-lost sovereignties or allegiances retain an underground life in the memories of the conquered. ...conquered ethnic groups...sooner or later...ask themselves the questions: 'Why do we have to obey them?' 'What right have they...?' 'What about us?' 'Why can't we...?' ...bent twigs, forced down so severely that when they are released they lash back with 'fury' and 'irrepressible force.' ... In 1904 there were only fifty sovereignties in the world. Starting with Norway's secession from Sweden in 1905, the number of sovereignties has now more than tripled and is well along toward quadrupling. 107

Logically, women would be the first people to trade goods across territorial boundaries. They likely wouldn't have been as leery of each other as armed men. ...it'd come more naturally to women to try peaceable mutual agreement in place of taking by force. ...think about new kinds of things put into trade. Mostly it amounts to the traditional work of women, with men getting into it when it enters trade. ...the history of economic development is the history of men taking up women's work.

...early takers and traders both were likely youthful by our standards.... 109 ...it astonishes me to think how much of the moral foundation of our working life must have been laid down by youngsters. ...what starts in function becomes principle. What becomes principle is eventually codified by solemn old geezers. 110

ANOMOLIES: A lawyer in government works under the guardian syndrome but in private practice under the commercial syndrome. [Lawyers in private practice often have to switch back and forth between the two syndromes. English lawyers get around the anomaly.... They're divided into solicitors and barristers, keeping battle distinct from commercial work.--114]

... A public health officer or military doctor is in the service of the state, a guardian. ... Not so with a physician in private practice. 112 ...the monstrous moral [113] hybrids of medical care when physicians pretend to be at the service of patients but are actually serving the state. There are many fine points to medical ethics, and some difficult puzzles, but the most rudimentary morality is the line between the guardian and commercial syndromes. 114

...agriculture can be operated under either guardian or commercial ways. 115 Wherever in the world a clamor arises for land to be divided and given to its workers, the system being attacked is the guardian type of agriculture. {But}...it's basically a commercial activity.... ...when agriculture is operated in accordance with commercial precepts, placing value on voluntary agreement, thrift, productive investment, efficiency, and openness to innovations, it is much more productive than guardian-run agriculture. worker for worker, it supports its people better. Guardian ways are a drag on agriculture. ...the work's natural demands..for commercial morality. It innately requires thrift: the farmer must deliberately set seeds and breeding stock aside, even if it means going on short rations. It also requires industriousness, much unremitting drudgery day after day after day, especially before machines lightened the work. ...trading or bartering is almost invariably associated with

agriculture and animal breeding. Farm households everywhere struggle to get something to market if they possibly can. This is true even when members of the household spin, weave, and practice other crafts. For a household to produce food and fibers for itself and for nobody else, and therefore by definition also supply itself with all its other needs, too -- since it isn't buying or bartering -- is so impractical it's uncommon. So impractical it's a guaranteed recipe for poverty. 117 [Agriculture is]...an economic activity that is functionally and morally commercial [and] has historically been skewed to conform to the contradictory values and morals of guardian landowners. 118 Rulers long ago became preoccupied with agriculture because it meshed with their preoccupations with territory. Tradition has perpetuated the fixation. Any ostensible reason for maintaining the tradition will do. ...once guardian largesse and controls are in place, any attempt to abandon them becomes disruptive.... ...nobody knows what agriculture would be like if it were restored fully and truly to the commercial syndrome and its workings, and everybody is afraid to find out.

Art did arise in hunting and gathering life.... And historically it has flourished in the ambience of guardian life. 119

CASTS OF MIND: ...we're qualitatively different from other animals as ecological presences. But why? ... Trade! Trade pays no attention to ecosystem unit boundaries. It skips over them as it pleases, transferring surplus energy from this and that ecosystem unit into other ecosystem units. 124 ...it's logical for guardian-minded people to identify a given territorial unit by the range of its top predator -- its prince. However, in the real ecosystems of the real world, obscure creatures can identify ecological units more tellingly than animals at the top of the food chain. 125 ... If you care about putting scientific learning to constructive use...then you need guardian-minded ecologists.... And you have to take them with their habits -- fixation on territories and territorial princes, bureaucratic ways of bringing order to reality, and all. ... If something is a large, important truth, many entirely different avenues should lead to it.... 127 Education does not guarantee a cast of mind appropriate to the training. [Referring to a team of researchers] At the institute, [they]...no doubt sincerely thought they were engaging in free intellectual inquiry. Yet their guardian assumptions, their guardian cast of mind, governed the root questions they were putting to themselves.

