

understand that to be our personal self-interest, will subordinate every other form of apparent, so-called mortal self-interest as such, to defend our contribution to perpetuating the valid ideas of the past, and our beneficial contributions of ideas to secure the future of our posterity.

The second of these three types of personalities, typifies the qualities of those exceptional leaders of society, the type required for a time of great crisis, the type of senior statesmen which Plato identified as “philosopher kings,” the type which supplies us our great Presidents, and those senior advisors who help to make them great.

Such is the controlling notion of personal self-interest which should motivate a President of our republic, especially under conditions of great crises. Some of our great Presidents may not have summoned that quality in themselves at all times, but in the moments of their most crucial decisions, they were each inspired to do so. It is the combination of a certain cultivated maturity with the commitment and habituated capacity to call forth this moral quality of decisiveness in themselves, which distinguishes the crucial moments of our relative handful of truly great U.S. Presidents. This must be the quality summoned within the next President for this time of world crisis.

3. In between those lowest and highest moral conditions of persons, there is a class of persons which Dante Alighieri’s *Commedia* placed in Purgatory. People whose consciences are tormented by the knowledge, that they must bequeath the benefit of good deeds left behind them when they die, and must struggle with themselves, so that they do not permit their surging sensual desires, for gaining pleasure and avoiding pain, to steer them into either the evils of bad deeds, or negligence of moral obligations.

On these scales, on which these three types are weighed, former Secretary of State Henry A. Kissinger falls into the lowest of the three levels of morality, a nasty person, to be remembered as self-condemned to repose in a place in Dante’s *Inferno* near to Count Ugolino. In direct contrast, the great U.S. Presidents belong, in the main, to the highest of the three categories, and Presidents like Thomas Jefferson typify statesmen of cultivated minds who have descended to the middle of the three ranks. In actual history, a statesman may rise to a relatively higher type than his or her usual type under certain conditions, or, similarly, fall, under corrupting influences, occasionally, or permanently, to a lower one. The point is, that the only kind of President which is acceptable for the time of crisis now unfolding, is one who will rise to the highest among those three moral levels, as each of the great Presidents often did, on those occasions of practice of statecraft when this highest quality was most urgently required of them.

1.2 Making and choosing a great President

This brings us to the matter of finding other candidates from among whom one or more might become an acceptable alternative to my own election as our next President. How do we find the prospective candidates who might rise to the challenge of what I have just described as the highest of the three levels of practice of statecraft? How must the necessary qualities and knowledge be developed within them in the limited time available?

Such candidates can not be made out of mud, as the legendary Rabbi of Prague is said to have made the Golems who did his chores for him. We have already had recent instances which warn us, never again try to make a Golem President (or, like Bibi Netanyahu or Tony Blair, head of an Israeli or British government). The person selected for cultivation as a prospective candidate for President, must already have the developed potential qualities needed to become qualified as a Presidential candidate. We must begin by defining what these qualities of a potential Presidential candidate might be.

Grooming by instruction will not be sufficient, even if the person in question shows potential. One does not produce a viable such candidate by teaching him, or her to parade as the political equivalent of a fashion-show model, or perhaps a cigar-store Indian. To become an actual President, rather than a stooge for a honking gaggle of Presidential advisors, the future President must undergo, as Abraham Lincoln did, that homely, special “grassroots” and related kind of learning-by-doing experience, which brings forth within him the kind of capacity for shaping the policy implemented of, by, and for the people, which a potentially great choice of our next President would require once he, or she were in office.