Mr. Guardian

Ms. Commerce

The love of money is the root of all evil.

History tells of dynasties and the fates of nations and empires.

The most valuable archeological findings are works of art, tombs of royalty or chieftans, and evidences of palaces and religions.

War and preparations for war are normal in human life and peace is a chancy hiatus.

Man is the weapon-using animal.

Man is a territorial animal.

Knowledge is a weapon, also an adornment.

Intelligence signifies knowledge of the enemy and his plans.

Natural resources are fundamental wealth

I want my piece of the pie. Fair distribution is social justice.

Taxes and public borrowing should be governed by public need, because well-being and success in everything depend on the public good.

The declining economies in the former Soviet Union need to be brought under control.

Japan is prosperous at our expense.

Ask not what your country can do for you, but what you can do for your country.

Francis Bacon: The increase of any state must be upon the foreigner (for whatever is somewhere gained is somewhere lost). ... People with guardina casts of mind tend to carry zero-sum thinking with them into their attempts to understand all kinds of gains and losses. 129

SYSTEMIC MORAL CORRUPTION: [Discussing foreign loan defaults] ...those foreign loans hadn't been for productive investments, because if they had been, then by definition they would have been able to support interest and repayments of principal. 131 ... The gist of what the banks did...was to cooperate with the world Bank by financing the pork-barrel projects it worked up. ...he now views the bad loans as fallout from the Cold War. In the receiving countries...a lot of loan money went into

The love of power is the root of all evil.

History explains how material and social conditions have changed.

The most valuable archeological findings are evidences of how people made their livings, the tools and materials they had, the absence or presence of trade, and its components and extent.

Peace is normal. War is an aberration and interruption.

Human beings are the tool-using animals.

People are city-building animals.

Knowledge is a tool.

Intelligence is deftness at picking up skills and reasoning well. The heck with the enemy. Look for intelligence among your friends and the people you work with.

Fundamental wealth is the knowledge and skills possessed by a population.

I want to make pies. Fair opportunity is social justice.

Taxes and public borrowing should be governed by what business can reasonably bear. Don't kill the geese that lay the golden eggs.

The declining economies in the former Soviet Union need to be decontrolled.

Japan's prosperity enlarges total prosperity-- which is open-ended, not zero-sum.

The state exists for the sake of the people. That's the supposed social contract. 128-9

ostentation on the part of rulers and largesse to their own henchmen, also domestic subsidies to keep things calm. ...classic uses of largesse.... ... How did [they]...get in so deep, ...and why did [they] ...keep on with [the] ...charade so long? ...his answer was 'competition.' His own bank...set up offices in poor foreign capitals, in competition with other banks doing the same, and flew in hustlers to press and persuade poor governments to go deeper and deeper into debt. ...the normal commercial virtues of competitiveness, industriousness, and efficiency made matters worse. Under the circumstances, those normal virtues automatically converted to vices. ...the next stage--the expedient of resorting to false accounting--with the expedient collusion of the guardians.... ...my Law of Intractable Systemic Corruption. ...Any significant breach of a syndrome's integrity -- usually by adopting an inappropriate function -- causes some normal virtues to convert automatically to vices, and still others to bend and break for necessary expedience. 132 ...In groups and when in office men [of the English Parliament] act out of character -- he was speaking of moral character - - as though driven by an extraneous force...a power hidden behind the circumstances. [Which, according to the author, is the automatic sequel to the breach in the syndrome.] these syndromes fall into the great category of self-organizing systems. ...when integrity is significantly breached, these self-organizing systems become self-disorganizing. ... Simplicity is not protection against the Law of Intractable Systemic Corruption.... [Example of the IK] 133 ... All we encounter are human beings dressed in cultures and values of some kind. ... Farming didn't fail the IK because they were physically incapable of the work, nor because they didn't have the material equipment for it, nor because they didn't know how to use the equipment, nor because they were unintelligent. They'd been given the artifacts and taught the mentifacts but they had the wrong ethifacts. ...simple societies are most vulnerable to corruption. They have so little cushion. 136 [Back to the loan defaults.] ...the International Monetary Fund...imposed austerity programs on defaulting countries as a condition for receiving further loans. ... This was the first line of defense tried, to evade debt write-downs.137 ...savings and loan scandals.... Insurance is a commercial device, supported by premiums, but sooner or later insurance in guardian hands converts to largesse instead.... ...phrases [copied] out of ordinary, factual news stories in The Wall Street Journal. They were reporting doings of investment bankers and their corporate clients in the mid-1980s.

Hired guns. Impending carnage. Circles vulturelike. Commandos. A stark clash of cultures. Fear of becoming a scalp on someone's belt. Ferocious opposition. Protect the castle. Breathing time to mount a defense. Hysteria. War chest. Scorched earth. Unsuspecting prey. Rival predators. Defense turned offense. Larger fiefdoms. Hit list of targets. Sharing the prey. An army on a sprawling battlefield. A donnybrook. Throwing roundhouse punches. Epic struggle. Going for the jugular. Conquerors. Blood money. Pull the trigger. 138

...phrases in a single article featured in the business section of [a]...newspaper. ...to bring business readers up to date on corporate presidents and chairmen who'd recently lost their jobs.

Frog-marched off to the barren lands
Topped from the throne
Axed with primitive savagery
Shot down in a dog fight triggered by a poisonous letter
Blown away by a time bomb ticking since his loss of a murderous battle
Stripped of the swords and epaulettes of power. 139

The great decade of conglomerate building was the 1960s.... Hostile takeovers began sporadically in the 1970s. By 1983 -- and especially in the six years through 1988 -- they were ordinary, everyday occurrences. 141 ... Entire organizations, in the end an entire system composed of many organizations, had slid by degrees across the commercial syndrome barriers, into taking. The most far-reaching in its consequences was the leveraged buy-out. ...what guardians taking territory by military conquest have often done.... Invested in the prowess for taking the territory, or borrowed to pay for the campaign; then the conquered territory paid in plunder, tribute, taxes, or natural

resources for its own seizure. 142 American industry has been restructured.... How deeply our economic life has been wounded, and how permanently it may be handicapped by this grand exercise in restructuring, we have yet to see. 146 ... So vulnerable are syndromes to systematic corruption, systemic self-disorganization, that in some cases the only breach necessary is an operational method drawn from the inappropriate syndrome. [Gave the example of transit police.] 147

Engineers working in the military-industrial complex are skillful at designing ingenious products but...they fail to combine this skill with thrift of means. ...trained incompetence...it has corrupted the abilities of most of the country's best and brightest engineers over the span of the past forty years. ...lack of cost discipline...has side effects outside the military-industrial complex. 149 ...between 1980 and 1988, our share of machine tool markets dropped from eighteen percent to seven percent. ... American engineers have...remained marvelous at inventing in fields that can afford to support such work. ...the trouble comes from inability to produce the inventions at affordable costs and with competitive efficiency. then, even though invention has given us a head start, we lose out to Italians, Germans, Japanese, and others.... ... Pentagon contracts in the aggregate are enormous. ...engineers laid off from military work will have a 'lethal effect' in civilian production because of their lopsided experience in disregarding costs. 150

...notice two points about the tales.... ...in every case the integrity to the appropriate syndrome was lost. ...there are no decent ways out of these intractable messes. No just solutions exist for setting them right. 151 ... What I've been telling you must be what Plato was driving at when he said mingling kinds of work or meddling with other people's tasks was 'the greatest wickedness,' did the ,most harm' to the community, and was the very incarnation of injustice. 153

...syndrome-friendly tinkering.... [Norwegians combating thefts of their work]

...societies need both commercial and guardina work. ...each type of work has its appropriate syndrome, contradicting the other. ...the two types of work are prone to corruption if they stray across either their functional or moral barriers. ...work organizations need to be protected -- or protect themselves -- from mutual corruption. The question is how such a feat can be managed. Symbiosis without corruption.