This desired quality is best developed in dealing in a certain special way with the Party’s core constituencies, especially in dealing with the kind of situation in which two or more of the core constituencies, such as between trade-unions and farmers, in times past, are virtually at one another’s throats over perceived differences in self-interest, as over the issue of lowering the prices paid to farmers. Such a situation is ill-served by those encounter-group-like sophistries called “exchanges of opinions” and “sharing experiences of feeling-states.” Rather than a mere compromise, a truthful and just solution for the apparent conflict, equitable for all *legitimate constituencies*, must be discovered, and forced to the surface of the deliberation.³

The answer to apparent conflicts of self-interest among

3. There are, as I shall address this later in the report, also criminal and otherwise illegitimate constituencies, such as legalized or other loan-sharks, or traffickers in illicit drugs. Never must a legitimate constituency be pressed to compromise its true and just self-interest for the sake of an illegitimate constituency.

core constituencies—legitimate constituencies, must be found, not in pragmatic compromises, but as the Socrates of Plato’s *Republic* rebuked Thrasymachus and Glaucon on law: the only true remedy for conflict is something seldom practiced by the U.S. Department of Justice lately, truthfulness. Since we know all of these legitimate constituencies, two or more, and also the legitimate interest of the society as whole, do have a fundamental interest in common, the job is to discover that truth, by the same kind of dedication and cultivated cognitive powers used by a scientist’s discovery of a validatable universal physical principle. For such occasions, we need something far better than mere compromise over differences; we require the shared discovery of a principle of action, which never demands that any constituency compromise its actual self-interest, but, must rather come to understand that self-interest in a more truthful and just, deeper way, than had been previously considered.

The ability to address such apparent conflicts of self-interest, is the mark of the kind of leadership the citizens should demand of officials such as Presidents, especially under conditions of crisis such as those erupting in this time. I shall supply a few examples to make this principle of moral and truthful qualities of political leadership clear, later here; the conflict between trade-union and farmer lobbies will be addressed as typical of the conflict to be overcome in this way.

That much said in the way of general observations, let us now focus upon the process I propose for the coming periods of the Year 2000 campaign.

If some other candidate could be recruited and groomed for election, I would have to play a significant catalytic role in providing that candidate my assistance in pointing out the special qualifications needed to address effectively the crucial economic and most critical foreign-policy issues which will decide the outcome of the presently deepening world economic and political crises. In other words, I would have to fill the function which the philosopher Plato identified as that of a “philosopher king,” a wise man to groom and guide suitable younger prospective candidates for head of state.

In my view, the proper approach to seeking an alternative, would be to proceed immediately to recruit and prepare some number of mature, potentially leading candidates. The general objective would be, beginning now, to rally the combined resources represented by the most truthful and just, well-seasoned and capable leaders from among us, to select a roster of qualified leaders, from among which, one or two of these would become the leading candidates as nomination-time approaches. In a former time, that used to be the informed general opinion as to what the process of selection should be. We must add three restrictions to what was formerly the selection-process used by the core-constituency organization of the Franklin Roosevelt tradition in the Democratic Party.

1. First, the candidate must think about matters of law and other policy of the state as what the Socrates of

Plato’s *Republic* defines as a law-giver committed to truth and justice, and must reject the contrary standard represented by the *Republic*’s characters Thrasymachus and Glaucon. This is also the quality of mind which the Apostle Paul, like Socrates, defines in Socrates’ use of the Greek term *agapē*, as in *I Corinthians* 13. As Paul identifies this principle for the Christian, all other claims to personal morality are empty pretense, no better than hypocrisy, unless that commitment to truth and justice is pervasive and governing. Restoring a principled notion of truthful justice to the presently most corrupted practice of our legal system and statutes, is among those most urgent improvements, upon which the survival of our now-imperilled republic now depends.

2. Second, the candidate must be self-governed by the principle of reason. The candidate must admire and practice that habit of mind which we associate, among scientists, with the kind of processes by which recognizing and solving paradoxes leads to validatable discoveries of physical principle. He, or she must practice that same method of discovery of principles in the domain of political and social matters, that the scientific discoverer employs in generating validatable discoveries of physical principle. This quality of the candidate, is that to which I have referred earlier, in respect to apparent principled conflicts of self-interest among core constituencies.
3. Thirdly, the candidate must combine those first two qualities with competence in administering the domains which are the chief concerns of our Federal Executive Branch: physical economy and the practice of foreign relations among sovereign nation-states. Although President William Clinton is judged by me, and by others, despite his known personal weaknesses, as superior in knowledge and quality of intellect to most of his recent predecessors in that office, and although he is better informed respecting history and the conduct of foreign relations than most of those Presidents, his obvious ignorance of the essentials of economics has been among his leading vulnerabilities, susceptibilities to bad advice on domestic and foreign policy-matters, and most frequent source of blunders, in his Presidency to date. The next President must have that competence respecting the connections between economic policy and both social and foreign policy, which the Clinton Administration’s practice, and all recent predecessors, have lacked.