Lao Tzu:

A Leader is best
When people barely know that he exists,
Not so good when people obey and acclaim him.
'Fail to honor people,
They fail to honor you';
But of a good leader, who talks little,
When his work is done, his aim fulfilled,
They will all say, 'We did this ourselves.' 157

SYNDROME-FRIENDLY INVENTIONS: SHARE...Self-Help Association for a Regional Economy. 159 ...separating two different bank functions -- lending and accounting. That's the invention. SHARE takes over the lending. ... SHARE started with good rules and it'skept to them. Rule One: The loan can be used only for producing goods and services for sale. ... Rule Two: A Borrower has to make a good case to th board that probable earnings from local customers can support interest aned repayment. Rule Three: The work has to be ecologically and socially responsible; no rip-offs. 160 ...when a business is serving the community well, the communitywants it to succeed. 161 ... The Grameen Bank in Bangladesh: it makes only micro-loans to micro-enterprises. ...poor businesspeople can be the best credit risks.... 162 ...he concluded he must rely on borrowers' knowledge about one another. Let them make the decisions while the bank did the bookkeeping.

That's the invention. ...a borrower has to be a member of a circle of five [163] to ten members. They form the circles themselves and decide among themselves which two members will get the first loans. When those are repaid, two more members are eligible for credit, and so on, until the circle's members are all drawing credit as they need it. One member, chosen by the others, makes collections and turns them in to the bank. If there's a default, the whole circle is in default and nobody in it can draw more credit. ...they help one another in many ways and rally around in case of emergencies.... The bank staffs spend most of their time teaching. [The bank learned two things from the traditional moneylenders:] No bureaucracy -- borrowers don't have to fill out forms -- and speedy response. as soon as a circle forms, credit for two of its members is available. The most extraordinary development...is the women's borrowing circles. ...eighty-five percent of borrowers are women. ...the men, generally speaking, are more contented with the status quo, while the women are fiercely determined that life will be better for their children. 164 ...Accion International.... 165 These inventions could lead to a new stage of democracy. They amount to democratization of access to business capital. Democratizations don't happen by themselves. They need inventions. Political democracy needed inventions: elections, contending parties with protection for political losers so their opposition could continue to be heard, ballots... The invention of public libraries democratized access to literature, and invention of publicly supported schools democratized access to education. Invention of cheap ut pretty and fashionable clothes, and shampoos and cosmetics, and affordable dentistry and remedial surgery for some birth defects, and so on, democratized access to personal attractiveness. 166 ...these inventions didn't come out of officialdom, or even out of already established commercial enterprises.... Mavericks thought them up; specifically, mavericks who were tired of seeing things not work out.

...Alana Probst...was board chairman of a small local neighborhood-development corporation in a poor part of Eugene [OR]. ... In 1982. Her idea was simple: Go to several local businesses and ask what they were planning to buy from outside the city and county in the coming year. Then immediately see if there were local businesses capable of putting in bids for the work. In the meantime, while those searches were being made and bids prepared, visit more purchasers, start seeking potential suppliers for their items, and so on. In short, the program was to be made up as it went along. 167 Oregon Marketplace...takes a five percent commission on the first contract when it makes a match. That fee is figured into the seller's bid. Buyer and seller are on their own after that. The reason the program is not entirely self-supporting is that it puts as much effort into making small initial matches as large ones. 168 ... The scheme succeeded because it saves purchasers money. It also saves them time, and they often get more exactly what they want. ...most price savings are accounted for by lowered transportation costs. 169 ...the basic idea is to use whatever commercial strengths and resources a locality already has, but that it has been neglecting, wasting, or overlooking. The relevant assets are its already existing imports on the one hand and its various production and service capabilities on the other hand. 172

Fair and square competition is moral in the commercial syndrome. Not in the guardian syndrome, where largesse and loyalty take priority. 171

...syndrome-friendly inventions for guardian work...all happen to embody the same principle of tinkering...[172]: We guardians are decreeing you must do such-and-such, but you have to figure out for yourselves the ways and means to comply. ...Taiwan...national land-reform policy.... 173

The guardians say, in effect, 'Here's what you commercial people have to do and we'll enforce it, but how you comply is your responsibility. Find your own commercial ways and means.' An example...was the government's mandate to car manufacturers to make cars that, on average, increased mileage per gallon of gasoline to such-and-such a figure, with the figure raised as time passed. ... At the time it's proposed, the industries affected scream that their costs of doing business will soar. They're supported in this claim by many experts and much of the business press. ...soon comes good news. 175 ...there's ample room for improvement if guardians lay down the policies, are serious about enforcing them, and keep their own hands off ways and means of

complying. 176 ... Guardianship is derived from taking, and guardians are only too willing to take commercial ways and means into their own hands. Stultification. Regimentation. ... Probably the most horrendous guardian aggrandizement of commercial ways and means has been the promotion of nuclear power for generating electricity. ... Guardians have so many important and legitimate responsibilities, ones that nobody can attend to properly if they don't. 177 ...good symbiosis: guardians taking political responsibility for enacting policies into law, and enforcing them; commerce taking responsibility for innovative ways and means of complying. 178

CASTES AND FLEXIBILITY: Experience offers two methods for protecting integrity of the syndromes.... At one pole is a rigid caste or class framework. At the other pole is what I'll call knowledgable flexibility. ...a given society at a given time uses one or the other as its basis, adjusting it pragmatically. Our society bases itself on knowledgable flexibility. 179 [Examples of caste or class: Plato's guardian caste, old Japan's arrangement, feudal Europe, Vikings.] Rigid occupational classes must have had something useful and workable going for them. ...their asset was the separation between guardian and commercial work, a separation ensured by the constraints guardian castes imposed upon themselves.... 183 ...by not meddling in trade except to police it more or less effectively against fraud and use of extortion or other force, guardian castes left commerce scope and leeway, by sheer default. They didn't throttle what commercial people were capable of doing -- other than in agriculture -- with nooses of total power.

...the knowledgable, flexible method appears to be as ancient as caste, perhaps older. 184 ... Shifting from peace to war footing and back again by the same individuals must be as ancient as the first hunters who became ad hoc raiders and warriors. When their peace footing included exchanging goods down at the big trading rock, we have the whole nubbin of the knowledgable, flexible method. 186 Both guardian and commercial ways are treated as general information -- information for everyone. ... In castem, guardians are always superior socially and their values are presumed to be superior morally. 188

PITFALLS OF THE METHODS: Caste arrangements are like snapshots, as opposed to endlessly running motion pictures. The snapshots freeze reality, but realities change. Therefore the functional utility of the caste method is transitory, and its moral utility, too. ... For us, truth is made up of many bits and pieces of reality. The flux and change in itself is of the essence. Change is so major a truth that we understand process to be the essence of things. 191 ...caste arrangements grow obsolete. ... One way of handling this is to make adjustments. ... Neither the castes of India nor those of ancient Rome made allowance for merchants. ...typically, caste adjustments come hard and unevenly, and often too little and too late.... Often they don't happen. 192 How can we tell the heretics from the Catholics? ...Slay all, the Lord will know his own. ... Don Quixote is the famous symbol of hereditary caste minus function.... He also symbolizes another pitfall of caste, extreme social ignorance.... ...the educational programming of mandarins omitted all acquaintance with trade figures or other commercial information; these were not fit concerns for scholars trained to serve equally ignorant rulers. ... People eventually get fed up beyond toleration with the old snapshots, and the opporessions, injustice, incompetence, and stultification their very obsolescence imposes. 193 ...[a] great historical theme was demolition of caste, primarily by using parliaments and their growing legislative powers as the instrument. ...it's innately difficult for caste guardians to accept either overthrow or whittling away of caste. They venerate tradition, they cultivate loyalty to one another, and their impulse is to rely on prowess and vengeance when they are confronted by serious dissent. Their normal virtues...tend to hamper minor caste adjustments and rule out radical revisions unless and until these are forced upon them. 194 ...self-subversion of commerce and industry. ...in all caste or rigid class systems, guardians are much loftier socially than members of commercial classes. Therefore guardians are socially enviable. Successful commercial people may thus hanker after socially superior guardian educations, customs, pastimes, and ideals. ...'the British disease'...the decline of the industrial spirit. The subverted commercial people took to venerating tradition over innovation and efficiency in their commercial work. They found ostentation, largesse, and achieving the status of patrons

more satisfying than attending to productive investment. Their own industriousness suffered in favor of guardian pastimes... they found hobnobbing with guardians more congenial than keeping in close touch with suppliers, customers, and competitors. 195 ...analysts of the decline of British industry...place the start of the process somewhat more than a century ago. They identify the first signs of weakness as neglect of innovation. ... Then it soon became evident scant attention was being paid to comfort and convenience. ...productive investment even in equipment for traditional products was being neglected.... ...self-subversion of commerce and industry is an obstacle to regeneration. The British seem to like their subverted commercial values. What others call 'the British disease' they consider marks of cultural superiority. ... In some recently liberated colonies - - and in some liberated long ago in south America -- big commerce, big industry, and government have become all but indistinguishable, the proprietors of all three together forming a dominant class with guardian values and casts of mind. 196