On those and other counts, I would be the best choice of President, by a wide margin; but, let us agree not to rely, more

than is unavoidable, on any one leader, no matter how superior in qualifications. Let us, for the time being, field several serious candidates for the Democratic Party's year 2000 Presidential nomination. For the moment, as a candidate, I shall be the standard-bearer, the rallying point for such a select pack of worthy candidates who might qualify for leading positions, either as a prospective President, or to fill other positions where leading statesmen of exceptional quality are required. If such goals are reached, my role remains important, but my position as the next President ceases to be, as it is presently, indispensable.

My first chore, as I am doing that in this report, is to set the stage on which other worthy candidates will appear, to invite them to make themselves known, and take their place on that stage. For the moment, forget the silly, immoral ideas about politics, we have heard all too often from the late Roy M. Cohn's cousin, Dick Morris. Junk the so-called "Third Way"; qualified prospective candidates are going to deliberate together with core constituencies of the U.S. citizenry as a whole: organized labor, for example, farmers, African-American constituencies, Spanish American constituencies, citizens in retirement, entrepreneurs typified by operators of machine-tool firms, doctors, scientists, engineers. We are going to build on the model of the best features of the core-constituency organization of that Democratic Party rebuilt by Franklin Roosevelt's leadership. We are not going to debate pre-existing opinions; we are going to deliberate what the policies for our nation must be. We are not going to babble slogans and catch-phrases; we are going to meet together to think.

As we gather on stage, our first commitment shall be, that we, and the Party, must go to the down-to-earth classes of voters, especially to what were already the core constituencies of President Franklin Roosevelt's Democratic Party. We must enlist those core constituencies as a political army determined to take back the nation. We shall rely, not on favorable propaganda in the mass media; we shall rely on the power of that army's marching to the polls.

This process would scrap the unprincipled and dangerous methods and tactics associated with the present leadership of the unfortunately influential Democratic Leadership Council (DLC) now headed by deviant Democrat Al From.

Instead of the quicksand of making public opinion through the mass-media, we must commit ourselves to return to the fighting methods of Benjamin Franklin, Franklin's war-time propaganda chief Tom Paine, the *Federalist* papers, and the Whigs of the Nineteenth Century. Instead of the kinds of cheap, gimmicky sophistry which passed for the recent decades' so-called "campaign debates" set up and run chiefly by the mass electronic media and their accomplices (the mostly crooked opinion-pollsters), we must forge the national policy which we carry into the polling places in the way the greatest of our nation's founders did. The voters must be no

longer insulted and abused by the kinds of medicine-show sophistry which passed for national political campaigns during the recent three decades; we must go back to old-fashioned constituency politicking, in which the organic leaders of the core constituencies take the lead in joining with candidates for the purpose of deliberating what the issues and policies shall be.

Bring to an end the fraud of allowing the mass media, most of which is owned by our enemies, such as Wall Street and the British Commonwealth's global press syndicates, to tell the voters what the issues are, each issue summed up in approximately "twenty-five words or less." End the mass media's captive system of election campaigns, in which the journalists refuse to think, and the candidates and voters are not allowed to think aloud on anything so precious as prime time. "Please keep the answers to our silly questions short and snappy, even if neither the questions nor the answers really make much sense."

The campaign must concentrate on a continuing dialogue among several mass-based core constituencies which typify the tradition of the Franklin Roosevelt Democratic Party. This must be a Socratic dialogue, not debating over opinions. The citizens must not debate, as much as deliberate what the issues and policies shall be. Typical core constituencies are labor, African-Americans, Latin-Americans, senior citizens, professionals who make their careers in the physical sciences and engineering, and the old-fashioned sort of entrepreneur whose mind is free of today's monetarist boll-weevil epidemic among the wormy minds of both Wall Street and the Republican "far, far right" of Gingrich, DeLay, and Armeý types.