...the knowledgeably flexible method...makes greater demands on individuals' moral understanding. ... Cooperation turns rancid when it becomes cooperation with immorality or with inappropriate functions and values. ...the Philadelphia antique and secondhand dealers formed collusive bidding pools.... 197 Rancid cooperation. Sometimes falling into bad company and going along with it doesn't entail personal wrongdoing. Just the same, it blurs moral understanding, entails loss of bearings... ...Lockheed bribery scandals.... In a corrupt context, the moral and scrupulous man or woman is a misfit. Cooperation is esteemed across the board.... If rancid cooperation is the only kind offering itself, then rancid cooperation is what almost anyone will practice. Cooperating is a powerful impulse. 198 ...whistle-blowers.... Once a given organization breaches its syndrome, and the breach becomes institutionalized, the resulting conversion of normal virtues into vices wins cooperation among management and workers. Now their work experience is blurring their moral understanding instead of clarifying it. Over the course of time, corrupted organizations accumulate in a society. Without correction, the accompanying rancid cooperation blurs moral understanding in more than the afflicted organizations. People carry their blurred and blunted morality with them if they move into other organizations. The toxins, so to speak, the rancid spoils, spread and accumulate. With the passage of time, knowledgeable flexibility loses its necessary knowledgeability. The method becomes rickety and slovenly instead of growing firmer and sturdier with time. ...the flexible method is spared structural flaws that are built into the caste method. Instead, its weakness is the fact of human imperfection. ...random transgressions become entrenched. then they magnify themselves because the people involved...take the corruption for granted. ... Each breach of integrity, as it occurs, can seem so logical, so harmless, even [199] beneficial. no red lights flash. no riots follow. Life just continues, a little more corrupt. It's supposed to be the job of guardians to nip initial transgressions and breaches in the bud. But the guardians are doing the same things themselves: randomly breaching their syndrome in their own organizations, converting virtues to vices and becoming morally blurry. Hannah Arendt...the banality of evil. ...each by each, everyone should habitually be aware of the moral implications of what he or she is asked to do and, each by each, should stand up for the right to be moral. ...that was a basic human right. ...widespread moral understanding and respect for the syndromes are the only reliable buttresses of the flexible method.... ...we cannot rely on an intelligentsia to make critical and discriminating judgments for us. ...some tenured and certified intelligentsia maintain we shouldn't make moral judgments at all; they're extreme moral relativists. ...a major cause of corruption in business organizations is 'managerial isolation.' ...managers at all levels in an organization [200] should habitually think about the enterprise's legitimate values and the morality of what it's doing or planning to do. ...managers should habitually discuss these matters with each other. ... Feeling alone is what scares managers.... If they find they have allies -- or can persuade allies into existence -- moral courage becomes more practicable. ...invok[e]...wholesome cooperation to combat rancid cooperation. 201 ...if serious self-examination because of fear is a practicable measure, which it demonstrably is, then self-examination to maintain moral standards is also practicable. ... Some companies give written question-and-answer honesty tests to job applicants. 202 Guardian organizations don't even keep themselves in line without guardians of guardians. ...the formal guardianship...can't anticipate novel transgressions. ... Whoever the ancient traders

first using dishonest weights may have been, we can be sure that laws and penalties were responses after the fact. ...the law is forever running at the rear of inventive types of misbehavior. ...only organizational self-examination -- based on adhering to whichever is the appropriate syndrome for its work -- can forestall clever and novel malfeasance, nip it in the bud before it becomes well rooted as it waits for the law to catch up -- if it ever does. 204

Where democracy means more than having the vote, many citizens engage part-time in public affairs.... Some push causes or movements.... Some serve on boards of quasi-public institutions. Some serve on citizens' advisory boards to municipal agencies.... This work demands the guardian syndrome, especially the precept to shun trading. Yet great numbers of people who take on public responsibilities part-time happen to make their livings in commercial work. Therefore they must be flexible and knowledgeable enough to understand the differences and abide by them. When they don't, public good succumbs to private gain. 205