The importance of these broad-based core constituencies, is that they typify the coincidence between the vital interests of the republic as a whole, and, at the same time, what each constituency must recognize as the consistency of their true particular best interest with the general welfare of the nation as a whole. If the majority of the citizenry, rallied around the notion of the common interest of all such larger and smaller core constituencies, can be brought together to reflect upon the notion of the common interest—the general welfare, we have the kind of Democratic Party which is not only best qualified to lead our republic, but will find the popular support to gain the Presidency and the majority of legislative bodies in the coming elections.

It is important to repeat here the point made above. Addressing the core constituencies, does not mean merely stroking such constituencies by the kinds of sophist's word-play among contemporary varieties of epicureans and stoics, which is seen on the Sunday morning and other TV talking-head shows, not merely batting slogans and opinions about. It means joint engagement with the representatives of these constituencies, hammering upon the anvil where policy-conceptions are to be hewn into the shape of reason, to become

thus the Party's policy-making outlook. I give some examples of this sort of work, in a following section of this present statement.

The result must be, that the Democratic Party which is brought to the Summer 2000 convention, must be a resurrection of the Democratic Party of President Franklin Roosevelt, a rallying of the representatives of the Party's core, not Gore, constituencies.

This time, let us not let mass media experts "package" a candidate. What do those handlers really know about those processes of cause-and-effect, through which a certain choice of policy leads to a certain effect upon the general welfare of the nation? A qualified candidate is one who instructs his media representatives on the concept of what the issue is, and what must be the policy conveyed to the understanding of the voter. The moral responsibility of the so-called "communicator," is not to present the candidate's packaging, but his content. If that policy were to eliminate some candidates from the start, so much the better for the nation, and the party.

If representatives of leading prospective candidates meet frequently with leading groups from core constituencies from around the nation, the resulting discussion will be a deliberative process in which the opinions of both core-constituency leaders and candidates, alike, are either profoundly changed, or only modified, many times. The practice of meeting with a group of representatives of one constituency on one occasion, and a different constituency on another occasion, is unavoidable, and a valuable part of the process; but the serious deliberation occurs when representatives of several constituencies are brought together on the same issues.

Illustrate the last point in the following way. Imagine a room, where representatives of the following, and other core constituencies are gathered together. To keep the illustration as simple as possible, imagine that the room contains representatives of organized labor, African-American associations, Latin-American associations, retired citizen's interest-groups, some local political figures, some concerned professionals, such as physicians, some entrepreneurs, preferably of the hard-nosed machine-tool type, some skilled professional engineers, a few scientists. Think of the challenge of preventing that kind of assembly from degenerating into a blind-men-and-the-elephant debate among men blinded to truth by their own parochialism.

The object is to define the general welfare, first and foremost, and to learn how to shape that notion of the general welfare, such that the special interest of each constituency is better served by the deliberated result than if each constituency's perceived self-interest issues were considered only one at a time, as if in conflict with the interest of the other constituencies. That is what is meant by proper use of the word "deliberation." Once the political snake-oil propagandists had induced various constituencies to argue against one another,

each constituency were, in effect, agreed to sell out both its narrowly perceived special interest, and also the interest of everyone else. Get the pack to fight among each other over scraps, and they all end up going hungry.

It is dealing with the issues of national and foreign policy through that kind of interaction with the assembly of core constituencies, which enables us to define a prospective Presidential candidate as a true political leader of that actually thinking type. That is the type which has grown scarce among those who have run that mass-media course in opinion-shaping of recent decades.

If good candidates for the office of President are presented, who will vote them into office, rather than electing the Golems—the synthetic mass-media products? Where are the citizens who are qualified to make the selection? How are such citizens to be developed? It is in the deliberative processes among candidates and assemblies of core constituencies, that both questions may find the appropriate answer. It is the outcome of such a process of broad-based, continuing deliberation within the armies who must march to the polls, which provides the real-life actual answer to these questions. It is that process we must now invoke, to secure our republic against the extraordinary dangers which now menace our nation's political processes.

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