... when the [labor] union's battling for a contract, maybe out on strike, it has to shift into its guardian mode.... But when a contract is signed, those workers have to shift into a commercial mode. If the battle morality infuses everyday production or service work -- which it sometimes does in companies with bad labor relations -- it's disastrous for the work. The union leadership is always guardian.... Just the same, the leadership must respect the commercial values of innovation, competition, and efficiency, and the necessity for productive investments. ...both the union leadership and the company leadership need knowledge of both syndromes and respect for the integrity of both. ... In Yugoslavia, under its communist regime, workers' councils running factories failed to understand or respect the commercial syndrome, even though their management duties demanded it. 207

...newspapers and magazines...that take investigative reporting seriously are assuming responsibility for being guardians of guardians -- a chief reason that a free press is valuable. Yet most periodicals are commercial. ... Good periodicals maintain a barrier between their editorial and advertising departments.... ...at the top must be a publisher who knows what both the left and right hands are doing and can help both of them.... The barrier has to be in his head.

... Government agencies are entangled in commerce, the more complex a society, the more so. ...if guardians are not morally flexible enough to understand the commercial syndrome as well as their own, they can't do a decent job of policing commerce or legislating for it. ...how good will guardians be at legislating and policing against monopolies if they ignore or take lightly the necessity of commercial competition? 208

...if it's true we're the only creatures with two fundamentally different ways of getting a living, it follows that to be as fully human as we can be, we should all be capable of using our two syndromes well. They belong to all of us because we're human, no other reason. They don't belong to this or that ordained group, as if we were social insects.

I'm sick of cant about the family being the bedrock of society. ... Society itself is the bedrock of society... Families are fragments of their societies. The bedrocks are the ways people get their livings, and the institutions and organizations formed to that end: guardian and commercial. Society, including the family, is in their keeping, not only materially and politically but morally as well. What is a family, institutionally speaking?... Its nature depends on its society -- that is to say, on its place and time...-- not on the fact and functions of family per se. A family can include multiple wives and concubines. It can practice selective infanticide on daughters. It can radically differentiate the upbringing of boys from that of girls, and the expectations of each. 209 ... There are nuclear families, extended families, families that incorporate apprentices and servants, families that supply dowries and those that don't... If a society's means of getting its livings are stagnant over a long period of time, the forms its families have taken remain stagnant too. In that case, it is easy to conclude those stabilized families represent the foundations of their society. But it is an

erroneous conclusion. As soon as such a society experiences economic changes, its families change in response, maybe for better, maybe worse. Everywhere, birth rates drop with prosperity. Consider the effects on families of shifts from craft to industrial production; chronic unemployment; long commuting by fathers; both parents becoming breadwinners outside the home; selective migrations of men, or of young people, to find work. Social context easily and drastically reshapes families. Give welfare aid to mothers with dependent children only if no able-bodied man is in the household, and watch how fast the number of fatherless families soars. Give generous pensions to old people, and watch three-generation households dwindle. Reduce premature mortality rates of adults, and notice how divorce rates rise. Is bastardly socially disgraced or not? Is the family-run farm an economic success or not? Are children counted on to help with family income or not? Immigrant families in our country change very rapidly in their new contexts. Children take to insisting on choosing their own mates instead of submitting to arranged marriages. They may rebel against the father's decisions on other matters; the wife may too. How can a unit so malleable, so vulnerable to changes in context, so easily manipulated, be the bedrock of society? Face it -- if the guardian and commercial organizations of a society are corrupt, the society is corrupt, whether that pleases or displeases families. But if the guardian and commercial organizations respect and adhere to good moral standards, they supply a moral social context for the family. Societies shape and reshape the family and blow it about for better or worse... Passing the buck to the family for the corruption and other shortcomings of society is a cop-out on the part of institutions and their managements who make messes out of the moral syndromes. 210

Lao Tzu:

When people lost sight of the way to live
Came codes of love and honesty,
Learning came, charity came,
Hypocrisy too came;
When differences weakened family ties
Came benevolent fathers and dutiful sons;
And when lands were disrupted and misgoverned
Came ministers commended as loyal.